

# **G|SCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

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## **IAS TOPPER'S**

## **TEST COPY**

## **GOLDI GUPTA**

**AIR - 181  
(CSE 2022)**

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE**



**8448496262**



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**GS SCORE**

Political Science Test Series 2020

TEST - 01

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

### 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.

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name Goldi Gupta

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature ms

Work  
on your  
short  
answers

**SECTION-A**

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Soft power and its critique
- (b) Epistemic communities and international relations
- (c) Role of NGOs and INGOs in International relations
- (d) Coronavirus and Human Security
- (e) Power transition theory and realist balance of power system

1. Soft power and its critique:

Power is central to the understanding of international politics. According to Morgenthau, international politics is based on states' struggle for power. After the end of cold war understanding of power has undergone change in international politics from hard power to soft power.

While hard power is power of coercion, soft power tends to work through the instrument of persuasion. The idea of soft power in international politics was popularized by Joseph Nye who argued that the decline of US power post 9/11 is caused by its overuse of hard power and inability to leverage its soft power.

*Explains  
nature &  
stake of  
cooperative  
power  
of soft power.  
institutions  
centrality of  
legitimacy &  
cooper*

Soft power of a nation state is derived from its societal dynamics, political values and cultural heritage; for example India's soft power comes from its pluralist society, democratic polity, Buddhist heritage, yoga and the popularity of bollywood across the world.

### Critique:

Realist scholars like Rajesh Rajgopal argue that soft power has little or no effect in the absence of hard power. Liberal power of arguments has to be complemented by arguments of power to serve countries' national interest effectively.

6 Responding to these criticisms, Joseph Nye came up with the idea of 'smart power' which is based on the prudent use of soft and hard power resources effectively.

### (b) Epistemic communities and IR:

Epistemic communities refer to "communities in specific areas, areas marked by common beliefs and common rules of interaction". In international relations and other aspects of life epistemic communities play the role of "knowledge-brok

### (b) Epistemic communities and IR:

and thought entrepreneurs, They help in production, dissemination and popularization of specialized information in particular issue areas. For example the case of climate change becoming the prime debate of international politics bring out the role that epistemic communities play in International politics.

In the area of climate change, the epistemic communities comprised of nature-enthusiasts and scientists like Rachel Carson who noticed the distinctive changes in the environment and brought out the effects of climate change in the form of actionable information.

Later on the role of epistemic community was played by scientists from across the world who brought out the IPCC Assessment reports on effects of climate change.

Thus it is evident that the primary role of epistemic community is to bring out issues and information that must guide the conduct of international policies.

Mention  
Principal actors /  
Proliferation of trans  
national states / new  
theories of  
Global governance

### C) Role of NGOs and INGOs in IP:

In the current globalized multiplex world, state is no longer the sole actor, it has given way to variety of other actors including MNEs and INGOs; these actors now increasingly shape the working of international politics.

Realist scholars do not grant any agency to NGOs and INGOs in international politics. They argue that the impact of these actors in international politics is only marginal and it is only because of the support and backing of mother countries i.e. IF NGOs and INGOs play an important role in international politics it is only because of the support and backing of USA and other western countries.

Liberal institutionalists and sociologists believe that, the liberal like Karl Deutsch believe that, the INGOs/NGOs play an important role in international politics by increasing communication and transactions between different society. INGOs and transactors also promote shared values as per liberals, also promote shared values like human rights and democracy which result in development of shared regimes across the countries.

Remarks

Mention what the two groups consist of -  
Traditional classes / activities they facilitate / intensify Globalization / Political comment

Social constructivist thinkers like Martha Finnemore and Alexander Wendt argue that INGOs and NGOs promote 'shared identities' and shape agenda of international politics and help build intersubjective understanding between countries and other actors in international politics. For examples INGOs like Club of Rome and Greenpeace increasingly shape the agenda of global environmental politics.

Thus the role of INGOs/NGOs is contested by different theoretical traditions. However, they continue to shape international politics through advocacy and agenda setting in areas such as environment, human rights, democracy and nuclear proliferation.

### (E) Coronavirus and Human security:

Human security as conceptualised in HDI Report 1994, includes individual security, community security, health security, political security, economic security, food security and gender security.

Coronavirus has affected various dimensions of human security in following ways:

*biological & collective security + the national security needs to be redefined! issue of migration & terrorism*

Remarks

1. Health security: Across the world, coronavirus has resulted in death of millions of people and infections of scores of people thus has impacted the health security.

2. Gender security: UN women recently remarked that coronavirus may taken given rise to a shadow pandemic in the form of gender violence during the coronavirus lockdown.

3. Economic security: As per the recent World Bank projections, the coronavirus induced slowdown is worse than the 2008 global recession and may undo the gains made in areas like poverty reduction and empowerment of women.

4. Food production: coronavirus have had direct impact on various aspects of food security including accessibility, availability and utilization and this problem is particularly severe in third world and sub-Saharan Africa.

5. Individual security: coronavirus has resulted in lockdown across the world causing problems of individuality and lack of choice.

6. Community security: coronavirus induced calls for social distancing, lockdown have severely affected community solidarity.

Thus evidently coronavirus has emerged as the most severe challenge to human security ~~across the world~~.

Remarks

(F) power Transition Theory and Balance of power?

Balance of power theory as advanced by Kenneth Waltz is based on the understanding that the security in international system is best served by balance of power. When a state tries to distort the balance of power in system, other states balance the behaviour of revisionist power and 'balance keep recurring'.

K.F.Ic. Organski in his work "World Politics" challenged this assumption and propounded the power-Transition theory. As per Organski, peace and security is best served when the system is dominated by a predominant power. presence of a predominant power discourages revisionist behaviour and peace is maintained; on the other hand balance of power system is conflict prone because of the frequent revisionist behaviour by constituents of the system.

Organski explains this phenomenon through the example of 'peace in South East Asia' where USA was the sole power until very recently and thus peace prevailed but in the recent times rise of China has set in motion a power transition in the region thus a lot of military activity and small conflicts are occurring in areas like South China Sea and East China Sea.

However

Mention  
- political  
- economic  
- military  
- cultural  
- social  
- environmental  
- technological  
- foreign policy  
- etc. to the concept

Remarks

## 3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Critically Evaluate system theory and Mortan Kaplan's model of International relation.  
(200 Words) (15)
- (b) Explain the difference between Collective Security and Collective defence. Is it true to say that Collective Security involves an extension of the Principle of Collective Defence to international politics?  
(200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss Transnational Social Movements.  
(250 Words) (20)

(c) Discuss Transnational Social movements :

Globalisation, as per George Ritzer, is a multifaceted process and can be broadly divided into two forms, namely:

Globalisation from above

Globalisation  
from below

Transnational social movements form part of the processes associated with globalisation from below. Globalisation from below emphasizes on the fact that globalisation has resulted in interconnectedness of grassroots society. In various manifestations of movements against ill effects of globalisation. For example the rising inequality due to neoliberal economics advanced by globalisation has given rise to a global anti-globalist sentiment which showed itself in the form of battle of Seattle in early 2000s.

Transnational social movements are connected to the common problems and most importantly the common causes. Global diffusion of technology and information has made their organisation even more feasible.

For example Global Social Forum is one of the most important transnational social movement that connected the social movements across the developing and developed world who were protesting against the ill effects of globalisation. The name itself was a proxy to the World Economic Forum, to show the concern about the primacy of social being as against the economic being as privileged in the current international political economy promoted by globalisation. Technology and social media played an important role in bringing transnational social movements like World Social Movement into light.

Transnational social movements are marked by their loose organisation and work as 'coalition of willing'. The main motto of transnationalists these social movement is to politicize those issues that generally do not get the

*Support your ans  
we with critical conn  
ent/patterns  
into enveiging  
different loc  
understand  
collective dynamics  
action*

attention of international politics.

The fact that these movements are ~~best~~ fluid and do not have any organisational set up, so both a strength and a weakness. Strength in the sense that loose organisational setup and fluid identity allows them to bring together diverse groups for the 'immanent critique' of the international politics. It also becomes a weakness because it can not be sustained for long for there are no binding principles and no coordination mechanisms. Another problem is the collective action problem, due to the level of diversity and prioritizing issues becomes a difficult task and reaching consensus on the course of action another big problem.

(b) ~~B&P~~ Difference between collective security and collective defence.

collective security and collective defence both are the liberal institutionalist alternatives to the realist self-help system in the conditions of anarchy at international level.

both prioritize cooperation and collective action by countries in area of ~~security~~ high politics i.e. national security.

Collective security is an -all inclusive concept that presupposes the participation of all actors of international system. The guiding principle of collective security is "All for one, one for all". Collective defence on the other hand is BO a group-based concept, it is a crisis management device among a group of countries who are committed to support each other in times of security crisis.

The orientation of collective security is international in nature and thus is generally supported by an international organisation with universal membership for example the collective security system of the United Nations. Collective defence pacts are usually regional in nature for example the North Atlantic Treaty organisation (NATO) in the European region.

The purpose of a collective security system is always defensive and does not presuppose an enemy; on the other hand collective defence pacts generally presuppose an enemy for example Russia in case of NATO. Due to this fact collective defence pact can be offensive also i.e. may take pre-emptive action to neutralize threat or establish hegemony.

*Explain  
a solution  
to the problem  
of war!  
of benefits of  
a world government  
critical  
comment*

Collective security organisations aim at elimination of conflict and not the elimination of any particular country while collective defence pacts seek ~~both~~ the elimination of enemy which is the ultimate guarantee of lasting peace.

It is evident from the above that the difference between collective security and collective defence are limited to level of institutionalization but the differences are normative and substantial as well. While the former is based on the idealist philosophy of establishing peace by cooperation and regime building, the latter is an extension of realist power politics of balancing by internal capacity building and pooling of power through strong alliance system.

Thus collective security is not the extension of collective defence to international politics but something quite different.

#### (a) Systems Theory:

Systems theory in international politics is brought from the general systems theory prevalent in the natural sciences as a result of behavioural revolution in comparative politics and political theory.

*How to mention the limitation of both the approaches? They may be impracticable/ too general*

Morton Kaplan defines system as a totality of interactions and behaviours of various actors in international politics. Kaplan argues that interactions between actors both national and supranational gives rise to pattern of behaviour which is the basis of International System.

Kaplan talked about six type of International systems initially and later added four more types. The most important among his model of International systems are:

1. Balance of power system: BOP system is marked by the presence of five-six equal powers in relative capabilities and stability is maintained through balancing of rising power by other actors in the system. for example the concert of Europe in 19<sup>th</sup> century.
2. Loose bipolar system: over the period of time, BOP system gives way to loose bipolar system of two countervailing alliances with a non-aligned bloc.
3. Tight bipolar system: loose bipolar system gives way to tight bipolar system where the power is divided between two poles and no third bloc remains significant.
4. Universal system: It is an hypothetical system

that envisages the organisation of all nations under a federal setup and universal respect for international law.

### ~~3. The Unitary~~

5. Hierarchical system: Under this system, a unipolar power brings all other powers under it through conquest, ~~and~~ treatise and Alliances.

The unipolar moment of USA between 1990-2001 comes close to this understanding of international system.

6. Unit veto system: In a veto system, a multipolar international system exists and there are no preponderant powers in this system. All powers possess equal capacity to resist the violation of their sovereignty in this system.

Kaplan's theory has been criticised by many scholars as lacking in explanatory potential and bad in predicting the trajectory of international politics.

According to Robert Lieber, System approach is not a theory in Waltzian terms but just a descriptive framework. Scholars such as Stanley Hoffmeyer criticise the systems approach for ignoring the role of subnational actors and their increasing intervention in international politics.

4. Answer the following questions:

(a) Discuss the different approaches for defining National Interest. Discuss the views of Morgenthau and V.V Dyke on this subject. (300 Words) (25)

(b) Discuss the basic tenants of neo Functionalism. Can you view India - ASEAN relation from the prism of neo functionalist model? Give reasons. (300 Words) (25)

(a) National interest:

In international politics nations define their actions in terms of national interest and try to justify particular policy choices on the basis of promotion of the national interests of their countries. However, there has been no attempt to define what constitutes national interest. Thus the meaning of national interest remains ambiguous and contested. Sometimes even the contradictory policies are pursued by states in pursuance of their national interest. For example support to some authoritarian regimes by the USA in Arab region while at the same time promotion of democracy in other countries in the region.

There are two major approaches to understanding the meaning and scope of national interest, namely, objectivist approach and subjectivist approach.

Objectivist approach to the understanding of national interest defines national interest in terms of some objective criteria. This approach broadly corresponds to the views of

*Frankel*

realist scholars such as Morgenthau.

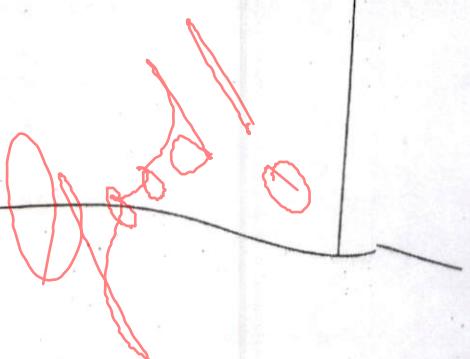
Subjectivist approach to national interest tries to link the meaning of national interest with subjective contexts and believe that there are no objective national interests of nations. This view found expression in the writings of constructivist scholars ~~said~~ Alexander Wendt.

### Views of Morgenthau?

Morgenthau's views on national interest are found in his works "Politics among Nations" and "Dilemmas of Politics". Morgenthau defines national interest in terms of national power. The expansion of national power results in the expansion of national interest.

According to Morgenthau, there are certain objective national interests that all states seek to achieve and the most important among these interests is survival. Survival is defined in terms of physical, political and cultural survival. Physics of survival includes protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity; political survival includes the preservation political regimes and values that a nation holds in value and culture and for example democracy, freedom and human rights; cultural survival includes the protection of cultural identity and historical heritage etc.

Remarks



### V.V. Dyke's Views:

Dyke compares national interest with nations' desires and values that foreign policy tries to advance and protect. Dyke talks about two type of interests i.e dependent interest and independent interest.

(i) Dependent interests are to be advanced for their own sake and are an end in itself; these interests are self justifying for example the protection of territorial integrity which in itself is the basis of nation and national interest.

Dependent interests are means to achieve the independent interests by nations. These interests include economic growth or military modernisation or disarmament for example India's nuclear doctrine notes that "verifiable and universal nuclear disarmament is a national security objective", which serves the independent interest of protecting territorial integrity.

Mention  
meaning making  
to the context  
this is a good answer

## (b) Neofunctionalism:

Neofunctionalism is a theory of regional and international integration that developed from the foundations laid by David Mitrany in his theory of functionalism.

Neofunctionalism emphasizes on common goals, and national interests of the nation to foster regional cooperation among them. Ernst Haas advanced the functionalist argument of promoting cooperation between countries in particular issue areas and development of function based regional and supranational institutions to anchor the process of integration. Thus the existence of a functional intergovernmental or supranational institution for example the development of cooperation between European countries in early 1950s and 1960s in coal and steel areas advanced the process of the development of what is today known as European Union.

Another major tenet of the neofunctionalism is the spillover of cooperation from one issue area to another. The central point behind this is that cooperation in non-conflictual social and economic areas may provide basis for the cooperation in political areas as well.

As per Ernest Haas, there are certain preconditions for the development of neo-functional institutions for example the existence of complete interdependence in economic area; complementarity of political values such as democracy and respect for human rights and justice.

Remarks

In addition to these factors, the willingness of political elites and continuous support for ever closer union are the most crucial factors determining the establishment of neo-functionalism authority.

### India-ASEAN Relations and neofunctional models

India-ASEAN Relations started to emerge from the hangover of cold war after the Indian promulgation of Look-East Policy in the wake of domestic economic reforms and the need for new markets.

If we look at India-ASEAN relations from the prism of neo-functionalism, the development of relations and closer cooperation in political and economic areas in the early years point towards the effort to develop cooperation 'brick-by-brick'. The trajectory of relations point towards the spillover of cooperation from sectoral partnership to development of economic relations or exemplified by the conclusion of free trade agreement which was followed by cooperation in security and strategic areas such as India's participation in ASEAN regional forum, ADMM and ADMM+.

However, after almost thirty years of close relations, there is no inter-regional mechanism between South Asia and South East Asia and relations are still not multi-layered.

Remarks

The spillover of cooperation has been very limited and cooperation in security and strategic areas remains at nascent stage.

Despite these limitations, neo-functionalism approach's flexibility makes it an important tool in understanding and explaining the current and future trajectory of relations between India and ASEAN.

discusses causal factors /  
how integration is  
a continuous process /  
organizational capacity /  
supranational market / ASEAN as  
a legitimate diplomatic interlocutor /  
a expansionist behaviour

Attempt all questions:

## SECTION-B

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (10 × 5 = 50)
- Discuss three Generation of Human Rights.
  - Technological challenges to the theory of deterrence.
  - Basic assumptions of the balance of power system and its critique.
  - 'I can't breathe' movement and question of Human Right.
  - Complex interdependence.

(a)

Three generation of Human Rights :

Human rights are those rights that tell humans are entitled to by virtue of their being human.

Karol Vazak has categorised human rights in three generations:

(1) 1st generation of human rights: civil and political rights that were won after years of struggle against monarchy. It includes right to vote, freedom of expression and speech, right to life etc. These rights are enshrined in Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

(2) 2nd generation of Human Rights: Economic, social and cultural rights form the substance of second generation of human rights. It includes right to work, right to basic amenities, right to public services etc. These rights correspond to the rights needed for realization of positive liberty. These

Mention  
red/blue/green  
rights/law/  
soft/Art of  
peace  
demands  
of different  
groups

rights are enshrined in UDHR and International Covenant on Social, cultural and Economic Rights (ICESCR).

### (3) Third Generation of Human Rights:

Third generation of human rights include the collective and solidarity rights which can only be enjoyed by and endowed to communities and not to individuals. These rights include right to development, right to clean environment and right to peace.

These three generations of human rights have both complementary and conflictual relationships for example right to private property comes into conflict with both socio-economic rights and collective rights such as right to development.

### (b) Technological challenges to deterrence:

Deterrence is a realist concept that focuses on the cost-benefit of a particular action. It establishes that in an environment inhibited by rational actors, if particular behaviour by actors can be discouraged by showing that the cost outweighs the benefit of such actions. Thus it is based on managing of perceptions and ~~TD~~ signalling of intent to punish and impose costs on the offensive behaviour of the adversary.

Remarks

However there are technological challenges that limit the effectiveness of the deterrence:

1. The development of new technologies such as artificial intelligence threaten the working of deterrence in the current geopolitical scenario; the ability to automate threat perception analysis and speed provided by AI can alter the way states deploy deterrence mechanism.
2. New developments such as space weaponry and anti-satellite missiles by countries take the arms race to another level and alter the balance of power and limit the efficacy of deterrence. (5)
3. The fact that some countries have better command and control system and can work with agility in conflict scenarios has significant impact on working of deterrence. For example the ability of the United States to deploy ~~states~~ its defence assets in Asia-Pacific quickly have impact on Beijing's threat perception in case it tries to invade Taiwan.

Thus in a rapidly changing world which is flooded with new technologies, the theory of deterrence requires reworking.

*Mention  
Remarks  
Do NOT discuss  
Confidential / Nuclear weapons  
Space weapons  
EMP  
Nuclear capabilities*

### (C) Balance of Power System and its critique:

Balance of power is one of the most important pillar of realist understanding of politics. In a balance of power system, the stability of the system is maintained by the balancing behaviour of actors; whenever an actor tries to disturb the balance, other powers come together and neutralize the effects and balances keep recurring.

This idea ~~is~~ is central to defensive realism propounded by Kenneth Waltz, in his book: 'The Theory of International Politics' (1979). Waltz argues that structure of international system induces balancing behaviour among ~~the~~ states and through the process of socialisation, it may become the commonsense of international politics. Waltz gives the example of 'Concert of Europe' that helped keep the peace in Europe for 200 years after Napoleon's defeat.

According to Waltz, states resort to two ways for maintaining balance of power:  
 Firstly internal balancing which is internal capacity building by states which increases the relative power and secondly offshore balancing which is done through alliances against the potential revisionist power.

Remarks

Details of the assumptions of the theory of balance of power

William Wohlsteth criticizes the balance of power understanding as inadequate and argues that balances do not occur rather hegemonies form. It is because of three reasons - firstly collective action problem among states results in lack of consensus over balancing; secondly in a multipolar environment countries are confused about who to balance for example in case of India, the initial confusion over whether to balance Pakistan or China and lastly lack of internal capability to resist the rise of hegemon also prevents balancing in international politics.

(d) 'I can't Breath Movement' %  
Racial discrimination and denial of equal moral worth to black people in the USA has resulted in the rise of anti-discrimination movement in the form of "I can't Breath" movement in the US. It has brought into focus the western countries commitment to Human Rights in the sense and the discourse on the legitimacy of the western countries to push for human rights in developing countries of Asia and Africa.

Mention the death of George Floyd This has brought into light another condition of Black's life which is racial discrimination.

debate on the top-down nature of human rights which is solely based on positive and negative interventions amors by the state to ensure human rights. The persisting of discrimination against racial minorities in matured democracies like USA points out the inability of the wortnt human rights discourse to take into account the socio-cultural hierarchies that can not be eradicated only by state intervention but need the cultivation of the culture of human rights in society and communities.

### (e) Complex Interdependence:

The idea of complex interdependence was propounded by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in their work titled "power and International Relations". According to Keohane and Nye, the realist notion of a anarchic international relation based on the single way interaction between states does not hold stouth in today's interconnected societies.

complex interdependence which can prevail in an ideal type and only if three conditions are met:

(i) Multiple channels of Interaction:

In the situation of complex interdependence, there would be ~~comple~~ multiple channels of interaction among states for example state to state interactions, state to business interaction, business to business interaction and people to people interaction.

Thus state no longer remains the only actor and nor the most important actor in international relations.

(ii) No Hierarchy of Issues: In the situation of

complex interdependence, there will be no hierarchy between the military issues and social, and economic issues or against the realist priority to the issues of security and conflict.

(iii) Use of military power: In a situation marked by complex interdependence, the use of

military will become obsolete because of the high stakes involved in other sectors

thus it would promote peaceful settlement of disputes between the countries.

Keohane and Nye argued that it is not negation of power politics, rather the asymmetries in

interdependence and vulnerability will become the chief sources of power politics. In the complex interdependence situation, international organisations will play an important role in agenda setting and providing space for small states to pool their power for issue-linkage and bargaining.

Relations between ~~USA~~ countries can be said to be less complex

Mention  
international  
transactions / mentions  
etc! briefly mentions  
of assumptions

1. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Nye's conception of soft power was designed to remedy the narrow focus of realist power analysis. Discuss. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What is national interest and how to understand the identical conflictual and complementary interest of nations? discuss with suitable examples. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Major Problems with the theory of Nuclear Deterrence. (250 Words) (20)

(d) Nuclear Deterrence:

Theory of nuclear deterrence focuses on the idea that nuclear deterrence

Nuclear deterrence theory was propounded to justify the acquisition and accumulation of nuclear weapons by the US and USSR in 1950s and 1960s. The proponents of the idea claim that the deterring effects of the nuclear weapons has produced the nuclear peace after the end of Second World War and during the Cold War between capitalist bloc and communist bloc.

The basic assumption behind the theory of deterrence is that all states are rational actors who seek survival. The actions of states are guided by the considerations of cost and benefit. Mutually assured destruction enabled by the use of nuclear weapons, results in discouragement of the

*Explain may  
point a cause  
relationship!*

Remarks

*conventional  
to mass nuclear  
Self impact  
of catastrophe /  
this failure /  
false sense  
of confidence*

---URE

Offensive behaviour between two adversary and it is this threat of MAD that has preserved the peace in post world war II. period.

### Problems:

- (1) The nuclear deterrence proponents consider that all states are rational actors and treat states as monolithic structures. ~~The Scott Sagan~~ argues that state are subject to human control and humans may act in various ways based on their threat perception. Thus relying on deterrence can prove fatal.
- (2) Secondly, deterrence is a matter of perceptions, the failure of signalling strategies of a nation may fuel a nuclear war which may end everything.
- (3) Thirdly it is assumed that all states ~~are~~ in full control of their nuclear weapons. It does not take into account that in third world countries non-state actors may gain control of nuclear weapon and the nuclear peace may turn into nuclear devastation.
- (4) After the 1950s and 1960s, there has been multiple developments in the field of

Remarks

nuclear science and technology for example the development of hypersonic missile and delivery systems that may disturb the "balance of terror" and cause war.

In the face of these emerging issues in the nuclear deterrence, there is a need to look at the new ways to prevent the current security environment.

(b)

### National Interest:

The idea of national interest is a contested one, while everyone refers to it, no one has tried to define it. National interest generally refers to the national objectives of a state vis a vis the international system and other actors.

Realist thinkers argue that national interest is the guiding force of state behaviour in international politics. According to Morgenthau, national interest are defined in terms of national power, with change in the capability of a state, its national interest also undergoes change. For example immediately after independence of India's national interest constituted preservation of strategic autonomy and maximum developmental opportunities for its citizen but post 1990 rise in its power has resulted

Mentioning  
reference of  
state behaviour  
of foreign  
policy decisions  
Details

Domestic

In the national aspirations of a great power status, constructivist thinkers like Alexander Wendt and Martha Finnemore see national interest as subjective category. According to Wendt, interests are preceded by ideas and identity, a country's national interest is defined by its identity vis-a-vis the international system and other actors.

There are three models of identity that Wendt proposes to explain the identical, conflictual and complimentary interest of nations.

1. Hobbesian International System: In the nation states see themselves as part of Hobbesian anarchical system and other actors as their enemy, they conceptualise their interests as conflictual. For example the relations between Soviet Union and USA can be explained by this model of national interest which was preceded by perception of conflictual identity as capitalist and communist nation by the USA and USSR respectively.

2. Lockean International Relations: In this model the identity as rivals is prioritised over against the identity as enemy. In this system the states recognize the identical nature of their goals and they the space for their cooperation is used. The relations

between USA and China in post 1980s period till early 2000 can be explained through this model. Peace and prosperity were identified by both countries as common national interest.

### \* Complementary:

#### B. Kantian International Relations:

In this model, countries see each other as friends and interests of each other complementary. This model explains the relations between the members of European ~~coffee~~ union who see each other as friend and thus come together for pursuance of complementary national interest.

Thus it is evident that national interest is a subjective category and it acquires different meanings in different setups.

### (a) Nye's conception of soft power:

Power is a central concept in international politics and akin to money in the market economy. Realist thinkers see power as the most important determinant of a country's national interest and international behaviour and aspirations. According to Morgenthau, "International politics is struggle for power". Realist scholars conceptualise power in terms of hard power which is measured

military capacity traditionally Kenneth Waltz added other components to the concept of power namely economic standing, technological prowess etc.

Neoliberal scholar Joseph Nye calls the realist conceptualization of power 'inadequate' in the changing global scenario. He put forward the concept of 'soft power' to broaden and deepen the understanding of power, as it works in the post cold war liberal world. As against the realist focus on military capacity, Nye's soft power emphasizes on the 'cultural and social components of power' which is exercised by the society and not necessarily by the state. While the hard power is used in the context of conflicts, the soft power focuses on cooperation, it is the power of persuasion through cultural and societal means, soft power.

Soft power constitutes of cultural heritage, social and political values. For example India's soft power comes from its democratic political system, pluralist society, Buddhist heritage of peace and non-violence and rich civilization and heritage dating back 3000 years.

Realist thinkers have criticized the idea of 'soft power' through the Hobbesian understanding that says "covenants without swords are nothing but words". Similarly, Realist thinkers argue that 'power of arguments' cannot hold no meaning without the arguments of power.

Responding to these criticisms, Joseph Nye has formulated an inclusive concept of 'smart power' which focuses on use of both hard and soft power for successful conduct of diplomacy.

NO

Good /  
mention critical  
covenants / cooperative power  
of US / intangible assets