



NEERAJ®

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

B.P.S.C.-134

B.A. General - 4th Semester

**Chapter Wise Reference Book
Including Many Solved Sample Papers**

Based on

C.B.C.S. (Choice Based Credit System) Syllabus of

I.G.N.O.U.

& Various Central, State & Other Open Universities

By: Taruna Jain



**NEERAJ
PUBLICATIONS**

(Publishers of Educational Books)

Mob.: 8510009872, 8510009878 E-mail: info@neerajbooks.com

Website: www.neerajbooks.com

MRP ₹ 280/-

Content

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Question Paper—June-2023 (Solved)	1
Question Paper—December-2022 (Solved)	1
Question Paper—Exam Held in March-2022 (Solved)	1
Sample Question Paper–1 (Solved)	1
Sample Question Paper–2 (Solved)	1

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
--------------	-----------------------------------	-------------

BLOCK-I: INTRODUCTION

1. Understanding International Relations	1
2. Basic Concepts: Elements of National Power, National Interest, Collective Security, Balance of Power	14
3. Evolution of International System (Up to the World War-II)	27

BLOCK-II : APPROACHES

4. Realism	39
5. Systems Approach	52
6. Dependency Theory	65
7. Constructivism	77

BLOCK-III : DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

8. Origins and Phases of the Cold War	86
9. End of the Cold War and its Impact on International Relations	95

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
--------------	-----------------------------------	-------------

10.	Emerging Centres of Power	104
11.	Globalization	113

BLOCK-IV : INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

12.	Role and Functions of the United Nations	124
13.	International Economic Organizations	132
14.	Regionalism and New Regionalism	144



**Sample Preview
of the
Solved
Sample Question
Papers**

Published by:



**NEERAJ
PUBLICATIONS**

www.neerajbooks.com

QUESTION PAPER

June – 2023

(Solved)

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

B.P.S.C.-134

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note : This paper has **two** Sections. Answer any **five** questions. Each questions carry **equal** marks. Attempt atleast **two** questions from each Section.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. Explain the idea of national power and its elements.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 14, 'The Idea of National Power'.

Q. 2. Critically analyse the concept of collective security.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 18, 'Collective Security'.

Q. 3. Discuss the focal arguments of Neo-realism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 49, Q. No. 3.

Q. 4. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Hard and Soft power.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 108, 'Hard Power' and Page No. 109, 'Soft Power'.

(b) Social Constructivism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 5, 'Social Constructivism'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. Critically analyse the Glasnost and Perestroika policies of Gorbachev.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 100, Q. No. 1.

Q. 6. Evaluate the different forms of regionalism in International Relations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 149, Q. No. 3.

Q. 7. Discuss the characteristics of the post-cold war international system.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 97, 'Characteristics of Post Cold War Era'.

Q. 8. Write short notes on the following:

(a) International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 132, 'International Monetary Fund'.

(b) Cultural Globalisation.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 115, 'Cultural Globalization'.



QUESTION PAPER

December – 2022

(Solved)

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

B.P.S.C.-134

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note : This paper has **two** Sections. Answer any **five** questions. Each questions carry **equal** marks. Attempt at least **two** questions from each Section.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. What is the liberal approach to the study of International Relations?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 3, 'Liberalism'.

Q. 2. Evaluate the salient features of the systems approach of Kenneth Waltz.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-5, Page No. 58, Q. No. 2.

Q. 3. Discuss the Marxist approach to the study of International Relations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 8, Q. No. 3.

Q. 4. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Helsinki Accords

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 89, 'Helsinki Accords'.

(b) Berlin Wall

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 96, 'Fall of Berlin Wall' and 'Unification of Germany'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. Critically evaluate the role of Nation-State in the era of Globalisation.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 116, 'Impact on Nation-State' and 'Sovereignty'.

Q. 6. Examine the importance of Regional Economic Organisations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 132, 'Introduction' 'International Monetary Fund' and Page No. 133, 'World Bank'.

Q. 7. "Multilateralism and International organisations have created conditions for transforming the world from Unipolarity to Multipolarity." Comment.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 101, Q. No. 3.

Q. 8. Write short notes on the following:

(a) The Suez Crisis

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 126, 'The Suez Crises (1956)'.

(b) Balance of Power

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 22, Q. No. 3.



Sample Preview of The Chapter

Published by:



**NEERAJ
PUBLICATIONS**

www.neerajbooks.com

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BLOCK-I : INTRODUCTION



Understanding International Relations

INTRODUCTION

International Relations (IR) refers to a field in political studies that deals with the relations among sovereign states. The field studies the behaviour of states with each other and with international entities. Another important objective is that it looks into the conflicts and cooperation among states, functions and role of international organizations and mechanisms such as the UN, World Trade Organization and the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the role of multinational corporations (MNCs), working of state and non-state actors and the methods to deal with new challenges like climate change, terrorism, refugees and migrants, etc. The study of IR helps in exploring and offering different visions of the world order.

The understanding of the subject is mainly dominated by two mainstream perspectives namely Realism and Liberalism which is called the first great debate. These perspectives were studied traditionally in terms of diplomacy, military and strategic capabilities and methods of deploying them. After that the second great debate happened between the Behaviouralists and Traditionalists in the year 1960s over whether behaviour of actors – state or non-state-should be the criterion for explaining the International Relations. The third debate took place in 1970s and 1980s also called the inter-paradigm debate which was between Liberals and Realists on one side and the Marxists on the other side. Marxists understood IR primarily in economic terms. In the late 1980s, the fourth great debate started and was between the Positivists and post-Positivists. Positivists want their theories to be studied as objective knowledge grounded in facts.

The chapter deals with the description and analysis of the two mainstream theoretical frameworks of

Realism and Liberalism and follows it up with a brief description of Critical theories of International Relations.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

REALISM

Realism or Political Realism believes that states are power seekers. They opined that the world is an anarchical place where there is no central authority to manage the behaviour of states. There is a security dilemma where any state can attack another at any point of time. Therefore, the states strive towards enhancing their military and strategic powers in order to protect their territory and sovereignty. Their interest is in either enlarging their powers or in protecting and defending themselves from the attack. Realists opined that states behave like humans. According to Thomas Hobbes, a 17th century political thinker, life of a man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. He added that state, like man, is egoistic; and it enters into constant conflicts with other states to look after its own security and interests. Realists opined that states are directed by zero sum relations where gain of one state leads to loss of another. There are some key themes within Realism which are: state egoism and conflict; state craft and national interest; international anarchy and its implications; polarity, stability and balance of power. These themes are described below:

(A) State Egoism and Conflict: 'Classical Realism' is uncovered by the Greek philosopher Thucydides' *History of The Peloponnesian War*, Sun Tzu's work *The Art of War*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, and the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. According to these philosophers, a pessimistic picture of man was given saying that the nature of man is guided by envy, jealousy, ego, greed, fear and

2 / NEERAJ : INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

conflict. This is similar to the nature of the state. The international order is anarchical and there is no central source of authority, states acquire more of military capability and build strategic depth so that they keep their territory protected. Machiavelli opined that a man is cunning and the rulers have to be manipulative and crafty to maintain law and order. According to Hobbes, a strong and sovereign state power is required to maintain law and order and protect life.

(B) State Craft and National Interest: The art of statecraft is significant for the conduct of State in international relations. According to Hans Morgenthau in his *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, there are six principles of Political Realism that was explained by him and how the state works. These principles are as follows:

- Politics is controlled by the objective laws which have their roots in human nature.
- International relations can be acknowledged from the concept of interest defined in terms of power.
- The forms and nature of state power will change in time, place and context but the concept of interest remains consistent.
- The State behaviour is not guided by the universal moral principles.
- There is no universally acknowledged set of moral principles and moral aspirations are specific to a particular nation.
- The political sphere is autonomous in nature which means that the key question in international politics is 'How does this policy affect the power of a nation?'

(C) International Anarchy and its Implications:

As there is no central authority, the states have to retreat to self-help to safeguard their interests. The second implication is that international system is characterized by security dilemma where the security of states is not guaranteed. The third implication is that the states in anarchy are always in pursuit to enhance their power in relation to other states so as to have an edge over them. These implications disappoint the cooperation and reduce the effectiveness of international organizations.

(D) Polarity, Stability and Balance of Power:

Realists believe that the stability in international system can be gained with the help of balance of power.

Neo-realism

The theory of Neo-realism was given by Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics*, published

in 1979. It is also called as Structural Realism. Waltz stressed the study on the structure of international system and on its interacting units and the continuities and changes of the system. He departed from 'Classical Realism' and opined that it is significant to understand the behaviour of international system before studying the behaviour of states. He opined that the security dilemma exists not because the behaviour of the state is similar to human nature but rather that the international system is anarchical and it does not have a central authority to 'govern'. The anarchical international system develops fear and insecurity in states that forces them to maximise their security and power and act in zero sum way. Hence, it is the structure of the international system that governs the actions of the state.

Neo-realism or Structural Realism reaches to the same conclusions as the 'Classical Realism'. This is done by looking at systemic rather than individual and state-level causes. This means that it stressed less on human nature and more on the anarchic structure of the international system in which states operate. The stress of the famous philosopher Kenneth Waltz was upon the distinction between his approach and that of Morgenthau and other 'Classical Realists'. The 'Classical Realism' places responsibility for war at the feet of selfish and narrow-minded individual human beings and Waltz states that the anarchical structure of the international system is the main reason for the persistence of war. He stressed that states are victims of the **Security Dilemma**, in which effort of a state to make sure its survival threatens the security of other states around it. Waltz also proclaimed that that the only rational course of action for a state in an anarchic international system is to maintain enough military and political power to defend itself against aggression. In this process, it might invest in new weapons or seek alliances with other states that may or may not come to its aid in a crisis. This move toward self-defence appear threatening to neighbouring states, forcing them to respond with their own military build-up and alliance making.

Thomas Schelling opined about the dimension of 'Strategic Realism' in 1980 and stressed his attention on foreign policy decision-making. He stated that leaders think in a strategic manner when they are confronted with basic diplomatic and military issues. The diplomacy, foreign policy and also use of armed forces are strategic methods.

Schelling opined that 'diplomacy is like bargaining' where one gets the outcome which might not be ideal for both parties but is better for both as compared to other alternatives. Strategic realists are worried with how to employ power intelligently in order to get the adversary to do what we desire and more importantly to avoid doing what we fear.

LIBERALISM

The Liberal tradition in IR is linked with the emergence of modern liberal state. Freedom, tolerance, cooperation, compromise, peace and progress are the basic principles of Liberalism which rules out conflict and war. The Liberal tradition strongly accepts the concept of reason and rationality of individual and believes that with the help of cooperation and compromise, conflicts of society can be resolved. The key for building harmony and avoiding conflicts is tolerance. On the other hand, the Liberals unlike Realists do not believe that human nature is evil and opines that the humans are sociable, rational, competitive and collaborative. The famous 17th century liberal philosopher, John Locke believed on the protection of rights of life, liberty and property of an individual and advocated limited and constitutional state so that it does not infringe on the freedom of an individual. Another prominent liberal philosopher named Jeremy Bentham invented the term 'International Law' and enlarged the concept of constitutional state which would aim at greatest happiness of the greatest number. According to the theory stated by Immanuel Kant, the emphasis is on the establishment of constitutional and mutually respectful republics that could lead to perpetual peace and progress. The Liberalism revived post 1970s under neoliberalism. There are some important themes within Liberalism. These are Interdependence Liberalism, Republican Liberalism and Liberal Institutionalism.

(A) Interdependence Liberalism: The emphasis of Liberalism is on free trade and mutually productive economic relations. The idea dates back to the birth of commercial liberalism in 19th century drawn from the thoughts of David Ricardo, Richard Cobden and John Bright. With the help of free trade, each country develops the goods and services in which they have a comparative advantage from other countries. This helps in the formation of the economic interdependence and reduces the probability of war. Cobden and Bright opined that free trade would bring people from different races, creeds and languages and tie them in 'Bonds of Eternal Peace'. According to Robert Keohane and

Joseph Nye, it is 'Complex Interdependence' where actions of one country affect the other countries. This is not related to the economic sphere only but also extends to the areas of climate change, economic development and human rights.

(B) Republican Liberalism: According to the Liberals, the external behaviour of states is influenced by their political and constitutional make up. Authoritarian states are seen as aggressive and militaristic whereas democratic states follow more of peaceful and cooperative methods in their dealings. The collapse of communism led to the re-emergence of 'Democratic peace thesis'. Francis Fukuyama in his 'End of History' opined that democracy is the order of the world. Immanuel Kant said that democracies do not fight and hence democracies lead to the establishment of 'Zones of peace'.

(C) Liberal Institutionalism: The origin of the Liberal institutionalism goes to the social contract theory of Hobbes and Locke. Social Contract theorists stated that an external, sovereign power is needed in order to prevent society from barbarous and chaotic state of nature. In a similar manner, the international order is anarchical and is not governed by central authority so it requires an international organization to establish rule of law that would be based on collective security and respect for international law. The first attempt was the League of Nations and the United Nations now governs global politics. Institutions work as the mediators and facilitators of cooperation among states on matters of common interest. Liberal Institutionalism facilitates the idea of international organizations, such as the UN in order to establish rules, such as collective security. An international system should be on the basis of clearly laid-down rules and institutions. The chief 'External' mechanism that is needed to constrain the ambitions of sovereign states, which are otherwise oriented to pursue their 'National Interests' is the international organization. More radical Institutionalism stresses on the importance of multilateralism in meeting the challenges of global governance and the effects of globalization.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

In 1980s, the Critical perspectives in IR gained recognition as they embraced a post-Positivist approach that links theory with practice. They challenge the global *status quo* norms and values and uncover the inequalities, injustices and imbalances that mainstream theories ignore. The task is not only to understand IR but also to change it too. Critical theories are

4 / NEERAJ : INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

emancipatory theories and they work towards overthrowing oppression and achieve freedom of the deprived sections. The important critical perspectives are discussed in subsequent sections.

Marxism, Neo-Marxism and Critical Theory

Marxism is taken as radical alternative to mainstream theories of Realism and Liberalism. Marxism has stressed about the weaker sections of society. Marxism stressed that class struggle is an inevitable part of society. Economy is very important and Marxism explains that society is divided on the basis of economics. There are two classes of 'haves' and 'have nots'. There are five stages laid down by Karl Marx in history namely Primitive Communism where everyone is equal and no social division between rich and poor exists. Second is feudalism where the society gets divided into two major social classes namely, landlords and serfs. Feudalism is replaced with capitalism by the class struggle. The division still persists between *proletariat* (working class) and *bourgeoisie* (capitalist class) in the capitalistic mode of production. Karl Marx opined that historical process is carried forward through dialectical process in which internal contradictions happen in each mode of production.

V.I. Lenin in Imperialism: *The Highest Stage of Capitalism* believed that the domestic capitalists maintain high levels of profits by exporting surplus capital to overseas markets which has led to colonization in Asia, Africa and elsewhere and also the resultant war (World War I) among the European capitalist powers to control these colonies.

Neo-Marxism describes global poverty and inequality. In 1970s, Marxism was brought back and was called Neo-Marxism or Structural Approach or Neo Radical approach including the World System theory and dependency theory. These structures tell us that the world is divided into three spheres – core, periphery and semi-periphery. Core countries are located in the North and have large accumulation of capital and possess high technological know-how, have high skilled workers and high wages and greater investment. Whereas, the peripheral countries are the ones located in the South and are poor and mainly agricultural. They have low capital, low technological know-how, have large unskilled workforce which is paid low wages. Semi-Peripheral countries include the ones in which some manufacturing occurs but capital is not concentrated as in core countries. The core or the semi-peripheral countries exploit the periphery for their

resources and cheap agricultural products and cheap labour.

In his work *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, Andre Gunder Frank calls it 'development of underdevelopment'. Other prominent philosophers who propagated this theory are Samir Amin, Immanuel Wallerstein and Raul Prebisch. According to Samir Amin, the periphery wants growth in competition with 'centre' or the core, oblivious of the fact that every region has its own local development and need not copy the West. According to the Dependency theorists, dependency is a form of international interdependence in which regions having surplus wealth want to loan out their money to peripheral countries. As per Dos Santos, a dependency theorist, dependence is defined as a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of a 'core' or 'centre' economy.

The Critical Theory, name suggests that the theory has been critical of oppression and unjust system of the society. Antonio Gramsci stated that capitalist class does not exclusively work on unequal economic and political power but also through hegemony of bourgeois ideas. Hegemony refers to the domination of certain ideas and theories. Gramsci opined that hegemony works through coercion and consent. Robert Cox stated that hegemonic power of USA is not only in terms of military but also of its ability to create a broad consent on the world order. Critical theorists are committed to emancipatory politics and believe in building an inclusive and cosmopolitan world order.

Feminism

There was a rise in Feminism in 1960s in Europe where women challenged the social, economic and political role given to them and emphasizing that these roles are not natural. The society has restricted the women to household work and men to economic and political spheres. The main themes in feminism are public and private divide; patriarchy; sex and gender; and equality and difference. Feminists opined that there is an artificial and unnatural public and private divide where public is restricted to men and women take care of private sphere. The public life includes the politics like political parties and government which are dominated by men. Feminists believe that private life such as family and relationships are also a part of political sphere. According to Betty Freidan, 'All personal is political'.