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### MRINALIKA RATHORE

AIR **125** CSE  
2023

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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## POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

### 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 \_\_\_\_\_

Reg. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: Prinalika Pattnaik  
 Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

**REMARKS****GS SCORE**

**SECTION-A**

Attempt all questions:

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) 'Power' as is understood in International Relations
- (b) Hegemonic Stability Theory
- (c) Social movements and Democracy
- (d) Key features of international idealism
- (e) Asian view on UNSC Reforms

① Power is a central concept in International Politics (IP). It is a relational and relative concept. Ac. to Morgenthau, whatever be the ultimate end, power is always the immediate end.

The elements of Power included geographical factors (location, size, resources etc), political, socio-cultural, intelligence, technology & leadership. Elements determine power based on their skilful use.

Countries are categorised, based on amount of power as Super Power (USA), Great Power (Britain, France), Middle Power (India), Small Power (Bhutan, Sri Lanka).

Remarks

Various forms of power include:

- (1) Hard Power - concrete & visible. Power of arms and ammunition.
- (2) Soft Power - Non-Material & Invisible. People to people, cultural, diplomacy.
- (3) Smart Power - given by Joseph Nye. A combination of military strength and alliances, partnerships etc.
- (4) Sharp power - Power of authoritarian states, focus on propaganda.
- (5) Fast power - speed as a determinant of power in hyper active world. ex N EA fast Track diplomacy

Power, though a central concept in IP, is an evolving idea with new meanings being added to it in a fast changing world.

Remarks

(b) Acc to Hegemonic Stability Theory, world system would remain stable when a single nation is dominant (hegemon). Hegemon can exercise leadership either through diplomacy, coercion or persuasion.

Post cold war era (1990 - 2000) Same dominance of US in all spheres, Acc. to HST, a hegemon requires military might, economic superiority and will to lead.

Situation of no hegemon or many powers can destabilise international system as per HST.

Presence of no hegemon can lead to Rory Kindleberger trap as was seen in period between World War I and World War II.

Polarity of power thesis has described multi-polarity as a state of confusion and possibility

Remarks

of accidental mess.

HST can be used to analyse present world order. Scholars have argued that though USA remains the super power but its power is declining. China is rising but not powerful enough to dominate world order.

(c) Social Movements are form of collective behaviour meant to assert and claim particular interests. Their organisational structure is relatively loose compared to interest groups and political parties.

Earlier Social movements ~~such as~~ were movement for workers rights, voting rights for blacks & women in west. In India, nationalist Movement, ~~but~~ peasant and tribal movement, focused on either claiming democracy or some of the rights based on group interest.

Remarks

New Social movements are more focused on quality of life issues such as environment. They have emerged post 1980-90s. Further, they have enhanced youth participation thus strengthening participative democracy.

Movements like women rights, anti-corruption, transgender rights move democracy in progressive direction along with increased representation.

Movements like Black Lives Matter, Hong Kong democracy protests also lead to citizen awareness, education and dialogue which are crucial elements for a democracy.

Social Movements are about people acting in concert, (Mandal around) new forms of political activism and democratic pluralism. Sometimes, they also lead to new political parties and leaders such as Aam Aadmi Party.

Remarks

④ Idealist approach in International relations (1R)

finds its origin in ideas of Woodrow Wilson (14 points), Immanuel Kant (perpetual peace) and John Locke.

~~Idealists have taken positive view of human nature. They are guided by ethics and morality. They believe human can be improved, Human progress and reason can lead to peaceful world order.~~

~~They believe in rule of international law and institutions. According to them countries have underlying harmony of interests (Democratic Peace theory). Nations will not go to war, leave balance of power and rely on collective security.~~

~~Main concern of idealists is human welfare and advancement of civilisation. They believe in power of ideas and hence~~

Remarks

Call of creativity and innovation in IR.

Idealists criticise realists view of struggle for Power, national security and war. They focus on creating world order based on reason and science by eliminating war, tyranny and suppression.

These views resonate in thoughts of Indian leaders such as Gandhi and Tagore.

- (e) UNSC reform have gained limelight amidst multilateralism in post Pandemic world and India being elected as non-permanent Member for 2021-22.

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the principal and most powerful organs of UN. With a mandate of maintaining international peace and security, it consists of 5 permanent & 10 non-permanent members.

Asia has grown ~~to~~ economically, militarily and strategically since 9/11 formed. Rise of UN Members

Remarks

from 50 to 193 has raised the need for more representation in decision making. The current mandate of UNSC is vague which has led to

Selective application of its powers on case by case basis.

UNSC has been unsuccessful in solving / intervening in Pakistan invasion, Chinese expansion, Korean conflict etc.

India as a rising global leader is looking for permanent seat at UNSC in coalition with G4 (Japan, Brazil & Germany). Pakistan, as opposed to India has formed Coffee Club with Italy, Argentina etc & taking their claim. China has diplomatically supported UNSC reforms but is not supportive of India.

Therefore, there is a consensus that reforms should happen but no objectivity on what and how of reforms. There is no significant dialogue too. PM Modi called this leading to visit of confidence in UN

Remarks

**2. Answer the following questions:**

- (a) "Morton K. Kaplan's system approach theory is contrary to the fundamental precepts of system approach". Comment. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Feminism has challenged a homogenous concept of 'women' in IR and exposed gendered logics as powerful organising frameworks. Examine. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Does globalization advance human rights? Comment. (250 Words) (20)

2a

- No idea -

**Remarks**

Q2b) Feminism is the advocacy of rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged compared to men and subordinated to men because of patriarchy.

Feminists consider IR as one of the most Masculine disciplines. They have challenged the realist doctrine for their conventional understanding of security, giving primacy to state which is patriarchial and ignoring human rights.

Cynthia Enloe in her book 'bananas, beaches and bases' raises the question 'where are the women?' She highlights the subordinate role given to women as wives of diplomats and sex workers in military bases,

Remarks

Ann Tickner has modified Morgenthau's principles to:-

- National Interest should not be defined by power, multi-dimensional view is required. Cooperation is also important.
- Power and ethics are related, Power should be seen as empowerment.
- Security should not be just territorial security but human security.
- Feminist scholars have also highlighted the state of women in war and disasters. Women are the most sufferers 70-80%. refugees are women. Women become the victims of war crimes. More than 2 lakh Bangladeshi women were raped by lost Pakistani Army.
- feminist perspective on IR have gradually

Remarks

gained momentum for Sweden adopting first feminist foreign policy. Rape has been declared war crime since 2000. UN

Resolution has urged members to increase women in decision making structures.

feminists emphasize on peace, cooperation and human progress instead of violence and domination.

Remarks

2c

Globalisation refers to free flow of goods, services, technology and labour across borders. According to McLuhan, creation of a global village

Present form of globalisation is believed to begin post cold war with the establishment of WTO. However, Marxists call globalisation as another form of Capitalism.

Whether globalisation advances human rights is a matter of debate and perspective. Human rights are social, political, economic rights are declared in International Bill of Rights.

Those who argue in favour say that countries like India & China have benefitted from trade, exports & technology. China's rise is due to its export led growth. ~~its~~ Medium income level has increased, Vietnam became a middle income country from low due to globalisation.

Remarks

Thomas Piketty in his book Capital in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century has shown rising inequalities due to Globalisation. Environment degradation too has significantly increased due to Globalisation.

Globalisation enhanced Interaction, Knowledge sharing and communication. This has contributed to social movements such as Arab Spring, Yellow Vests, Extinction Rebellion spread across multiple countries. This advances rights and awareness, however, some of the civil society protests are due to issues raised by globalisation itself eg Environment Movement, privacy protection.

Dark side of globalisation also include rise of international terrorism (cross borders). Non-state actors are able to interact more, escape better and show their threat to world via media.

Remarks

There is rise of religious terrorism and ethnic conflicts.

Today globalisation is in retreat. There is

Rise of protectionism and right wing forces.

However, Globalisation as an idea carries immense potential to advance human progress

If it is made ~~tend~~ to focus towards sustainable growth, equitable distribution of resources and benefit of all.

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss how Interest and pressure groups constitute a part of any political system.  
(200 Words) (15)
- (b) Examine the Concept of 'Anarchy' under the Liberalist and Realist traditions?  
(200 Words) (15)
- (c) Although heavily reliant on the notion of Power, the Realist notion is far from a common understanding of Power at Global level? Is it correct to assume that Realism gives only secondary importance to Peace and Cooperation? (250 Words) (20)

4a) Interest and Pressure groups are a form of collective behaviour. Just like political parties and social movements. In a political system, they are group of like minded people who seek to influence policy based on their interests.

The term interest group and pressure group are often used interchangeably. However, some scholars have given minor differences.

Interest group carry a positive connotation while pressure group carry a negative connotation.

These are organised group who perform the role of interest articulation in the political process of a country / society. They use varying tactics.

Remarks

(peaceful, violent, lobbying) for their demands.

The aim of these groups is not to directly capture political power. But sometimes pressure groups do take the form of political party, for ex Indian National Congress (INC) was set up before in 1885 as a platform to raise Indian interests with Britishers. It then became a political party.

Different types of pressure interest groups are:

- (a) Institutional Pressure groups - are connected with state institutions, legislature etc such as civil servants, army.
- (b) Anomic groups - spontaneous groups based on certain issues of religious, linguistic nature such Black Lives Matter, protests after Nirbhaya rape ..
- (c) Associational Groups - particular interest

Remarks

Based formal grouping. ex FICCI, trade unions

(d) Non-Associational - informal groups based on ethnicity, religious, caste etc.  
Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha.

(e) Developmental groups - that advocate causes for human welfare eg. disarmament, peace groups, NGOs

(f) Therefore, interest / pressure group are invisible groups in the political system that nudge it in specific directions.

4b Liberal and Realist scholars have attempted to analyse global order. liberal school developed by Woodrow Wilson wanted to establish peace and Realist school developed to understand causes of war during inter-war period.

Remarks

Auto Realists, there is Anarchy in IR and there is no central authority to enforce rules. This creates fear.

They take pessimistic view of human nature. Since state, which is central in Realism, is made of humans also acts in same way.

Anarchy generates perpetual state of conflict. Therefore, state have to go for self-help. National Survival is most important.

As one state acquires power, other gets insecure causing a security dilemma. Trust deficit between state leads to Balance of Power which may increase arms but not security.

Anarchy under realism can be described using Arnold Wolfers' Billiards Ball Model where states are like hard shells. There is no permanent friend or enemy.

Remarks

Scholars under liberal traditions are idealists. They take a positive view of human nature.

According to them, nations have underlying common interests. Growth of reason, communication and understanding will make them realize utility of war and enhance cooperation.

They believe states' interests and power relations keep on changing. Growth of mutual interests can sustain cooperation.

Liberals believe in promotion of institutions (UN, WTO), democracy (Democratic peace theory), interdependence and functional relations between states.

Hence, concept of anarchy is understood and defined very opposite to each other under Realism & Liberalism.

Remarks

4c Power is a central concept in International relations. As to Morgenthau, whatever be the immediate end, power is always the ultimate end.

Notion of power greatly varies as per various schools of thought and scholars.

Common element that enhance or diminish a state's power include:

- (a) Geography - size, location, resources determine power. USA's hegemony is because of where it is located
- (b) stable political factors and domestic consensus,
- (c) Leadership
- (d) Intelligence - USA's CIA, Russia's KGB boost its advantage.
- (e) Technology - China is rising on back of technology
- (f) Economic Status - USA is economic super power.

Remarks

further, countries are categorised as Super power (USA), Great power (Britain), Middle power (India) and Small power (Bhutan) based on their military capabilities.

Concepts like Hard power, Soft power, Smart power, Sharp power deal with (Joseph Nye) the use of military, economic, diplomatic, cultural strength in varying degrees to gain national advantage.

Realist notion of power is associated with Anarchical nature of IR. According to them, politics is struggle for power. Security and Self help are most important elements.

Therefore, external (alliances) and internal (arms) balancing is important for national survival.

Remarks

for realists, power is relational and relative. Hence, security dilemma and balance of power form core of their policy.

Liberal tradition in IR has put emphasis on reason and communication between states.

Their theories are called peace theories

as they seek to seek mutual cooperation.

Marxist and Post-Marxist tradition has emphasised on economic basis of power. They even say state as instrument of Capitalist class, Wallerstein's Core-periphery.

feminist perspective has given gendered frameworks to understand dominance of patriarchy in IR.

Therefore, the ~~under~~ theoretical understanding and pragmatic applications of concept of power very vividly in IR.

Remarks

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:  $(10 \times 5 = 50)$
- India US strategic partnership
  - India's Stand on South China Sea
  - Realist Paradigm in Indian foreign policy
  - Panchsheel principles: step in the direction of easing tensions between India and China
  - Role of the Cabinet Committees and PMO on Foreign Policy making

① India US tie have continued to deepen  
since the beginning to 21<sup>st</sup> century. This  
is rooted in India's significance as an important  
regional player in Asia and a rising global  
leader; and USA's dominant status in  
world affairs.

Indo-US nuclear deal and special provisions  
for India for nuclear fuel in 2008 was a  
crucial beginning of this strategic partnership.

② With the signing of BECA (geo-spatial cooperation)  
India & US have completed the trinity of  
BECA, LEMOA (Logistics Cooperation) and COMCASA (interoperability)

Remarks

agreements. This will ensure smooth, efficient and decisive military cooperation in any adverse scenario.

Both countries continue to practice military exercises such as Malabar and Yudh Abhyas.

Defence trade is an important area of cooperation between India & US. India has made provisions for FDI in defence. We have bought Apache helicopters and a proposal to buy Hornet fighter is under consideration. US sees India as a partner, did not sanction for Russia S-400. US has made regulation for easier defense export to India.

Lastly, both countries continue to be allies in UNAD, US supports India at UNSC and has made India a non-NATO ally. However, few issues related to trade disputes at WTO and trade deficit still need to be resolved.

Remarks

(b) South China Sea is a Major trade route and sea line of communication for Asia and world. It has grown into a conflict region due to Chinese expansionism.

China has given a dash line concept. According to this, China considers significant part of South China Sea (SCS) including islands like Spratly, Scarborough Shoal as its exclusive zone.

India is a regional power in Asia and Indian Ocean is its zone of influence. Malacca strait that connects Indian Ocean & SCS is an important choke point. It is also very close to Andaman & Nicobar Island.

India (along with USA) continues to call for free and open Indo-Pacific (Mahan-Sea power).

SCS is also significant given India's trade with ASEAN countries is rising. India's

Remarks

Act fast policy success also lies in freedom

Navigation in SCS,

China also consider India's dominant presence in Indian ocean and therefore establishing strategic ports as string of pearls to encircle India.

(c) MEA S. Jaishankar has called for more realism in Indian foreign policy. According to him, real barriers for India's rise are not barriers of world but dogmas of 'Delhi'.

India followed an optimistic non alignment till 1962 under PM Nehru. However, ~~post~~ Indo-China war forced us to make pragmatic choices. More focus on nation security and alliances beyond NAM (NAM failed to support India in 1962).

Remarks

In the phase between 1971 to 1991, India exercised its hard power in Bangladesh liberation war and conducted nuclear test (Pokhran 1).

21st century has seen India adopting strategic autonomy by following multi-vector policy ie alignment with different partners on different issues. We are part of QUAD and SCO both.

India has been doing energetic diplomacy in last 5 years through its international initiatives like International Solar Alliance, CDR 1, TORA,

India's growing economy, soft diplomacy, cultural relations and reliability as leader of emerging economies has made it ready for next phase in global leadership i.e.

UNSC permanent member, arms supplier, technology leader.

Remarks

d) Panchsheel Principles were adopted for first time between India - China agreement on Tibet in 1954. It is an irony that China being a signatory to Panchsheel continues to break them again and again.

~~Panchsheel or five virtues consist of mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference, mutual respect for territorial integrity & sovereignty and peaceful coexistence.~~

~~China has violated letter and spirit of Panchsheel. In 1962 war, 2017 Doklam stand off and 2020 LAC incursions. This is due to China's revisionist and expansionist ambitions. It follows Mao's palm and five finger strategy.~~

~~However, India too is a nuclear power, regional leader in Asia and global power. This and unresolved border understanding~~

Remarks

lies at the heart of conflict between two,

It is important for both global powers and ancient civilizations having cultural ties to realize that future lies in peace, mutual growth and collective progress.

This can only be possible by going back to Panchsheel and dialogue to resolve disputes.

e) Cabinet Committee and PMO are most important institutions of foreign policy making.

Cabinet Committee on Security consists of (CCS)  
PM, Min. of External Affairs, Defence Minister & finally  
& Home.  
It is the political body responsible for foreign  
policy.

The role of Cabinet Committee in influencing foreign policy is dependent on nature of issues at hand, domestic influences, coalition government ~~and~~ and PM's leadership.

Remarks

Diverse issues calls for inter-ministerial coordination like RCEP or analysis/ debate on multiple perspective for ex Surgical Strike will have domestic, defence & foreign affair implications.

Similarly coalition government needs catering interests of all alliance partners. RCEP UPA was supported by BJP in nuclear deal with US.

PMO has assumed greater role in foreign policy over time. Decisions on areas of particular interest to PM are handed by PMO. It has officials from NSA in deputation for coordination of policy formulation.

PMO can appoint special envoys, task forces on specific issues. PM's leadership plays a significant role in PMO's involvement ex PM Modi's charisma in Diaspora, Surgical Doctrine etc.

Foreign policy have become very vast and diverse area with many fold implications. Therefore no one singularly dominates its direction.

Remarks

6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) India needs to play a critical role in turning BIMSTEC into a vehicle for inter-regional cooperation, rather than viewing it as an alternative to SAARC. Examine. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) India cannot hope to arrive as a great power if it is unable to manage relationships within South Asia. Examine. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss the External Challenges in instrumentalities of India's Hard Power. (250 Words) (20)

6 a

BIMSTEC formed in 1997 is a strategic initiative of India to enhance regional cooperation.

It consists of countries surrounding Bay of Bengal - Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar.

Based on Panchsheel principle, major areas of cooperation include - energy, tourism, trade, counter-terrorism, blue economy etc.

Challenges faced by BIMSTEC

- Absence of any free trade agreement.
- All economies in crisis, India.
- India not playing the role of leader & stabilised.

Remarks

- Chinese influence and dealing in pairs
- Uncertainty in Thailand
- Military coup in Myanmar.
- Inclination of Nepal & Sri-Lankan leadership towards China.

India has realised the importance of BIMSTEC. Secretariat at Dhaka was established. PM Modi invited BIMSTEC leaders on his swearing in ceremony.

India needs to play a larger role in increasing cooperation through following:-

- Maritime security and information sharing in Bay of Bengal.
- Market integration and trade agreement
- Infrastructural development through line of credit and loans from development banks.
- Improve connectivity across North East India as it acts as bridge.

Remarks

However, BIMSTEC is not SAARC and it should not be considered a substitute.

India's relation with Pakistan are crucial for functioning of SAARC. It is also its passage of west Asia.

~~BIMSTEC gives centrality to maritime trade and integration with South East Asia whereas SAARC puts land connectivity with West Asia, Central Asia and Arctic into focus.~~

~~Acc to C. Raja Mohan, BIMSTEC has high geo-strategic significance as it gives India an edge in Bay of Bengal, Mekong region and Sub-Himalayan region.~~

Remarks

(65)

India-China dispute at LAC, Kalapani dispute with Nepal and Sri Lanka's decision to withdraw from East Container Development

~~Project~~ This raised the issue of its relationships in the region.

At the same time, India has renewed its call for permanent seat at the UN Security Council.

PM Modi called for a reformed multi-lateralism in his speech at UNA 2020.

Great power comes with great responsibility.

It is important for a great power to act as a security provider, promote economic growth and show leadership.

To this effect, India has undertaken multiple initiatives. firstly, establishment of International Solar Alliance to form a global solar grid. Secondly, Centre of Disaster Resilience in India (CDRI) has been set up to support, train

Remarks

- and manage partner countries in natural disasters.
- Vaccine diplomacy - covid vaccine given to 50+ countries.
  - In Bilateral Matters, India and Maldives has signed 4 agreements involving India's infrastructure development and capacity building role.
  - Dialogue with Nepal has been initiated after Army General Narayan's visit.
  - India has reiterated peaceful transition to Democracy in Myanmar while it follows a wait and watch approach.
  - Disengagement with China on mutual agreed terms has raised India's clout in neighbourhood. However, gaps need to be fulfilled in India's approach with its neighbours. Indian projects continue to be delayed such as in Nepal & Bhutan. There is a lack of proactiveness in resolving disagreement at the earliest.
  - for India to be a regional & global leader, more realism needs to be adopted in Foreign policy (MEA Palshankar)

Remarks

(a) India has been traditionally a country that enjoy high soft power in global domain. However, with more realism in foreign policy (post 1962) we have strengthened our military capabilities and ~~not~~ acquire nuclear weapon.

• There has been a significant push towards indigenization of defence recently, however, there are certain external challenges:-

(a) USA - Russia conundrum - Both countries are important defense suppliers and competitors. USA's CAATSA was waived off while buying S-400 but its concerns remains.

(b) I-2 Diplomacy - Insurgency by Pakistan and incursion by China

(c) Threat of 2 front war with China & Pakistan.

(d) Chinese expansionism - Belt and Road initiative on land and string of pearls in sea encircling India.

Remarks

- (e) Inclination of neighbours like Sri Lanka and Nepal towards China.
- (f) Growing QUAD and rise of Indo-Pacific as hot spot of global geo-strategic game.

Remarks