



Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 08

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

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Test Date 24.12.2020
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Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

Section-A

“International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power”.

Comment

(10 Marks)

International Relations have been explained by Kautilya as a jungle, where the strength of lion prevails. Realist school of IR is considered the most dominant, with Morgenthau as the father.

Realism considers the state as the most important actor and sovereignty as essential. It believes in an anarchical world order, where all states have to help themselves and due to security dilemma and trust deficit, they gain more and more power.

Realism believes that ^{power} ~~IR~~

struggle among nations, does not end and each nation looks out for its own national interest.

Eg: During the world wars

Realism has however faced criticism from other schools of thought. While liberals believe that international institutions and trade can bring peace, Feminists criticise realists for ignoring women security and ethics. For feminists, power can also be constructive.

Marxists believe that power only belongs to the capitalist class. Thus, the issue continues to be debated.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Q.1(b)

Critically examine globalization from a Third World perspective.
(10 Marks)

Globalisation can be understood as a borderless world, a global village or compression of time and space, according to Anthony Giddens.

From a Third World perspective, globalisation is seen as a buzz word for capitalism, according to Herst & Thompson. Marxists like

Immanuel Wallerstein criticise globalisation for its drain of wealth and exploitative nature.

George Heine and Ramesh Thakur in 'Dark side of Globalisation' have pointed how it leads to income inequalities, destruction of nature and proliferation of MNCs, terrorism.



Amartya sen has also showed how globalisation has not resulted in inclusive growth. Arundhati Roy has called it a mutant variety of colonialism, while Noam Chomsky sees it as profits over people.

However, Amartya sen has also pointed out that those who did not globalise, were worse-off. Jagdish Bhagwati in 'Defence of Globalisation' has showed how people have been lifted out of poverty.

Therefore, globalisation if implemented properly, can be helpful. It should be human-centric and guided by compassion and welfare.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



1e.1(c)

Explain the meaning and application of the concept of 'strategic engagement'. (10 Marks).

Strategic engagement means the ability of nations to cooperate with other countries, due to security, economic or political considerations. Relations will be guided by one's national interest.

Today, in a multipolar world, India is pursuing Non Alignment 2.0 or multiple alignments (C Raja Mohan, Varadrajam, Khilnani), based on our security concerns.

India, in order to counter China's growing influence, is strategically engaging with the US, Japan, Australia in Quad.



India has allowed Australia to join the Malabar exercises and is engaging with Japan in third countries eg. Sri Lanka's East Container Terminal, guided by security and economic interests.

At the same time, India is also engaging with Russia, for defence and energy security, with Saudi Arabia and Israel, for becoming a dominant stakeholder in West Asia.

Therefore, India's strategic engagements are being guided by clear-eyed realism today.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Q.1(d)

'Building 'peace by pieces' is the basis of functionalism'. Elaborate.

(10 Marks).

The functional approach of international politics is guided by regional integration like the EU, ASEAN etc. Richard Cobden is the main scholar of functionalism.

According to him, in order to achieve peace, it is necessary to throw the politicians out.

Cobden propagates the Peace by Pieces approach where we should compartmentalise the issues as high and low politics.

Cobden then argues for cooperation over the less conflictual issues and believes that such cooperation will have a spill-



over effect, to resolve other problems among nations. Cobden believes that this process will lead to development of inter-linkages and functional dependence and war or conflict will seem as irrational.

functionalism can be seen in the case of India and Pakistan where both can use the composite Dialogue mechanism, to cooperate over small conflictual issues and then resolve the main problems.

functionalism thus provides a liberal approach to achieve peace.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



ie.1(e)

Should National Interest be viewed as a constant category or is it situation - specific?

(10 Marks)

National interest is seen by Realists as the determinant in international politics. They view power as the means to achieve rational interest. Lord Palmerston has said that there is no permanent enemy and no permanent friend, but what is permanent, is rational interest.

On this context, rational interest can be seen as a constant category. Nations manage their relationships on basis of their interest.

Eg: US and china trade war is being guided by rational interest, US - Russia relations or US-India relations are guided by threat

factor and to counter-balance China, i.e. each one's national interest.

However, national interest can be situation specific also since Raymond Aron has called the theory as vague and subjective. Joseph Frankel has argued that it is useless to find out any one theory of national interest.

situations can make countries like saudi Arabia and Israel, enemies but also lessen the conflict, other times. eg Abraham Accords.

Thus, national interest can be both constant and situation-specific.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Q.4(a)

What are the great debates between 'classical' and 'modern' realists? Is there any thin line of continuity between these two traditions?

(20 Marks).

Realism is considered as the dominant school of international relations, where other schools are seen as footnotes of realism. It believes in state-centric, anarchical world order, where power is the means to achieve national interest.

Classical Realism can be traced back to Morgenthau's 'Politics Among Nations', where he has given 6 principles of realism. Morgenthau believes that human nature is power seeking and power is both ends and means,



to achieve national interest.

Nations need to be dynamic and alert and there is no role of ethics in politics. Ideology is just to hide the real intentions and international relations is like pure power game.

Morgenthau has thus focused on unit-actor model where state is the central actor. On contrast, the Modern Realist school focuses on structure not the unit.

Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer are considered the structuralist Realist scholars since they shifted the analysis



from state to structure. They believe that Morgenthau's analysis of human nature is subjective and there is no need to study the foreign policy of states.

irrespective of the leader in power or a state's culture, they will adopt the same policy to gain more power since the international structure is anarchical and full of security dilemma.

There is a thin line of continuity in both schools since they both believe that power and security need to be maximised and rational interest is supreme.

The Neo-classical school

of realism, led by fareed,
Zakaria and Randall schweller,
accepted that the structure is
important but they also consider
the actor or state as equally
important.

Both schools have been criticised
by the post-colonial scholars like
Amītar Acharya and Mohammad
Ayoub, as it is an eurocentric
idea. Third world countries suffer
from insecurity dilemma i.e.
ethnic conflicts and civil wars.

Thus, all ideas need to be
considered, to arrive at consensus.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Q.4(b)

Discuss the Systems Approach to the study of the International Relations.

(15 Marks).

Systems Approach has been suggested by Morton Kaplan, who was inspired by David Easton's system model. Kaplan wanted to build a grand scientific theory which was at par with Newton's law of gravity.

Kaplan has given 10 models of international relations, which explain the past, present and future of the structure.

1) Balance of Power Model,

eg. during concert of Europe & Vienna Congress, during the cold war as well.



- 2) Bipolar Model eg. during cold war
- 3) Loose Bipolar
- 4) Very loose Bipolar
- 5) Detente Model eg. when US and USSR achieved detente to revive themselves during the cold war
- 6) unstable Bloc system
- 7) Hierarchical Actor model
- 8) universal Actor Model
- 9) unit veto system
- 10) incomplete Nuclear Diffusion model.

Kaplan's approach has been criticised by Stanley Hoffman as a 'huge misstep in the right direction'. Hoffman argues that



the models are too generalised and it is like a strange parlour game.

Kaplan has also been criticised because his models are hypothetical, outdated and do not deal with current world problems. They also do not have any normative value.

Kaplan has not taken into consideration the domestic factors and personality politics. His models have no scientific basis.

Thus, the systems approach appears to be limited in application.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



ie.4(c)

Describe the changing nature of the state in the developing societies in the context of inclusive growth in the 21st century.

(15 Marks).

Developing countries have always been seen as part of the Third World or Global South, in opposition to the Developed West. Western scholars have thus given ethnocentric analyses.

F. W. Riggs has called developing countries as prisonatic and entering into a Development Trap. Samuel P. Huntington has pointed out their Political decay while Gunnar Myrdal has called them soft states due to poor law and order.

Even Hamza Alavi called South Asian States as overdeveloped



with Bonapartist tendencies,
eg. Pakistan having bureaucratic-
military oligarchy.

However, the nature of
developing states is changing in
the 21st century, with special
emphasis on inclusive growth.

The ASEAN nations focus on
development of all with Asian
values in mind.

India, Bangladesh, Maldives
have taken inspiration from
ideas of Amartya Sen, Mohammed
Yunus, Jean Dreze, for reducing
income inequalities and improving
social outcomes.

Even the African and Latin



American nations are focusing on greater economic growth and achieving food security for all.

The Third World is utilising platforms like NAM, BRICS, UN specialised agencies etc, to usher in inclusive growth.

Developing countries have mostly turned towards democracy and engaging non-state actors like civil society, NGOs, MNCs, for greater development.

Citizen participation is now being seen as vital, for good governance.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



ie.5(a)

Section-B

The New Cold War and India's interests.

(10 Marks).

The New Cold War or Cold War 2.0 is being seen as more to do with China's rise and US actions to counter it. Major areas of conflict are trade, defence, cyber security etc.

Eg: US - China trade war, criticism of China over COVID-19, banning Huawei and Chinese apps, forming Quad, targeting China over Hong Kong, Taiwan, Xinjiang.

India becomes a major stakeholder since it is China's neighbour and an ally of US. With the Galwan border conflict,



many scholars are saying that china has lost india strategically to the west. Siyam Saran has said that tensions may subside but the relationship may never be the same again.

India is also countering china with Quad, digital dissociation, self-reliance, developmental diplomacy in neighbourhood etc.

However, due to power asymmetry between india and china, india prefers to maintain peace and stability and not become a victim of US's bait and bleed strategy.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Q.5(b)

China's Middle Kingdom Complex.

(10 Marks).

China, right from ancient times, sees itself as the centre of the world or as a Middle Kingdom. China believes that it is the leader of civilisation.

In this context, Napoleon had once said that when China comes out of its slumber, it will astonish the world. China is considered as a Yellow Peril by the West.

Xi Jinping has propagated the China Dream where China wants to reach to new heights of success, even to the Moon.



As a Middle Kingdom, China had used the Silk Route in the past, to control power. Now with Belt and Road Initiative, reaching even Italy & Germany, China aims to capture the world.

China is strengthening its defence capabilities and increasing economic power, to counter US. China is building its own financial architecture eg. AIIB, NDB.

China is aiming to become an Amphibious State (Spykman) to make the world China-centric.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Q.5(c)

India's nuclear doctrine.

(10 Marks).

India's nuclear doctrine is an example of defensive realism. It aims at no first use, credible minimum deterrence and maximum ^{retaliation} and unacceptable damage on first strike.

India has committed to not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states.

It also has the choice to use nuclear weapons if biological or chemical weapons are used. The command rests with a civilian authority.

India is often criticised for



its doctrine, as it accepts damage on first strike and due to Kargil misadventure and growing asymmetry with China. Rajnath Singh has thus said that NFU commitment is not sacrosanct.

However, India should maintain its doctrine since it is in line with the image of a responsible nation, which can get NSG and UN membership.

Also, as S S Menon has said deterrence is about perception rather than posture. Thus, India's nuclear doctrine reflects its strategic culture.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Q.5(d)

The New International Economic Order.

(10 Marks).

The New International Economic Order or NIEO was a demand raised by the NAM grouping during the 1973 Algiers summit. It was in response to growing exploitation and West dominated economic order.

The Third World countries demanded NIEO because capitalism was leading to neo-colonialism and drain of wealth. Influenced by Marxist Analysis, these nations saw themselves as the periphery and the West as the core.
(Dependency school)



The Third world wanted the NIEO to be inclusive and respectful of their concerns.

Eg: Bretton woods institutions were always in favour of US and its allies.

They wanted NIEO to create new economic institutions, which would include participation by developing countries. Development was the main concern.

led by India, the demand was successfully met with creation of WTO in 1995 and reform of World Bank and IMF.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Je.5(e)

India-US Defense cooperation.

(10 Marks).

India and US are considered as special and privileged strategic partners today. With increasing cooperation over countering an aggressive china, both countries have strengthened their defence ties.

US has considered India as a NATO ally like nation and established the Defence Trade & Technology Initiative (DTTI). India has also been given the STA 1 status by the US.

The most important is the signing of all 4 foundational defence

agreements i.e. COMCASA, LEMOA, BECA and GSOMIA. This has made defence ties reach a new level.

US has also supplied India with various defence mechanisms like Apache helicopters, Seahawks, Boeing and others.

However, there are also concerns since this limits India's choices as US is very particular about defence partners. Eg: Threat to impose CAATSA sanctions for purchase of S-400 from Russia.

Therefore, such concerns need to be addressed for greater defence cooperation.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Q.7(a)

Comment on the essential elements of India's foreign policy that are required to secure energy and security in the Indian Ocean region.

(20 Marks).

India is considered as the leader of the Indian Ocean region, due to its size, population and economic might. Indian foreign policy has always focused on cooperation in the Indian Ocean region.

The essential elements to secure energy and security in the region are such that they should be guided by India's civilisational values like Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Sanatan Dharma etc.



Indian foreign policy focuses on elements like SAGAR (Security & Growth for All in the region) and Neighbourhood first policy, for building trust.

India sees itself as a net security provider and can utilise the Gujral Doctrine for its purposes i.e. non-reciprocity and unilateral concessions.

For energy concerns in the Indian Ocean region, India should cooperate with the BIMSTEC and IORA nations for hydropower generation, deep sea mining, tidal energy



and economic trade. India's Deep Ocean Mission, can include collaboration with its neighbouring countries for this purpose.

India can also utilise its port facilities at Djibouti with France and AAGC with Japan, for greater energy security in the region.

With respect to security in the Indian Ocean, threats like terrorism, illegal fishing, pirates, smuggling etc. are some challenges. To address this, India can use Information Fusion Centre (IFC - IOR) to provide intelligence to others.



India can also collaborate with the African nations and South Asian maritime states, to conduct regular patrolling and joint military exercises, eg. BIMSTEC's First exercise was conducted in 2019.

C. Raja Mohan has suggested that India uses Vanilla Diplomacy to cooperate with the Vanilla Islands, as observer in the Indian Ocean Commission.

Such steps will help to bring maritime security and connectivity.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

e.7(b)

Critically evaluate the approaches of global south towards addressing environmental concerns.

(15 Marks).

Thomas Friedman has pointed out that we are moving towards an energy climate era. The threat of climate change and destruction of environment, is increasing everyday and the Global South is at most risk.

On this regard, the Global South has participated in various UNFCCC COPs, implemented the Paris Agreement and set its INDCs. Eg: India and China as major polluters have shifted to renewable energy partially. India, along with France



has established the International Solar Alliance and recently the CDRI for combating climate change. India also hosted the 14th COP of UNCCD in 2019.

The Global South has also expressed concerns over deforestation, water shortages and loss of biodiversity and restricted exploitation by the West in this regard. eg. ASEAN nations sending back plastic waste to Europe, Africa and Latin America restricting felling of trees, building green corridors and Israel, Singapore resorting to recycling of water.

The Global South has also



raised concerns over lack of support from the west in terms of funds, technology transfers. The Global South finds it difficult to manage environment conservation along with need of economic growth, thus, their efforts are limited.

The western countries should recognise the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and help the Global South in its efforts. NAM can be utilised for voicing environmental concerns, and help in knowledge and capacity building.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

ie.7(c)

Do you subscribe to the idea that in the new evolving Asian dynamics, Japan and India have not only moved closer in economic cooperation, but also in strategic partnership? (15 Marks).

According to Kautilya's Mandala Siddhant, Japan is India's natural ally. Both countries share a strategic Partnership and democratic values.

The Asian dynamics have changed due to a rising China and its aggressive behaviour, seen in South China Sea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and India's neighbourhood.

on this context, India and Japan have become close in economic sphere. Japan's official Development Assistance to India,



trade in rare earth elements,
trade in defence and civil
nuclear agreement are some
examples. Both are also cooperating
in Third countries eg. Sri Lanka's
East Container Terminal and
Asia-Africa Growth Corridor.
India and Japan also have a CEPA.
Even in terms of strategic
partnership, both India & Japan
have become closer. Both share
concerns over China's actions
and want peace and stability
in Asia. Thus, cooperation
in Quad, Malabar exercises,
is being seen in recent times.

However, there have been
certain challenges in the relationship

such as India not joining the REEP, while Japan has done so shows that de-coupling from China is not substantive in a regional sense.

Also while Japan wants Quad to be formalised, India is hesitant as highlighted in the Shangri-la Dialogue.

Both countries thus need to reach consensus and increase trade and P2P ties for closer relations. The supply chain Resilience initiative is a step in the right direction, which will strengthen Cherry Blossom Time.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

ue.8(a)

'Indo-Park relationship veers around the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue.' Critically evaluate various alternatives for its solution. (20 Marks).

Shashi Tharoor has called India and Pakistan as Brother Enemies. The relations have not transformed since 1947, since the Kashmir issue hangs around like the Banquo's Ghost.

The relationship has suffered further damage due to Uri and Pulwama attacks, surgical strikes, suspending of LOC trade, Pakistan expelling Indian High Commissioners, thus dowgrading diplomatic relations.

Also, Pakistan's closeness



with China, CPEC running through PoK, recent step to recognise Gilgit-Baltistan as the fifth Province and hold elections there, are some more irritants.

Pakistan has issued a new map, in response to India's move on Article 370, and has further aggravated the conflict.

Therefore, peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue is necessary for normalisation of ties. There are various alternatives. India has adopted the hardline or muscular approach, seen in surgical strikes i.e. militaristic channel.



However, this approach has been seen as a knee jerk reaction by Subhasini Haider, which is not sustainable in the long-run.

India is also trying to resolve the Kashmir issue through diplomatic channels eg. by putting pressure on Pakistan through FATF grey listing, IMF, UN resolutions etc. However, this has made Pakistan retaliate by involving China in the conflict. eg: China raising Kashmir issue at the UN.

Another alternative for resolution can be to use the Composite Dialogue mechanism or SAARC and SCO, for bilateral



negotiations. This can be done through involving other countries also eg. US has offered to mediate in the Kashmir issue.

However, the best alternative would be to use back channel diplomacy for resolution eg. through trade, cricket, Kartarpur Corridor, P2P ties etc., as suggested by Shashi Tharoor.

Functionalism also dictates cooperation over less conflictual issues, to establish inter-linkages. This can be a peaceful long-term solution.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

ue.8(b)

River water disputes are emerging as a major source of irritation between India and its neighbours. Identify the sources of conflicts and suggest the remedial measures.

(15 Marks).

The Indian sub-continent is known as the land of Rivers and often sharing of river water becomes a challenge due to conflict of interests.

River water disputes have emerged between India and its neighbours. India and China share the Brahmaputra river and conflicts emerge due to China building dams, near Arunachal Pradesh, stopping flow of water etc.

India and Bangladesh have



conflict over the farakka Barrage due to displacement concerns, over Tipaimukh dam on Barak river due to less flow of water and over Teesta river, due to West Bengal's reluctance to reach a consensus.

India and Pakistan also have conflict over the Indus river due to construction of dams, cross-border terrorism where India argues that blood and water cannot flow together.

India and Nepal also share conflict over the Kali and Mahakali rivers, due to no consensus over sharing of water.

We should remember Manmohan Singh's words that rivers should unite and not isolate India with its neighbours. Starting negotiations and being mindful of others' concerns is necessary.

India can use SAARC to resolve such conflicts and offer assurances over no threat to water supply and increase hydro-power cooperation.

Eg: China, sharing hydrological data, Bangladesh supplying Feni river water to Tripura, forming Indus Water Commission.

As Brahma Chellaney has said, India should use hydro-diplomacy in its full capacity.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



ie.8(c)

Discuss the relevance of Non-Alignment in India's strategic calculus. (15 Marks).

Non-Alignment is seen as India's contribution to the theory of international Relations. Indira Gandhi had called NAM the biggest peace movement in the world.

NAM stands for South-South cooperation and protecting the interests of the third world. However, with end of cold war, NAM was seen as anachronistic since it stood for not joining any camp during the cold war.

Also, the most noticeable absence in NAM summits has been that of PM Modi, reflecting

India's disillusionment with NAM, C Raja Mohan and Harsh V Pant have argued that NAM is in a state of coma and nobody is sending the flowers. Today, NAM lacks an agenda and leadership as well.

However, we should remember Narasimha Rao's words that NAM should not be limited to the Cold War construct. It should stand for third world developments.

Further, NAM is the place for India's natural leadership and India is in a much better position now to lead it. eg. over climate change, trade, terrorism etc.

NAM can help India re-gain the lost space in the Third World

and also counter china in the region. It should be noted that PM Modi participated in the NAM COVID contact group and India also helped many NAM countries in medical aid.

Therefore, NAM is still relevant today and India is now looking towards Non-Alignment 2.0, suggested by CR Mohan, Varadgan and Khilrani. It aims at multiple alignments, in a multipolar world, guided by our rational interest.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	