

# **GSSCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

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**K SAJAL**

**RANK - 284**

**GS MAINS**



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**MOCK 2 PAPER - II**

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*Time Allowed: 3 hrs.**Max. Marks: 250*

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***Instructions to Candidate***

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Name K Sayal

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

1. Invigilator Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Signature K Sayal

**REMARKS****GS SCORE**

**SECTION A**

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)
- Marxist view on Imperialism: Divergence of interpretation.
  - Feminist Critique of the New Economic Order and Development
  - Is state sovereignty a defunct concept now?
  - Globalization from below
  - Critical approach's views on War and Conflict.

Ans(a): Marxist view on imperialism owes its origin to Lenin. Marx himself never commented on imperialism, just that he said "Profit forces bourgeoisie class nestle and settle everywhere". Otherwise, Marx justified British rule in India. Lenin in his Book "Imperialism: Highest Form of Capitalism" said 1st world war was actually a war for colonies. He criticised imperialism for destroying the revolutionary capacity of workers in capitalist state. Rosa Luxemburg said imperialism is inherent in capitalism. In modern day, dependency school & marxism

Remarks

has analysed Neo-colonialism, Immanuel Wallerstein while giving his Core periphery theory, has unequal transfer of resources is still continuing from periphery (developing countries) to core (developed nations)

A.G. Frank has said "Development is under development"

Samir Amin has analysed French benign lens in African nation as a pretext to extract resources

Robert Cox has given the hegemony theory of Neo-imperialism, whereby USA through its hegemonic power of consent maintaining its dominance over world economy

(Q6) ~~Explain~~ State sovereignty as a concept emerged after Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Every nation state was sovereign in its internal & external sphere. Relations

Remarks

were defined by Billiards Ball model  
However, post Cold War era is also called  
age of Globalisation, which is based on  
neo-liberal ideology. It is defined by terms  
like Borderless world, Global village.

Elements of Globalisation like means of communication, TNCs, MNCs have penetrated  
the hard shell. Territorial concept has  
now diluted. Relations are defined by  
cob web model (John Banton)

Hyper Globalist like Kenneth O'Donnell, Marshall McLuhan believes that Nation sovereignty  
is a defunct concept.

While state centrist like Robert Gilpin  
are of the view that Globalisation is  
controlled by Nation states only.

There is also a midway given by  
Transformalist like David Held who

Remarks

believe that Globalisation and sovereignty of state is not a zero sum game, if some where states are winning, then at others globalisation is winning.

Sorenson believes that Globalisation has not effected every nation equally.

(d) Globalisation in its modern form emerged post cold war and establishment of WTO is its highest advent.

Kenneth O'Donnell defines it as Borderless world, while Marshall MacLuhan calls it a global village. Prof Ramesh Thakur calls globalisation as contraction of time and Space and "end of Geography".

It is based on Neoliberal ideology of Free flow of goods, people, ideas, values & services.

Proponents of Globalisation like Dr Amantha

Remarks

Sen, Joseph Stiglitz, Dr Shashi Tharoor have said Globalisation has made world a better place. Giving ~~an~~ Empirical data on how global trade has gone up, maximum number of people have been brought out of poverty since 1991 (post cold war); many LDC countries have been given opportunity to use their comparative advantage in trade through duty free, quota free access to global market via WTO rules.

Whereas opponents of globalisation like Pratap Bhau Mehta has said the use of Plutocracy (use of such). Thomas Picketty in his research paper has shown the fast increasing gap between the rich and the poor.

Prof Ramesh Thakur, has shown data

how 42 out of 51 African nations score LOLS and attributed to Euro crisis to globalisation. Prof Thakur has called Globalisation as soft underbelly of Capitalism.

i) Critical School theorists like Noam Chomsky has attributed the modern wars to the interests of MNCs.

They believe that modern nation states work to fulfil the interests of MNCs & TNCs. and to do so they may even go to the extent of war.

Chomsky was analysing the Iraq war waged by USA in 2003, has remarked that it was nothing USA's quest for oil, to secure its energy supplies for its MNCs, USA destroyed the entire nation and same way the case in Libya, Syria and now

Remarks

Iran;

Even peace between nations are also to fulfill the needs of MNCS.

Remarks

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*Remarks*

## 2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Comment on how 'Security Dilemma' actually results in an atmosphere of 'insecurity' in the long run. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Compare and contrast views of liberal, realist and critical schools on global political economy. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Is democracy a guarantee of Peace? Discuss the debate between liberal and realist school on this. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

"Anselm Security Dilemma" as a concept was given by John Herz. It is based on Thomas Hobbes's concept of State of Nature

Just like Hobbes, Herz also believed that like Human, Nations are also power seeking. They see the power of others as a zero-sum game. Someone else's accumulation of power for even defensive purposes is seen by its adversaries as an act of aggression. e.g. India acquired Nuclear weapons for its defense, which is clearly manifested in its Nuclear doctrine 2003. However, it was perceived by Pakistan as an act of aggression and they too

Remarks

went nuclear. Security dilemma is also explained by game theory like Thomas Schelling through Prisoner's dilemma

Taking the argument forward <sup>Robert</sup> ~~Robert~~  
Terris gave a matrix to explain the intensity of security dilemma

	Aggression is preferred	Defense is preferred
When offense and defense <u>can't</u> be differentiated	Highly unstable Dilemma at its peak	Some insecurity remains.
When offense & defense <u>can</u> be differentiated	Nations go for acquiring appropriate power for defense	Very stable situation. Peace prevailing

However, this view was criticised by post colonial scholars like Md. Ayob, Amitabh Acharya, & as Ethnocentric and a western concept.

Remarks

For third world countries they coined "Insecurity dilemma". Developing nations have more internal state problems than international.

But these views are criticised by Social Constructivist like Alexander Wendt, who say nations make worse case assumptions about each other based distorted truth and dilemma can be escaped through dialogue.

Ans(b) Political Economy approach is a tool of comparative politics to understand how economy shapes politics of nation.

Its origin is in Adam Smith's work "wealth of nations". Global political economy concerns with role of economy in framing Global politics.

It is a meta narrative and such very contested. Different schools have their

Remarks

own opinion

Realists: Realism also called as a "timeless wisdom". Hans Morgenthau in his much celebrated work "Politics among nations" has given an anarchical picture of global politics. As such, there is no world government and self help is the only option.

National Interest is the only option criteria to define policies of nations.

Neo Realists like Keneth Waltz & Martin Shermer echoes the same view.

For them Economy is just a tool in the hands of nations to carry out their national agenda. MNCs, TNCs are just agents of nation states.

They don't attribute much importance to economy.

Liberals: Liberal school also secures the view of Realists by accepting the

Remarks

Anarchical nature of global politics. However, theories like Interdependence (Thomas Friedman, Rossemane), comparative interdependence (Keohane & Nye) predicts how economy has played role in increasing global peace. Thomas Friedman in his "Golden Arches" theory has shown two nations having McDonald chain will never go for war. Rossemane talked about "Trading States" unlike "Military States".

Critical School: Scholars like Noam Chomsky believe that economic agents like MNCs, TNCs are the real players and Global politics is just to fulfil their interests. Noam Chomsky has termed Iraq war (2003) as desperate attempt of USA to secure oil fields for its MNCs.

Remarks -

(c) Democracy is the form of government where people directly and indirectly participate in policy formulations. Liberals

Promoters of Democratic Peace Theory like Woodrow Wilson, Joseph Nye have given empirical data to show that no two democracies have ever gone for war.

Joseph Nye has given following reason for the same

- i) Freedom of speech & Expression in democracies allow people to put up their views and it gives a chance to governments to ~~course~~<sup>go</sup> for counsel correction
- ii) People never want war as they are the worst sufferers of war. As the Greek saying goes "War is Politicians talking and Citizens dying".

Remarks

iii) war takes nation's economy backward and as governments are committed to growth and development they never go for war.

However, Realists do not hold the same option.. They believe that world structure is as such that it forces nation states to go for war to secure its interests. mean sherman has called Aggression as the best form of defense.

They believe in the concept of security dilemma. Losses made in the war can be recovered through the acquired territory.

If peace prevails it is because of concepts like Balance of power, Deterrence (Nuclear) & theories like Mutually Assured Destruction.

Democratic peace theory is also criticised by countries like China 2

Russia. As they believe that West use this to Regime change, concepts like Democracy at gun point (George W Bush) further degrades the principle.

C Wright Mills's idea of Power Elite shows that people have no role in policy formulation and it can also be a coincidence that democracies haven't gone far way.

Game theorists like Thomas Page gave the concept of Quasi Negotiation, where nations seem to be negotiating as just an eyewash, while there is no intention of negotiation. E.g. U.S.A's conditional talk often to loan on T-L-T-A.

Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

(a) Collective Security as an alternative to Balance of Power.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) How do critical, feminist and post-structuralist approaches view the concept of 'security'?

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Analyse how National Interest and National security are deeply interlinked concepts where national security has expanded into new dimensions. Also comment on how 'Security Dilemma' actually results in an atmosphere of 'insecurity' in the long run.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

**4. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) Provide a detailed functional and scholarly critique of Realist theory.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Women movements are influenced greatly by cultural and national backgrounds. Support the statement with specific reference to differences between Western and Non-Western women movement.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Idea of power state and war is gendered notion, how far it is correct to say feminism is more relevant in developing nations than developed nation states.  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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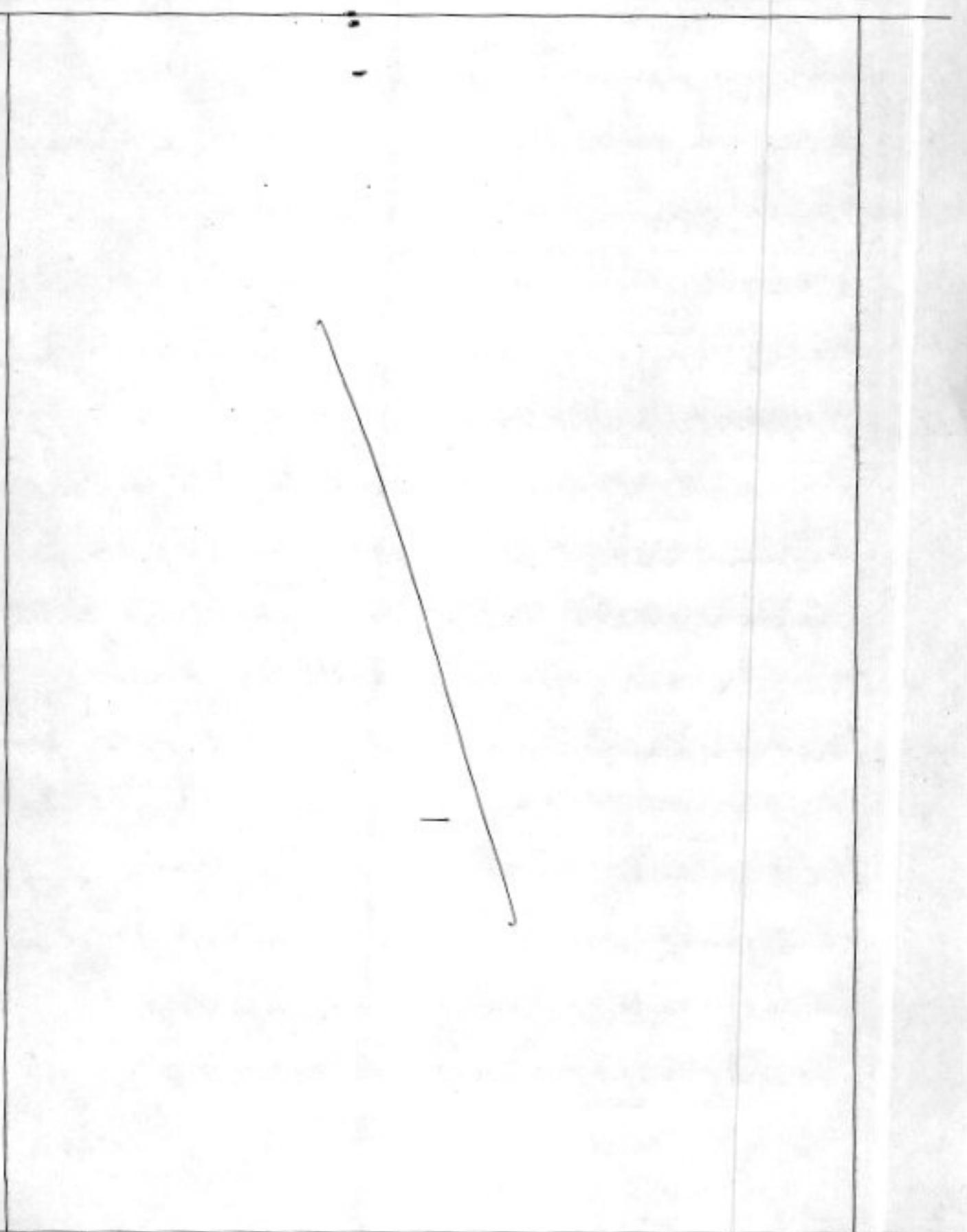
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**SECTION B**

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words each) (10 × 5 = 50)
- Majors impediments in Peace process in Afghanistan
  - Nepal-China Military relations: Emerging challenge for India.
  - India-China Confrontation and Cooperation in WTO
  - BRICS declaration on terrorism: Too little, too late for India.
  - International Solar Allaince.

Ans(a): Afghanistan is rightly called "Graveyard of Empires", a quagmire from where no one has come out victorious. USA's war on Terror dethroned the Taliban Regime (2001) and a democratically elected government was established. However, since 2013 after NATO forces withdrawal, Taliban has resurrceted itself and at present major portion of Afghanistan is under Taliban's control.

Various process to bring peace has failed. 1st impediment is Pakistan which has been a constant reinforcer of Taliban groups like Mahreek-e-Taliban,

Remarks

Haqani Network, etc. Pakistan has given the concept of Good and Bad Taliban and has been fairly "successfull" in bringing Russia, China and recently Iran on the tables to talk directly with Taliban. Even, USA has agreed on talks with Taliban unconditionally. However seeing its position strong Taliban has put up conditions like i) No talks until single foreign forces remain on Afghanistan soil ii) They are not ready to share power with democratically elected government of Ashraf Ghani.

In a way Taliban is buying time, as they are sure one day USA will leave.

India is supportive of Afghan led, Afghan centred peace process, coming of Taliban to power will be determinantal for India and they understand it.

Remarks

well. India is a part of Heart of Asia conference to bring peace

Ans(b) Nepal is quite rightly called as Yam between two boulders. Its leaders have used using one nation's card against other as an art.

As such frequent bromance between Nepal and China has created storm in the south block. Nepal in utter violation of Treaty of peace and friendship (1999) has been importing arms from China. Nepali militaries also recently organised a joint military exercise "Sagarmatha". China is constructing rail line between Lhasa to Kathmandu.

Nepal's closeness to China, meaning India is losing its strategic depth in the geo strategically important

Remarks

- Himalayan kingdom, China's PLA in Nepal will be a strategic threat for India. As Nepal was always envisaged as a boffer state (Madhyama in Mad Mandala Siddhanta). Moreover, a greater threat will Nepal joining China-Pak axis.

As such India must at warscale counter mend its previous mistakes. India must convey China its concerns by direct talks and also by increasing its presence in Chinese backyard" (Bharat karnad)

India's selling of Brahmos to Vietnam is a welcome step.

Moreover, we must also correct genuine grievances of Nepal and treat them as equal partners in further negotiations

Remarks

Ans (e) Rise of India and China is a matter of curiosity among scholars in west. Marcus Garver says never in the history two neighbouring nations have risen so fast.

While India and China are having their Geopolitical & Geo Strategic differences, they cooperate in Global Economic multilateral forums like WTO.

#### Cooperation

Recently India and China have released Joint white paper on the violations of WTO norms by western countries by giving agricultural subsidy in excess to the limit provided (de minimis level)

They have asked to remove the box counter and all subsidies must be

brought under a common head. Apparently, West diverts their subsidies from Amben to Green Ben.

They are also putting up demands for Crop Specific capping.

However, India-China are also at tiff on many issues.

India has blamed China of dumping its inferior quality products in Indian market. India is not in favour of granting "Market Economy Status" to China.

(which it has been seeking). Whereas China blames India for non-transparent applications of Anti Dumping and Countervailing duties.

5

Ansel) BRICS is a forum of developing countries of South, with the intention

Remarks

to democratise Global governance.

It comprises of Brazil, China, Russia, India and South Africa.

On the matter of terrorism, BRICS nations have always had differing mandate. In the Goa summit 2018, BRICS declaration didn't mention Pakistan, or Pak sponsored terrorist groups, inspite of India pitching hard for it. PM Modi also called Pakistan as "Epicentre of terrorism"

In the Xiamen summit 2017, member nations did agree on India's views however, declaration just mentioned names of terrorist groups like Talish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba, without naming individuals like Hafeez Saeed, Masood Azhar.

China and Russia also went on to

praise Pakistan for its efforts in fight against terrorism.

Johannesburg Declaration echoed the same view and also ~~too~~ agreed on expediting India sponsored CCIT in UNGA. More needs to be done. Nations will have to take a bolder step towards Pakistan, as terrorism is a threat to all in the region and as rightly Pak is the epicentre.

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) India-China relations as an emerging multidimensional cold war.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Assess the achievements and challenges of Indian Foreign Policy since independence till today.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) With an assertive China and uncertainty of US policy under the Trump administration, Europe and India have realised they have much to offer each other.  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Ans (a) Rise of India - China has astonished the world. Matrixes governs defines their relations in 6T's - Threat, perception, Third Party, Territory, Manang and Tibet.

Their quest for dominance of Asia has always brought them at loggerhead.

Both ~~the~~ nations went for direct war in 1962 - However post that borders have remained peaceful but disturbed.

Western Scholars define this situation between India - China as a phase of cold war. On Shashi Tharoor said that while ~~recent~~ relations have always remained Cold post 1962

Remarks

but recently it has taken an icy attitude; - China has fast grown its power - and is confronting India at all levels

Geopolitically = China has been a stumbling block in India's road to NSG, permanent membership to UNSC. China is also increase its reach in India's neighbourhood in South Asia. i) Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka ii) US \$ 40 bn line of credit to Pak iii) Eternal friendship with PAK.

However, India has retaliated by blocking China's entry in MTCC. India has made slow inroads in China's backyard. Sale of Brahmos to Vietnam is welcome.

Geostategically = China & India have longest border dispute. India claims China has taken 15000 km<sup>2</sup> of Indian

Remarks

area in ~~Aksai Chin~~ Aksai Chin region, while China claims entire Arunachal as its territory. China through "String of Pearl" project has been ~~so~~ surrounding India in the Indian Ocean region. Chinese BRI is violative of sovereignty. India on its part has joined hands with like minded countries like Japan & formed Quad.

GeoEconomically: Trade deficit between India - China is US\$51 bn in favour of China. China hasn't allowed access to Indian agricultural & pharmaceutical products citing non-tariff barriers

while India must increase its internal capacity. but given the large power asymmetry, India must also cooperate with China wherever possible

Ans(b) Foreign Policy of a nation are the methods to fulfill its national interests "with respect to other nations".

India's Foreign Policy since independence has both the elements of change and continuity.

It Nehru's Era (till 1962) = Dr Shashi Tharoor defines Nehru's Foreign Policy as "Moralistic Running Commentary"; he meant Nehru's moral postures on International issues. Nehru was an internationalist and a Pacifist. He devised NAM to avoid falling prey to Power block Politics. He had trust in international institutions, which didn't help us much, his taking of Kashmir issue to UN proved disastrous, his Pacifism costed us defeat in 1962 war.

Remarks

Indira Gandhi, Era = Scholars like Hansh v Panth calls it a paradigm shift in India's global outlook. Unlike her father she was a realist. Sensing the danger of China-Pak-USA axis, she signed Treaty of Peace & Friendship with USSR.. She even went on to militarily intervene in East Pakistan. However, India couldn't remain truly Non Aligned. Same tradition was carried on by Rajiv Gandhi. India IPKF in Sri Lanka. Together their policy is called Munroe Doctrine of India.

Post cold war: P V Narasimha Rao went for multiple Engagements like Look East, Look North, Diplomatic Relations with Israel, reapproachment with USA. We see Gujarat doctrine for neighbourhood.

Remarks

Mm Vajpayee and Dr Singh also focused on multilateral engagements. India went Nuclear in 1998, we gained waiver from from NSG in 2008.

Since 2014, we see a distinct dynamism in India's Foreign Policy. Under Mr. Modi, India has dehyphenated its relations with Israel, going for Act East, think west, neighbourhood 1st approach. We have further strengthened our relations with USA and also engaging China, ~~&~~ Russia. We have partnered with Japan.

However, uncertain Trump, Revisionist China, Opportunist Pakistan do pose challenges to our foreign policy makers. We will have to make a deft walk ~~and~~ keeping our Strategic autonomy as principle

Remarks

Ans(c) India and EU entered into Strategic partnership in 2004. But given the fact that EU is mainly a trading bloc, the relations have never gone beyond economic and far from being called strategic. So much so that (Amb) Shyam Saran calls relation as "Loveless Arranged Marriage"

However, recent global geopolitical, geoeconomic upturns have forced the two entities to rethink their relation.

#### Uncertainty under Donald Trump

Trump has dismantled much of the traditional thread which bound the global policies. His withdrawal from Paris climate deal, TPP, JCPoA, have

Remarks

made his intentions clear. Trump in his NATO speech has warned European powers to increase their contribution to collective defense. Trump's trade war has been affecting European nations ~~as~~ badly.

In this light, EU is looking to diversify its partnership. Both India and EU share common ethos of liberalism, democracy & peace. They are putting up a joint protest Trump's trade war. EU has acknowledged India's concerns with terrorism. They speak in common voice for protecting Earth from climate change. They both know that the responsibility to upkeep the liberal global world order is on their shoulders.

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Elaborate on the traditional factors which have shaped Indian Foreign Policy discourse. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss India's contribution in Global Nuclear Security. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Possibility of Taliban Inclusive Peace Process in Afghanistan will be a diplomatic setback to India. Examine. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Foreign Policy of a nation doesn't come out in vacuum. It is shaped by multiple factors like culture, domestic politics, history, social milieu, etc.

Role of traditional factors like culture, history, social milieu has been very prominent on India's foreign policy making.

Culture = As Pt. Nehru said his decision of NAM was inspired from the cultural ethos of pacifism, universalism & cosmopolitanism. Buddhist culture of conquering hearts has profound impact on our dealings with others.

Remarks

nations :-

History = Our struggle for independence against British has given us a new way of global outlook. Our support to Anti colonialism movement in Africa, the raised voice against apartheid in South Africa. Appa Durai calls India's role as leader of developing world much of a contribution of its colonial past

Social milieu = It includes our diverse demography of ethnicity, caste, religion, region, etc. Our intervention in Siachenka was much attributed to our concern for Tamil Sentimentalism. Most prominent impact has been on our relations with West Asia, we couldn't formally recognise Israel

Remarks

as our partners due to domestic pressure. As also non-finalisation of Yalta agreement is much attributed to protest from West Bengal.

While there are the elements which provide continuity, India has also gone for some dynamic changes keeping its National Interest as priority.

Ans (b) India has always been against nuclear weapons, Mahatma Gandhi called Nuclear weapons as satanic in nature, while Pt. Nehru called it as the most diabolic creation of science.

India refused to sign CTBT, NPT and CBRN as these treaties were unjust and created a nuclear have

have notes in the world. Moreover they only checked Horizontal proliferation and not vertical proliferation.

In 1988, Rajiv Gandhi gave plans for Nuclear Disarmament

- ▷ Every nation should go for complete disarmament by 2008.
- (i) Disarmament should be 'comprehensive, universal, verifiable'
- (ii) Nations may go step by step process

In 1998, India tested its Nuclear weapons. Fact that these weapons are just for defensive purpose is clearly articulated in our Nuclear doctrine

- ▷ No first use policy
- (ii) Non use against non nuclear weapon state
- (iii) Weapons under strict military

Remarks

Control:

In 2008, ~~NSA~~ gave an India Specific waiver reconfirming our position as a nuclear responsible nation. In 2008 itself India again presented its plan for disarmament.

i) Every nuclear <sup>nation</sup> should go for No First use and non use against non nuclear nations

ii) Importance of nuclear weapon should be reduced in country's security doctrine

iii) India understands its interests are better served in a nuclear free world

India is working with USA in finalisation of FMCT. We are an active participant

of USA sponsored Nuclear Security Summit

While we didn't sign Nuclear Disarmament Treaty, but we still support comprehensive

Remarks

nuclear free world.

Ans (ii)) ~~not~~ Alexander the Great had once said "May god save you from bite of Jigen, poison of snake and revenge of Afghans"

Even since withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan in 1988, there has been a power struggle going on within different factions of Afghans. India recognised Northern Alliance government but it was soon ousted by Pakistan-backed Talibans. India never accepted Taliban rule and had to pay price during IC-814 plane hijack when it didn't get any help from Taliban.

For US war on terrorism, dethroned Talibans and brought a democratically

Remarks

37  
elected government. Even since then India has stepped up its cooperation. India Afghanistan entered into Strategic Partnership in 2012. India facilitated Afghanistan's entry into SAARC. India has invested US\$ 2 bn in various infra projects like Salma Dam, Bananj Deleman Highway, etc.

However, with withdrawal of NATO forces ~~India~~ Taliban has resurged. Obviously it is backed by Pakistani army and ISI. Taliban controls major portions of Afghanistan now. It has been carrying out deadly attacks even in Kabul.

This has given a situation where inclusion of Taliban in peace process has become a must. Even USA has also signs that ~~it~~ is ready to talk with

Remarks

Mullahs, which is a vindication of Pak's stand.

Inclusion of peace process will be a setback for India's stand of Afghan led and Afghan centred peace process.

If Mullah comes back to power, it will provide a strategic depth to Pakistan in Afghanistan. Many of the infrastructural projects created by India will be under threat.

Realists like Ranajit Bannerjee suggests that sensing changing tides, India must start engaging with Mullahs... C. Raja Mohan supports putting military boots on the ground to serve India's interests. However, India still believes in promoting democracy in Afghanistan through development.

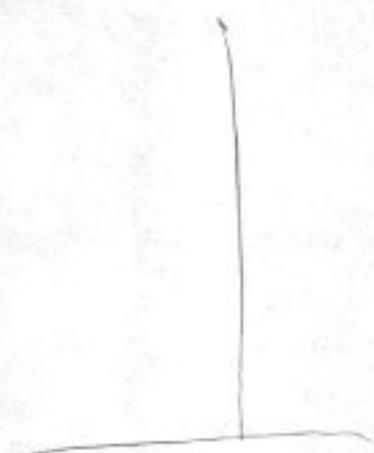
Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Examine USA's approach towards Asia Pacific and India's crucial role in it.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Analyse the relevance and context of 2+2 dialogue between India and USA in the context of maintaining Balance of Power in Asia. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) China's growing unease on India's nuclear capability deserves attention. Discuss.  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

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