



**An Institute for Civil Services**

**IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

**SHREYA SINGHAL**

**RANK - 176**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 1**



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**GS SCORE**

TEST - 01

106.5

**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> Work on Quality Concrete Building.

<2> Mention Contextual scholars, their Books, Commentaries.

<3> Address Core Demand of the question

Name Shreya SinghalMobile No.                     Date                     Signature Shreya1. Invigilator's Signature                     2. Invigilator's Signature



REMARKS

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## 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
- (e) Coronavirus and Human Security
- (f) Power transition theory and realist balance of power system

a) Soft Power and its critique :-

Keohane and Nye define "soft power" as power exercised through political, cultural and economic means rather than military means. The concept of soft power is a liberal critique to <sup>the</sup> hard power of realists.

Unlike hard power which is concrete and tangible, soft power is invisible and intangible. It is diffused among various institutions of society like art and culture, business groups etc. It helps countries exercise influence over other nation states and world order by creating cultural hegemony.  
eg: yoga diplomacy, Bollywood

Remarks



However, as pointed by CR Gasekhan,

"world does not understand the power of argument rather the argument of power". The idea of "soft power"

is not self sufficient to establish hegemony of a country.

Moreover, it takes huge time to build as well as is not at <sup>the</sup> disposal of states to use.

Thus Nye proposes for "smart power",

which emphasize on importance of military but at same time invest heavily on people, ~~the~~ institutional building and societal relations.

(b) Epistemic Communities & International politics -

Epistemic communities are voluntary organisations comprising of experts of particular field.

Eg: ICAN, Red Cross, Amnesty International, IPCC

With the emergence of globalisation, the and rise of related global threats/concerns, the role of epistemic communities can be seen in



U.S

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international politics too. eg.

1) Data based and scientific research in areas such as climate change as done by IPCC

2) Pressure on world political leaders - to address global concerns in a concerted and collaborative manner.

3) Repository of new ideas - democratise public sphere of international policy making. eg: ICAN drafted the Prohibition of Nuclear weapons treaty

Thus, epistemic communities give rise to a "network world order" and play a major role in addressing the "problems without passports"

Remarks

Mention E. Haas  
Mention Recent Covid-19  
Role of E.C.



(c) Role of NGOs and INGOs in IR

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw transformation from the state-centric world order to society-centric world order. Transnational actors such as NGOs and INGOs play a major role in it.

Role of NGOs in international relations -

① Counter destructive capitalism narrative -

Eg: diversion of forests for mining, flouting of environmental norms by MNCs.

② Raise voice of the vulnerable - Eg: Tribals, women; ~~and~~ <sup>people living in</sup> ~~border~~ <sup>border</sup> areas to ensure their interests protected in trade agreements, WTO etc.

③ Scrutinise international policy of nation - in context of human rights, culture etc.

Eg: Bachpan Bachao Andolan monitors implementation of Convention of child rights.



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## Role of INGOs in IR-

- ① Build societal interlinkages - Eg: India relations
- ② Dissemination of universal values - Eg: protection of human rights, environment conservation  
Eg: Amnesty report on Human rights
- ③ Build pressure on nation states to cooperate and collaborate - Eg: Red Cross appeal to end Yemen Crisis; FAO's work in Libya.

Thus NGOs and INGOs have acted as positive agents in international relations.

## d) Coronavirus and Human Security -

The recent pandemic caused by Coronavirus have emerged as an existential crisis for the entire human race.

Coronavirus has impacted nearly every aspect of human security. This can be seen

Remarks



as -

i) Economic security - Global lockdown leading to large scale reduction in demand and massive layoffs, especially in informal sector.  
 eg: the migrant labour crisis in India

ii) Food security - Due to a sudden halt in economic activities and drop in income, access to quality food has become major challenge especially for poor in developing countries

iii) Psychological security: due to a combination of economic stress, inability to meet family members. It created emotional turmoil and fear among people.

The Covid 19 pandemic is a reminder of how <sup>non-</sup>conventional threats are proving detrimental to human security. There is thus need to exercise 'power in concert' (Hannah Arendt) to evolve a global

Remarks

policy.



e) Power transition theory & realist balance of power

with system

Balance of power <sup>(BOP)</sup> is a realist concept based on westphalian world order. It is treated as norm in international politics.

BOP emphasizes that no state should be allowed to gain preponderance over other in order to maintain a general equilibrium. It proposes internal balancing (strong military) and external balancing (wars, buffer states, partitioning territory, arms race) as means to attain BOP.

However Kenneth Osgaerke proposes Power transition theory instead of BOP. Acc to him, war occurs not when there is BOP but when transition of power occurs. The recent US-China trade war can be viewed from this perspective.

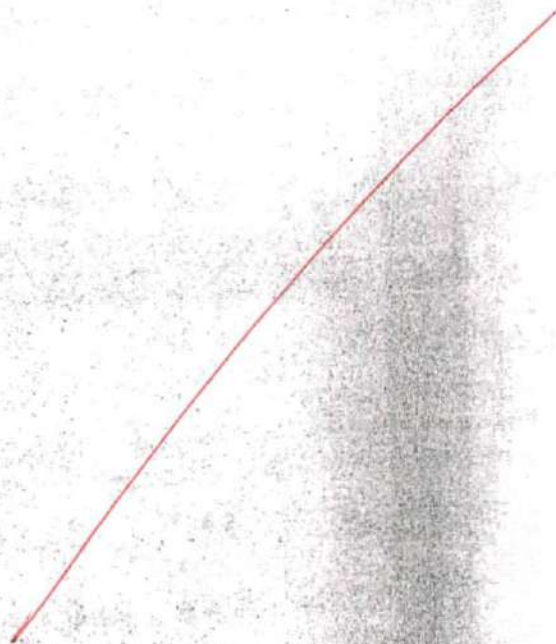
As the Realist theories of BOP and power transition is however criticised by liberals as "power monism" and "unscientific".

Remarks

Mention Context of scholars

Hierarchy of Power Model







2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast views of liberal, realist and critical schools on global political economy. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Do you think that Covid-19 had impacted national Security? How far it is correct to blame China for Covid-19 Crisis? (300 Words) (25)

Remarks



3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Critically Evaluate System theory and Morton 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)

a) Systems theory in international system is influenced by the General systems theory as well as David Easton's systems approach.

Systems theory, given by Morton Kaplan aims to study international relation as a system with interdependent and inter related actors. It attempts to make a systematic analysis of the relations among actors, in order to make a grand theory. Eg: BoP model, bipolar model, unit veto model etc.

However, Systems approach is criticised as a "huge misstep in right direction" (Stanley Hoffman). It does not even capture the basic essence of Systems approach. It does



write separate  
Theoretical description  
and Criticism

7.0

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not explain the role of environment, input or the output. It also fail to acknowledge the role of domestic and international non state actors in international relations.

Moreover, <sup>4/6</sup>~~6/7~~ models are hypothetical making it irrelevant for any critical analysis.

further, it does not have any systemic relevance to establish peace or resolve social crisis in the society.

Ray Maridís calls it 'monographic', static & <sup>descriptive</sup>~~present~~.

However, systems approach does help incorporate scientific techniques in the study of international relations. It attempts to explain the balance of power and provides a evolutionary history of ~~but~~ international politics.

We can say that international politics is far too complex and no single theory can explain it completely.

Remarks

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(b) Morgenthau in his book Politics among nations 1946 held that "survival is the prime national interest". Thus security is the underlying theme of international politics.

Collective security<sup>(C.S)</sup> and collective defence<sup>(C.D)</sup> were proposed by Woodrow Wilson as alternative to the realists' Balance of power and security dilemma. Though both liberal concepts, yet differ in following ways,

Add  
Keywords  
All for one  
One for all

Collective Security

- Global in nature
- No defined enemy
- Based on principle of consensus and cooperation implemented under universal auth.
- E.g.: CS under United Nations in Gulf war 1990

Collective Defence

- Regional
- Defined enemy
- Based on principle that attack on one member considered attack against all.
- E.g.: NATO, SEATO, Warsaw pact



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At to Woodrow Wilson, collective security converts tangle of "jungle of international politics into zoo". It is rejection of ~~and~~ Hobbesian anarchy and self help.

W. Wilson also considered collective defence as "practical way" to achieve collective security. Since CS operations require global consensus, CD parts such as NATO can keep in facilitating consensus building. It is less time taking and more effective.

However, Nehru believed that "collective defence" parts "undermined" collective security. It ensured that global powers are engaged in arms race, proxy wars against each other. It shows lack of faith in global institutions to implement collective security operations, by weakening their legitimacy.

Remarks

Address MI parts asked in the question



(c) Discuss Transnational social movement (20)

Social movements can be defined as mobilisation of people to express a specific demand with ~~less~~ a high degree of spontaneity and negligible organisational hierarchy.

The scope and mandate of social movements have become global in modern era. This has led to rise in transnational social movements <sup>which</sup> emphasizing on global concerns as well as have global participation. eg. Me Too Movement, Fridays for future

The advent of ICT & greater social interactions due to globalisation has created fertile ground for emergence of transnational social movements. These movements are mostly leaderless with no organisational hierarchy. They



champion cause of the marginalised communities. Eg: MeToo movement for women victims of sexual assault, Extinction rebellion for climate change.

The aim of transnational <sup>social</sup> movements is to pressurize the global world leaders to ~~de build~~ develop cooperation and evolve a collective strategy against these concerns. These movement also ~~tend~~ attempt to highlight the <sup>apathy</sup> ~~lack~~ of political class towards such issues. Eg: the global movement for LGBTQ+ people.

They use novel methods such as theatre, graffiti, social media posts and even provide a progressive way ahead. Eg: the ICAN's Treaty on Nuclear weapon Prohibition.



Thus, ~~transnational~~ as held by DL  
Sheth, transnational social movements are  
 also expression of resentment by the economically  
 marginalised and socially excluded sections of  
 the society. They help channel the ~~large~~  
 enormous youth power and frustration into  
constructive ways.

we can conclude saying that  
 the emergence of <sup>transnational</sup> social movements is a progress  
 towards development of a 'global civil society'  
 and 'global citizens'.

Remarks

Conclusion OK  
 Mention  
 Ideology/Philosophy of TSM  
 Social Base  
 Strategy  
 Success/Failure  
 Contexts/Scholar  
 India's perspective



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)

*Morgenthau*

Remarks



## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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) Human Rights -

Human rights are "basic moral guarantees that people of all countries and culture possess just because they are humans".

Human rights have evolved in form of three generations -

i) Civil & Political rights - Liberal approach;

These rights emphasize on political equality. eg: and civilised existence. eg: right to vote, right to freedom of speech and expression.

ii) Socio and Economic Rights - Marxist approach

These rights focus on equality of opportunity.

marks

Mention  
Contextual  
Scholar

Provision for  
Indian Constitution  
UN 1948



as well as equality of outcomes. Eg: right to fair wages, maternity benefits, right against labour exploitation.

iii) Cultural Rights - Multiculturalist and communitarian perspective

Eg: right to protect our language, culture + spirit.

The notion of human rights is however criticised for its "liberal bias" and geopolitical use by the super powers like U.S.

Nevertheless, human rights help uphold Kantian 'human dignity' and Rawlsian 'social justice'.

b) Technological challenges to the theory of deterrence

Deterrence is a psychological concept which aims to deter the enemy state from attack by convincing it that "victory will not be worth it".

Though an old concept, it has been increasingly associated with nuclear weapons in present

Remarks



times. Eg: India has developed nuclear triad in order to build nuclear deterrence.

However, the theory of <sup>nuclear</sup> deterrence suffers from many technological challenges -

- i) Dual use <sup>nuclear</sup> technology - i.e. commercial nuclear technology can be upgraded to war grade
- ii) Second strike capability requires development of highly sophisticated mechanisms of Uranium enrichment and manufacture of nuclear bombs -
- iii) Difficult to monitor proliferation to non state actors and Vague states. Eg: ineffectiveness of IAEA to prevent North Korea from nuclear weapon development
- iv) Accidental wars - due to human error/negligence

Thus as pointed by Scott D. Sagan, world needs a better anchor <sup>of security</sup> other than nuclear deterrence. ~~to ensure security in 21st century.~~

Remarks

Mention  
① Hypersonic technology  
② AI, UAV  
③ Mention Recent NPT 2020 Review Conference



## c) Basic assumption of BOP and its Critique

Balance of power is treated as a maxim in international politics similar to Newton's law of gravity.

### Basic Assumptions of Balance of power

- ① Westphalian notion of sovereignty
- ② Anarchy - state of war of all with all (Hobbes)
- ③ Survival is the prime motivation of national interest
- ④ Self help - by acquiring more power as power is an antidote to power.

### Critique:

A/c to TV Paul & Franz Ferns, ideal conditions for BOP have ceased to exist -

- i) Regional Global politics instead of regional.
- ii) Emergence of complex interdependence among

Remarks



nations

iii) Emergence of nuclear weapons instead of conventional weapons.

Thus ~~real~~ liberals propose collective security (W. Watson), liberal institutionalism, functionalism (David Milgram) and democratic peace theory instead of Balance of power.

However, the emergence of coalitions such as QUAD against Chinese aggression in South Asia prove that ~~later~~ Balance of power continue to be "Common sense" (David Hume).

1) "I can't breathe movement" & Question of Human Right

Human rights in present times have acquired multiple dimensions, with environmental rights being the latest one.

The "I can't breathe" movement is a global social movement highlighting the

Relevant Content Building



poor air quality and high pollution levels in the ghet urban areas. It is an example of the new social movement which shifts focus from "bread & butter issues" to post materialist issues.

The deteriorating environmental conditions pose a serious threat to enjoyment of human rights. E.g. poor air quality results into poor health issues, increased out of pocket expenditure on health and rise in regional inequality.

It will have a disproportionate impact on the economically and marginalised sections of society, hindering realisation of right to life, the basic human right.

The "I can't breathe" movement, with a relatable and catchy nomenclature thus attempt to draw a connection between environment violation and human right violation. It pressurises

Remarks

Wrong Interpretation of the question  
Recent based on killing of George Floyd in USA  
Right approach for Anti-apartheid



world leaders to give expand the horizon of human rights paradigm to include right to clean environment.

To conclude, As Gandhiji points out, "We do not inherit this planet from our ancestors, <sup>our</sup> we borrow it from our children". Thus, we better keep it clean and safe.

e) Complex interdependence:

Liberals like Keohane & Nye define 'complex interdependence' as state "where one is forced to love whom one would otherwise love to hate". It is a liberal critique to realist theories.

The theory of complex interdependence is descriptive in nature. It describes the state of relations among nations in the present era. It



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to the theory, at present nations are in complex interdependence i.e. cooperating even when all issues are not resolved amongst them.

eg: China is the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest trade partner of India despite the conflict on border issues.

Because of the emergence of complex interdependence, the use of hard power as proposed by realists is very limited. Moreover, security has also become multi-dimensional. eg: economic security, data security, cyber security etc.

Thus complex interdependence helps to explain the patterns of cooperation and conflict in international economy.



6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) The fundamental challenge for democracy had become less about how to establish democratic governance per se than how to make democracy work effectively and justly in large-scale multicultural societies. Comment. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Analyze Religion as a Political Philosophy of Terrorism. Give an account of Socio-political Causes that Led to the Emergence of ISIS. (300 Words) (25)

a) Lord Bryce describes democracy as the form of government where "qualified will" of the "collective majority" rules.

Democracy has become near universal today. Aided by global capitalism and ~~local~~ international institutions, it has become the most common form of polity in the world. However, it is also an age of "democratic confusion".

The democracies in the west differ widely from those in the east. Unlike west, democracies in the east are yet to be institutionalised. It is limited to electoral democracy while finding it difficult to emerge into democratic



## societies

The concept of democracy rest on fundamental principles of human dignity, freedom of speech, equality of opportunity and right to choose own government. However, these principles are often difficult to achieve in multiracial societies; where state has to balance various competing interests.

Eg: in India, ~~affirmative~~ special rights are given to linguistic and cultural minorities despite equality before law.

Accommodation of diversity sometimes poses a threat to the survival of democracy itself.  
Eg: Sri Lanka, a democracy suffered a long drawn out civil war due to failure to accommodate Tamil minorities.



In recent times, even the western model of democracy is witnessing decline.

Greater immigration into ~~top~~ western nations is leading to increased cultural consciousness among the locals. This is exacerbated by xenophobia, islamophobia and ~~rise in~~ economic ~~issues~~ rise of right wing populist parties.

Thus even western nations, known as cradle of democracy are witnessing democratic decline. E.g.: Burkini ban in France, police excesses against Blacks in US.

Moreover, there is growth of economic inequality in democratic nations posing challenge to achieve social justice. Fukuyama defines this as rise of "illiberal democracies".



10.5

Extract the  
Core Demand  
of the question

However, as pointed by Churchill,  
"democracy is the best form of government  
until we find a better way of government."

Thus, we need to emphasize on the core  
values of democracy rooted in respect,  
Kantian categorical imperative of human  
dignity, respect for plurality and tolerance.

question is based  
on Multi-Culture of India  
by Will Kymlicka  
Bhiku Parekh

Mention recent  
# Black life Matters  
Movement in USA  
Against Racism

Remarks



Start with  
Reign of terror  
1799-1793  
French Rev

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(b) Franz Fanon in his book "Black skins, white masks" defines "terror as the weapon of the ~~say~~ impotent".

Terrorism refers to the indiscriminate use of violence to achieve certain political agenda/objectives. Eg: 9/11 terror attacks, 2008 Mumbai attack etc.

Traditionally terrorism has been associated with political insurrection and nationalistic demands. However, off late, there is emergence of "New terrorism" with religion as its political philosophy.

New terrorism exploits religious doctrines to justify its acts of violence, it aims to establish a kingdom of God as ~~present~~ envisaged by the religion.

Remarks



It is not just a political agenda, rather aims to change the civilisational values of the world. Moreover, it idealizes terrorists as religious martyrs and tempt young people to join the holy movement.

Religion is a much emotive issue especially in developing countries. Hence its use as propaganda is highly successful, though condemnable. Moreover the existence of various religious sects also create conducive situations for terror organisations to exploit the fractures.



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Remarks



7. 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)

a) As Lesswell and Kaplan define politics as "shaping and sharing of power". Though central, yet power is an essentially contested concept.

Realists like Morgenthau defined power in terms of military power, some which is referred to as hard power. Mearsheimer called nations as power maximisers."

However, liberals like Nye consider realist approach as "power maxim". Instead, he proposes concept of soft power. Soft power relies on influence of culture, ideas and relations among people. Instead of war mongering, it emphasizes on investments in institutional building, creating

Remarks



transnational linkages and people to people contacts.

Eg: yoga diplomacy by India ; role of Hollywood, and Harvard in establishing US hegemony.

Thus, soft power expands the scope as well means to exercise power. It helps prevent war as against realist theories which see war as means to ~~to~~ establish power.

However, soft power also suffer from certain ~~enormous~~ disadvantages. It is time consuming as well as not at <sup>the</sup> disposal of state to use at its own will. Rather it is build through social institutions like NGOs, schools etc. and is depreciated throughout.

Thus Nye proposes smart power which underlines the importance of military but at the same time invests heavily in people, relations and

Remarks

Address the Demand of the question  
rather irrelevant writing



processes.

John Chipman gives the concept of "fast power". A/c to him, power is determined not by 'Heg' but by agility of a country.

Thus power continues to be an evolving concept. As pointed by Morgenthau 'whatever be the ultimate goal, power will always be the immediate aim of foreign policy'.

(b) Ham J Morgenthau in 'Politics among Nations, 1946' defines national interest as "perennial standards ~~by~~ against which political actions <sup>must</sup> be judged or discredited".

National interest is the prime motivation behind foreign policy. It can be divided

into -

1) Core National interest - which remain constant

Remarks



Eg: territorial sovereignty

ii) Dynamic national interest - subject to change with circumstances Eg: economic trade deals etc.

National interest can also be understood on basis of individual interests of nations states.

① Identical National Interest:

- where two or more countries consider <sup>to be</sup> ~~as~~ in <sup>their</sup> ~~mutual~~ interest.

- Eg: Both US and India (also Japan & Australia) consider ~~a~~ aggressive Chinese policy in South China sea as prejudicial to their interests. Thus they formed QUAD.

② Conflicting National Interest -

- a matter a dispute among countries.

- Eg: India considers PoC enforcement of

Remarks



Parris deal mechanisms as <sup>in</sup> national interest while  
US have withdrawn from the deal citing  
concerns for national development

### ③ Complementary National Interest -

- which complements / facilitates achievement of  
National interest for both countries.

- Eg: Signing of LEMOA, COMCASA agreements  
between India - US complements national  
security of ~~the~~ India and source of  
commerce expansion as well reduction in Russian  
influence on India, for US.

The theory of National interest  
is however criticised by Marxist scholars like  
Raymond Saxon who calls it "vague to the point of  
being a pseudo theory". Nevertheless, National  
interest continue to be the iron law of international  
relations (Henry Kissinger)



### (c) Major problems with the theory of deterrence

Deterrence is a psychological concept which means "to deter". Though an old concept, it has been increasingly associated with the nuclear weapons war.

Deterrence is based on principle that even if a ~~sm~~ slightest risk exist that conventional war may escalate to nuclear war, the enemy would not engage in the war. It is a realist concept to ensure global peace and avoid war.

However, Scott D Sagan points out major problems associated with the theory of deterrence.

- i) Deterrence works with rational actors. Presently, there is increased proliferation to rogue states like N. Korea as well as fear of acquisition by non state actors.

Remarks



- ii) Accidental use of nuclear weapons due to human error may result into full blown nuclear war. Eg: 1962 Cuban crisis
- iii) Proliferation to third world - with weak political establishments, nuclear weapons <sup>are</sup> commanded by military. Armed forces are prone to use them.
- iv) Associated High costs of development and maintenance of nuclear weapons.

Static  
Answer  
↓  
Make it  
dynamic

Ramesh Shukla also highlight the "nuclear taboo" which has come into existence which has made nuclear weapons futile and unnecessary. Moreover the lack of confidence building measures in areas such as South Asia provide huge scope for a nuclear war.

However, Realists continue to emphasize on the doctrine of nuclear deterrence.



A/c to Bernard Brodie, nations should go for nuclear deterrence rather than balance of power.

Kenneth Waltz considers nuclear deterrence as the best reason for why "cold war remained cold."

Though he proposes "selective proliferation" of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear deterrence may not be as relevant for South Asia where both India and China has proposed a no first use policy. However, it is of much relevance in Southern Europe and Russia.

To conclude, nations must move towards developing a complete, verifiable and irreversible nuclear disarmament. 21st century will need better anchors of security, as pointed by Scott D Sagan.

Remarks

Work on  
Concrete Content  
Building

Discuss  
NPT 2020  
Review  
Conference

AI  
Mention

AI  
Hypersonic  
Missiles  
Anti-Satellite  
Missiles

AI  
Robots  
GPS  
etc.



8. Answer the following questions:

(a) No climate justice without gender justice. Comment.

(300 Words) (25)

(b) It is only through an optimal diversification among soft and hard power (i.e., the smartest power) that leaders will be able to maximize national influence in the transformed world. Discuss.

(300 Words) (25)

Remarks



