

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2021

Test 8

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

ANKITA

Test Date

15/11

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

0611897

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						

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1a Political sociology is a modern and inter-disciplinary approach to comparative politics. It studies the social basis of power and politics, including identity politics, social movements, pressure groups etc...

Relevance

It provides a more comprehensive and inclusive approach to studying politics as politics is not practiced in a vacuum but embedded in societal relations and networks.

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It is particularly relevant to studying comparative politics in developing areas as these are Prismatic societies (FW Riggs) where sociological factors cannot be ignored in politics.

For instance, in India, politics cannot be studied by ignoring caste (Rajni Kothari) or religion (Christopher Jaffrelot).

In contemporary times, with rising social unrest, and identity politics even in the West, we are seeing works like "identity: the struggle for dignity" by Francis Fukuyama.

b/ The concept of over-developed state was given by Hamza Alavi, a marxist scholar of the Relative Autonomy School, in the context of South Asian states.

Alvi pointed out that post colonial states like Pakistan are over-developed because their political and economic systems do not grow organically in sync, as happened in Europe.

Political systems were made ^{modern} strong by the colonial elite for efficient 'drain of wealth' and administration of a restive people. ~~mea~~ Thus we

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have Preventive detention laws,
Official secrets Act, Sedition laws,
Centralised bureaucracies.

Meanwhile, the economy stayed feudal and traditional. This tendency strengthened post-independence due to centralised planning.

Thus the state is bonapartist, an equilibrium-maker which is not the instrument of any one particular class. In Pakistan it is the equilibrium maker between the civilian-military oligarchy.

† Sudipta Kaviraj has applied the theory in the Indian context.

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प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

इस भाग में कुछ
न लिखें
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in this part)

c) Global feminist movement is a civil society movement—concerned with rights of women and peace, by putting women's experience at the centre of decision making.

The Taliban in Afghanistan is a medieval force, bent on imposing its fundamentalist interpretation of the Sharia. Its earlier avatar had banned women from schools, workplaces; arranged forced marriages, enforced a strict dress code and code of conduct. It impinged on their autonomy by preventing them from leaving

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in this part)

the house without a male guardians.
Flogging and sexual violence
were common. The experience
of Nobel laureate Malala
Yusufzai brought its atrocities to
the limelight.

Taliban 2.0 might be presenting
a soft face but if experience of
women in rural Afghanistan
under Taliban is anything to
go by, it will be a repeat of the
same.

The feminist movement - will have
to insist that any recognition ^{to the regime} is
contingent on protection of
women's rights as human rights.

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1d The G-20 is a grouping of the world's major powers, whose ideas and actions shape the entire world.

Significance of "People, Planet and Prosperity" Agenda

* Planet - the 6th Assessment report of the IPCC has shown the urgency to take climate action. Thus, the G-20 agenda puts climate action at the centre, in line with principles of common but differentiated responsibility, and differential capability.

* People - a human-centric

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globalisation agenda that takes
care of health needs is
essential in the context of
pandemic vulnerability.

* Prosperity - through greater
connectivity and trade that
puts the environment and
labour standards at the
centre.

ie Nuclear deterrence is a ^{psychological} concept developed by game-theorists which assumes a rational actor model. It suggests to the adversary that "victory will come at a cost not worth paying."

Relevance in 21st Century

Its relevance is questioned due to various factors.

① Non-state actors - Henry Kissinger suggests that the rational actor model will not apply to suicide bombers.

② Liberal institutionalists feel that mechanisms like Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) are key to preventing nuclearisation.

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Thus states do not need to acquire nuclear weapons

③ Social constructivists point to the nuclear taboo (Nina Tannenwald)

They point out that this taboo prevented even USA, the superpower ^{from} ~~against~~ using nukes against Vietnam

Yet, Realists continue to believe that nuclear deterrence is the key to preventing world wars. But Mearsmeier and Kenneth Waltz concede that they must be limited to 1st generation ~~the~~ nuclear states.

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Global
Governance

प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

2a

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Theories of international politics are commonly called security theories, for security is the most important strategic imperative; as held by Thomas Hobbes. Yet, there is great disagreement regarding the understanding of security, the threats to security and the best way to ensure security.

Security lies at the heart of the realist approach. Hans Morgenthau in "Politics among Nations" (1948) had held that survival is the

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prime national interest, to be achieved through accumulation of power. The way to maintain state security is through deterrence, diplomacy and balance of power. They hold that the primary threat to states is from other states (~~for~~, not NSAs).

Liberals on the other hand believe security should include human security and to be achieved through greater interdependence and integration (trade, security community). Milton Friedman in his context gave the golden arches theory.

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(Question No.)

Marxists also focus on human security but locate the threat in the nature of capitalist global system. Rosa Luxemburg held that capitalism, militarism, imperialism are linked.

The reflectivist school/critical scholars, ~~how~~ particularly feminists question the problem solving approach of the positivists/traditionalists. They believe that the masculinist bias of "male-stream theories discount the human experience, particularly that of women & children. Peace becomes a casualty.

They believe that masculinist-

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lens of security decisions led to wars - for "men make wars, as wars make men". JB Elshtain in "Sex and Death" has suggested this.

Thus to ensure peace women must be included in decision making apparatuses, and the biases must be confronted. UNSC resolution

10395 affirms the role of the feminist approach in ensuring pep security.

Lastly, post modernists (Richard Ashley) suggest "Anarchique Problematique" i.e. the discourse around anarchy is more likely to lead to war.

For a matter as complicated as security, all perspectives have to be accounted for ever lasting peace

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Morton Kaplan's Systems Approach belongs to the behavioural / positivist school in international politics. It takes inspiration from David Easton's "systems approach to Political life".

Kaplan's goal was to present a grand theory to explain the ins and outs of international politics. He describes a system as an analytical entity to explanation of the behaviour of states, with regulative, integrative and disintegrative aspects.

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He presents various models of the international system such as loose bipolar, tight-bipolar, Westphalian model, world govt model, Universal Actor model, etc..

However, Kaplan ~~is~~ has been criticised by various scholars.

Stanley Hoffman ~~is~~ only sees it as a conceptual framework with no deep analysis or insights. It does not even cover the "basic stuff" of international politics.

It does not even fulfil the requirements

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प्रश्न संख्या
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of the Systems Approach. ^{Kenneth Waltz} Hoffman

does not consider it scientific as it reduces the discipline to just states, and does not explore the environment, regional and subnational factors.

It is rightly said that - Kaplan has taken a huge misstep in the right direction. (Stanley Hoffman)

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(Question No.)

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24 South Asia is generally understood as a common cultural and geopolitical arena, shaped by the eastwide colonial British Raj. It is one of the poorest and least integrated regions of the world.

Reasons behind poverty and solutions

Poverty in South Asia, and hence its solution can be explained from different perspectives.

From ~~the~~ neoliberal perspective

(Arvind Panagariya, Jagdish Bhagwati)

a long legacy of state-led centralised planning led to

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perpetuation of poverty since independence. For instance, in India the head count number of poor people rose ~~to~~ in the first three decades. This is contrasted with the experience of Japan, South Korea and other East Asian Tigers who opened up to the world.

Raja Mohan also points out that socialistic pattern prevented economic integration of the region.

Social liberals like Amartya Sen point to a lack of participative & deliberative democracy leading to poor investment in public goods & services and capacity

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प्रश्न संख्या
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न लिखें।
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in this part)

building. He shows the experience of Kerala, and even Bangladesh to substantiate his contention.

Marxists however challenge these narratives. For them, an absence of land reforms & other pro-people measures are the culprit. Hamza Alavi has shown South Asia's states are instruments of various elite groups (civilian oligarchy, bourgeoisie, feudal class).

Factors like environmental disasters, insurgences etc. can also be seen as factors.

Thus the solution lies in 'globalization with a human face', land reforms, and most importantly, greater economic integration.

The region was a crown jewel for British Raj & can be restored to its glory.

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प्रश्न संख्या
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प्रश्न का अंक
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5a "In Africa, India is a developmental power" - Shashi Tharoor.

In line with its historical solidarity with Africa, India follows the south-south cooperation approach including respect for sovereignty, mutually beneficial partnership, beneficiary-led development.

Components of India's development cooperation are -

- ① Capacity building through ITEC (40% of the assistance goes to Africa)
- ② investment in MENTs.
- ③ market access, concessional finance
- ④ cooperation in digital technology (Pan Africa e-network)

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एक भाग में कुछ
न लिखें
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in this part)

⑤ Agricultural cooperatives
unlike China, its approach is
bottom's up, benign, and not
extractive.

Scholars like C Raja Mohan point
out that there is a lack of clear
strategy. It is often said that -
India promises, but China
delivers! For instance, not a
single project has taken off
under the Asia-Africa Growth
Corridor with Japan.

India needs an institutional
framework to build knowledge and
coordinate
collaborate on delivery of
promises made.

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न लिखें
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5b ~~India~~ "The biggest achievement
of the last 20 years in Indo -
Russia relations has been TRUST"
- PM Modi (2021)

Indian - Russian friendship
was solidified through the Treaty
of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation
(1971), even though India had
always had an admiration for
Russia since colonial times.

Since then, the world order has
undergone changes from bipolarity
to multipolarity, but Indo-Russia
friendship ~~has~~ stood the test of
time.

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Putin's visit in 2001 led to a "Strategic Partnership" after a brief lull in relations under Boris Yeltsin.

Since then relations have gone from strength to strength. —

(i) Defense relations — 60% of Indian equipment, aircraft carrier (INS Vikramaditya), ~~an~~ nuclear submarine, S-400 Triumf (inspite of US pressure), joint development (BrahMos).

Russia continues to supply despite Chinese protestations.

(ii) Science & technology (Gaganyaan)

(iii) Nuclear power development.

(iv) Putin made his second in person visit outside Russia to India — huge symbolic gesture.

To further solidify, trade target of 300 USD must be reached

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संख्या
Question No.)

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SC

Latin America due to distance and little P2P connect has stayed far from the Indian mindset.

It largely engaged with Brazil on platforms like BRICS, IBSA, G-20.

In recent years, India has sought to become a major player in the region.

5d Japan, going by Kautilya's
mandal biddhant is India's
natural friend.

Japan - India relations are
built on the pillars of ensuring
freedom of movement in the
indo-pacific, trade and investment,
official development assistance.

It was Shinzo Abe who had presented
the quad as the dynamic &
coupling of the two seas in
the Indian Parliament. Being a
Trading state (Rosenau) with
Constitutional limitations on

¶ defense focus, Japan considers India an important security provider in the region.

Both countries suffer from a security dilemma vis a vis China (Senkaku Islands); and thus are drawn closer.

Japan is the only foreign power allowed to invest in the sensitive North East.

India & Japan work together in Myanmar and Sri Lanka for infrastructure development.

Issues such as delays in ambitious aircraft negotiations, red-tapism and other issues in investment—must be overcome, as pointed out by Amitabh Mattoo.

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5e Afghanistan is under the control of ISI backed Haqqani Taliban dominated by Sunnis. It is also reportedly populated by the IS-K, Al-Qaeda, etc.

Such a situation creates security issues for both Iran and India. Sunni-majority Iran shares a border with Afghanistan. It seeks protection of Hazara claims in the new Afghanistan, and fears a refugee crisis on its borders.

India wishes to deny Pakistan its strategic depth, prevent export of extremism into its borders.

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एक वाक्य में उत्तर
लैखिक
(Don't write anything
in this part)

India & Iran previously worked together in the Northern Alliance to support the resistance against Taliban 1.0.

This time also, they can find shared interests in the regions to prevent the domination of any single power in the region.

Iran being an attendee at the Delhi Regional Security Dialogue is a positive sign.

There can be tensions too for Iran's equities with China are rising - it will not hesitate to join a regional architecture led by China.

India must seek to keep Iran engaged, alongside Russia too.

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प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

प्रश्न को स्पष्ट
रूप में लिखें
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in this part)

6a

Going by Kautilya's mandal Siddhant in Arthashastra, West-
Asia is India's second mandal,
its extended neighbourhood, making
it crucial for India's security
and prosperity. In this view, its
links with West Asia are
geo-political, economic &
People to people (diasporic)

Geopolitical.

West Asia is India's extended
neighbourhood. It is also central
to main trade routes like
Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and
provide links to Central Asia
(Chakhar & Shahid Bresti posts)

37-5
32-10
22

प्रश्न संख्या
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इस भाग में कुछ
न लिखें
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It is also home to various non-state actors, ~~who may be~~ and their benefactors who may be exploited to destabilise India's pluralistic society.

Thus, for its security India stays engaged with the region. Earlier it would merely see it as a "petrol pump", but with American retrenchment, rise in India's capabilities and stature, India is no longer a balancer but a decider (S Jaishankar).

It undertakes counterterror cooperation with UAE, Saudi Arabia, Israel, along with NSA meeting. Israel sells important defence systems like Barak & Spyder missiles.

Economic links

West Asia is a storehouse of hydrocarbons. 60% of India's crude

oil imports come from Saudi Arabia. India is also leveraging

"Khaleeji capitalism" i.e. the desire of Arab monarchies to diversify

away from oil using their sovereign wealth funds (ARAMCO investing in RIL).

Indian companies like L&T, Tata motors have a presence in the region.

ONGC has stakes in oil fields.

India also has technological cooperation & agri-tech cooperation with Israel (i2t2).

India has done relatively well in the region

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It has been suggested that the Abrahamic Accords open the door for India - Israel - UAE cooperation in emerging tech like semi-conductors.

Diasporic links - over 50% of Indian diaspora are based in West Asia; along with ~~50%~~ over significant remittances that fuel the ~~the~~ economy, ~~the~~ skills of returnees, and their investment in real estate.

However there are also issues due to nationalisation policies like Natagat leading to job losses, poor treatment of semi-skilled / unskilled labour etc.

It is never easy to navigate the choppy waters of West Asia but

choppy

64 India-USA, once estranged democracies (Dennis Kucinich), have overcome the hesitations of history, such that they now have a comprehensive global strategic partnership. However, there continue to remain tensions and differences

Convergences.

With the rise of China, its aggression in the Indo Pacific (South China Sea), and on India's Himalayan borders, US-India have found a common cause - balancing of China (Mearsheimer's idea of off shore balancing).

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A recently declassified Trump administration strategy points out - "a strong India... can balance China in the Indo-Pacific theatre."

Thus, India has joined the Quadrilateral Security dialogue, been designated "major defence Partner", granted "Strategic Trade Authorisation", entered into four foundational agreements (LEMOA, COMCASA, BECA, USMOA). From 500 million USD in 2008, US-India defence trade has reached over 21 Billion USD.

★★ These divergences strengthen India's policy of strategic autonomy and issue-based alignments.

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Since economic security and national security are linked, US-India are also exploring supply chain resilience in emerging technologies.

Divergences - lack of "overarching consensus"

There are some creative tensions. In the Indo-Pacific, India supports an "open, inclusive and free" Indo-Pacific, implying a more accommodative posture towards China than ~~that~~ Washington desires, as India shares a land border with the middle kingdom.

~~The~~ with respect to Russia, USA sees it as a "revitalised" adversarial power but India depends on it for 60% of its equipment & other cutting edge equipment that Washington denies India (nuclear subs).
US retrenchment from Afghanistan has left India exposed on its west. (★★)

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प्रश्न संख्या
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6c "Cooperation will take us towards
an Asian Century, and rivalry
will hold us back"

- Pm Modi at Shangri
La (2017)

Today the relationship between
India and China is at its lowest
point since 1962, and blood has
been spilled on the snow
after over 45 years, leading to
apocalyptic narratives.

China has entered its "get strong"
phase under Xi Jinping, no
longer willing to "hide its
strength and bide its time". In
accordance with mao's Palm
and Digit's theory, it is asserting

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its claims on himalayan borders
(salami-slicing techniques). Its
aim appears to be to subdue India's
maritime adventurism in concert
with western states (malacca dilemma).

The string of pearls theory suggests
encirclement of India (Gwadar
Hambantota, Chittagong). Its attitude
wrt river waters (lack of transparency)
does not inspire confidence in
India. It is challenging India's
dominance in ~~west~~ South Asia.
Its all weather friendship with
Pakistan, transfer of advanced weapons,
and nuclear weapons worsens
India's security dilemma.

China is highly restrictive in market
access - such that 50% of India's deficit
is with China.

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इस भाग में कुछ
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However, in a world of complex interdependence (Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane), it is unhelpful to look at relations in a zero-sum manner. India & China cooperated at COP 26 to ~~save~~ protect their coal power energy. In Afghanistan too, it is unlikely that stability can prevail without cooperation among the Asian Giants.

A live and active border is not a favourable scenario. China also feels the burn of increasing western isolation in the emerging technology space.

Thus for an inclusive Asian century the two Asian Giants need a new equilibrium in their relations.

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उत्तर लिखिए
(Question No.)

कुछ बातों में सतर्क
रहिये
(Don't write anything
in this part)

7a The graveyard of Empires is seeing a rearrangement of chess pieces. A great game is afoot, with the Hagqani network led Taliban leading the Islamic Emirate. The Hagqani's are seen as a "veritable arm" of the Inter Services Intelligence and the Baradar faction has been sidelined, for now.

India's interests in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is seen as a gateway to Central Asia and Eurasia as it is a roundabout in the heart of Asia. The projects like INSTC, Chabahar Port were geared to leverage this, as Pakistan blocked India's land route to Afghanistan.

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It is also rich in rare earth elements, copper, etc. which could power India's fourth industrial revolution.

In Afghanistan, India's goal was to deny Rawalpindi its strategic depth. Being the second mandal, India ^{cultivated} ~~sought~~ a natural ally in Afghanistan.

Thus, Afghanistan presents a litmus test for India's ascendency as a major power.

It made over ~~3.3 USD~~ ^M 3 Billion USD worth of investments (Salma Dam, Parliament building) and cultivated unparalleled soft power in pursuit of its goals.

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प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

प्रश्न पत्र में कुछ
अक्षरों को
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India needs strategic patience
and nuanced action in Afghanistan.

strategic patience ~~the~~ because while
it may appear that the cards
are stacked in the favour of
Pakistan and China, the situation
is still in flux. Fractionalism
besets the Taliban which does
not want to forever be indebted
to their Pakistani benefactors.

Other players in the fray are
the IS-kandahar and the Tehreek
e- Taliban Pakistan (TTP),
Al Qaeda, which complicate
matters for regional powers. The
Durand dilemma also cannot—

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be ignored.

The Taliban is not a governing power but a fighting power. The country faces famine and economic collapse. It is unclear if China or Russia would throw good money in an uncertain scenario.

Thus, there is ample space ~~of~~ for deft diplomacy by India.

It has sent medical aid via WHO. The Delhi dialogue showed that India will not be kept out, and major powers (Iran & Russia) along with the Taliban recognise this reality. When it comes to Afghanistan, India must remember - "if you are not on the table, you are on the menu"

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(Question No.)

76) Quad or the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue is a partnership of like-minded countries to maintain a rules based order in the Indo-Pacific in face of a aggressive china. With two leader level meetings in one year, Quad has "come of age"

India has shed its traditional hesitations about Quad. It must now use it for internal balancing and enhancing military capabilities

The Quad consists of countries that are reliable, relevant and ready to provide public goods in

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उपना संख्या
(Question No.)

एक घण्टे में उत्तर
लिखें।
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the region, ~~Its agenda includes~~
A US strategy paper had acknowledged
that "a strong India, in partnership
with like-minded nations like Japan
and Australia; can balance China."

Quad's agendas include ensuring
resilience of supply chains, cooperation
on emerging technologies and
semi-conductors (working groups),
and cooperation on infrastructure
development. India can take
advantage of this geo-economic
reorientation away from China.
USA ^{and Australia} is key to intellectual property,
Japan for finance & high end
manufacturing, and India brings
scale and human resources into

the picture.

militarily, also the Quad presents opportunities for improvement.

Satellite data sharing was discussed at the leader level meeting. India has various logistics agreements with Quad countries, 2+2 ministerials, joint exercise (malabar), defence technology partnerships (DTTI).

For the Quad and India, "function before form" must be the mantra.

India must sign an FTA with Australia, and enter into a trade deal with America. It can bridge the gap between Quad & the global south, Asean for enhanced legitimacy.

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7e According to the liberal school of International Relations, Regional integration is key to ensuring peace and prosperity. Functionalism and sociological liberalism are two ways to ensure this. But South Asia continues to be the least integrated (except West Asia) with intra-region trade only 5% of total trade.

SAARC and BIMSTEC are two vehicles to achieve regional integration. SAARC has ~~both have~~ been hijacked by the dilemma of comprehending India's role as a stepping stone or a stumbling block.

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India as stumbling block

SAARC was originated by Zia-Ur-Rahman, the Bangladeshi PM with the intention of balancing India due to its "big brother" image (real or perceived).

Even today, South Asian states can be wary of the asymmetry of power with India, ^{which} continues to be seen as a "big brother" who interferes in internal matters (Madhesi issue, Tamil-Sinhala issue, Bangladesh war of independence).

To balance India, China is sought to be invited to join SAARC, which is anti-thetical to India's interests.
led by Pakistan, states come to

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प्रश्न संख्या
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न लिखें
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in this part)

believe that a more integrated South Asia will mean greater Indian dominance. For the Pakistani elite, this would be a negation of Partition.

But India should be perceived as a stepping stone - a factor of regional stability which can open its markets, ports, institutions ^{power grids} for the benefit of its smaller neighbours.

South Asian states are tied in a garment of common destiny, and peace & prosperity will elude us if we go against the logic of geography. As the preponderant powers India must take the lead in this endeavour.