



Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2021

Test 06

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name Bhavishya
Test Date 6/12
Email Address —
UPSC Roll No —

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,

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



Que.1 (a)

Discuss the limitations of structural functional approach to the study of comparative politics. (10 Marks)

Structural Functional approach was developed by Almond and Powell building on Easton's preliminary System's Model.

Inspired from anthropologists (Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown) they take a 'Micro-view' of Political Systems and incorporate dynamic agents like Pressure Groups (PGs), Media etc. in their analysis.

Yet Marxist dismiss their approach as 'Western Dogma' focussed on 'System-Maintenance' ignoring possibilities of 'System Breakdown' [eg: Revolutions]

Apart from 'status-quoism' and 'Ideological Bias'; Traditionalist

point out the 'Conceptual
inadequacy' and Operational
difficulty of an abstract jargon-
filled framework.

Further Political Economist
argue without inclusion of
economics; Modern Politics is
incomplete.

While Political Sociologist
are disappointed by 'closed nature'
of Structural-Functionalism that
limits scope for future research.

Despite criticisms it is an
improvement over barebones 'Systems Model'
but must be used alongside other
approaches for holistic
view.

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



Que.1(b)

Comment on Morgenthau's views on national interest. (10 Marks)

Morgenthau (the Father of Realism) in Politics amongst Nations gave the concept of National Interest (NI) as the prime motivation behind Foreign Policies (FP)

He described NI as a Dynamic concept ever-changing in response to geo-political changes and demands of the country itself.

But broadly NI can be classified as:

- ① Core NI that remains constant like Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity. [source of continuity]
- ② and Variable NI that is source of change in foreign policy like

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the pivot of American FP from Atlantic to Middle East to Indo-Pacific.

Power is means to achieve NI and Balance of Power, Diplomacy, Deterrence, International law, Ideology, Propaganda etc. are ways to practically secure NI.

However it is criticized as pseudo-theory (Raymond Aron) susceptible to misuse due to its subjectiveness. As Mohammad Yorus (Post-colonial Realist) shows NI is misused by Pakistan's ruling Elite and Military Establishment.

Yet it remains widely popular and FP is formulated in terms of NI due to hegemony of Realism.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks	



Que.1(c) Elucidate the difference between defensive and offensive realism.
(10 Marks)

Realism is Hegemonic theory of International Politics (IP) originating from Kantilya and Sun Tzu in East to Thucydides in West.

As an umbrella-school it contains multiple sub-schools who accept the basic assumptions of Anarchy, Statism, Survival and Self-Help and centrality of Power.

But the schism b/w Offensive and Defensive Realists is on the nature of Power.

Defensive Realists like Kenneth Waltz see Power as means to achieve security as end.

while Offensive Realists like Mearsheimer see both

Power as means and the end.

Waltz thus is a 'Security Maximizer' while Mearsheimer is 'Power Maximizer'.

In practical policy terms during Cold War defensive realists pursued 'Detente' while offensive realists pursued 'Arms Race'.

Former believed in building Deterrence and Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) Doctrine; the later suggested 'Preponderance of Power' and 'NUTS' (tactical nuclear weapons) doctrine.

However both believe that defense or offence is only the method; the goal is Natural Instinct

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



Que.1(d)

Write a short note on Religious Terrorism with reference to Al Qaeda (10 Marks)

Terrorism as per Goodin is a form of Political Violence using fear, apprehension and disregard for innocent to meet its political goals.

Religious Terrorism with echoes in Crusades of Medieval Period is mostly a Modern Phenomenon. It is misuse of religion to serve political ends.

From a Clash of Civilization perspective of Huntington it is a form of Asymmetric Warfare pursued by weaker civilization/religion.

On the contrary, Liberal scholars argue Religious terror is the symptom but the cause is breakdown of Rule of law and Development Deficit.

Post 9/11 and the Bush Doctrine

of Global War on Terror; Al-Qaeda has become face of Religious terror.

It declared 'Global Jihad' against West, using extremist interpretation of Quran (Wahabism) and mobilized Muslims across the world using charisma of Osama bin-laden and innovative use of ICT (Internet).

JL Gaddis described the 'diffused terrorism' of Al-Qaeda as greatest threat to post-cold war US-led World Order.

However after 2-decade long wars in Iraq, Afghanistan etc Al-Qaeda is reduced to its ^{pale} shadow.

But the threat of Religious terrorism remains and has become more dangerous with rise of ISIS (Islamic State), Taliban and others.

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



Que.1(e)

Enumerate Reforms needed in UN peacekeeping. (10 Marks)

UN Peacekeeping (UNPKF) or 'Blue Helmets' are international force under UN umbrella that aims to establish Peace and order in conflict-ridden areas.

As UN General Secretary Antonio Guterres said India has made an 'outsized' contribution to peacekeeping from initially Korean Peninsula to present conflicts in Africa (Liberia, Congo etc)

However as India argued during its Presidency at UNSC UNPKF is in urgent need for major reforms such as:

① Increase in peacekeeping funds and their timely disbursement from Western countries.

- ② Investments in Capacity Building, Training and tech-enabling UNPKF.
 - ③ greater Transparency in payment (eg. Pakistan's using UNPKF to earn foreign exchange)
 - ④ Equitable and fair troop allocation from both global North and South
 - ⑤ Greater voice to contributing nations in deciding the deployment, decision making etc
 - ⑥ Avoid 'Perilous Interventions' and prefer diplomatic/political solutions (eg. Syria, Libya).
 - ⑦ Holding UNPKF accountable and strengthening their ability to prevent war crimes, genocides etc (eg. Rwanda)
- These reforms are necessary to meet UN aspirations of Human Rights and Rule of Law on ground

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



Que.2(a)

The rivalry between USA and China has become a guiding paradigm of international relations shaping both scholarly debates and real world of politics. Discuss (20 Marks)

Post Cold War with fall of Soviet Russia (USSR) the Liberal International Order shaped by US Hegemony was born.

The 'Unipolar Moment' allowed USA to design and dominate Institutions of global governance from Donor-institutions (WB, IMF) to WTO (basis for LIEO).

Contrary to what Francis Fukuyama predicted it wasn't 'the end of history'.

A rival power with latent potential of Demography and Civilizational History emerged in form of China using and

benefitting from LIED.

Liberals like John Ikenberry and Joseph Nye argue that International Institutions and forces of Complex Interdependence will act as a bulwark against New Cold War from rise of China.

They decry the Zero-sum mentality, belligerent rhetoric and increased brinkmanship (eg: South-China Sea) that prevent China's Peaceful rise.

While on the other hand Structural Realists like John Mearsheimer reject belief in 'peaceful rise' as 'liberal Delusions'



Mearsheimer believes that 'Great Power Competition' has restarted and like Cold War the rivalry between US and China will be the guiding paradigm of International Relations.

Chinese actions from South China Sea, Taiwan Strait, East China Sea to Himalayas are clear signs of an aggressive and assertive Middle Kingdom with ambitions of 'Regional Hegemony'.

In response American efforts at containment and 'offshore balancing' could be seen in QUAD, AUKUS and declaring Taiwan as core National Interest in National Security Strategy.

Thus Geopolitics and scholarly debates need to be viewed through prism of New Cold War.

However liberals and social Constructivists continue to reject the label of 'New Cold War' and warn of possibility of Nuclear Holocaust given Nuclear stockpiles of two superpowers.

Yet apart from true nature of this rivalry; it is clear as Graham Allison shows that Thucydides Trap b/w status-quoist power (USA) and Revisionist Power (China) is the most significant geo-political event shaping both scholarly debates and real world of politics since cold war.

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

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Answer Questions in NOT MORE THAN the Word Limit specified for each in the Parenthesis.
Content of the Question is more important than length.

(Specimen Answer Booklet - For Practice Purpose Only)

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2 (b)

Indo-Pacific is the new geopolitical construct coined by Shinzo Abe (PM, Japan) representing the confluence and dynamic coupling of Indian and Pacific oceans.

Post global Financial crisis (2008) Fareed Zakaria argues the world 'decline of West, rise of Rise'.

The meteoric rise of China and Asian Tigers had already shifted geo-economic centre of gravity from Atlantic to Asia-Pacific.

But as John Mearsheimer asserts 'Structural Forces' will engage US and China into Great Power Competition and Indo-Pacific will be the equivalent

of European Central Front in Berlin during Cold War.

He argues Chinese aggression in South China Sea, Taiwan Strait and East China Sea and in response American Pivot to Asia-Pacific, reinvigoration of QUAD and release of Indo-Pacific strategies confirm that Indo-Pacific will be the center of gravity of International Politics (IP).

QUAD consisting of USA, India, Australia, Japan is seen by Realists as part of 'Containment' and 'off-shore Balancing' of China.

But as EAM S Jaishankar said Quad is not an 'Asian NATO' but has a 'positive agenda' of advancing cooperation and mutual interest in the region.



As the recent QUAD-summit revealed the agenda goes beyond Maritime Security, Strategic Cooperation and 'free and open Indo-Pacific'.

To involve coordinated action on Climate Change, HADR (Humanitarian Aid and Disaster Relief), Technological challenges and Vaccine production (IB does).

Thus as PM Modi said QUAD will be the lynchpin of New World Order resulting from geopolitical cooperation, competition and confrontation in Indo-Pacific

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

Que.2(c)

Since the end of the cold war nothing had a more decisive impact on the structure of the international system than the rise of China. Elucidate. (15 Marks)

The end of the Cold War and fall of Soviet Russia (USSR) led to transition from Bipolarity to US-led 'Unipolar Moment'.

However last decade starting from global Financial Crisis (2008-09) as Fareed Zakaria argues the structure of International system is changing under 'decline of West, rise of China'.

Structural Realist believe the international system will be Bipolar with great Power competition ushering in a new Cold War b/w USA and China.



Mearsheimer says liberal delusions of 'end of history' (Fukuyama) and 'timeless' American global hegemony are ending. As China converts its economic and demographic potential into Military Hard Power.

But liberals like Joseph Nye deny this 'Zero-sum' thinking. Nye believes in age of 'complex interdependence' the International System is a 3D chessboard. Where US will remain hegemonic in terms of Military Strength and world will be Unipolar militarily. But it's already Multipolar economically and apolar along Soft Power dimension.

Social Constructivists like Alex Wendt call for cooperation

not competition and eschewing 'cold-war mindset' to deal with problems of Climate Change, Pandemics, Nuclear War etc.

India as EAM S Jaishankar says in 'The India Way' has recognized shifting geopolitical sands and along with like-minded partners (European Union) supports creation of a Multipolar, Inclusive, Rules-based New World Order with 'Reformed Multilateralism'.

Thus rise of China and its aggressiveness (from Indo-Pacific to Himalayas) has sent 'geopolitical shocks' that will decisively impact the structure of International System.

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

Que.4(a)

Write a note on sustainable development goals and elucidate their critical importance in the achievement of new international order. (20 Marks)

UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are part of Agenda 21; as natural successors of MDGs (Millennium goals) that serve as priority targets for socio-economic development. eg: SDG#1: No Poverty, SDG#2: Zero Hunger. etc.

They focus on achieving Sustainable Development i.e. development while ensuring 'Inter-generational Equity'.

UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres describes them as 'lighthouses' for nations, UN agencies, NGOs and other stakeholders.

As Liberal Institutionalists argue they are measure for 'global cooperation' in age of complex

interdependence. SDGs allow coordination amongst State and Non-state actors to fight Cross-national (Climate Change, Pandemics) and cross-domain (food, health, education) challenges.

While Social Constructivists emphasize their 'Normative' value in embuing 'Anarchy' of International Politics (IP) with common norms, goals and yardsticks of progress

As UN, EU and global south including India have believed SDGs could be the means to achieve New International Order (NIO).

That is more equitable, inclusive, fills the developmental deficit between global North and south and enables rules-based



Multi Polar World Order that allows Multilateral solutions to ^{common} problems of Humanity from Pandemics to Climate Change.

However Neo-Marxists pointing out the 'Investment Gap' (>\$2.5T), increase in 'Global Inequality' (Thomas Piketty) and lacklustre implementation of SDGs reject them as tools of global Bourgeois Interest to maintain status-quo.

While post-colonial theorist assert that SDGs are 'empty virtue-signalling' and as the Pandemic has revealed global Governance Bodies with 'democratic deficit' (UN, WTO, UNFCCC) are in no position to deliver on their promises. by 2030.

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While Realists like Mearsheimer SDGs are 'utopian liberal delusions' in face of 'New Cold War like dynamics with 'non-peaceful' rise of China.

Though especially after COVID as Antonio Guterres himself accept that at 'current investment rates SDGs are impossible to achieve by 2030'

Yet they serve as 'beacon of hope' for humanity to eschew confrontation and pursue cooperation to create New International Order that is equitable, inclusive, rules-based and robust to existential challenges.

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



Que.4(b)

Discuss the three generations of Human Rights. How are they related to each other? Why western nations do not accept the Asian value perspective on human rights? (15 Marks)

'Human Rights (HRs) are Natural,
Inalienable and Universal Rights?
- UDHR (1948)

UN Declaration of HR (UDHR)
post World War II diluted
the Austinian notion of Absolute
Sovereignty.

To grant citizens of the
world with Inalienable Human
Rights as protective shields
against genocides, ethnic
cleansing, war-crimes and other
such crimes against humanity

Karel vasak described the
evolution of HR Discourse as
Three generations of HRs.

First generation dominated
by Liberal conception of Natural

Rights (John Locke) are 'negative' in nature i.e. denote 'absence of coercion'. (eg: Right to life & liberty)

The 2nd generation incorporates socio-economic rights inspired from Social Liberals and Socialists

They are Positive as they inspire Government action. (eg: Right to Food, Health, Education)

Both 1st and 2nd generation of rights are recognized by the International Covenant on Civil, Political and Socio-economic Rights

While third generation of HRs are collectivist originating from Global South. (eg: Solidarity Rights, Right to Peace, Environment etc)

Thus, ^{with} each generation there is widening and progressive realization of Rights.

However to counter HR Discourse and its misuse by West to serve its interest (eg: Regime-change intervention) Lee Kuan Yew proposed Asian Values

Asian Values stress on collective over individual and promote Confucian values like Hardwork, Respect for authority, duty towards society.

Western nations do not accept Asian Values as they see it as justification for 'Asian-authoritarianism' (eg: Chinese CCP). They believe liberal Democracies are best for peace, prosperity & progress of Asia.

Thus as SP Huntington claimed the HR vs Asian Values can be seen through prism of 'Clash of Civilizations'

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

Que. 4(c)

Elaborate on Marxist critique of realism in International politics.

How the Neo-Gramscians like Robert Cox apply the concept of Hegemony in international relations? (15 Marks)

Marxist approach to 'International Politics' or 'International Political Economy' extends the Marxist 'mode of analysis' to International Sphere.

It rejects the Hegemonic 'False consciousness' of Realism that ~~views~~ Anarchy in negative light.

Immanuel Wallerstein argues Realism justifies 'Arms Race', 'Military Aggression' and 'Power struggle' that benefits Metropolitan Bourgeoisie in global North (i.e. Politicians, MNCs, Military-Industrial complex) by 'Drain of Wealth' from exploitation of 'Raw Materials'



and Labour in Global South.

Noam Chomsky criticizes Realist like Henry Kissinger for 'forever wars' that hurts both American Exchequer and people in developing world. He calls USA as the first terrorist state for Human Rights violations from Vietnam to Afghanistan.

However the Marxist critique is called 'Economic reductionism'.

As it reduces Realist behaviour to serving interest of MNCs, Big oil, Military-Industrial Complex etc.

But Neo-functionalists like Robert Cox incorporate the role of cultural and ideological factors in International Relations. Cox argues that global Hegemony of USA is sustained

by combining HARD and SOFT Power.

As American Culture, its political system of Liberal Democracy and use of HR Discourse has led to 'Ideological attraction' from South Korea to Japan to even India

Thus contrary to Realists belief in Hard Power as per Cox it is Soft Power that maintains Hegemony or 'generates consent'.

Marxists critique when combined with Neo-gramscianism offers a robust critique of dominant Discourse of IR i.e. Realism.

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



(Que.5(a))

Discuss the Role of Soft power : as a major foreign policy tool for India. (10 Marks)

Joseph Nye coined Soft Power to denote — in contrast to Hard Power — the non-coercive ability to attract or 'generate consent' based on Ideological Attraction.

In age of Complex Interdependence Nye believes Soft Power has become major Foreign Policy (FP) tool.

India as a civilizational Power wields significant Soft Power through its Cultural Products like Yoga, Bollywood, Ayurveda, cuisine, music etc.

As PM Modi asserted India is an 'OPEN Society' with political values of Pluralism, Tolerance, Secularism and Democratic Republicanism that allows convergence

West esp. USA.

Further as EAM S Jaishankar said 'affluence and influence' of Indian Diaspora worldwide gives India a unique soft-power advantage.

Since independence as Pt. Nehru believed Indian Soft Power has allowed India to play an 'outsized role', claim the mantle of Third World leadership (eg: Non-alignment Movement, NAIM) and punch-above its weight as 'Moral Force'.

However as Nye recommends in changing geopolitical landscape India needs to combine hard and soft power to exercise Smart Power.

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



Que.5(b)

Lack of trust between India and Sri Lanka has made the relationship transactional. Comment. (10 Marks)

India and Sri Lanka (SL) relations are based in deep historical and cultural ties from Ramayana to Ashoka's Buddhism.

But since the Indian inter-
vention in the Island nation and
its ambiguity on the 'Tamil
Question' the relationship ebbed.

Further in recent times
Chinese Influence has grown
manifold through its signature
Cheque-book diplomacy (BRI).

The trust-deficit between
the neighbours widened after
recent cancellation of East
Container Terminal (ECT) by SL
and Indian rejection of demand

for currency swap agreement.

While the skirmishes b/w Indian Fishermen and Lankan Navy has persisted fueling anti-SL sentiment in Tamil Nadu.

To bridge this 'trust-divide' and overcome transactional nature Indo-SL ties need to place their relations in Civilizational context.

As SL President himself said 'China is a friend but IND is a relative'. While New Delhi needs to respond with 'Non-reciprocity' of Equival Doctrine of Neighbourhood First.

Successful resolution of fishermen dispute and West Container completion could Terminal (WCT) be initial steps to regain trust

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



Que.5(c)

Explain the New horizons in India Africa relations. (10 Marks)

India Africa relations have shared history of anti-colonial struggle against Europeans and Third World Solidarity under NAM (Non-alignment).

But 21st century is dubbed as Afro-Asian century due to realization of Human and Natural Resources of two continents.

New Horizons in India-Africa relations aim to leverage this 'hidden potential'.

Geo-economically it will involve utilising Demographic Dividend of Young Africa, its immense Mineral (Oil, gas, diamonds, rare earths) Wealth and fast-growing markets of Ethiopia, Nigeria etc.

In terms of Security cooperation

Q. no. 5(

it can stop spread of Religious Extremism (eg: Boko Haram), Organised crime, Piracy (Somalian coast) and the curse of Civil Wars and Ethnic Strifes (eg: Congo to Libya).

India through ITEC is investing in Capacity Building while Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) with Japan fills the infra-deficit.

Apart from Bilateral relations geo-strategically 'third scramble' for Africa is happening b/w China, West, Russia etc to increase their footprint in 'continent of Hope'.

Thus 'New Horizons' is a multi-dimentional agenda across trade, investment, P2P, health, education for future Indo-African ties.

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

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में प्रश्न संख्या को
अतिरिक्त कुछ
न लिखें।

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Answer Questions in NOT MORE THAN the Word Limit specified for each in the Parenthesis
Content of the Question is more important than length.
(Specimen Answer Booklet - For Practice Purpose Only)

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5(d) FTAs or Free Trade Agreements are mechanisms to promote Bilateral or Regional trade by lowering tariff or non-tariff barriers.

India post-Liberalization [LPG reforms, 1991] entered the global Capitalist Order with multiple FTAs including with ASEAN, Japan, South Korea etc.

However post-global Financial Crisis (2008-09) the International economic geography was fractured with emergence of Regional trade blocks: RCEP, CPTPP, MERCOSUR, EU etc.

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As India is absent from both RCEP and CPTPP FTAs become essential to provide Investments, technology, export-markets and allow double-digit growth for Indian Economy.

Further in age of 'Complex Interdependence' as Bastiat said 'if goods don't cross borders; soldiers will'. FTAs are necessary to reduce conflict, rising protectionism and build equitable and inclusive New International Economic Order. (NIEO).

New Delhi therefore has restarted trade negotiations with US, UK, Australia, EU and others sign FTAs.



Que.5(e)

Write a short note on India's humanitarian diplomacy. (10 Marks)

Indian Foreign Policy is driven by civilizational virtue of 'Vasudhaira Kutumbkam' (World as One Family).

In this context India's humanitarian Diplomacy is symbol of Indian Soft Power and 'outsized role' in serving the 'common good'.

Historically Nehruvian Idealism allowed New Delhi to serve the humanitarian role from Peacekeeping in Korean Peninsula to fighting famine, hunger and AIDS epidemic in Africa.

In recent times Indian humanitarian ^{effort} is concentrated in the Neighbourhood (from earthquakes

to floods in Nepal, Pakistan) and Indian Ocean Region (Tsunami of 2004).

With Vaccine Maitri India has asserted its status of 'responsible' major power.

While 'Cereal Diplomacy' to Taliban-led Afghanistan shows our commitment to ~~values of~~ Afghan people.

It has also become part of Multilateral or Minilateral groupings from QUAD to BIMSTEC to SCO.

Thus from taker of humanitarian aid; India has emerged as generous giver enabling 'South-South Cooperation' and 'good-will'.

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



Que.6(a)

Fight for South China Sea is the fight for the soul of international order. Comment. What is India's approach to South China Sea? (20 Marks)

Structural Realist John Mearsheimer argues South China Sea (SCS) has emerged as equivalent of Central Front in Berlin during Cold War.

Post global Financial Crisis (2008) the Unipolar World Order undergirded by US Hegemony was challenged by what Fareed Zakaria calls 'decline of West, rise of Rest'?

The meteoric rise of China and Asian Tigers had already shifted the geo-economic center of gravity to SCS.

But aggressive rise of China with Militarization of Islands

in SCS, brinksmanship in Taiwan Strait and Senkaku Islands (Japan) and repudiation of ICT verdict has attracted American response.

With Obama's Pivot to Asia, formation of quasi-alliances like QUAD and AUKUS; the containment and offshore balancing has begun by USA.

Thus present International Order dominated by West is undergoing a transition.

SCS will be the theatre of the fight not just for regional hegemony and access to critical Sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) but a fight for soul of

International Order.

Between a Liberal Democratic (US, UK, IND etc) and rising Authoritarian axis (China, Pak, Russia).

If the Middle Kingdom asserts its 'historical claims' (9-DASH line) and pushes US-Navy beyond subsequent island chains then it could declare the demise of 'US Hegemony' and fashion a 'New World Order' in its own image.

India as part of its Indo-Pacific strategy and Act East Policy alongside like-minded partners like EU has called for a rules-based, free, open and inclusive South China Sea.

New Delhi has decried Chinese efforts to make SCS an exclusive 'Chinese lake' and supported 'freedom of navigation' and VNCLOS.

India's approach to SCS focusses on ASEAN Centrality.

While on the Realist side Indian Navy can create 'Malacca Dilemma' for Chinese if they threaten Indian access to SCS.

Thus SCS is the geopolitical 'center of gravity' and India has a Realist, Historical & geographical imperative to ensure freedom, multipolarity and rules-based order in SCS.

Understanding of Questions	
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Overall Remarks :	

Que.6(b)

USA's exit necessitates paradigmatic shift in India's Afghanistan policy. Explain?(15 Marks)

'... developments in the Kabul valley inevitably affect the Empires of Gangetic Plains...'
- K.M Pannikar

Afghanistan in 'Heart of Asia' as per geo-strategist Mackinder is critical for access to 'Heartland' for a Rimland nation like India.

Based on Idealism Indian approach to Afghanistan relied heavily on Humanitarian Aid and Developmental Assistance.

New Delhi as Prof. Marsh Pant says believed in winning Afghan 'Hearts and Minds' by Capacity Building, Infrastructure Projects like SALMA Dam, Zaranj-Delaram



Highway, to Afghan Parliament

While as S Jaishankar said India's Afghan Policy posited a Democratic, Inclusive Afghanistan respectful of Women and Minority Rights.

But USA's exit and Taliban's rise has changed Strategic calculations and New Delhi has suffered a 'temporary setback'

As C Raja Mohan argues India need to eschew its 'Masterly Inactivity' and follow a policy of 'Cold Kautilyan Realism' to protect its interest.

Rawalpindi would use its 'Strategic Depth' to fuel cross-border terrorism esp. in J&K.

While denial of access to Afghanistan will not only deprive us of return on our investments



and Afghan Mineral Riches but also lead to failure of 'Connect Central Asia'.

While Afghanistan crisis could be used by China, Pak-Russia axis to assert its regional dominance.

Thus apart from ensuring National Security and Energy

Security; India needs to pursue 'Backchannel diplomacy' with Taliban

regime to ensure 'Af-Pak region' does not become 'terrorist sanctuary'.

As recent Delhi Dialogue showed proactive diplomatic efforts guided by Pragmatic Realism can ensure Double Peace i.e. peace within Afghanistan and in the region.

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

SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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

Que.6(c)

New Delhi faces challenges in managing its relations with Iran within its competing interests and conflicting relations with other countries. Discuss?(15 Marks)

'Once we make up our mind; the distance b/w Kashi & Kashan is only half a step'
- PM Modi on Indo-Iran relations

As per Kautilya's Mandal Siddhanta Iran is in India's Extended Neighbourhood.

It is not just critical to India's Energy Security (oil and gas) but also for its access to Heartland of Eurasian and Europe.

Thus Connectivity Partnerships like INSTC (North-South Transit Corridor) and Chabahar Port were central in Indo-Iranian relations

Further recent Afghanistan crisis has created the possibility



of Regional Instability threatening both Indian & Iranian interest.

Yet given geographical and Historical and Economic convergence New Delhi faces challenges in managing its relations with Iran.

Iran has ambitions of Regional Hegemony in Middle East which is contra to Indian thriving relations with Israel and Gulf countries.

While the Trump doctrine of 'Maximum Pressure' forced India to diversify its Energy Imports away from Iran and delayed Chabhar Project.

While Strategic Scenario of great Power Rivalries as Mearsheimer argues has forced India into Democratic

US-camp and Iran into authoritarian Chinese-camp.

Despite these competing interests and conflicting relations New Delhi can utilize Afghan crisis to reinvigorate Indo-Iranian relations. Shia Iran can help in counter-terrorism emanating from Sunni Taliban ruled Af-Pak region.

While both can coordinate on regional fora (eg: SCO) to ensure 'peace and prosperity' in conflict-ridden Afg.

Thus with Biden Presidency in USA (JCPOA talks); time is ripe for New Delhi to overcome 'divergences' and repair historical bilateral ties'.

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