

# **G|S|SCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

# **SHUBHRA KUMARI**

**Rank - 308**

## **Political Science**



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# POLITICAL SCIENCE

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*Time Allowed: 3 hr.**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 Shubhra Kumar

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Shubhra

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

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

**GS SCORE****REMARKS**

1. All questions are compulsory to attempt: (125-150 Words) (12.5 × 4 = 50)
- Indo-Pak Relations in the Post 9/11 Era
  - (India's Naval Diplomacy)
  - The Indus Water Issue: Options for India and associated Challenges
  - Non-Alignment and Nehruvian Consensus.

Q.) Ans :-

Post 9/11 Era brought a significant change in geopolitics across the world. Terrorist attack on World Trade Centre of the most powerful nation s.e U.S.A and Commitment of U.S.A to eradicate every threat of terrorism altered the world politics.

U.S.A policy of eradicating terrorism emanating from failed state like Afghanistan cannot be successful without Pakistan's support. America vowed to support Pakistan militarily, militarily to achieve its goal. The entire scenario has lot of impact on India - Pakistan relation. Financially and militarily strong used its aid against India to strengthen proxy war, cross border terrorism and its active role in strengthening militancy in Jammu and Kashmir. India - Pakistan

Remarks

Relations achieved a new low with 2001 terrorist attack on Indian Parliament and 2008 attack on Taj Hotel in Mumbai. ~~Pakistan~~ The major issues between India and Pakistan that involves (i) Sponsoring terrorism against India (ii) Afghanistan issue (iii) Jammu and Kashmir has further worsened in the aftermath of 9/11 era. Pakistan has used its notorious networks like ISI, Jihadi groups like LET, JEM, Haqqani networks to launch war against India.

Various attempts on the part of Indian government and civilian government in Pakistan led by Nawaz Sharif has failed mainly due to continued dominance of military and its ISI network in Pakistan. Recent attacks on army bases like Uri, Pathankot, Nagrota has further exacerbated tensions.

Only option is to find avenue for continued bilateral engagement in the interest of regional stability and

*Remarks Security*

(b) Ans :-

Naval power is an important element of gaining leverage in anarchic world politics. It is important for India to gain control over naval power mainly in Indian ocean to serve its geopolitical, geoeconomic, security interests in the region. Alfred Mahan rightly said one who controls the Indian ocean, controls the Asia.

To strengthen its strength held India took various initiatives like strong relationship with Island Countries, initiated projects like Mousam projects, started active engagement with Indian ocean Rim Association, strongly spoke for freedom of navigation in international waters etc. Despite all India's achievement has not been very substantial. particularly, China is trying hard to make inroads into Indian ocean by its broad project of Maritime silk

Remarks

6  
good. India's Mausem project is not very attractive for neighbour due to limited financial capacity of India to fund infrastructure and already pending lot of projects in neighbouring countries.

Recent government of India has made a strong diplomatic effort to strengthen maritime security by prime minister visiting almost every island nations in Indian ocean and signing various agreements.

However, Novel diplomacy of India needs more vigorous engagements.

(c) Ans:-

Indus water Treaty, 1960, brokered by World Bank between India and Pakistan is a very significant treaty.

Under treaty, India governs the water of ~~Pelam~~ Chenab, Beas

Remarks

Solving and Pakistan governing Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi.

Options for India:-

1. India being a upper riparian state can cancel this treaty in response to Pakistan's notorious ~~friendly~~ state sponsored terrorism.
2. India can use 20% of water over "non consumptive" use as assigned by treaty by building various projects in line with the conditions enumerated.

Associated challenges:-

1. India cannot afford to stop water as it will flood its own cities like Jammu, Srinagar.
2. It will be very violative of international law that will tarnish India's image.
3. Anti-India sentiments in Pakistan will further burgeon as life of people in Punjab province heavily depend on Indus water.

Remarks

4. India has its origin in Tibet, controlled by China. If China takes some grave steps, India will suffer.
5. It will further complicate the Indo-Pak relations.

What India can do at best is it can use its veto of share in accordance with terms and conditions assigned its treaty. Pakistan is even worried of this legitimate use. It will not be wise diplomacy on the part of India to stop the flow of water. It is an anti-humanitarian move that India should reform soon.

#### (Q) Ans:-

Non-Aligned Movement has its origin in Belgrade Conference of 1961. It was a product of Cold War politics that rejected the policies of super-power alliance by launching a third platform where developing countries can have effective

Remarks

Say. The idea resonated with the Nehru's idea of anti-imperialism that found its support across the newly emerged independent nation. So, it reflected Nehruvian Consensus. Non-Alignment, despite all ups and downs reflected in India's stand on Hungarian Crisis, India's signing of bilatering treaty with U.S.S.R that was against the ethos of NAM, significantly achieved the major purpose of maintaining Strategic autonomy in a world marked by two rigid alliance. Its significant economic achievement included launching of New International Economic Order - World order in Algiers Summit. It provided an independent voice to powerless countries amidst Cold war.

However, in post war Cold war, relevance of NAM is strongly discussed. It was seen as relic of Cold war which has no relevance in post Cold war era. India which

Remarks

was brain behind this has to change is approach is commensurate with new realities. ~~However~~ Despite all, NAM remained a vibrant body. It re-explored its utility in the form of rising inequalities challenges, need of collective voice on WTO etc.

Recently, Indian prime minister skipped the vietnam summit. It reflected India's diminishing importance of NAM per India. Scholar like C. Rajagopal formed it a footnotes of history ~~but~~ with which we should not be obsessed.

However, its relevance can be explored in 21st century where there is greater need of maintaining "strategic autonomy", fighting economic imperialism dominated by west in influential bodies like WTO, IMF, WB etc, regional challenges afflicting less developed countries and developmental challenges.

Remarks

2. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)  $(25 \times 2 = 50)$
- (a) Foreign policy is determined by a host of several factors with some static and some dynamic in nature. Elaborate with special reference to the changing role and importance of Economic factors in Indian Foreign Policy.
- (b) NAM as an organization continues to be relevant in present times as long as it continues to address issues related to structure and objectives. Discuss.

a) Ans :-

Foreign policy is an instrument of diplomacy. It is a tool used for dealing with other countries. It is used to regulate the behaviour of other countries and in the process, the country that makes foreign policy regulates its own behaviour also.

The major objective of Foreign policy is to maintain national interest which is a dynamic concept. It is the national interest that determines the foreign policy.

Thus, Foreign policy serves the national interest. The static national interest can be dynamic or static. The static factors include, historical factors, geographical factors, social structure etc. While dynamic factors include economic structure.

Remarks

international milieu, immediate issues etc.

Economic factors or economic structure has an important part in foreign policy making. Indeed, the economic condition of India has lot of bearing on its foreign policy from the very beginning. Jawaharlal Nehru, architect of Indian foreign policy adopted Non Alignment policy, because India was in dire need to economic aid from all the countries to carry out its developmental work. India hoped that not aligning with any superpower will allow her to obtain aid from all countries.

After the end of Cold War, India has liberalised its economy in 1991. This step of India was also linked to wider international milieu. Soviet Union was no

Remarks

longer a super power with which India has a very strong, close relationship. Indian economy was in worst condition and it urgently needed aid that U.S.S.R can no longer provide. To obtain loan and aid India has to accept conditionalities given by IMF and World Bank. Subsequently, in a changed scenario, India diversified its relationship and tried to establish more closer diplomatic relationships with U.S.A. Hence, change in economic structure altered its foreign policy approach.

The importance of economic factors kept on increasing. Indeed, the concept of geo-economics emerged. India's strong economic growth rate in 2000s increased its leverage in global politics. India becomes a centre of attraction for globally powerful countries and strong power like U.S.A, EU tried to engage India. India

Remarks

U.S nuclear deal, 2008 is reflection of its increasing leverage and recognition.

India's strong economic growth has also made it a hard bargainer at World Trade organisations on issues like food security, agricultural subsidies, new trade issues etc.

Burgeoning India in economic field is also trying to leverage the strength of its diaspora across the world. Indian skilled and talented professionals are spread across the world. Dispersed diaspora strengthens the foreign policy as an effective dimension of soft power.

Thus, strong economy of India with the fastest growing, will continue to be an important factor in Indian foreign policy.

Remarks

(b) Ans:-

NAM emerged during Cold war era as an alternative to strongly polarized Cold war politics, after Belgrade Conference 1961.

It was a Forum that addressed the concerns of newly emerged Countries, provided them a voice, a Collective ~~plate~~ Forum and preserved the identity of nascent nations. Its prime objective was not becoming the adjunct of super-powers and restoring an independent voice. It rejected ~~as~~ Colonialism, Imperialism, War and sought to establish peaceful world. It strongly supported disarmament. In 1970s, it raised concern about discriminatory economic order and sought to establish New International Global Economic order.

Structurally, it included the newly emerged least developed and developing Countries with objective to secure their interest.

Remarks

With the end of Cold war its relevance was questioned as it was declared as ~~product~~ product of Cold War.

However, its relevance remains due to various reasons:-

1. Its major objective was establishing peace. The peace still eludes this world.
2. Economic order is still biased in favour of developed countries. It should ~~be~~ collectively act as voice for economic reform.
3. The Complex integration of world ~~is~~ threatens the strategic autonomy of small nations.
4. It can raise voice for reforming United Nations effectively.

Hence, NAM has to explore itself. In reality, rigid geopolitics, whether every country is trying to gain leverage against other, increasing regional rivalry, North-

Remarks

South dichotomy is becoming less important than Neighbourhood priority especially in Eastern Countries, the major architect of NAM like India giving less importance to it and more importance to engagement with Superpowers like U.S.A, with an aspiration to become global actor not just actor of less developed or developing Countries, throws a lot of challenge to NAM.

Geopolitics has changed. Economically powerful Country like India, Brazil, South Africa & are in a better position to raise their voice and bargain, so they are giving less importance to body like NAM.

However, relevance of NAM is not over. It has to restructure its role and objectives. It has to explore & certain co-

Remarks

common grounds where members  
can achieve consensus.

*Remarks*

**3. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) Analyse the changing nature of Indian response on the issue of Cross border migration in South Asia. (200 Words, 15 Marks)
- (b) Indian Foreign Policy has witnessed many changes in its direction and approach in the past decades while retaining the goal of strategic autonomy at all times. Elaborate. (250 Words, 20 Marks)
- (c) Analyse the Evolution and Relevance of BIMSTEC and BBIM-MVA in South and South East Asian Cooperation. (200 Words, 15 Marks)

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4. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words) (25 × 2 = 50)
- Pakistan's active development of Tactical Nuclear Weapons is a major challenge to Indian Nuclear Security Doctrine. Discuss.
  - The differences in political arena as well as mutual suspicion and lack of trust are the greatest enemies of cooperation among the SAARC countries. Analyse the above statement and enumerate the emerging potential areas of cooperation among the members.

Q-1 Ans:

India and Pakistan became nuclear weapon state in 1998. It created a new dimension in Security dynamics of the region.

India declared its nuclear weapons as part of deterrence while Pakistan also reiterated the same. Nuclear doctrine of India clearly laid down that it will not use its nuclear warheads against the non-nuclear weapon states and also laid down the principle to "No First Use". Thus, India's nuclear policy reflects restraint not aggression. It is aimed at maintaining minimum

Remarks

Credible deterrence.

However, Pakistan's approach is very different. It has never been able to come out of its security dilemma. Pakistan sounds more offensive than defensive. It continues actively with ~~the~~ the development of tactical nuclear weapons. An aggressive, lawless ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> weak civil government and large number of nuclear warheads, Pakistan poses numerous challenge to Indian nuclear security doctrine. Pakistan in itself is not a challenge to India, rather active non-state actors which are quite powerful poses strong security risk to India. What if, these non-state actors manage to acquire nuclear weapons. It will put India under grave security threat. Hence, entire nuclear programme of ~~the~~ <sup>A</sup> policy-

Remarks

am with Continuing weak civilian Control put a strong challenge to Nuclear Security doctrine to India. The Credibility of Indian ~~Security~~ nuclear security doctrine comes under question, when a non state actor becomes a major threat. Nuclear Security approach is strict in its approach while the threat is more from non-state actor acquiring nuclear weapons and targeting India. Even though India develops a second strike capability, whom India should target.

Hence, tactical nuclear weapons poses lot of challenge to Indian Security and also the regional stability of South Asia.

Remarks

b) Ans:-

SAARC, as regional organisation of South Asia born amidst mutual suspicion and distrust. India, in the beginning saw this proposal as threat to its own diplomacy as this platform might be used to corner India by the collective small neighbouring countries. Pakistan saw it as platform where India can corner it with support from another countries on various issues.

Various reasons of ineffective SAARC are:-

1. Asymmetric power of India.
2. Small nations fear dominance of India.
3. Mutual disputes b/w India and most of SAARC nations.
4. India - Pakistan rivalry.
5. However, SAARC has to utilise its potential as vibrant region.

Remarks

organisation. Potential areas of Cooperations are:-

### 1. Economic Cooperation:-

Strong potential of economic Cooperation remain unexplored.

There is a need of implementing SAFTA. Better movement of goods, and services need to be explored. India should try to give some unilateral tariff concessions as given to Nepal to ~~some~~ other countries also.

### 2. Cooperation over water issues:-

There should be a common framework of agreement among SAARC Countries on Scarce Water resources. Almost all rivers are interconnected and source of disputes. A common framework will lead to better implementation of water agreements and efficient utilisation of water resources.

Remarks

### 3. Security Cooperation:-

Ethnic Separatism and insurgencies plague almost all the countries of SAARC. Almost, every Countries try to use ethnic movement as foreign policy tool. This trend should be abandoned. Ethnic Separatism is threat to regional stability and prosperity.

4. SAARC should work towards promoting people to people contact. It is needed to engender trust and goodwill.

5. SAARC Countries should refrain from bringing external power interference in region and there should be mutual consensus.

6. Cultural Cooperation should be strengthened.

**Remarks**

SAARC must emerge as vibrant platform for regional cooperation in South Asia in social, economic, political and cultural field.

Remarks

*Remarks*

5. All questions are compulsory to attempt: (100-125 Words) (12.5 × 4 = 50)
- Asymmetry of Power in South Asia
  - The Indira Doctrine: Background and Achievements
  - India Bangladesh Water Sharing Disputes.
  - Indian Security Cooperation with Afghanistan: Importance and threats associated with the idea

Ans:-

South Asia has India at Centre with huge economic, political and cultural and military resources. This asymmetrical power distribution has lot of repercussions on the over all South Asian politics.

Various Consequences are:-

- Neighbouring Countries look at India with a sense of mistrust, becoming major hindrance in good relationships.
- Small Countries suffer from identity crisis and tries to assert it.
- Small Countries often seek the involvement of great power to balance India.
- Lack of vibrant multilateral institutions.

Remarks

5. India is seen as hegemon and big brother.

6. Imbalance of power gives rise to security dilemmas among small countries, contribute to regional instability.

Thus, Asymmetric power in South Asia impacts its geopolitics.

b) Ans:-

Indira doctrine was anchored by high pragmatism while dealing with other countries. In South Asian region, it strongly rebuffed the foreign power intervention.

It primarily emerged with Indira Gandhi coming to power with strong mandate in 1970. Indira Gandhi strongly maintained the strategic autonomy of India and her foreign policy was effective and strong totally in line with India's national interest.

Remarks

The most important achievement was ~~the~~ signing of treaty of friendship with Soviet Union and consequent intervention in civil war in Pakistan that led to worst ~~migrant~~ refugee crisis affecting India. Indira Gandhi not only deviated from the PNM principle that prohibited countries from signing any bilateral security agreement, but also intervened militarily in Pakistan that led to formation of new state Bangladesh.

Hence, Indira doctrine was based on strong pragmatism that served the national interest of the country.

C) Any :-

India-Bangladesh water sharing dispute has its origin in 1951 when India decided to build fare-kha Barrage on River Brahmaputra.

Remarks

This issue was generally resolved with the Farakka Agreement of 1986.

The other major water issues between India and Bangladesh are:-

1. Teesta water issue:- It is yet to be finalised mainly due to objection of West Bengal Chief minister Hemanta Kumar Barma.

2. River Linking project:- India's Bangladesh objects to it, as it will diminish the flow of water into downstream Bangladesh.

- Also, there are lot of resentment in Bangladesh over various agreements like brinjal water treaty 1986 as it has led to reduced water flow in lean seasons, more flood, environmental consequences like rising salinity, threat to livelihood etc. so there

• Remarks

is need of more holistic view on water issue so that India is not looked upon as hard bargained being an upper riparian state in relation to Bangladesh.

Ans :-

India signed with Afghanistan Strategic Partnership Agreement in 2011. Still, India does not have most role to play as far as security dimension is concerned. India's contribution is limited to developmental support to Afghanistan.

There is divergent view as far as India's involvement in security area is concerned:-

Importance of involvement :-

1. In Post United State withdrawal phase, India has to take security involvement in the region.
2. It will help to diminish the dependence of Afghanistan on Pakistan.

Remarks

3. India can train local military forces in Afghanistan thus building military capability of Afghanistan.
4. India should help militarily the Afghan government to fight Taliban, a major threat to India's security.

Threats:

1. India's involvement in Afghanistan militarily, will further irritate Pakistan and worsen relationships.
2. Afghanistan has a very complex ethnic power relations. Involvement in security front can put other ethnic groups against India.
3. What if national government falls and replaced by Taliban who will target India.
4. Diversity and developmental need of India does not allow such involvement.

Remarks

India has to navigate a very  
Cautious path ~~extending~~ a sensitive  
region like Afghanistan.

Remarks

*Remarks*

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Analyse how The Fisherman issue between India and Srilanka continues to be a major obstacle in achieving the full potential of the relationship between the two neighbours. (200 words, 15 marks)
- (b) Analyse the Various border and River Disputes between India and Nepal. (250 words, 20 marks)
- (c) Prime Minister Modi's decision to make Bhutan as his first foreign destination after becoming Prime Minister signals a significant shift in India's neighbourhood policy. Comment. (200 words, 15 marks)

Q) Ans :-

Fishermen issues Continue to be a festering source over India-Sri-Lanka relationships.

Fishing is an important source of livelihood over both the people of coastal areas in both Sri Lanka and India. Various causes of disputes are:-

1. Non-demarcation of boundary in the water. Fishermen often cross the boundary often leading to arrest. The crossing of boundary sometimes invite firing from the other side giving rise to human casualties adding to already sensitive issue.

2. Tamil Nationalism in Sri-Lanka

Remarks

and role of aggressive Sri Lankan Navy who cannot trust Tamils has added to the problem. Navy often blame of illegal transfer of arms from Tamilian territories of India. Mutual suspicion exacerbates the problem of common fishermen.

3. Another major issue is use of bottom trawlers. Sri-Lankan fishermen blame Indian fishermen for unsustainable fishing practice that threatens livelihood. Recently, officials in Sri-Lanka has proposed to completely ban the use of bottom trawlers.

Thus, issue of fishermen need urgent attention. Joint Fisheries Commission was set up between the two countries to solve issue but no concrete issues to solution have been found yet. It must be addressed at the earliest. This issue must

Remarks

be solved to build mutual trust with the common people of both countries. This issue is also related to demarcation of boundary in water, environmental issues etc. Hence, both countries should give urgent attention to fishermen issue.

b) Any :-

The relationship between India and Nepal is based on Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1950. However, with time, this treaty was strongly seen as compromise on Nepal's sovereignty and demand over its territory grew. Even revised treaty does not satisfy Nepal's.

Beside this there are lot of issues of contention between India and Nepal like water disputes, question of Madhesis and tara' people etc.

To solve disputes, various agreements were signed. To solve

Remarks

River disputes, India signed and Nepal signed Koshi Agreement in 1954, Bhandak Agreement in 1959, Mahakali Treaty in 1996.

However, various treaties like Koshi agreements, Bhandak agreement were dubbed as unequal and drew a lot of resentment in Nepal. Nepal is rich in water resources that has huge potential for irrigation, electricity generation, drinking water. However, Nepal due to lack of its financial and technical capacity it has not been able to explore it. India's involvement in various projects is often dubbed as compromise with sovereignty.

However, Mahakali treaty of 1996 was more or less loaded as more equal and to some

Remarks

extent, it satisfied the Nepali nationalism.

Recently, India and Nepal perceived a stand off due to blockade by Madhesis living in Terai region. Nepal blamed India for this. Anti-India ~~sensit~~ sentiment further strengthened.

India and Nepal should try to maintain a balanced relationship. A landlocked Nepal cannot survive without India. At the same time Nepal is a strategic buffer neighbour that India can never ignore with rising China's assertiveness in South Asian Region.

Remarks

C) Any:-

Modi's approach to Neighbouring Countries found its reflection in invitation to all South Asian Countries in its swearing-in ceremony. It showed India will give first and foremost importance to neighbours and will try to dispel all misgivings by vibrant engagement with these countries.

It was with this spirit that "Neighbourhood First policy" came into being. Modi's first visit to Bhutan was in line with this approach that laid a lot of emphasis on active engagement with neighbours. Prime Minister made a visit to evergreen ~~at~~ friend of India, Bhutan and send a clear message that India understands the strategic importance of

Remarks

fence of Small neighbours and it will try to harbour the potential of the region.

It was not for the first time that India gave priority to neighbours, Bengal doctrine of 1857 was an attempt to give unilateral Concessions to small countries. However, Modi's approach was little different as He tried to engage diplomatically by making a personal visit to all neighbouring Countries one by one.

But, the change in approach on India's part was really fruitful or not is a matter of debate. Neighbours' attitude towards India remain same. Their strong nationalistic sentiments and perceived dilemma of India's interference in domestic affairs, asymmetric power of India continue to mar their ~~relationship~~.

Remarks

Attitude towards India.

India has to be bit balanced. India has to be Cautious while making of any direct or indirect intervention. The case of Nepal is very fresh in our mind.

Hence, India's neighbourhood policy is still below potential. Rising influence of China is another issue. India has to carve out a Strategic space in South Asian Region by wise diplomacy. Any global aspiration of India cannot be fulfilled without regional cooperation and stability in South Asia region.

Remarks

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|---|------------------------|
| 7. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)   | ( $25 \times 2 = 50$ ) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>(a) Indian Foreign Policy under Indira Gandhi had a marked deviation from the years of Nehru. Elaborate with help of examples how neighbourhood issue and security concerns lead to shift towards a realist paradigm in Indian approach.</li><li>(b) Analyse the growing role of China as a factor in India-Bangladesh relations and suggestions for India to counter this challenge.</li></ul> |                        |

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**Remarks**

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*Remarks*

8. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words) (25 × 2 = 50)
- (a) Foreign Policy making continues to centre on formal institutions of Ministry of External Affairs and Indian Foreign Service. Elaborate with special reference to evolution of the above institutions.
  - (b) What are the major objectives/dimensions of India's Indian Ocean policy and how have the recent visits by PM to our ocean neighbours helped India in achieving them.

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

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