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## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By: *Dr. Salma Ghani*, Ph.D. (Pol. Science)  
& *Dhiraj*

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# CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### *Question Bank – (Previous Year Solved Question Papers)*

<i>Question Paper—June, 2019 (Solved)</i>	1-4
<i>Question Paper—December, 2018 (Solved)</i>	1-3
<i>Question Paper—June, 2018 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—December, 2017 (Solved)</i>	1-3
<i>Question Paper—June, 2017 (Solved)</i>	1-3
<i>Question Paper—December, 2016 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2016 (Solved)</i>	1
<i>Question Paper—December, 2015 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2015 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2014 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2013 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—December, 2012 (Solved)</i>	1
<i>Question Paper—June, 2011 (Solved)</i>	1
<i>Question Paper—June, 2010 (Solved)</i>	1

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

### **Understanding International Relations**

- |    |   |    |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | Why Study International Relations? Scope and Approaches         | 1  |
| 2. | Some Concepts: Imperialism, Nationalism, Fascism, Revolution    | 8  |
| 3. | Some Concepts: State System, Power, National Interest, Security | 14 |

### **Inter-War Period**

- |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| 4. | World War I: Causes, Events and Consequences | 21 |
| 5. | Bolshevik Revolution and its Impact          | 26 |

### **Cold War Period**

- |    |   |    |
|----|---|----|
| 6. | World War II: Causes and Consequences (Emergence of Super Powers) | 30 |
| 7. | Cold War: Meaning, Patterns and Dimensions                        | 37 |

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
8.	Non-Aligned Movement	43
9.	Arms Race and the Nuclear Threat	47
10.	Disarmament and Peace Movement	52
<b>Emergence of the Third World</b>		
11.	Colonialism and Patterns of National Liberation Movements	59
12.	Features of the Third World State	63
<b>End of the Cold War and its Aftermath</b>		
13.	The Gulf War	67
14.	Disintegration of the Socialist Bloc	70
15.	Perspectives on the Changing World Order	75
<b>Institutions and Organisations</b>		
16.	Restructuring of the United Nations System	79
17.	Globalisation of the Economy– IBRD, IMF, and WTO	85
18.	The Regional Organisations: EU, ASEAN, APEC, SAARC, OIC, and OAU	92
<b>Issues in Development</b>		
19.	Environment and Sustainable Human Development	99
20.	Human Rights and International Politics	108
21.	The Ethno-National Conflicts, Patterns and Dimensions	118
22.	International Terrorism	127
23.	Revolution in Communication Technology	133
■ ■		

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

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# QUESTION PAPER

( June – 2019 )

( Solved )

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Time: 3 Hours ]

[ Maximum Marks: 100

Note: (i) Section I – Answer any **two** questions.

(ii) Section II – Answer any **four** questions.

(iii) Section III – Answer any **two** parts of question no. 13.

### SECTION-I

Answer the following questions:

**Q. 1. What are the approaches to the study of International Relations?**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-1, Page No. 2-5, 'Approaches'.

**Q. 2. What is a Bipolar System? Elaborate.**

**Ans.** Polarity in international relations is any of the various ways in which power is distributed within the international system. It describes the nature of the international system at any given period of time. One generally distinguishes three types of systems: unipolarity, bipolarity, and multipolarity for four or more centers of power. The type of system is completely dependent on the distribution of power and influence of states in a region or globally. Bipolarity can be defined as a system of world order in which the majority of global economic, military and cultural influence is held between two states. The classic case of a bipolar world is that of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, which dominated the second half of the twentieth century. The concept of bipolarity has significant implications for global order. Firstly, two rival powers cannot remain in equilibrium indefinitely. One has to surpass the other and therefore conflict is inevitable in a bipolar world. Of increasing importance also, is the emergence of power blocs, which arise as lesser powers fall under the influence of one or other of the superpowers. In this regard, global order is not stable during periods of bipolarity, but instead, warfare appears to be necessary for the resolution of rivalry between two superpowers. In this context, it seems fitting to describe a bipolar world as one that is in "Dynamic Equilibrium," where the two sides are equal in power but one may achieve a higher power for a short time before the other matches that power again to re-establish the balance.

Bipolarity is a distribution of power in which two states have the majority of economic, military, and cultural influence internationally or regionally. Often, spheres of influence would develop. For example, in the Cold War, most Western and capitalist states would fall under the influence of the US, while most Communist states would fall under the influence of the USSR. After this, the two powers will normally maneuver for the support of the unclaimed areas. Which in the case of the Cold War means Africa, etc. The bipolar system can be said to extend to much larger systems, such as alliances or organizations, which would not be considered nation-states, but would still have power concentrated in two primary groups. In both World Wars, much of the world, and especially Europe, the United States and Japan had been divided into two respective spheres – one case being the Axis and Allies of World War II (1939–1945)– and the division of power between the Central Powers and Allied powers during World War I (1914–1918). Neutral nations, however, may have caused what may be assessed as an example of tripolarity as well within both of the conflicts.

**Q. 3. What were the impacts of World War I on International Relations? Describe.**

**Ans.** The impact of the war on the world was all pervading. One of the most significant effects of the war was the emergence of the USA as the super power. The war gutted Europe but made the USA affluent. USA, after the war, almost became the banker and the workshop of the world. Factories and workshops mushroomed spectacularly to meet the almost unending war-time demand for manufacturing goods. The USA, which had been once the debtor country and owed nearly \$4 billion to European states, now

became the creditor country. By 1919 Europeans owed to the USA more than \$ 3.7 billion and the debt increased to \$8.8 billion in 1930. The USA became the highest manufacturing country in the world, the industrial output even surpassed the industries outputs of all the European nations taken together. USA's contribution to the world's manufacturing goods rose to 42.2 per cent in 1930. Alongwith economic supremacy, the USA had also established its supremacy in other fields. The impact of the war on the other parts of the world was no less. The war destroyed the Tsarist regime in Russia. The repeated setbacks on the war fronts lowered the prestige of the Tsar which expedited the impending Bolshevik Revolution and wiped out the ancient Tsar dynasty from the map of Russia. The impact of the war in the middle east was also all pervading. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the war and the stripping from Turkey of her colonies hastened the revolution in the land. The revolution ended the despotic rule of the Ottoman dynasty, modernized the ancient state and founded democratic Turkey under the inspiring leadership of Mustafa Kemal.

Efforts were also made in Persia (now Iran) to modernise on the lines of Turkey. Progress was made in any fields although Persia did not match the modernisation efforts of Turkey. The country was industrialised to a large extent. Many factories, including textile mills, cement plants, sugar refineries, etc, were founded. In East Asia, Japan emerged as a super power. Japan joined the war in support of the Allies with the intention of capturing foreign territories as far as possible. Soon Japan took the German islands in the Pacific and the German holdings in the Shantung Peninsular. The Treaty of Versailles almost approved the Japanese demands. The treaty transferred from Germany the leased territory of Kiaochow in Shantung to Japan, who was also given the mandate to administer Germany's North Pacific islands. This emboldened Japan, which gradually became an imperialist power. China entered the war in 1917 with the hope of regaining her territories. But the peace makers did not pay heed to the Chinese demands. China refused to sign on the treaty and wild demonstration broke out throughout China against Japan in particular and against foreigners in general. The movements reoriented the Chinese national movement with radical thoughts and activities. In India the repercussions of the war were also far-reaching. During the war the British government promised to grant advanced forms of

administrative reforms after the war, in exchange for India's support to British war efforts. The British did not honour their promise. Consequently, the ongoing national movement in India took a different course which ultimately forced the British to accord freedom to the subcontinent.

**Q. 4. Explain the causes and the impact of the 'Great Depression'.**

**Ans.** America had gone through hard times before: a bank panic and depression in the early 1820s, and other economic hard times in the late 1830s, the mid-1870s, and the early and mid-1890s. But never did it suffer an economic illness so deep and so long as the Great Depression of the 1930s. This was the time of the Great Depression, a worldwide economic downturn that began in 1929 and lasted until the outbreak of World War II. Unemployment, homelessness, and poverty were widespread during this time.

**Causes**

- **The Stock Market Crash:** The stock market soared throughout most of the 1920s, and the more it grew, the more people were eager to pour money into it. Many people bought on margin, which meant they paid only part of a stock's worth when they bought it and the rest when they sold it. That worked fine as long as stock prices kept going up. But when the market crashed in late October 1929, they were forced to pay up on stocks that were worth far less than what they had paid for them. Many had borrowed to buy stock, and when the stock market went belly-up, they couldn't repay their loans and the lenders were left holding the empty bag.

- **Bank Failures:** Many small banks, particularly in rural areas, had overextended credit to farmers who, for the most part, had not shared in the prosperity of the 1920s and often could not repay the loans. Big banks, meanwhile, had foolishly made huge loans to foreign countries. So that the foreign countries could repay their earlier debts from World War I.

- **Too Many Poor People:** While the overall economy had soared in the 1920s, most of the wealth was enjoyed by relatively few Americans. In 1929, 40 percent of the families in the country were still living at or below the poverty level. That made them too poor to buy goods and services and too poor to pay their debts. With no markets for their goods, manufacturers had to lay off tens of thousands of workers, which, of course, just created more poor people.

# Sample Preview of The Chapter

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*Understanding International Relations*

## Why Study International Relations? Scope and Approaches



### INTRODUCTION

International relations developed as a discipline during nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The term was first used by Jeremy Bentham. After the Second World War the interdependence among world sovereign nations grown rapidly both in terms of economic and political relations. As a result the importance of international relations have gained immense importance in contemporary times – both as a ‘condition’ and as a ‘discipline’. for example, as a ‘condition’ it refers to the fact of international life which means the actual conduct of relations among nations through diplomacy based on foreign policy apart from cooperation, conflict and war. As a ‘discipline’ international relations should treat them in a systematic and scientific manner.

### CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

#### MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International relations is that branch of political science which is concerned with relations between nations and primarily with foreign policies. According to Quincy Wright, the official relations between the sovereign countries are described as international relations. In other words, international relations should focus on the study of all relations – political, economic, diplomatic and academic among sovereign nations. Palmer and Perkins are of the opinion that although international relations have emerged from its earlier status as a poor relation of political science and history,

it is still far from being a well organised discipline. Alferd Zimmern opined that the international relations is not a single subject but rather a bundle of subjects of law, economics, political science, geography, and so on. E.H Carr had described international relations as “markedly and frankly utopian”. Hartman defined international relations as a field of study which focuses upon the “processes by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states”.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

During the past few decades the subject of international relations has changed in nature, content and scope, because the analytical study of politics has replaced descriptive diplomatic history. As a result international relations and international politics sometimes used as synonyms. The term international politics is used for the new discipline as it is more scientific, but comparatively narrower to international relations. International politics is narrower in scope as it deals with the politics of the international community, centering on diplomacy and the relations among states and other political units, whereas international relations is much more wider as it embrace. The totality of the relationships between sovereign nation states. According to Hans Morgenthau “the core of international relations is international politics”, but there is a clear distinction between the two. International relations is much wider in scope as it includes political, economic and cultural relations among nation-states,

## 2 / NEERAJ : INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

whereas international politics like all other politics is a struggle for power, and power is the means through which nations promote their national interest. Harold and Margaret Sprout opined that international relations include all human behaviour on one side of a national boundary affecting the human behaviour on the other side of the boundary. International politics, on the other hand, deals with conflicts and cooperation among nations essentially at political level. Padelford and Lincoln defines, International politics is the interaction of state policies within the changing pattern of power relationship. According to Palmer and Perkins, international politics is essentially concerned with the state system.

### CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

After the Second World War the nature and context of international relations has changed in varied ways. Earlier the world politics was centred mainly on Europe and there was the presence of an element of secrecy among nation-states, while conducting treaties and establishing foreign offices. But in contemporary times the situation has changed, the foreign policies of all the nation-states are open and public opinion plays an important and decisive role in the formulation of the policies of a particular country. Apart from this, there are other factors that have led in the changing scenario of international relations; for example, decolonisation has led to the emergence of new sovereign nations, who voice their concerns at international platforms; secondly, disintegration of Soviet Union has led to the increasing number of membership in the United Nations, thirdly, revolution in the area of communication and travelling has made the world one small village as the head of the state and government along with their foreign ministers can meet at one place within few hours to discuss in detail their foreign relations, fourthly, in the light of a rapidly shifting international landscape, new forms of cooperation involving more actors (non-state actors) have become increasingly important like MNCs, confederations, alliances, international organisations etc.

### WHY STUDY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?

Although the discipline of international relations is closely associated with other disciplines like history, political science, law, economics and geography, yet there is a need to study international relations as a separate discipline. It is a known fact that no country can survive in isolation, even during the period of Second World War, when the technology and means of

communication were not so advanced, the interaction between sovereign states was in the continuous process. In modern times with the emergence of new sovereign nations, and due to the liberalisation and globalisation of world economies, all the nations are interdependent on each other. There is a growing need of international cooperation not only in the field of political developments but also in terms of trade and commerce. Today we are living in an era of interdependent state-system, in which every nation tries to promote their nation interest while formulating their foreign policies. Political development in one part of the world affects the political system and economy of other nations. The role of international institutions like the United Nations and its core agencies, along with other regional (ASEAN, SAARC, OAU) and economic institutions (WTO, World Bank), reinforces ideas that relations are characterised by interdependence. Therefore, the study of international relations as a separate discipline is important for scholars and students.

### SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The scope of international relations has greatly expanded in modern times. Initially, international relations were concerned only with the study of diplomatic history. It concentrated on the study of contemporary foreign affairs with a view to draw certain lessons. Later on emphasis began to be laid on the study of international law and international relations began to be studied within the framework of international law. The field of the study of international relations was further widened with the establishment of the League of Nations after the First World War and the study of international organisations and institutions was also its purview. The scope of international relations in the post World War II period got further widened due to significant changes which took place, viz. the emergence of USA and USSR as two super powers; the entry of a large number of non-European states into the society of nations; the danger of thermo-nuclear war; increasing interdependence of states and rising expectations of the people in the under-developed world, etc. Thus the scope of international relations has become vast and besides international politics, it embraces various interstate activities as well.

### APPROACHES

Hedley Bull has pointed out that there are two approaches to the study of international relations. The first is the traditional or classical approach that derives from philosophy, history, and law, and holds that general

propositions cannot be accorded more than tentative and inconclusive status. The second is the scientific or behavioural approaches whose devotees aspire to a theory of international relations whose propositions are based either upon logical or mathematical proof, or upon strict, empirical procedures of verifications. In short, it can be said that the scholars who are concerned with the substance rather than the method adopt classical approach, while the scholars who are concerned with the method rather than the substance adopt scientific approach.

#### **Traditional Approaches: Realism, Idealism and Neo-Realism**

The two main schools of traditional approach are Realism and idealism. In recent years Neo-Realism has emerged as a new approach to the study of international relations.

**The Realism school / Realist approach** consider the struggle for power as the central point of all international relations. According to the prominent realists like Thomas Hobbes, Nicolo Machiavelli, George Kennan and Hans J Morgenthau, just as the self-interest guides the individuals' behaviour, similarly "nation interest" guides the foreign policy of the nation states. The best exposition of realist theory has been offered by Morgenthau in his book "**Politics among Nations**" (1972) according to him international politics like all politics, is a struggle for power. Thus national interest, as defined in terms of power is the only reality of international relations. The realist does not attach much importance to means, for them international interest is the end and it must be promoted and protected by all ways. It is therefore evident that a contest of power is going on in the world and this can neither be controlled nor regulated by international law or world government or an international organisation. Thus realism unequivocally accepts as its guiding principle the permanence of the struggle for power. The realists are called as children of darkness as evil and wicked.

**The Idealism school/The Idealist approach:** The idealist believes in the inherent goodness of man. They are of the opinion that the ideal of world peace is attainable with the help of reason, education, and science. They regard that the power of politics as the passing phase of history and presents the picture of a world order free from violence, war, tyranny, and inequality. It aims at bringing out a better world with the help of international organisation and education. The most important writers in whose work the approach finds expression are Rousseau, Kant, Mahatma Gandhi and

Woodrow Wilson. For these prominent idealists morality is vital and they aim at international peace and cooperation. This approach found its faint echoes in the Declarations of the American War of independence of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. The idealists are called the children of light as virtuous.

**Eclecticism** The approach that tries to use the best of "cynical realism" and "idealistic utopianism" is called Eclecticism. This approach has been described as the synthesis of the 'pessimism of realism' and 'optimism of idealism'.

**Neo-Realism** also known as "Structural Realism" is one of the current approaches to the study of international relations. Some of the prominent neo-realist like Keohane, Waltz, and Joseph Nye believe that might is right in a system which is essentially Hobessian (full of strife) in his nature of state. Neo-realism holds that the international structure is defined by its ordering principle, anarchy, and by the distribution of capabilities, measured by the number of great powers within the international system. The anarchic ordering principle of the international structure is decentralised, having no formal central authority, and is composed of formally equal sovereign states. These states act according to the logic of self-help states seek their own interest and will not subordinate their interest to another's. In short, this approach holds that the nation, states still remain the most important actors in the world politics. However, in the post cold war year's international scenario has completely changed. Nation-states are threatened by divisive and secessionist movements, terrorism, religious war-fares and civil wars in countries like Afghanistan, India (Jammu and Kashmir), Pakistan, Iraq, Palestine and Israel. As a result in the post cold war conflicts the civilians are the sufferers and not the soldiers as there is a growing feeling of alienation among certain sections of a particular society. Thus neo-realism stresses the struggle for power not only between the states but also intra-state struggle in an anarchic world. The realist feel that with the end of cold war peace can be long-lasting out of the rules conduct for international relations to be enforced by the United States as well as the role of the United Nations, IMF, WTO, although they are considered to be subordinate of the wishes of the powerful states.

#### **Behavioural/Scientific Approaches of International Politics**

The scientific approach or the behavioural approach which became popular in the wake of Second World War, lays more emphasis on the methods of study rather

#### 4 / NEERAJ : INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

than the subject matter. It insists that the central aim of the research should be to study the behaviour of men. This approach is interdisciplinary and draws from various social sciences like sociology, psychology, and anthropology. There are two main theories of behavioural approach viz., the system theory and the game theory.

##### **System Theory**

This theory is based on the assumption that there are certain features of relationships that are common to systems of all kinds. Those who believe in this approach are of the view that there is a system in international relations. The nation states being its part involved in the process of interaction as each nation (a unit) is in constant contact with the whole or the international environment. It therefore shows that each system besides being a system can be a sub-system in relation to a larger system. The general concept of an international system formed the basis of work of many scholars like Karl W. Deutch and Raymond Aron. Prof. Morton Kaplan is considered to be the most prominent in the systems theorising of international relations, his six well known models are:

**1. The Balance of Power System:** This system prevailed in the 18 and 19 centuries in Europe. It means even distribution of power between various nations to prevent any particular nation from imposing its will upon others

**2. The Loose Bipolar System:** In this system each bloc has a leading actor; both super national actors as well as national actors participate in loose bipolar system. This type of system is characterised by two bloc actors (USA and USSR), non-member bloc actors (NAM) and universal actor (UN).

**3. The Tight Bipolar System:** In this non-aligned states or non-member national actors would either disappear or shall have little importance.

**4. The Universal Actor System:** In this system an international organisation like the United Nations commanding universal allegiance becomes the centre of power. All the nations of the world without compromising their sovereignty will abide by the decisions of United Nations which will eventually pave the way for a world government

**5. The Hierarchical International System:** In this system one country will become so supreme and powerful comparatively to all other states. The UN will be in existence but it will lack enough power.

**6. The Unit Veto System:** In this system all the states would have equal potentialities to destroy each

other. Each state would possess the weapons for others destruction. Coulombi's and Wolfe added three more models to the system theory

**(a) The Multi-Bloc:** It portrays a world divided into five to seven mutually exclusive spheres of influence, which would be controlled by one major power, thus giving rise to a multi-polar world.

**(b) The National Fragmentation Model:** This will be the outcome of political and territorial disintegration. Separatist movements by ethnic and tribal sections will disintegrate large states into small fragmented units.

**(c) The Post-Nuclear War Model** is the world after catastrophic nuclear war.

##### **Game Theory**

This theory owes a heavy debt to the seminal work of John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, which expounded "the mathematics of probability and of decisional sequences" under conditions of incomplete information. Game theory attempts to provide models for studying politics. A common version is the zero – sum game in which one party loses what the other wins. A more appropriate model in international relations is the multiparty non-zero-sum game; as J.K Zawodny says that we must recognise that some types of international conflicts today can be resolved only by situations in which neither side loses and in which sometimes both the sides win. It has been assumed that states play games to have maximum gains out of such a situation of interdependence. The two most important kinds of games that have been suggested are the chicken game and the game of prisoner dilemma. The idea underlying behind chicken game is that in spite of not being able to know the intention of its opponent, a country's foreign policy-makers can adopt such a course as would ensure its own interest. The prisoner's game suggests that everyone wants reward or advantage, but many land in serious situation as it does not know the mind of the other.

##### **Integration Theory**

The followers of this theory are of the opinion that international system in contemporary times is based on transnational interactions which create areas of interdependence. The prominent names associated with this theory are Charles Kegley and Witkopf. In order to promote economic and social interdependence various international organisations and regimes are playing crucial role towards global interdependence in the area of terrorism, climate change, nuclear proliferation, poverty, and diseases like HIV/AIDS and