



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

#### Test 08

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name ARPIT CHAUHAN  
Test Date 01/01/2021  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Mobile \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No 0811573

#### 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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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

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All the best for next test...!!!



## Section-A

1(a)

"International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power".

Comment

(10 Marks)

International politics is the management of relations of a country with other international players as nation states.

International politics is studied from idealist & realist perspectives. Scholars of realism put power at the centre of all discourses - national or international.

Realists claim that the absence of any overarching laws in the international arena is the cause of anarchy and it is only power that one can resort to for self preservation.

Realist point of view took shape in the writings of Kautilya who declared



relations between countries to be relations of perpetual war.

Similarly, Machiavelli began this tradition in the west. It has been carried ahead by Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz & John Mearsheimer.

They say that centrality of power is reflected by continuity in international policy even though rulers change.

It is also proposed that powerful intl. institutions as UN can ensure global peace.

However, realists have been criticised as value-monists & state-worshippers.

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



1(b)

Critically examine globalization from a Third World perspective.

(10 Marks)

Globalization is defined as the movement of capital, goods, services, labour, information & technology across borders at unprecedented pace.

3<sup>rd</sup> world countries (i.e., Global South) clinged onto the legacy of neo-liberalism via bodies as WTO. However, 3<sup>rd</sup> world has been incorporated into globalization on the back of theories of modernization & development.

Globalization has created 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries with "pockets of California in a sea of African poverty".

Only elites in 3<sup>rd</sup> world have developed at the cost of 99% of the population; leading to widespread



inequality, failed states, environmental degradation.

Wallerstein in his world systems theory puts 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries at the periphery - to be exploited by core & semi-peripheries.

Other thinkers ~~as Amart~~ claim that countries as BRICS have been fairly helped by globalization.

Hence, there have been calls for autonomous development, regulating MNCs, using national resources for an equitable development in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world.

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



1(c)

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

Strategic Engagement is the association among elements/actors that is guided by strategic / geopolitical calculations.

Strategic Engagement calls for relegating all differences as ideological or political to the backseat & focusing only on strategic component of relations.

Reasons for strategic engagement may be varied including economic complementarity or common enemies. It leads to synergetic engagement for the best outcome of both countries.

Countries like India & China or

Pakistan & Afghanistan or US - Russia  
can still engage for global peace or  
regional cooperation despite all historical  
issues.

Strategic engagement seeks to keep  
channels of communication open so that  
prisoner's dilemma can be avoided and  
ultimately, cooperation can spill over  
leading to engagement on other fronts.

India was 'strategically engaged'  
with Russia during our phase of  
non-alignment.

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





1(d)

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

(10 Marks).

Functionalism is a school of thought of international relations that seeks to establish a paradigm based on functional specialisation for cooperation.

Functionalists believe that it is easier for states to cooperate on questions of functional preferences as sharing weather data, civil aviation space cooperation, etc. rather than sensitive issues that include security, citizenship, etc.

Functionalists propose that politicians shall be kept out and specialists shall lead the development of a cooperative global society.



'Peace by pieces' is the premise which claims that cooperation in areas of functional specialization would automatically spill over into other areas.

Neo-Functionalists, however seek to give some role to politicians too. The European Union is a perfect example of peace by pieces approach where economic cooperation has led to ultimate peace & also political & security cooperation.

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

1(e)

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

National Interest is defined as the (10 Marks)  
activities / outcomes that are in the favour  
of certain national agenda or goals.

National interest is the centrepiece of  
realist school of thought who claim that  
it is only national interest that  
shall guide activities of states  
while dealing with other countries.

Certain features of national interest  
as territorial security, economic development  
are constant and self evident whereas  
at other times, it can well be situation  
specific.

Specific situations call for  
realignment of national priorities



as seen in India's shift from USSR  
towards US & more so in times of  
 our conflicts with China because that  
 is seen as serving our national  
 interest against rogue states.

Idealists view national interest as  
 a fluid category that can change on  
 case-by-case basis, like human  
 nature.

However, pursuit of the constant  
 national interest is what guides our foreign  
 policy.

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

(a)

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

(20 Marks).

Realist school of thought is centred around the concept of 'power' as the sole premise of nations.

According to realists, global arena is the arena of anarchy and states are meant to fend for themselves and secure the national interest.

While applying realism to global relations, there are 2 major perspectives:

Classical Realists like Hans Morgenthau

believe that the reason for the behaviour of states in their international relations is the "Human Nature" which is unchanging and constant.



Like the individuals are power maximisers, so are the states and power is the measure of security & development. As an association of human beings, states do reflect these very principles.

Modern Realists on the other hand believe that it is the structure of international politics that leads to continuity in policies of countries.

Although human nature changes when new leaders replace the old ones yet we see no major change in foreign policy because of the structural constraints that severely limit their manoeuvrability.

within the school of modern



realism, Defensive realists like Kenneth Waltz claim that states are security maximisers. whereas offensive realists like Mearsheimer call for quest of power after power to become power maximisers.

[Yes], there is a continuity between classical & modern realists & it is the centrality of power (since power is the mainstay of realism).

Whether by human nature or structural constraints, it is power that is the most sought after virtue in the global arena & it is a fact - unattainable & undeniable.

However, realists have been decried as value-morivists and state worshippers.

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





b)

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

(15 Marks).

International Relations are the ways & means of associating with other countries in the global arena.

Systems Approach, as developed by David Easton was used in the field of International arena by "Morton Kaplan".

Kaplan wanted to give a scientific way to study International relations. He sought to develop models which can explain all relations of international players.

Kaplan did not consider states to be autonomous & freely deciding entities while associating with other



states, rather all actors work within overarching limits defined by the systemic constraints.

Some of the models proposed by Kaplan were loose-bipolar model, tight bipolar model, etc. In a total, Kaplan gave 10 models.

Kaplan's scientific methods sought to fit state relations into these pre-defined moulds in which inputs & outputs link the actors to the system.

However, Kaplan could not develop all encompassing models and Hoffmann called Systems Approach as "A huge mistake in the right direction"



Systems approach has been criticised as inadequate theoretical postulations as he did not give any in depth analysis of his systems & focused merely on formal procedural modelling.

However, his approach was a new way of looking at Intl. relations.

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



Que.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).

State and its relations to the people have been the central concept of political thought.

State was an outcome of the "social contract" according to medieval European scholars as Hobbes & Mill. Since then, state has been understood variously and 21<sup>st</sup> century has further enhanced our study of states.

States in the developing societies have been studied by Marxist scholars where Wallerstein called them to be exploited states in his world systems theory.

Also, <sup>instrumentalist</sup> structuralists have termed states in developing countries to be instruments



of developed states (as Samir Amin). Others as Hamza Alawi fetch for relative autonomy via his over-developed state concept.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, states have been tasked with a major responsibility of inclusive growth.

Inclusive growth has been defined as growth for all in which people participate as empowered masses in decision making.

In the absence of socio-economic development, a fragile civil society and international anarchy, the responsibility to push through inclusive growth falls squarely on nation states.

For inclusive growth, states have



followed various strategies like economic development for trickle down growth, or redistribution for social justice via changing tax policies.

Welfare states like India have been proactive in inclusive development as seen by our 21<sup>st</sup> century 5-yr plans & also schemes as PM-JDY, etc. & focus on sabka sath - sabka vikas.

states shall lead from the front with available resources to help achieve SDG 10 of reduced inequalities.

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



## Section-B

The New Cold War and India's interests.

(10 Marks).

Cold war is a state of relations between countries that is far from normal yet short of war.

After the US - USSR cold war ended in 1991, recently, some scholars have proposed arrival of cold war 2.0 (new cold war) between US & China.

This is seen in USA's pre-emptive trade wars & global allegations against an arrogant & aggressive China. However, some scholars deny a Cold war 2.0 due to the fact that economic cooperation between the 2 countries is huge & ideology is not a deciding feature.

India's interests are greatly impacted



if any geostrategic shifts take place on global arena.

India is today closer to the USA than ever & China does not take this relation happily. India's economic ties with USA & China are deep and our strategic goals demand that we do not take sides.

India's security interests are aligned to USA and we would find it difficult to claim non-alignment in a new cold war.

Hence, we shall develop bilateral ties with many countries to hedge our interests.

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





China's Middle Kingdom Complex.

(10 Marks).

China's middle kingdom complex (MKC) is a historical belief among Chinese people that China has been the central power / middle kingdom of the world since ancient times.

Middle kingdom complex claims that China has always been an important & powerful global player and it rightly deserves that place today.

MKC claims are used to justify China's march towards establishing a Sino-centric world order as a historically determined goal.

The Communist party of China (CPC) has projected itself as the sole guarantor of Chinese accession.



Xi Jinping's dream for 'China-2049'  
is derivative of middle kingdom complex.

CPC aims to generate domestic support  
for its global aggression by using  
the fulfilment of the ancient dream  
as an excuse.

Other countries as USA discredit China's  
claims of a MKC and call for a rules  
based global order.

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



c)

India's nuclear doctrine.

(10 Marks).

Nuclear doctrine is a document / policy that seeks to outline the nuclear posture and ideology of a country.

India's nuclear doctrine was formed in 2004 to generate comprehensive guidelines regarding use of nuclear weapons and expressing our intentions to the world.

Though all features of India's nuclear doctrine are not disclosed, certain broad guidelines are:

- ① No first use: India would not use its nuclear weapons in the event of a war until opponent uses nukes first. We will also not use nukes against non-nuclear weapons states.
- ② Credible minimum deterrence: India (CMD)



would maintain a CMD in order to inflict unacceptable damage if attacked or if our forces anywhere in the world are attacked.

③ Civilian authority is the nuclear command authority in India & not our military authority.

④ India is committed to disarmament but that shall be universal, verifiable & non-discriminatory.

⑤ India will join Fissile material control <sup>treaty</sup> ~~regime~~ (FMCT) later.

Hence, our doctrine is flexible as well as comprehensive & in no need to be rewritten.

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



## The New International Economic Order.

(10 Marks).

International economic order is defined as the set of rules & regulations under which countries of the world cooperate in the economic arena.

After world war II, many 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries became independent. The Bretton Woods system of World Bank & IMF soon proved to be exploitative.

Hence, non-alignment movement (NAM) countries came out with demands of a NIEO (new international economic order) in 1970s led by India among others.

NIEO sought equitable right to development for 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries.

MNCs had robbed 3<sup>rd</sup> world of its



resources & led to impoverishment and inequality and very bad social economic conditions.

NIEO was accepted at UNCTAD summit and demanding autonomous development, use of natural resources for national growth, free access to LDCs for western markets, cheaper import of western technology to the 3<sup>rd</sup> world & development of industrial base & nationalization

However, <sup>demand for</sup> NIEO was soon lost after

Washington consensus. NIEO can be a solution to perpetuating 3<sup>rd</sup> world underdevelopment.

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



India-US Defense cooperation.

(10 Marks).

India & US had been historically suspicious of each other. Although India asked US for help in 1962 war with China & the 2 signed a defence agreement in 1964, defence cooperation remained elusive.

Emergence of a unipolar world order, weakening Russia, increasing weapon import led to a thaw in defence cooperation.

Defence imports into India from USA had been merely \$400 million upto 2005 but in 15 years since, the figure has reached over \$30 billion with \$3.6 bn worth in 2020 itself.

Also, India-US have signed the 4 foundational agreements - G15MOA,



LEMOA, COMCASA & BECA.

US has accorded India status I of the Strategic trade authorisation (STA-1) and declared India as major defence partner.

India conducts its largest no. of bilateral exercises with the USA. The US renamed its Asia Pacific command as Indo-Pacific command (IndoPaCom).

Also, Quad has opened new chapter in security cooperation.

However, this has made Russia unhappy & so, India shall look for middle power to check multiple security threats from China & Pakistan.

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





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).

Indian Ocean Region is India's maritime neighborhood extending from eastern coast of Africa to South East Asia.

India's foreign policy has always projected IOR to be an important frontier for India's security & growth.

## Energy Security

India imports <sup>fuel for</sup> over 80% of its energy needs. Most of it is imported via the Indian Ocean from West Asia, Africa, USA or Latin America.

Straits of Malacca near Andaman & Nicobar islands are global hotspots of sea lines of communications (SLOCs).

## Security

Indian peninsula is easily accessible via sea from 3 sides. Also, the increased incidents of piracy in western Indian Ocean threaten our security.

Littoral states as Maldives, Seychelles, Madagascar are strategically very important for India's security.

The explosives for 1993 Mumbai bomb blasts as well as the terrorists for 2008 Mumbai attacks came via sea, exhibiting India's vulnerability.

India's foreign policy has been proactively engaged with countries like Maldives, Madagascar, etc. to counter increasing

Chinese influence in IOR via its string of pearls.

Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS),  
Indian Ocean Regional Association (IORA).  
have been our association - attempts to  
secure IOR.

India has been admitted as an observer  
in Indian Ocean commission recently.

India needs to engage more freely with  
countries as Sri Lanka & Gulf countries  
via increased trade & commerce & people to  
people ties. Financial help to Sri Lanka <sup>& maldives</sup>  
is our attempt in this direction

India's soft power has won goodwill  
in its relations with African countries  
to help combat piracy in the Indian  
ocean.

India shall focus more on our



assets as Lakshadweep & A&N islands for better security.

Hence IOR needs to be allotted significant priority as it has been getting after 2008 attacks to ensure our economic & energy and territorial security.

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

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

(15 Marks).

Global South is the group of countries that have been historically colonised & hence represent poor socio-economic growth parameters.

Global south is most vulnerable to climate change due to its higher vulnerability and poor resilience.

However, global south faces the dilemma of economic growth on one hand & environmental sustainability on the other.

Global south had been historically disadvantaged & could not develop with the west. Now, global south has begun asserting its demands of "right to development" in the face of



a climate crisis.

Global south has pitched for CBDR  
(Common but differentiated responsibilities).

It has not committed to any emission targets and has demanded funds & technology from the west in order to grow sustainably.

Global south had remained united at UNFCCC ~~conven~~ conferences and have expressed inability to grow sustainably

Yet, developed countries / global north as USA, China, EU account for multiple times more emissions than global south.

Though the attitude of global south may not sound environmentally good yet it is the most preferable path available



to them.

Countries of global south succeeded in making provisions of Kyoto protocol binding on developed countries but this victory had been lost at the Paris agreement.

The diverging approaches by north & south have led to environmental cold war and climate crisis looms large as the 2 block fight on historic responsibility of north vs right to development of south.

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



Que.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).

India & Japan did not develop early relations after World War. But, the end of cold war & India's shift to USA brought us closer to Japan too.

In current times, India-Japan relations have been claimed to be in 'Cherry - blossom phase'. due to the new evolving Asian & global dynamics.

As the USA turns isolationist & Chinese aggressiveness increases, India & Japan find it natural to collaborate on not only economic but also on strategic terms.





Economic partnership is growing steadily though it is below par at present times. Presence of a large no. of Japanese companies in India especially in automobile as Honda & Suzuki is an example of complementarity.

Japan has funded part of India's DMIC & the bullet train project @ 0.01% interest rate. Also, some Japanese companies have turned to India as they left China after COVID-19.

Also, India - Japan & Australia have launched the Value chains resilient initiative. The economic relations have miles to go from here.

Strategic partnership has emboldened recently in the past decade. Visit of the emperor & empress of Japan



was a breakthrough.

Both countries engage at 2+2 ministerial level talks and are members of the Quad for Indo-Pacific.

Bilateral maritime exercises have been regular. China's actions at LAC & South China sea have pushed the two further closer.

However, defence deals have not yet materialised, yet there's only one direction for relations - ahead.

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



8(a)

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

Indo-Pak relations have been antagonistic for most part of their independent history. The accession of J+K into India decided the course of further relations in decades to come.

"Kashmir issue" is the central issue that has caused the stalemate. Pakistan has resorted to proxy wars to win Kashmir. Hostilities & mutual suspicion have hovered around Kashmir Question.

Kashmir is more than a piece of land for the 2 countries. It is about identity, global power standing & a historical rivalry.

Stephen P Cohen calls India Pakistan relation to be a "mutually hurting stalemate".



Kashmir issue has stagnated trade,  
paralysed SAARC and made LOC the  
most guarded border in the world.

Kashmir has become the central  
question for Pakistan; terrorism for  
India & nuclear safety for the world.

Various alternatives available are:

① all out war: Conventional military  
warfare to forcibly incorporate territory  
is a way out but no country would  
like to follow it as both countries  
are nuclear powers and it might  
lead to crisis of peace in South Asia

② Talks: India prefers talks but Pak's  
adherence to terror makes talks  
impossible.



③ Mediation: Simla agreement (1972) had declared Kashmir to be a bilateral issue & hence, India opposes Pakistan's internationalization of the issue and any calls for a UN-mediation.

④ Backchannel talks: Shashi Tharoor finds backchannel talks to be the only possible way out by going for Track-2 diplomacy.

⑤ Trade & development: Trade across LoC shall be allowed freely so that trade relations might spillover to other fields as well.

⑥ Accept LoC as international border: Such a proposal would be unacceptable to India as we claim POK to be India's territory & hence we have to get it back.



Kash

The internal question of Kashmir has been settled by abrogation of A-370.

Pakistan has also made Gilgit Baltistan a full fledged province. Hence both

countries seem moving towards normalising the status quo.

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



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).

India receives many rivers from its neighbours as China (Tibet), Nepal, Bhutan and some rivers flow from India into Bangladesh & Pakistan.

Disputes around rivers have emerged in South Asia due to artificial state borders drawn by the British.

India - China : Rivers like Indus, Sutlej, Brahmaputra flow from China (Tibet) into India. China had been constructing dams on these rivers (as the new proposed dam on Brahmaputra) and refused sharing hydrological data on Brahmaputra.



India - Pakistan : Indus & its tributaries flow from India into Pakistan. Indus water treaty gives India 18% of the waters of these rivers & is seen as disadvantageous to us.

India - Nepal : Nepal is source for many of Ganga's tributaries. Nepal has also lately constructed dams on rivers as Kosi. River Kali is a cause for border dispute also.

India - Bhutan show perfect hydrological cooperation & India generates power on Bhutanese rivers.

India - Bangladesh share over 50





cross border rivers. Teesa dispute is termed as the litmus test for bilateral relations.

Remedial measures include increased hydrological cooperation, data sharing, setting up intl. river commissions and focussing on developmental use of rivers as the Kaladan multimodal highway between India & Myanmar.

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



Que.8(c)

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

Non alignment is the policy of asserting autonomy in our conduct by not aligning to any of the powers in the intl. arena.

Non alignment <sup>was</sup> favored by India after independence as it allowed a free hand in intl. relations, using our resources for domestic development & getting the best of 2 worlds.

India became a founding member of NAM in 1961 at Belgrade conference.

Being non aligned, India called for global peace, decolonization, opposed nuclear armament, etc.



India deftly manoeuvred cold war rivalries. But our treaty of friendship with Russia in 1971 dented our non aligned credentials.

After 1991, India moved closer to USA and NAM became a movement without any agenda.

Non-alignment has been the holy grail of India's foreign policy.

According to EAM S Jaishankar "non alignment was a policy of a particular era & in particular conditions".

Some feel that even if India leaves non-alignment, we would still not have any universalist framework to frame our foreign policy.



PM Modi didn't attend last 2 NAM  
Summits; casting doubt over India being  
non-aligned anymore.

However, EAM S Jaishankar said "As  
far as strategic autonomy is concerned,  
non-alignment will always remain  
valuable & relevant for us"

Also, India's denial to join any  
alliance system is another example  
of relevance of non-alignment.

India (PM) participated in a virtual  
NAM summit during COVID-19 renewing  
interests in the organization & the  
concept

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