



An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

JAYA SNEH

RANK - 527

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
TEST - 1**

Jay SNCH

P8197 - Test - 1

128.5

Soft power and its critique

1(a)

Soft power emerged as a consequence of liberalism and complex interdependence in 1980s. Joseph Nye highlighted the role of

"low politics" of culture economy.

trade, communications etc in attaining hegemonic status.

with
more
concrete
definition

Good
Attempt

Soft power thus refers to media, culture, brand appeal - for example, 'Americanization' that led to the US hegemony in Cold War era. (Joseph Nye). It leads to close interlinkages and people-to-people interactions (communications theory).

Criticism

Neorealists like John J Mearsheimer opine that soft power has a limited role and cannot drive realpolitik of superpowers. (The Tragedy of Great Power Politics)

5.
Marxists like Emmanuel Wallerstein
opine that the very elements of soft
power lead to neocolonialism through
exploitative relations. Gramscians like
Robert Cox also highlighted the negative
aspects of US hegemony that lead to
interpellation by the dominant powers.

In the current status of Chinese
rise, Rakesh Sood also noted that
Chinese deep pockets and military clout
cannot be matched by India's mere
referral to "goodwill". Thus soft power
needs to be complemented by hard

Try to Address
Core demand of
the question
improve structuring
and presentation

Ques - Cooper
McAllister

Keywords - Smart P.
Soft power Index

Spelling

Epistemic Communities and International Relations

b. Epistemic communities find mention in social constructivist paradigm. Social constructivism emerged at the end of Cold War, and argues that the important aspects of international relations are socially and historically constructed.

9002 Ernst Haas highlighted the role of knowledge-based communities, like those of experts, analysts etc, called epistemic communities. They impact social norms and taboos, influence public opinion.

Nira Tamonvald also highlighted the role of nuclear taboos in preventing a nuclear war. Organisations like SIPRI, International Convention on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

5
can be regarded epistemic communities

With the increase in
technocratization and political polarization,
as seen in developed countries,
epistemic communities are poised to
play a significant role. Pandemics
like ~~COVID-19 being an example~~

✓
Good
point

discuss Role of EC
in Covid-19 & Corona-virus

Role of NGO and INGO in International relations

c. The modern era of complex interdependence has shifted international relations from a state-centric to transnational paradigm (L.H. Millet in Values and Power in Global Politics)

✓ S. Brown in New Forces, Old Forces and the Future of World Politics highlights the role of NGOs in providing humanitarian aid, creating grassroot level surveys, highlighting third party reports, taking a political position, ensuring social and economic development in various regions.

NGOs also involve with IGOs and states for post-conflict reconstruction. They ensure state transparency by highlighting authoritarian stances of state.

5.5

S. Krasner

highlights ~~NGOs~~ IGO, role
in liberal institutional framework
ensuring cooperation among
states on matters of common interest,
preparing third party reports, sharing
knowledge based analysis etc.

The COVID-19 crisis further
highlighted the role of NGOs in
complementing states in social ~~state~~
sector.

Try to link
theoretical perspectives of
multi-party diplomacy
- Complex interdependence
- functionalism / neo-f.
- DPT
- Communication theories

d. Coronavirus and human security

Reflectorist paradigm had focussed on human security over territorial security. However, COVID-19 crisis, deemed "The Great Accelerator" has shifted the focus of realists and liberals to human security as a critical component of territorial security.

Lisa Loxer opines that a pandemic is a national security issue. Its affect on human life and safety, economic security of the state, security of resources, infrastructure and political security (Barry Buzan - stability of social order) is widely seen. It also affects

complex interdependence and "securitization" of global supply

Good point

55

show ~~chain~~ is deemed more important
than ever (Jaishankar in "The India
Way")

Coronavirus has ensured that a
more comprehensive view of security -
including human security, state capacity
and infrastructure security is brought
up in ~~rationalist~~ paradigm of
international relations

discuss some reports
like - 120/ UNICEF
NCRB on domestic violence
China

Power transition theory and ^{realist} balance of power system

Balance of power is a core concept in realist ~~foreign~~ ^{foreign} paradigm. David Harris referred to the rise of Athens and the fear that caused in Sparta as the first recorded instance of balance of power.

Morgenthau defines it in 4 ways -

- a) a system aimed at establishing a certain state of affairs
- b) any actual state of affairs
- c) a system aimed at establishing nearly equal ~~balance~~ distribution of power
- d) any actual distribution of power

Kenneth Organski criticized

Balance of power theory and highlighted power transition theory. He opined that threat of war emerges not when balance of power is disturbed but when a status quo hegemon

Mention
Hierarchy
of
Power

U.S.

is threatened by the rising power.

Graham T. Allison in Book: Thucydides

Trap also linked ~~power~~ transition theory with more aggressive US - China ties.

The rising protectionism and populism in USA, trade wars between US and China give credence to Balance of Power theory.

✓ disrupts BoP
✓ Compare with PTF

Compare and contrast views of liberal, realist and critical schools of global political economy

2. (a)

Economy is as old as geopolitics

Arthashastra of India being an example

Liberalism, realism and critical school are
three key discourses in modern era.

Liberal view originated with the

Wealth of Nations by Adam Smith.

It focuses on free trade,
minimal state and rules based
economic order. Its intellectual

precursors are Locke, Norwich,

Kant and Hugo Grotius. Kant

emphasized on human reason and

cooperation. Lockean state of nature

provides the basis for laissez faire.

The role of World organizations like

Bretton Woods institutions find

mention in liberal institutional

Define P.E

good

PE

framework of ¹ geoconomy.

Realist school focuses on the
primacy of the state as a key
actor in geopol geoconomy. Geoconomy
is regarded an extension of
geopolitics. Linda Weiss in the

"The Myth of the Powerless State"
opines that state-embedded and
state-approved institutions regulate
national economic progress. State
capacity determines its response
to global economic changes.

Mearshmeier opines that economic
clout is used by China to further
its geostrategic objective of being
a revisionist power. Economy is

Underline Only
Key Points

linked to national interest and national security.

Critical school adopts a system-based approach. Gramscians like Robert Cox focus on the use of economic institutions by USA to acquire "hegemonic consent" for its global power status.

Immanuel Wallerstein in World Systems theory focuses on neocolonialism through geo-economy. He looks into drain of wealth from periphery countries to core countries. Pranab Bardhan also focuses on rising inequality and poverty due to economic liberalization in Third World.
The exploitative class relations

Good
Keep it
improving

19.

being this reproduced in geoeconomy.

Good Attempt
Keep it improving

While reflectivism focuses on a human centric focus, realism focuses on national interest and liberalism on the role of international economic institutions. They together provide a comprehensive analysis to visualize geoeconomic developments.

†

Do you think COVID-19 had impacted national security?
How far is it correct to blame China for COVID-19 cases?

b.

~~Realist~~ Realist model of security
is state-centric - Protection from war
and other foreign agents (Bursky).

COVID-19, called "The Great Accelerator",
~~challenged~~ critical ~~to~~ established ideas
changed geopolitics and also
expanded the notion of international
security.

Issa Lezer opines that
pandemic is a national security issue.

Pandemics directly affect human
security (critical school approach) -
resulting in loss of life and
property, reduced DALY (Disability
adjusted life years) and human
resource. They also affect

financial, infrastructural and
physical security of resources and
pose threat to public order.

(realist model of security). It has
also impacted political security (Bernard
Broodie - stabilization of established
social order).

"Securitization" of pandemics,
global supply chains, travel, tourism,
state capacity in healthcare etc has
been the result of COVID-19.
Francis Fukuyama opined that a
state better capable to adapt to
the changing dynamics of security,
be it China or US, would form
the new global order.

In social constructivist paradigms,
it can be assumed that
changing social constructs like
public opinion on healthcare,

travel, COVID-19 response is shaping the national security discourse.

US diplomats have highlighted the role of China. WHO reported that COVID-19 was first observed from Wuhan. Lakshmi Puri noted that questions of biosecurity, especially in research labs and virology institutions, mean that some fingers have been pointed at China.

Chinese alleged coverup of infection rates and death tolls was also ^{highlighted} ~~criticized~~ by Trump and Merkel for it led to leniency on part of the West.

However, in the absence of definitive evidence, China cannot be blamed completely.

11.0.

China ~~also~~ highlighted that it was
the first to report COVID-19 cases.
It also highlighted its information-sharing
and medical assistance, ~~no~~ even so
noting that the virus "didn't originate"
in China.

Lakshmi Puri opines that COVID-19
crisis should spur a discussion on
pandemics, ~~and~~ biosafety, possibilities
of biowar and bioterrorism.

Instead of putting the blame on
China, the above action is ~~in~~
India's interest.

Discuss various reports like
on the topic

ILO → Labour Migration issues
UN-women → Women's rights issues
WFP → Unemployment
IMPROB → GDP / recession
UNICEF → Child labour issues

3. (a) Critically evaluate systems theory and Morton Kaplan's model of International relations

Systems theory emerged as a result of Second Great Debate and the rise of behaviouralism in 1950s. It is inspired by General systems approach of ~~Morton~~ David Easton.

Book:

Systems approach opined that there is a need of scientific theories and models. It criticized institutionalists who sat in "Ivory towers", making political science redundant. It highlighted the role of environment, systems and surroundings. ~~State~~

Kenneth Waltz used systems approach, highlighting the anarchical international system, & the role of

Draw
Diagram

states as unit actors and interaction amongst states. (Theory of International Politics). Lieber also highlighted the relevance of systems approach in regional studies ^{and} international politics.

Morton Kaplan built upon David Easton's Model of systems theory. He highlighted 10 main models, including -

- (a) Balance of Power approach
- (b) loose bipolar model
- (c) tight bipolar model
- (d) universal actor model
- (e) detente model
- (f) multipolar model
- (g) unit veto model etc.

Systems theory enables the analysis of interactions between state actors. It explains different

(9.5)

models and the factors for interaction in international politics. ~~Waltz's~~ ~~power~~ security maximization and Mearsheim's power maximization thesis (structural realists) are based on this concept. It also enables analysis of domestic and regional electoral politics, voter turnout, polarization, populism, public sentiment etc.

Traditionalists like Stanley Hoffman call it a 'huge miststep in the right direction', highlighting the mechanical and elementary models used by behaviouralists. Theda Skocpol, a neoinstitutionalist, calls for 'Bringing the State Back In' as state-focused normative and legal-institutional models are key in social sciences discourse. This led to neobehaviouralism with focus on both behavioural and institutional discourses.

Good Attempt
Keep it
UP

Explain the difference between collective security and collective defense. Is it true to say that collective security involves an extension of principle of collective defense in IR?

b. The realist paradigm foresees a perpetual "threat of war" owing to anarchical nature, human egoism and focus on national interest.

Cooperation is the child of anarchy. Collective security is a liberal paradigm. It was ~~focused~~ brought up by Woodrow Wilson in 14-Point theory. It aims at establishment of a liberal institutional framework. the UN. It aimed to bolster Kantian "enlightened self interest" and ensure "cooperation over conflict" globally through human reason and rules based global order.

Collective defense is a realist paradigm, operationalized through

Monroe Doctrine and NATO of USA, it is based on the idea of a regional block under the security umbrella of a hegemon. An attack on one is regarded as attack on all. Joint defense operations, training, technology development are its core tasks.

Used for C.S.

Realists regard collective security as utopian, hence do not see it as an extension of collective defense. Mearsheimer opines that when a global power rises, its competitive interests overpower its cooperative interests.

Mention Success/Failure of UNSC

Nations being power maximizers cannot be entrusted with collective security. Geopolitical tussles in UN, being an example.

Add Scholars Comment like

Palmer & Parkin

8. However, liberals like Joseph Stiglitz highlight the mandate of peacekeeping, responsibility to protect, UNGA resolutions involving embargo, economic sanctions and also the role of UN Charter to establish a rules based order based on liberal values of human rights, democracy and peace. ~~They opine that collective~~ Social constructivists also opine that collective security uses taboo and norms at a global platform to ensure human security, national security and stability.

~~Avoid cutting~~

9. Collective security may be a utopian extension of collective defense, but it ensures formation of rules-based framework to materialize collective defense.

Enrich your
Subject-Matter
with relevant
Points

Discuss transnational social movements

c.

Globalization has led to 'intensification of social relations' worldwide ([Anthony Giddens]), ensuring greater people-to-people connections, cyberspace (sociological liberalism) [L.H. Miller] in Global Order: Values and Power in International Politics argues for the rise of international relations in a "transnational" manner, with more emphasis on non state actors, inter state actors and processes.

Social movements refer to grassroots-level movements that seek to alter power equations in the society. With the rise of globalisation, aided by technology and emergence of global citizenry, it has assumed a transnational form.

Transnational social movements in modern era are based on ideas of 'New Left' by Herbert Marcuse. They have a post-materialistic character, the leadership is provided by middle class and epistemic communities. Use of cybernetics like social media, internet and also traditional forms of protests like marches, sloganeering, candle marches etc. is seen. The focus is on human empowerment and human equality, ending 'conventional' biases and provoking a change in mindset.

'Black Lives Matter' protest has involved trans-Atlantic, Latin America, even Asia and

Africa. ~~the~~ "I Can't Breathe" movement, highlighting police atrocities to Blacks in USA, led to debate over colorism in India. compelling leading brands to remove the word "fair" from their skin creams

Similarly, MeToo movement that started via a Twitter hashtag, spread from Hollywood to all over the world, including in India, ~~where~~ where powerful men were called out on social media. It sparked a change in the ~~sexism~~ culture of male patronage where "casual sexism" was earlier normalized. The LGBTQ movement has also spread similarly, with numerous countries, including India, decriminalizing ~~homosexuality~~ homosexuality, others legalizing same sex marriages

as well.

Political ~~and~~ sociologists note a greater ~~and~~ about out to the abuse of power, and similarity in the trajectory of social movements worldwide. They also highlight the role of NGOs, Intergovernmental organizations and global bodies along with the ~~over~~ power of citizens in determining the trajectory of global movements, leading to a 'compression in time and space'. (David Harvey).

Quote Controversial
Scholars

Apply chaos's like

Complex Interdep

Functionalism/ Neo-f

Communication Th

QPT Th

Multi-track diplomacy

5. (a) Discuss 3 generations of human rights

The three generations of human rights differ by their ideological ideology and the time of their popularization.

Carol Vasal

Blue
First generation of human rights - civil-political rights. They have a liberal framework, focus on negative conception of liberty and, laissez faire, political equality of all citizens and a minimal state. Locke, Nozick and Hobbes were the ideological precursors of natural rights, on which it is based.

Red
Second generation of rights - Social-Economic rights. They gained popularity in 1960s. They are built on the concept of welfare state and

6.2
positive conception of liberty to
ensure realization of other ~~and~~ rights
Communism ~~and~~, Marxism and socialism
were its precursors.

Third generation of rights → Cultural rights

They were gained recognition in 1980s-90s.

Value relativism and value pluralism
are its key concepts. It focuses on recognition
of and protection of cultural norms and
values, with equal recognition to

all value systems. Communitarianism by
Walzer and Michael Sandel, focussed
on Bhikhu Parekh, focussed on
cultural rights.

These rights have been recognized
by UN Universal declaration of human
rights.

Green
Rights

Discusses
Provisions in Indian
Constitution

Mention
LND HR, rights.

Technological challenges to the theory of deterrence.

b. Deterrence is a realist concept. Bernard Brodie opines that it means to prevent an adversary from taking an action, not yet started.

Key technological challenges include -
1. The theory of deterrence focuses on second strike facility, but ensuring the safety of nuclear arsenal from 'first-use' by an adversary is a challenge. Maintaining effective 'minimum credible deterrence' through functional nuclear triad located at key strategic locations is a challenge due to limited infrastructure, capacity and less number of nuclear arsenal of countries like India compared to its adversaries.

U.S.

2. Focus on counterforce strike over a countervalue strike (civilian losses), especially in wake of first attack, requires sophisticated technology.

3. Blurring lines between conventional and nuclear technology (Mearshimov) makes theory of deterrence tough for nations that rely on nuclear capabilities.

It is important to have efficient mobilization, fast production (that India lags behind), early deployment of nuclear and conventional weapons, counterstrike and counter-counterstrike facility especially in case of threat to war.

Discuss
NPT 2020
and it's
take away

Highlight
Hypersonic
Ballistic
Missile

A.I.
ToT

UVs
Robotics

Cyber Attack

Outer space

Anti-Missile Satellite

Basic assumptions of balance of power system and its critique.

c Balance of power is a realist concept. David Hume focussed on the changing balance of power and its ~~causes~~ leading to Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta.

Define
BoP

Basic assumptions

Balance of power ~~is~~, Morganthau highlighted, focuses on ~~is~~ egoistic and self-interested nature of states. States are ~~regard~~ regarded as sovereign unit actors. In his 6 Points in Classical realism, he highlighted the lack of any role of ethics, role of power and primacy of national interest.

Mearsheimer focussed on hegemonic ambitions of states (power maximizing) driving balance of power in a situation of anarchy.

Write
More
Concrete
Points

5.0
Stephen Walt called for balance of threat as states balance not power but threat. Kenneth Organski called for power transition theory as the alternative.

Liberals criticize the assumption on human nature as egoist, and believe in perpetual peace through international institutional framework.
Complex interdependence theorists focus on the negation of soft power.

Richard Ashley in 'A Double Reading of Anarchy Problematique' ~~and~~ states that ~~most~~ misinterpretations of realists have led to security dilemma and the resultant balance of power issue.

Good Points
Keep it improving

'I can't breathe' movement and question of human right

d. 'I can't breathe' movement refers to a US-originated civil rights movement against racism and police atrocity that led to the death of George Floyd.

It is a transnational social movement due to the spread of the protests to Europe, Asia and Latin America and Africa. It is post materialistic 'New left' movement calling for change in perception to ensure racial equality.

These post materialistic movements focus on human rights issues and call for changing societal attitude towards their violations. Human rights are a contested issue worldwide. Even in developed countries like USA, issues of white supremacy, 'casual' sexism (Me Too movement) is evident, seen

4.0
by gender pay gaps, race-based stereotypes and pay gaps, questions over unequal status of Latinos and Hispanics etc.

Human rights awareness as a middle-class led approach, focussing on human dignity is the key focus of such movements. The use of information technology ensures a global dimension.

Highlight
Multi-culturalism
by Biko Parekh &
Will Kymlicka

Ravish & V N DHR, 1998

Complex interdependence

(c)

Complex interdependence was popularised in 1980s-90s by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye through books Power and Interdependence and After Hegemony.

Complex interdependence is a critic of both liberal and realist approach. Keohane and Nye observe that global hegemonic states does not depend only on military power, but also on closer integration with global supply chains, promotion of soft power and brand appeal of national brands etc. Thus they focus on both "high politics" of military and defence, and "low politics" of culture, media, economy, environment, society etc. Multidimensional cooperation also builds dividends for cooperation and facilitates geostrategic ambitions of the hegemon. For example, Marshall Plan

14.5

by the US is considered a state-led approach to complex interdependence.

5.0

Fareed Zakaria also notes that the rise of China is marked by its closer integration with global supply chains and its rising economic power.

Conclusion

Apply theoretical concepts. → functionalist

neo-f.
Communication &

DPT

Role of

MNCs/TNCs/TSM

NBOS, 1/16/05
etc

7. Nye's concept of soft power was designed to remedy the narrow analysis of realist power. Discuss.
- (2).

Realism is the meta-ideology in international politics. It emphasizes on the role of states as egoist unit actors, anarchy as the state of nature, state's desire for self-preservation leading to a "endless wars".

However, it did not focus on comprehensive social-psychological and material factors, complex interdependence theorists opined. Liberals also opined that human nature is both cooperative and competitive.

Realist conception of power as a millitaristic phenomena was criticized by Joseph Nye (a complex interdependence theorist and a liberal) in his categorization of hard and soft power.

You can draw diagrams to show Conceptual Clarity
Explanation of Narrowness of Breadth of H.P. & C.P. & D.P.

Hard power focuses on victory in war, diplomacy and indirect wars (Measurmen- buckpassing, bloodletting, bait and bleed). For a ~~hegemon~~ global power to attain hegemonic influence, soft power - the power to influence states' decisions through exercising the role of culture, trade, economy, media, diaspora, MNCs, national 'values' etc. is equally important. He opined that USA's rise is complemented by Americanization through Hollywood, English, MNCs, US media, its focus on liberal values of democracy and human rights.

Social constructivists like Alexander Wendt also highlight the role of ideational structure along with material structure in

8.
influencing geopolitics. Karl Deutsch's
Cybernetics also focus on role of
communications in ensuring regional
hegemony.

good
Nye's emphasis on soft power is also
echoed by S. Jaishankar (The India Way) 2020
when he opines that India must have
a narrative in order to mark its
global ascent.

Conclusion

(b) What is national interest and how to understand the identical, conflictual and complementary interest of nations? Discuss with suitable examples

National interest is a realist concept. It originated in modern age after the Reformation. Machiavelli called national interest as 'raison d'etat'.

~~National interest is~~

All nations seek to maximize power and secure their national interest. Morganthau thus opines that it is not only a key concept but also the guide to foreign policy. It is the interest of nation as a whole, as opposed to subordinate interests of particular areas.

I Realists opine that national interests of various states are conflictual. John J Mearschman states that when a global power

Quote
R.W. Robinson

crises, its competitive interests overpower its ~~conf~~ cooperative interests.

Mention
Concept of
Joseph Frankel

For example, the rise of China as a revisionist power threatening USA's unipolarity makes the geostrategic interests of US and China conflictual.

It is witnessed in South China sea crisis, creation of QUAD 2.0 by USA, focus from Asia Pivot policy to Indo-Pacific policy.

Regional stability theory complex

Opines that stability of a region depends upon stability of all the ~~inter~~ states in the region. The first world war affected the entire Europe. Thus, the national security, and also economic interest of EU nations is identical.

Afghanistan's stability is ~~not~~ identical.

7.

to stability of Central Asia and South Asia region.

Address all the parts of the question proportionally
Give proper examples

Liberals focus on complementary interest ~~in~~ through liberal institutional structures like UN. Also, complex interdependence theorists focus on securitization of supply chains, trade.

etc. Indian economy's stability is complementary to global economy's stability. Similarly, complementary interests ^{are} due to 'natural alliances', like India and US feeling the threat of China's rise, ~~makes~~ India-US on the realist paradigm convergence of geostrategic ambitions leading to complementary interest is seen.

Major problems with the theory of nuclear deterrence.

Nuclear deterrence is a realist concept, favoured by defensive realists.

Bernard Brodie defines deterrence as the capability to ^{prevent} ~~stop~~ an action not yet started. Nuclear deterrence gained prominence in Cold War era.

Nuclear deterrence is based on the idea of "credible minimum deterrence". (Indian government) ~~is~~

Nuclear triad, second strike facility in event of a strike, MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction in case of no first use policy) and NUTS (in case of first use policy).

Extension of nuclear umbrella to like minded countries is another feature. ~~It involves~~ It is based on the fear of nuclear

attacks preventing threats to
national security.

Major problems

~~Kenned~~

Henry Kissinger ~~opines~~ that
nuclear deterrence applies only in
case of responsible actors, not
rogue states. The proliferation of
nuclear weapons (horizontal
proliferation) to weak states and
rogue states endanger nuclear

safety. Mearsheimer also favours
selective proliferation as the theory
of nuclear deterrence is rendered
ineffective in the absence of
responsible parties.

Complex interdependence in
modern age has put a

question mark on the relevance of nuclear deterrence, as security of global supply chains, information technology, infrastructure, global spread of pandemics (COVID-19) has taken a centre stage. Theory of comparative advantage (Ricardo) also negates possibility of nuclear attack.

Nuclear deterrence does not look into the role of nuclear taboo and public opinion (Nina Tanenvald, a social constructivist). ~~Alexander~~ Wendt ~~opines~~ opines that nuclear ~~the~~ deterrence theory by realists does not look into the ideational structure. It is important as 500 nuclear weapons ~~by~~ of Britain are less threat to US than 5 nuclear weapons of North Korea (Alexander Wendt).

11

Functionalists like Ernst Haas

define that "for peace by pieces" through
collaboration on like-minded initiatives
would ensure more security than
realist model.

Alexander Wendt opines that

anarchy is not the state of nature

have better alternatives to realist
approach can ensure global peace.

It is important to complement
nuclear deterrence with complex
interdependence and other modern
theories.

Address Current
developments in N.S.
Quote NPT 2020 Review
Conference

It's taken away

✓ Mention Issues like
Recent

Iran
Nuclear
Adventurism
Role of IAEA

Effective / non-effective