



An Institute for Civil Services

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Political Science

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SECTION-A

Ans-1) Q)

Nuclear deterrence theory has been propounded by such scholars of international relations as Thomas Schelling, Bernard Brodie and Herman Kahn. According to it, possession of nuclear weapons by a state would deter others from mounting a move against it.

Thomas Schelling calls it a threat that leaves something to chance. It has been expanded to extended deterrence, i.e. protection of a nuclear weapons state of its allies also under the former's nuclear umbrella eg. by USA for Japan. India maintains a credible minimum deterrence posture which means the nuclear weapons are only of such quality as to defend against an attack.

It has been criticized by others for a number of reasons such as requirement of rational actors, commitment to mass murder, indispensability of effective communication, false sense of confidence to nuclear state (eg. Pakistan) and its inability to work against terrorists or accidental use. It has led to an arms race, diverting resources from human development.

William Perry, George Schultz, Sam Nunn and Henry Kissinger in a paper or article in Wall Street Journal have warned of the threat of nuclear weapons in the 21st century. Nuclear deterrence

Discuss
Henry
Discuss
Kissinger
Sagan
Debate
pro-cons
regarding
them

remains a contested theory from other quarters also, such as constructivists and feminists. However, it is widely held to have maintained relative peace during the cold war.

Ans-1) b) Realism positions the state at the centre of conduct of international relations, emphasizes primarily security and power and fundamentally holds on a pessimist view of human nature and consequently states as power seeking. The neo realist school holds the anarchical structure of international relations as responsible for struggles among states. (Morganthau, Waltz)

Constructivist
Alexander Wendt of the social constructivist school says that anarchy is not a given and it is 'what states make of it'. Feminists such as

(Security, Power, War)
J. Ann Tickner has criticized the realists' focus on military power as sole guarantee of national security, ignoring the outcomes of war on women resulting from military conflicts. They also posit for focus on multidimensional security of people and not only the state. (6)

meaning of security must include women security
Liberal school criticizes realists' obviating the scope of dialogue and communication along with mutually beneficial interdependencies in removing the need of war. The school of peripheral realism, as propounded by Charles Esade advises third world countries to avoid great power conflicts and military competition for survival and focus on internal development. Mohammad Ayob of subaltern realism has said that

for developing countries the threats to national security emanate more from inside rather than outside, as realism would have us believe.

Ans) c) Collective security is the security resulting from a commitment among states to protect each other from attacks as in 'one for all and all for one'. Balance of power, on the other hand, derives from the school of thought that security of a state can be ensured only if there is a balance between the power of various states.

Balance of power results in acquiring of military power by one state to balance a potential competitor while those states which cannot, either bandwagon or soft balance. The obvious outcome is a scenario of competition and adversarial relations. The cold war era is a typical example of balance of power mechanism between the US and USSR block.

Collective security on the other hand is a co-operative venture engaging states in mutually advantageous relations, leaving more space for economic, political, cultural and technical dialogue while offering a platform to resolve conflicts without having to balance. League of Nations and United Nations are examples.

The asymmetry of power and economic strength among states makes collective security difficult.

Pre condition of C.S - Examine

then conclude as option of BOV

confirming the realists' view of national the inherently competitive nature of international relations. This had resulted in collective defence in the form of NATO and Warsaw Pact, despite the logically better option of collective security in terms of economic costs entailed. ^{in the} ^{ties with} ^{International} ^{Security}
CS - National Security
BOP - NS - with group

Ans-1) d)

Political economy approach to the study of international relations draws from the theories of Adam Smith and Ricardo. It was then applied by Marx in his works, especially the communist manifesto. According to him, material factors guide the conduct of history through the appropriation of surplus labour of the proletariat by the capitalist class.

Lenin further elaborated this, firmly placing Marx's works in international relations context. According to him imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. Critical theorists of the systemic school such as Immanuel Wallerstein divides the states into cores and peripheries, delineating the economic exploitation of advanced capitalist economies of the developing poor ones. AK Krings - Neo colonialism, Neo imperialism

Others such as Joseph Stiglitz in his book Globalization and its discontents have elaborated on the empowerishment and of poorer countries due to the liberalization dependency theorists: ECLA

project of West dominated institutions such as world Bank and IMF.

Ans-1) e) Security dilemma concept was given by John Herz. It is the spiralling of mutually reinforcing processes of acquisition of means for security by states wherein each feels threatened by the other's procurement of arms or formation of alliances as a threat.

Sub Header
Realist
Insecurity dilemma on the other hand is the condition in which developing countries find themselves. Brian Job in the book 'The insecurity dilemma: The security of third world states' has elaborated on how these countries' citizens and societies are threatened not by acquisition of military power by other states but the disruptions and ethnic conflicts within the countries' borders.

Ayush
It is the diversity within third world countries and their relative poverty that great powers politics in international realm does not create their security dilemma but internally aroused violence, political instability and social disruptions that makes these states insecure.

Ans-3)a) Human rights as drawn from the theory of natural rights as those advocated by John Locke have been the west's foundational argument behind actions such as formation of the United Nations or regime changes in other countries through what Norm Chomsky calls 'neo military humanitarianism'. They are enshrined in 1948 declaration of the UN and furthered by the covenants on civil and political AND economic, social and cultural rights.

These include such rights as right to free speech, association, information, leisure, equal wages etc. To these universalist enunciations of human rights, the most well known counter response has come from Lee Kuan Yew's conception of Asian values. These according to him are the values of discipline, obedience, industriousness, restraint from instant gratification and respect for elders.

For him, the non western countries require stability and social order more than democracy and freedom in order to progress economically. Democracy is not a universal ideal and some countries' societies are not compatible with Sen's criticism.

This stems from the post colonial experience of these countries, emerged as they have from exploitation and misappropriation by the same western countries which now extoll human rights. Colonization left them underdeveloped and to progress rapidly they need social discipline, away from noises of democracy and politically emancipated citizenry.

Amartya Sen, however, differs. According to him democracy is a universal virtue, an enabling condition for freedom which can result in development.

The differences in the societies and history of the west and Asia are real, given the diversity in the Asian countries. The use of human rights for strategic interventions such as in Iraq and Libya by the west are also real. In this context, constructionists say that not all that is good is a part of human rights and human rights cannot encapsulate the all the world values. Former Czech Republic president has called United Nations Human Rights Council as 'table for tyrants' given Saudi Arabia, Russia, China have been members. The human rights debate continues.

Refer Model answer for differences between Asian & Western

Ans-3) b)

Nuclear weapons have been held to have prevented outright conflict during cold war. But this is questionable as proxy wars such as Vietnam, Korea, Afghanistan did take place.

✓ Richard Rosecrance and Jia Dingguo based on their study concluded that nuclear weapons have prevented conflict in general. Due to them, USSR and USA had a detente and signed many anti arms treaties such as the non nuclear proliferation (1970), anti ballistic missile (1972) etc. This gave space to countries to focus on growth, industrialization and trade rather than nuclearisation. 3 1/2

However, countries such as North Korea have deployed them for strategic edge. China deliberately prevents any solution to the US-Korea stalemate to avoid unification of Korea as Brahma Chellaney

has pointed out. Countries such as Japan and Germany, however, progressed as written about in 'The rise of the trading state' by Richard Rosecrance under the nuclear umbrella of US.

Others in Latin America and Caribbean united in opposition of nuclear weapons and ratified treaties such as Tlatelolco.

Countries such as India pursued nuclear weapons for strategic parity with nuclear neighbours such as China consequent to which Pakistan also nuclearised. This caused a large diversion of resources and prevention of technology sharing for peaceful uses. Shivshankar Menon has pointed out how this has skewed perceptions, aggravated adversarial relations and diverted attention from the real internal economic & social challenges.

Ex: US & Pakistan is put

The pursuit for acquiring nuclear weapons left Iran crippled by sanctions. Sagan has pointed out the existential threat that weapons have, especially when in hands of military establishments. Whatever their utility in cold war was, according to William Berry nuclear weapons are a threat to civilization today.

Govt attempt

Peter model answer
for points

Ans-3) C) The feminists' understanding of international relations is spread across various strands.

Liberal feminists such as Cynthia Enloe has in her book 'Bananas, Beaches and Bases' has shown the role of women as diplomats and soldiers' wives, prostitutes at military bases and labourers play in the international arena.

Standpoint feminists such as J Ann Tickner have sought to highlight the perspectives, knowledge and experience that women can bring to bear on the conduct of international relations. She says security is limited to international security ignores the consequences that war has for women who are raped or have to take care of the injured and sick.

Another point of feminist contention is the arbitrary separation between national and international sphere. They also question why power should only be for coercion and threatening and not visualized as to cooperate.

West Asia
Stats

3
Conclusions

Ina Warriner and Mark Tessler, through their research have debunked the labelling of women as soft and weak. They show that women are equally aggressive when it comes to national security through research in West Asia. Diana Thomas holds that there can be no single feminist theory of international relations.

To say that feminism is more relevant in suggested the developing nations than developed states meaning of would be wrong. Although as Chandra Mohanty has pointed out that the concerns of third world women are different. She usefully also warns that even in the third world, women are diverse and not a single block.

For developed countries, issues such as right to bodily autonomy in reproductive rights and access to safe abortions eg. in USA and the double burden of work and home eg. in Japan make feminism relevant. In the developing countries, issues of poverty, safety, access to resources, discrimination by personal laws and class based deprivation are relevant. The institute of patriarchy and restraints on full independence exist in both states, whether it is sexual harassment at work place, the glass ceiling or slut shaming.

Security
Connection
b/w domestic & international relations
use of power
(as women shown as sign of weakness)

might be more relevant for 3rd world.

SECTION B

Ans-5) The existing world order and its emerging nature, according to Mearsheimer is a threat to US hegemony, especially from China.

Ans-5) The existing world order, economic as well as political promotes US hegemony, whether it is in the global governance organisations such as United Nations or WTO, ~~or~~ the liberal underpinnings of globalization as espoused by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund or the ideals of consumerism emerging from capitalistic capitalism, US hegemony is visible.

In this context, Robert Cox's Gramscian analysis of US hegemony through push for free trade rings true. Although the pushback against globalization, the rise of China, resurgence of Russia and alternative organizations such as BRICS or China's Belt and Road are made out to be a key challenge to US hegemony, Joseph Nye and Kenberry have pointed out that the ideals of US liberalism and opportunity for all will continue to inspire people across the globe. Views of experts - unipolar, bipolar, multipolar unipolarity at global level and multipolarity at regional level.

The demand for reforms in IMF and World Bank are for rightful place of emerging economies of on the high table but US's hegemony has been able to push back any meaningful changes, perpetuating itself.

u-5)b) Cyberspace is the vast ^{web} ~~network~~ of devices and internet networks connecting people across borders in ^{real} ~~time and space~~. The ~~its~~ role in terrorism and radicalization is now firmly proved with the attacks in San Bernardino, Brussels and Britain having been perpetrated by individuals radicalized in terrorist ideologies by people they contacted through social media.

~~Use of terrorism~~ Use of cyberspace to raise funds from sympathizers, co-ordinate procurement of arms, maintain nexus of with transnational organized crime and mount cyber attacks on infrastructure ^{for} ~~or~~ military sabotage is also there. The removal of need of physical interaction by cyberspace, has not only heightened but also intensified the reach of radical ideologies. The hate raising videos of executions by ISIS, online also increase the awe potential and fearfulness of terrorism, fulfilling the political goal of terrorism with near zero cost. As such cyberspace has truly

become the medium of what simil
thiennari calls 'politics by other means'

⇒ policies to counter cyber-attacks
→ ACT ~~the~~ ~~country of~~ - women's
passion

Ans 5) c) The China card has been used by Nepalese rulers such as Birendra, Gyanendra and recently, the PM K.P. Oli. China as a factor has always been ~~there in India~~ Nepal relationship, epitomised in Prithvi Narayan Shah's 'yam' between two boulders' remark.

10 deals
with
them

Whether it is the 'Sagarmatha exercise' last year or the road from Lhasa to Kathmandu, Nepal has sought to strengthen relations with China. Besides, anti India, pro China nationalism has also been raked politically in Nepal. But, S D Muni says that China should not be a factor for India when dealing with Nepal.

✓ Tharwat Bhusthan holds that India
should expand co-operation with Nepal

whether it is in delivering expeditiously or
promises or increasing scholarships for
students. ^{both}
Mention ^{both} efforts to back your argument

As our neighbour on the northern frontier
with Nepal common cultural and social linkages,
Nepal's suspensions should be cleared and India
should behave ~~less~~ like an elder brother and
not big brother according to foreign policy
experts such as KM Dixit and Shyam Saran to
prevent Nepal from falling into China's lap.

Ans-5d) Goa declaration of the BRICS summit of
2016 had the 5 members commit to
co-operation on counter terrorism, trade,
renewable energy, infrastructure, finance
and other areas.

It was disappointing for India as it failed
to get Pakistan based terror groups such as
LeT and Jem named in the declaration.
Harish V Pant had pointed out that the
acquiescing of Russia to China's will on
such issues is what makes India suspicious
of BRICS.

However, this was undone at the recent
Xiamen summit with both LeT & Jem
named in the declaration.

Ans 5) e) India UAE relations' salience in the past was revealed when the last visit came by Indian PM to UAE came after 34 years. The country has about 6 million strong diaspora and is a crude ^{oil} supplier.

During the UAE crown prince was a guest at Republic day in 2016. The PM's visit resulted in signing of strategic security dialogue and upgradation of relationship to comprehensive strategic partnership. Both these were hailed as a massive shift in the relationship's hitherto trade oriented focus to a convergence on consequential issues.

UAE has also committed to invest in India's infrastructural growth through USD 75 billion India infrastructure investment fund. There are also agreements to develop strategic petroleum reserves and joint ventures in third countries. All these point to a new era of India's strategic focus on the West Asian region, till now deemed to have been treated as gas station.

Ans-6/a

India China boundary dispute is part colonial legacy and part post independence conflicts consequences. The following is a record of the same!

Can make figure

→ Rejection of 1914-8 McMahon Conference

i) In the western sector, China claims Aksai Chin which it stealthily occupied in the 28⁰⁰⁰ 1950s claiming to follow the McDonald line while India claims China according to delineation by Johnson line, both lines being result of colonial cartographers.

ii) In the middle sector of Himachal and Uttarakhand the boundary is not clearly demarcated although standoffs have not been common.

iii) In the eastern sector China has been claiming Arunachal Pradesh in the whole since 2006 and claiming at times before that. India has always had Arunachal Pradesh before and after independence.

claim over 90,000 sq km

According to Bratma Chellaney, the PLA incursions are only going to increase given the well known salami slicing tactics of China's strategic game plan to incrementally try to change status quo and eventually gain substantial territory.

Shyam Saram holds that these are China's persecution tactics to test India's restraint and will power to stand up to China.

According to Sarnit Saram, these moves are strategic in the sense that China

Syam Saran Report (Refer Model Answer)

wants to undermine India's leadership role in the region by raising questions about its relative preparedness.

P Stobdan says that rather than getting obsessed about such moves as strategic moves, India should continue to cooperate with China on global and bilateral uncontroversial issues even as it shows up its own border defences. (5/2)

C Raja Mohan is of the opinion that such moves stem from China's chagrin at India's support to Dalai Lama and more the non participation in Belt and Road initiative.

Brakma Chellaney has also pointed out the party and army relations in China to say that the army has become too powerful with China's growing global interests and is not comfortable with the party leadership's friendly overtures with India.

In such a situation, it is important to prevent differences to grow into disputes, as Jaishankar has said. The two countries can continue to seek guidance from Panchsheel principles as Xi Jinping has said.

Ans-6b) India's quest for UNSC membership, muted in the past half century, has become vociferous, especially after the fast economic growth post 1991 liberalization. Big population, maximum cumulative contribution to UN peace keeping missions, responsible nuclear regime adherence and the changing global order have been India's reasons for seeking the permanent membership of UNSC.

For this India has rallied support through G4, L69 and Friends for UNSC reforms groups. Although UK and France agree for expansion provided effectiveness of UNSC is undiminished, the US and Russia have been less forthcoming.

It is in the context of vigorous lobbying and investment of diplomatic capital by India towards UNSC membership that various observers have deplored this quest for acknowledgement of its own rise from others.

Kanti Bajpai has pointed out that India should ~~stop waiting~~ precious leverage for support and use it to draw other concessions.

Harsh V Pant holds that the UNSC seat won't project India's global power status. India needs to assert its interests wherever they are irrespective of other countries' reservations and protect them with its strengthened military and economic prowess. Going about global respect and authority through UNSC is not the right way, especially when concerns of other countries and regional representation remain.

India should focus on strengthening the basic components of national power, a seat at the high table will eventually follow when India really becomes too powerful to ignore.

Ans-6) India-Iran relations of the 'civilizational connect and contemporary context' have been tempered by the global situations. Whether it was the distance during Iran's pre-1979 alliance with the US or the pressure to vote against Iran due to its nuclear programme at IAEA in 2005, India has had to modify policy towards Iran often.

When Pakistan was coopted by USA for war in Afghanistan, a new phase was opened in 2001 and 2003 declarations between the countries.

Emergence of US present the relation is complicated by the emergence of ISIS, growing relations of Iran-China, India as inroads of China and the warming up to Russia along with support for Taliban to solve the Afghan imbroglio. The Trump administration's renewal of hostility with Iran further complicates an increasingly deeper India-US co-operation whether in defence (Guardian drones) or Asia Pacific with an assertive China.

In this context Rakesh Sodhi has relevantly advised India to hasten the progress on Chabahar, the road to Zaranj from Chabahar industries in the SEZ and finalization of a trade agreement, because Iran is a country in hurry to bolster economy and it has no dearth of suitors.

The Indian side's delay in visiting Iran after removal of sanctions was not seen in

great light by foreign policy ~~seemness~~. India would have to eventually ~~to~~ remove confusion about Iran's relations as Bilal Baloch has pointed out. Given ~~the fact~~ that Iran is a source of oil, gas and trade cooperation, India should efficiently balance all its relationships in the Gulf very diplomatically.

Ans 8) a)

China's foreign policy in South China Sea is a recently energised one although it had laid claims in the region in the past too by issuing maps from the past showing areas included in the Chinese empire.

While it withdrew claims to the Scarborough Shoal on Obama's intervention at Philippines' insistence in 2012, it later built an artificial island not only at the shoal but also the Paracel and Spratly Islands, fully equipped with ~~runways~~ runways and later parking submarines. The apparent excuse was to protect its trade lanes.

This however created prospects of military conflict with neighbours such as Vietnam, Indonesia, Philippines and Brunei that lay claim to the areas.

This also gives ^{capability to} China to project power in at sea and hampers freedom of navigation and overflight, ~~to~~ and to keep at hostage the neighbours' trade and security.

India has in this situation, enhanced co-operation with Japan, Australia, New Zealand and USA as seen in the Malabar exercise and AUSSINDEX.

Although India does not have very high stakes except hydrocarbon exploration with Vietnam, but this cooperation is crucial to assure support against ~~balancing~~ China with its inroads into Indian Ocean and the maritime silk road with ports at Hambantota, Kyaukpadaung and Paige.

C Raja Mohan has advocated development of Andaman Nicobar to keep an eye on the seas around India. The Asia Africa growth corridors will provide crucial infrastructural linkages. In the meantime, India has reiterated that countries should peacefully resolve all territorial disputes. To prevent aggression in its land borders, India is expediting connectivity with ASEAN.

Ans-8) b)

The structural constraints in Indian Bangladesh relations are geographical as well as political.

The long porous border, consequent illegal migration from an impoverished neighbour who is not ready to acknowledge the same, risks of demographic change in border areas and eruption of conflict against outsiders, political mobilization by local parties against illegal as well as legal Bangladeshi immigrants for votes, the stuck agreement on Teesta water sharing, harbouring of insurgents from north east by Bangladesh, domestic opposition of BNP against to relations with India and electoral concerns of regional governments in West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya etc. are some of the constraints.

The ~~area~~ under potential below potential trade and delayed connectivity initiatives also complicate scenario.

New initiatives can give a new lease to the relationship especially with the over USD 60 billion investments promised by China.

The BBIN corridor should enhance cross border trade. The transshipment agreement, exchange of power from north east for bandwidth, development of Hongla port by India, investments by Reliance and Indian PSUs etc. can create positive interdependencies. These can supplement the linguistic and historical commonality between the two countries.

Ans-8c) The India-USA partnership that flowered & with the signing of civil nuclear deal in 2005 after mainly distant co-operation preceded by active cold war hostility epitomised during the 1971 war has taken a turn with the new administration in the US. According to Shyamn Saran, the focus on trade, jobs, market access and arms sale as a measure to contain trade deficit during recent visit of the PM to US points to the transactional nature of relations.

The Joint India US strategy for the Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean Region (IOPR) has immense salience for India's strategic posture in the East Asia and Pacific. More India can actively participate along with Japan, Australia and to project power in China's sphere while

China is foraging intensely into the IOR.

The Asian neighbours of India are seeking cooperation with India as all face Chinese assertiveness as per Sanyas Saran. India ~~can use~~ should admit Australia in the Malabar exercise to join countries with common interest in preventing China's hegemony in the region as per Raja Mohan.

To India's west, the stern warning to Pakistan over support for cross border terrorism serves India's immediate interests but increases Pakistan's affinity further for China, a problematic development.

~~The refusal of~~
According to Raja Mohan, a good equation with USA enhances India's space for manoeuvre. Besides, the transfer of Guardian drones, a first to a non NATO ally places India at an advantage militarily into the future also through the opening up of strategic sales. This enhances India's global profile.

However, as Sanyas Saran has usefully advised, India should focus on its own economic strengthening to carve its own space and agency for restructuring the regional order in a more equitable manner which is propitious for growth of all in the region. This would fit firmly with the PM's vision of SAGAR and Asian Century.

