

UPSC

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Name : SANSKRITI TRIVEDI

Test : 06

Date : 05/09/2022

Remarks

इस हाशिप
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16)

Power forms a foundational
conceptual category in international relations.

Realist understanding prioritises power as
key decider of state behaviour. (Morgenthau)

Power is not clearly defined
and can have both tangible and
intangible aspects. The resources,

military, geography are the tangible
aspects of power. While culture forms
intangible.

Joseph Nye & bifurcates
power into hard and soft as
co-ercive and co-optive power.

He suggests to have smart power
that balances both.

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At the systemic level,
the position of state also is a measure
of power like Super Power, Great power.

Jack S. Levy tries to
compare National Power on parameters of
Military Competitiveness, Policy Coherence
and Cultural Assertiveness.

National Power is very
important because it decides the
location of state ~~and~~ in the
Balance of Power architecture and
thus take steps - external, internal
and soft Balance as per the need.

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1(b)

National Interest forms a
basis of international relations theory.
Morgenthau in his Politics Among Nations
says that no values but objective
national interest guide the states.

If seen from classical
realism, National Interest will
guide behaviour of states to attain
maximum power. For Neo Realists,
National Interest will be important
to decide the course of action of
changing state of anarchy.

States respond to
changing Balance of Power better.
As seen in India's greater shift to USA
as Chinese rise happens due
to its National Interest.

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For liberals, national interest
of states will guide them to form
institutions, human rights regime
as the ways and violence will be
an issue even for victors (Norman
Angell)

National Interest also
guides state to stick to their
Strategic Autonomy and not get
bullied. As seen in India's response
to Ukraine war and also
joining the QUAD.

Solid Constructivism
would understand National Interest
as being just constructions. Thus
these constructions have to serve
the purpose of welfare of people
and not elite interest.

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1 (C)

System is a method to study various disciplines taken from the discipline of Biology. It tells about various actors, behaviours and their overall interaction.

Morton Kaplan taken inspiration from this system analysis also seen in David Easton to analyse IR using a system as a whole and not individual states as differently.

He initially proposes 5 types of systems — Balance of Power, Bipolar, Loose Bipolar, Unitary and very loose Bipolar. But as changes in international system is seen adds other types like — Unstable Block, Nuclear Diffusion etc.

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System model is adopted as a result of Behavioral Revolution in IR as an attempt to make it more scientific with clear cut empirical support.

But the model has been criticised too. Leiber says that these are just frameworks no clear theorising can happen.

Stanley Hoffman says that the Systems, its parts and functions are not clearly defined.

But Scientific level of analysis becomes useful in Objectively studying IR.

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1(d)

IR has been variously understood by various schools of thought. Marxist school emerges as a critical school to hegemonic discourses of liberalism and Realism.

World Systems Theory by Immanuel Wallerstein is an attempt to expand on the Lenin's Analysis of imperialism and also solve the issues with Dependency Theory of A.G. Frank.

~~Dependency~~ WST says that Dependency had done State level analysis but the analysis should be system level.

WST also is a grand sociological idea to counter the Modernisation discourse and the capitalist push for globalisation.

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They say that WSystem
is economic and decentralized since
the 17th century and understood by
three dimensions

Spatial dimension tell us
the position of state - core, periphery
and the new semi-periphery on the
basis of international division of labor

Temporal dimension tells us
about the cyclical rhythms, secular trends
and contradictions that eventually
will lead to fall of one World System
and start of another

Cultural dimensions are the
various ideas and science that
support the system

Though criticised
for being Economic Deterministic, they
are useful in analysis of Global Capitalism

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SECTION-A

1(c)

Rights are considered as essential conditions for human development as per Desai. Natural Rights tradition emerging from Locke and Rousseau tradition give way for the discourse of human rights that are rights given to all on account of being human.

Human rights as seen in many documents like UDHR, ICCPR etc are considered equal for all, universal, inalienable. Human rights have been appreciated to usher human security post world war times.

But the most controversial aspect of human rights have been their universality. It means that same rights are applicable to all regardless of the content.

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Asian Values give a prominent
critique to human rights tradition.
Emerging from East Asian scholars
like Lee Kuan Yew, Malik Muhammad
they say East Asian societies are
communitarian, respect authority and are
frugal. This is in contrast with the
liberal-individualistic-universal human rights.

They consider human rights
in universal form to be neo-imperialism
and also fostering regime change (Xi Jinping)

But Asian values come
under criticism as promoting soft
authoritarianism (A. Sen) and even
feminists criticise them as biased,

Thus value pluralism
and multiculturalism and cultural
Relativism should guide human rights.

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Q 2(c)

Globalisation refers to the greater interconnectedness among countries which have made relations and movement of people / finances / goods cheaper, faster and easier.

Globalization has been essentially contested ~~phenomenon~~ phenomenon.

Driven by neo-liberal framework of free economy, limited state role in welfare as per writings of Nozick and situated in the club-web model of state system, globalization has been called as neo-imperialism by west.

The World systems theory by Immanuel Wallerstein criticises globalization's claim that closeness to world market will lead to

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improvement of developing countries.
Rather ~~or~~ they say, globalization
has led to impoverishment of
peripheri and even hampers workers
in core and semi peripheri.

J. Stiglitz, P B Mehta says that
globalization has created channels of
economic, cultural and political
dominance of west just like
imperialism of 1st - 20th century.

But this framework
is contested by David Held and Anthony
Mc Grew who say that 21st
century globalization is an unprecedented
unprecedented ^{phenomenon} and the
connections are "transformative" in nature
and not western imperialist.

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Even post colonial country
scholars like J. Bhagwati say that
globalization had trickle down benefits
to the poor; human rights improved

Democracy is a form of
government as understood by
S. Huntington; 4 waves as rule with
greater people's participation since the
times of Athenian & city states.

For some scholars
globalization can arrest
democratic processes of state
sovereignty and accountability because
governments do not render much
decisions now. Hyperglobalists
like Ohmae say that states
are in peri-pheri now.

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People's deliberation and
participation also holds lesser value
because decisions are shaped by the
global market. The protest against
such globalization was seen in 1999
Seattle protests against WTO.

But some say globalization
can create greater push for
democratic values as people will
be exposed to new ideas like LGBTQ
rights movements, environmentalism.

Thus globalization and its
impacts are contested and need to
be explored further.

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2(b)

Global Financial Crisis of

2008-2009 was a crisis that
originated in USA due to
failure of Banks and financial
institutions like the Lehman Brothers.

But the impact was seen
world over — Indian economy slumped;
EU faced Eurozone crisis and
institutions proved not useful
in containing this.

This profound impact was
due to greater interconnectedness
of economies, people, institutions
if seen from perspective of
complex interdependence.

Even Burton's Web
Model of economies show how
greater interconnections among

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countries due to ICT Revolution ~~is~~
~~therefore~~ made countries dependent
on each other.

As the popular paradigm
was of neo liberalism with
withdrawal of state from welfare,
insurance functions, this led
to greater impact as no cushion by
state.

The most important
consequence has been analysed to
be Chinese rise amidst the
falling Western economic strength.
Chinese Economy was relatively
safe thus got the strategic space
to increase influence and
leave behind peaceful rise

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European crisis was seen most profoundly in Greece where state had to take deep austerity measures. This was also the starting point of Euroscepticism in the countries like Britain which had to pay for inefficient southern European economies eventually led to BREXIT.

The most important consequence was re-assessment of the kind of global capitalism driven by Washington Consensus was in need of reform. This has led to active role of G-7 in formulating the new Corncall Consensus.

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2(c)

Civilization is a broad term used in history to show a geography with shared values and interests. Western civilization has been the result of Imperialism, the 2 world wars and the subsequent rise of USA as a sole hegemon signifying end of history and thus civilization of west was most important.

The 21st century poses new challenges for western civilization - Chinese Rise; shift of Balance of Power to Indo-Pacific; backlash to globalization and weakening of the soft culture of the west as seen in rise of South Korean culture (Hallyu wave).

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Additionally, challenges of
terrorism, war, Russian aggression
remain.

Realism guides states to
have power view of international relations
~~but~~ driven by National Interest and more
power. But this ego-centric world
view has given rise to more challenges.

Thus it is crucial
to take up social Constructivist view to
save its civilization. The west needs
to re-construct its world view and
make new alliances, policies etc.

But Realism is needed
in times of direct challenge. Thus
an ego-centric policy will be
useful in this situation of west
& other civilizational clash. (Samuel P
Huntington)

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Liberal World Order refers
to the world order or positioning of
the states where the underlying
ideology is of liberalism - free market
and autonomy of states.

Liberal world order driven
by peace, stability, rule based
decision making as per Wilson's 14
point speech is useful for India
to ensure its borders are secure,
trade gets multiplied and the
various institutions represent interest
of all.

Indian philosophy of 5S,
Panchasheel, Panchsheel, SAGAR,
are all steps in direction of
this world order.

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5(c)

India - Bhutan are
natural allies and share long history
and cordial relations since the
British times.

The soft power issues of
Religion and Culture are important
dimension in the relations because of
linkages due to Buddhism, cuisine, tourism
and people-to-people connections thus
having good community relations if
seen from sociological liberalism point
of view.

Geography becomes a static
point in the foreign policy of
States. In this bilateral relation,
~~geography~~ the land locked nature of
Bhutan makes India crucial
for transit & trade. Also shared

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univers become point of hydro-politics
like the Ichangchu project. BBIN-MVA
is also under talks.

Geo-politically, Bhutan has
been a buffer state as seen from
Kautilyan Mandala theory and
given a cushion against China. They
both share concern about Revisionist
and Expansionist China. Also post
SAARC's stagnation, India has tried
to reach to Bhutan through
Neighbourhood 1st (like - Indian RuPay)
in Bhutan.

But concerns remain
about India's lack of delivery
of promises (Badri Maharaj - IDSA).
hV Part says India should
ensure Bhutan doesn't become
new Nepal for India.

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5 (b)

India and China are two
rising Asian Giants as neighbours
and there are not amicable in their
relation as ~~is~~ seen through Kantilyan
wisdom (Mandala)

K. Rajpal says that there is
a considerable power asymmetry
between the two and this leads to
China's belligerent action towards
India as seen in Galwan clash (2020)

Post Galwan, Vijaya Gokhale
points out that though there are
border meetings, but China's
attitude is not that favourable. Rather
it has continued with its
expansionism as seen in the
border law near Drumocher Border.

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Due to complex interdependent
world, India continues to be
highly dependent on Chinese imports
for its manufacturing. But India
has maintained that Burdex issue
is crucial for any positive relations.

China has continued to
criticise India's attempts at
external balancing like in QUAD.

In this situation, India
needs to draw some Real Line,
strengthen internal capacity in case of
any major tension with China.

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5 (c)

Regionalisation is one of the
ways to understand the world order.

In South Asia, the prominent
regional grouping has been SAARC
formed in 1985.

But post 2016 strike, the
situation of Prisoners Dilemma prevails
between India - Pak which has
stopped any regional interaction.

In this context, BIMSTEC
has emerged as an alternative
regional set up. It is beneficial
because it — no participation from
Pak, joins South - South East Asia
and respects autonomy of participant
members.

Though dormant since
a long time, post 2022 meet, ~~SAARC~~
BIMSTEC
Charter has been finalised along with

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details of 7 major operational areas
have been highlighted.

BIMSTEC also takes into
account the charging balance of power
to Indo Pacific and is responding to this.

But some scholars like
C R Mohan point out that though
good step, BIMSTEC can't replace
SATARC due to sheer historical
and cultural links among the members.

Subhasini Naidoo also
says that given the regional issues
like climate change, terrorism; SATARC
needs to revive.

Regionalism in international
politics is driven by functionalism
and complex Interdependence, this
needs to be revived in SATARC too.

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5 (d)

Global geopolitics is on a
state of flux and a prominent feature
is the shifting Balance of Power to
the Indo Pacific.

QUAD, first conceptualised by
Shinzo Abe through his 'Confluence of Seas'
speech has been a result of this shift.

If seen from Structural Realism,
the rise of China in the state
of anarchy has urged the
4 states to form QUAD as it helps
meet their National Interest.

Though USA is clear
about anti-China logic of QUAD;
India considers it much more
wide in its aim and thus
QUAD needs important role by
India.

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Also given only India
has geographical boundaries with
China, India can decide the
course of QUAD.

As compared to all other
QUAD partners, Indian interests
are deeply linked to QUAD as its
external balancing against China
is met by QUAD.

Thus India needs to
play a pro-active role in QUAD
as a rule shaper and not just
rule taker.

As a central country in
the middle of Indian ocean,
it needs to emerge as a
leader in this situation.

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5 (e)

India - Bangladesh relations

according to Harsh V. Shringla are
a 'model' relation for neighbourhood
relations. Shared history, culture
and similar interests of economic
growth bind them together.

Aid forms a key point
of relation as seen in India's
giving free trade benefits to Bangladesh
for transit, both have worked for
rail, road, water ways to better
connect the South Asian and
South East Asian geographies.

Thus bearing few trade
roadblocks, Aid and transit are
not issue in the bilateral ties.

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But the concerns of
religious Radicalism and terrorism
emerge as sticky points as it a
grave threat to even the trade,
transit relation between the two.

Given a section of Bangladeshi
elite is ~~inclined~~ inclined to
Pakistan (BNP); Bangladeshi soil
used as grounds to train militants.

Given the porous boundaries,
the ~~it~~ illegal migration can
also spread radicalism.

As both completed 50 years
of ties, CR Mukherjee suggests to
leave behind 'Big Brother syndrome'
between the two and have
substantial talks.

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Q 6a1

International Relations is
a result of many factors for a
country - geographical location is a
key static factor. Neighbourhood of
a country is decided by the geographical
location.

Neighbourhood policy becomes
important for states as seen ~~from~~ from
Kautilyan wisdom as if not taken
care, they can emerge as threat to
national security. These countries engage
in treaties, conventions and Regionalisation
to manage the neighbourhood.

Indian post independent
neighbourhood policy has been result
of British Treaty Diplomacy as pointed
out by C.R. Mahan during Nehru's times.

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Indian policy during
I. Gandhi times was driven by
pragmatism and thus Indira doctrine
portrayed India as a saivour of
the region.

With formation of SAARC, the
neighbourhood policy was subsumed under it.

Another notable feature was Gujral
doctrine that said that India
shouldn't accept reciprocity from
South Asian neighbours due to the
power differential.

With the signation of
SAARC post 2016 attacks by Pakistan,
India has tried to revive the
neighbourhood policy under Modi.

Neighbourhood first
is a key plank of the diplomacy.

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As India is playing important role
as middle power in this
growing multipolar world, this is an
assurance of India to its neighbors.
This is important because without a
strong presence in the region India
can't aim for bigger role in the
international relations.

Indian strategic culture
and philosophy is also driving India
to have open and inclusive
neighbourhood relations as seen in
SAARC doctrine. Some other steps in
the neighbourhood are — Extending LOC
(Sri Lanka),
trade benefits (Sri Lanka); easy transit (Bhutan).

This has been positively
perceived by the neighbors and
this can become model for

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South Asian Relations, but concerns
remain.

Some countries like
Bangladesh and Nepal continue to
show skepticism about "India's big
brotherhood" in the region. Thus
India needs to communicate intentions
better.

The neighbourhood policy also needs
to be continuous and not episodic
as suggested by Smyen Sahan, this
gives a sense of stability and
strengthens trust on India.

But the biggest positive
change needed is to revive
Regionalisation and collaborate
together as a region on pressing
concerns.

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b(b)

According to Morgenthau's
classical Realism, Diplomacy becomes
one of the instruments ~~texture~~ for a
nation to achieve its National Interest.
Post independence, Indian Nehruvian
diplomacy took up NAM as aversion
to block politics led by both ^{west} USA and Russia.

But as foreign policy is
not continuous and result of
changes in the anarchical state structure,
Indian ~~the~~ diplomacy saw changes like
the Treaty of Peace & Friendship with
USSR in 1971.

Post the end of cold war
and its own LPG policy, India
has started to inch closer towards
the west. With the 21st century,

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Chinese rise, being the biggest drama
(Ikerberry), India - West relations
have strengthened.

Today India has been
showing diplomatic acumen in
using strategic autonomy to
balance SAH Russian and West
relations. Strategic Autonomy is a
mixture of Realism and NAM policy
to show that Indian decisions
are not result of external actors
but its own National Interest.

If QUAD is taken for
example, Russian foreign minister
Sergei Lavrov called it "Asian NATO".

But India didn't hesitate to
join it as it served as an
external balance against China.

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Additionally, India clarified DUAD
is just a strategic handshake and
not targeted against any country. It
tried to Balance Russia as it inclines
towards Russia USA

Moreover, recently during
Ukraine crisis, India has abstained
from voting against resolution against
~~China~~ Russia by USA and continues
to buy cheap oil. Similarly it has
resumed to buy S-400 even though threat of
sanctions remain from USA.

India is fast emerging
as global swing state and middle
power thus it needs to take
~~step~~ steps carefully and
"not keep all eggs in one basket"

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6 (C)

~~My~~ Myanmar and India
share history, border, culture and
religion. Over the years Myanmar
has emerged as a lynchpin to
Indian ~~eng~~ outreach to South East
Asia and the security of its
North East.

India's Indo-Pacific ~~con~~
construct refers to India's response
to changing ~~to~~ balancing of power
to Indo Pacific. India through
Modi's 'Shangri La' dialogue
constructs Indo Pacific as open, free
and inclusive zone; not against
any adversary.

India has become part
of OVAP, started SAGAR doctrine,
has IOIP policy and celebrating

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on Indo Pacific with Australia and ASEAN.

Myanmar fits well in
this context as it opens up in
Bay of Bengal thus maritime security,
free sea lanes of communication are
important for Myanmar too. As ASEAN,
of which Myanmar is a part, is
wary of Indian participation in
QUAD; as opposition to ASEAN
centrality; Myanmar can ease this
tension.

India's neighbourhood policy
on the other hand is an attempt
by India to strengthen Regionalism
in South Asia ~~data~~ post SARCS
stagnation.

Though traditionally
not considered part of South
Asia, Myanmar is important because

इस हाशिए
में केवल
प्रश्न संख्या
लिखें।

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Specimen Booklet

UPSC

For Practice Purpose Only

उम्मीदवारों को
इस हाशिए में
नहीं लिखना
चाहिए।
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of its location, also membership
in BIMSTEC, Mekong Ganga and the
transit agreements like Kaladan,
IMT etc.

But Myanmar is facing
Democratic crisis post Tatmadaw
takeover since 2020. Indian response
has not been very vocal. This
threatens India's North East
security thus India needs to
have focus on this concern.

South Asia and Myanmar
~~off~~ have not been able to
keep aside ethnicity issues
aside and this impacts
Regionalism, thus solution has
to be found out.

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Q 761

Kaplan had called the
location of Afghanistan as geostrategically
breath-taking. It has served as
location of great games and served
as graveyard for empires like
British. Indian Afghan Policy is
a ~~too~~ derivative of shared
history since the Muslim rule in India

Afghan Policy of India if
seen from Realist perspective
misses the strategic nuances and
is mostly guided by humanitarian
diplomacy.

As India ~~was not~~ did not
recognize Taliban, considered it
as Pakistan's proxy, India was
not ~~not~~ an active policy stakeholder
in Afghanistan as seen by
absence in meetings like Tripke
plus, Moscow format.

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As Talibans have once again taken over the country post USA's exit, India needs to relook its policies because all regional powers have now recognized Talibans and trying to extract favorable outcomes.

India also needs to engage actively because of its multiple interests Geo-economically, Afghanistan is a source of materials and a source of market for Indian goods.

Afghanistan's location is also crucial for India to reach to Central Asia for the sake of its dark North and Eurasian strategy.

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Given the Taliban regime
is also the birthplace of cross
border terrorism, drug trafficking,
India is wary of Wahabi terrorism
emerging from the region as a threat
to National security.

Geopolitically, Taliban's
ascendancy improves the stature
of Pakistan in the region and
gives it the needed strategic
depth.

Also India's humanitarian
efforts to Afghanistan with \$3 Billion
is at stake and also the pressure
of incoming refugees.

Given the multidimensional
impacts, India has already accepted
the reality of Taliban rule and
ready to engage with them to

ensure no crime is better on
Afghani soil

India has adopted policy
of Kantilya - Samasthya or alliance
with like minded countries as seen
in Regional NSA meet like in Delhi
last year. Iran, Central Asia, Russia are
seeing India as important stakeholder
in Afghanistan.

In this situation India
needs to push for greater
humanitarian aid to the people
of Afghanistan, use liberal
institutionalism to raise issue of
this disturbance as done by India
as non permanent member of UNSC.

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7 (b)

West Asia finds itself
in a very strategic location - with
meeting point of many regions, seas,
maritime routes and rich oil resources
Harid Anvari calls the region centre
of controversies due to multiple actor
play.

West Asian geo-politics is
shaped by certain key players like -
Saudi Arabia led Arab - Muslim - Sunni
countries, Iran - Shia muslim and
Israel - as a jew country.

These three have been
at antagonistic positions due to
varied ethnicities and religious affiliations.

This has put India in a spot
to balance these players. But
Indian NAM has helped India well.

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in managing the interests.

Rangit Gupta, an en
ambassador says India has been
Non interventionist in its approach
to West Asia which has worked
for its interests. Indian interests
in West Asia include - energy security,
diaspora and open sea lanes of communication.

In recent years, India's
West Asian policy has been very
appreciable. India, according to
Mudassar Qamar has now started
to dehypertense Israel - Palestine
issues and treat Israel relations
of minuscule value. This has
accelerated the 'diamonds and defence'
relations to multidimensional relations.

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Towards the Muslim States
India has agreed to their
diversification programme like
Saudi Vision 2030, It has also
signed CERPA with UAE recently
Iran is a long civilisational partner
with which Indian relations dipped due
to USA's sanctions post JCPOA withdrawal
but India has ~~managed~~ found
strategic spaces to interact.

Today with changing
geo-political game, and Joe Biden's
renewed interest in West Asia,
India has benefited. The key
players (~~from~~ UAE + Israel) along with
USA, India have laid foundation
of I2U2 promising great joint work.

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76

World order is a complex
concept and not a single idea defines
the prevalent order best. If taken
the wisdom of Joseph Nye's
3-D chess board — different spheres have
different orders (military economic).

The interdependence
in the world can be seen ~~as~~ through
liberal interdependence and complex
interdependence Model. Given by
Nye & Keohane (Power & Interdependence),

they say that today world
is connected ^{only} ~~not~~ through states but
interactions among society, economies,
and institutions. There are no
hierarchy of security concerns.
The animosity in one sphere
won't necessarily translate to other

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This is ~~also~~ seen in India - China
trade relations despite the military
stand off.

Polarized world means that
polarity thesis or having power
blocks are also important. Today
though USA is seeing fall as
unipolar power but no other power
is yet so strong to challenge USA (Susan
Strange)
Thus interdependence and polarization both
remain a reality.

Also guided by Hegemonic
Stability theory by Gilpin, ~~the~~ USA's
hegemony still has time to last but
economic interdependence is a reality.

Indian diplomacy has
grown from Nehruvian idealism
to pragmatism to opportunism of

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today as suggested by Krushnan
Srinivasan (ex foreign secy).

Indian diplomacy needs
to be trained to deal with
rising multipolarity and multialignment
in this unique world.

Diplomatic workforce also
needs to keep India's long term
strategic interest and autonomy in mind
to deal with both features (interdependence +
polarization).

Harsh-V. Pant in this
regard suggests India to strengthen
diplomatic force, tech to be in
line with 21st century. The new
NEST division, Oceans - Indo Pacific
division are good steps in this regard.