ROLL No: 10470



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 your

1.	Invigilator's	Signature

2. Invigilator's Signature

Name LIPI NAGAYACH

Mobile No.

Date 19/8/1

Signature

19/8/19

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

 $(10 \times 5 = 50)$

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- 1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:
 - Anarchy is what State makes of it. Comment.
 - State in IR: Realist vs Critical theories. Elaborate.
 - Feminist analysis has placed particular emphasis on developing a gendered conception of security and war - Tickner. Comment.
 - Critically examine Noam Chomsky's views on US hegemony.
 - Realism and human rights. Analyse, (e)

a) The renowned social construist scholar dexander wendt remarked that -" marchy is what states make of it." This implies that, more than the structure or nature of international politics, our perception of it, drives our reactions & responses.

Social constructivism is inspired by Immanuel kant's notion that human knowled ge gets fillered through human consciousness. Similarly Italian scholar Vice, remarked that while natural world was made ky God, social world is made ky humans.

The term social constructivism was first used by Nicholas Only in his book-

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week to elaborate contracting the hours by stake

There is a superior of the superior Paled Peruphin Wegative decompler Wendt, relied on post-positivist abiliting, to criticise the scientific realism of terneth with. He held that realists tend to interpret anarchy in dangerous steems to as to benefit their discipline. He exemplifies this with the help of end of rold war idea wherein normalisation of relations between global superpowers took no time between global superpowers took no time I hence the cold was was more a result of absence of communication.

Thus they advocate communication of ideas to destroy the mental constructs.

b) decording to Realists like Hans Morganthon, kenneth waltz, mearsheimer etc state is the basic unit of IR. It is the core concern and primary actor in global folilies. The entire enternational system revolves around security maximisation of the states and as struggle for power among them. Moreover realists feel that inespective of domestic circumstances,

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economic, political or social advancementally service in all states are juridamentally national their concern for furthering national interest. This states are like black boxes in IK where domestic of internal developments don't matter much leither states differ only in terms of capabilities But critical theorists (marxiets, feminists, social constructivists etc) have different opinions with state for Marxists, state is an instrument of bourgeoise & nationalism or national interest is false consciousness, hence they advocate proletarian internation. alism. For dependency theorists, states are

satelite states. Feminists (radical stream) consider state to be a fatriaschal institution and I.R. to be masculinist domain & they advocate ferrienst theory of I.R.

classified on the basis of their economic

peoness as core metropolitan or peripheral

while scholars life ordrew linklater, David Mitrany advocate global certizenship & community participation in int. affairs.

Also relade colonied hash l e laboration contract. Non bourt a) ann J. Tickner remarked that peninists have focused upon engendering the nations of security I was. Both have been traditionally understood in masculinistic & patriarchal terms.

en traditional discourse, cecurity is understood solely in military terms, but for the feminists security of peace musn't merely mean an absence of war, rather it must incorporate freedom from all lost of fears & freedom from mants (hence comes the concepts like good security, nutrition security, internal security, emironmental security etc) especially for women who are the worst sufferess of war.

During wartime despite the prevalence of protection night (wherein men are hailed as protectors & women as protected), the 75%. casualty is attributed to nomen & chitdren. Rape has become a systematic weapon of war f proseitution is also resorted as a military tactic- women are associated with take's pride, chartity etc & hence it becomes necess-Remarks to suppless there.

The UNSC resolution 1325 recognises this well and advocates that was time herous climes must be severely purished

Thus security must be understood in beoder & multidimensional lems to mean burnan security & was must be understood not as normal of enevitable phenomenon rather as the worst manifestation of evil.

1) Noam Chomsky is the pendrant chilic of USA's foreign policy manoeveres who challenges the notion of us hegemony & instead advocates—" megalomaniac fendencies in Us behaviour. He has reiticised usA's declaration of Rogne States & axis if ever & questioned the pre-emptive strike against leag in 2003. Instead he could usA as the biggest state sponsor of terrorism. He elaborates that in order to kill the python (uss R during soviet invasion 1979). UsA has given rise to a no. of poisonous sla

But he has keen cuticised by hegemonic

stability theorists like charles kinderteger of robert Gilpin who enlogise the role of us A as a iglobal policemen ensuring the lafety of liberal democracy of fee and few, open trade under the forces of globalisation. USA has also been a supporter of democracy and has played energles role in global governance & safguesting the human hights.

Thus USA's hegemony has both positive & negative sides.

Realists don't recognise human rights, issue as the core concern of TR, rather it is a roft issue for them. Moreover morganthan's 6 principles of realism, clearly mappined that neither ethics has clearly mappined that neither ethics have anything to do with moral principles have anything to do with IR. Rether pragmatism is the ethics of politics.

Moleover any consideration for HRs may

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compromise with the security of the state and would endanger the lines of its citizens, which would stand against National interest.

The sole duty of the state is to further the interests of lets own citizens. Moreover HRs issue was also been misused by certain lendrist or insurgent organisations along with the increasing interprence by other non-state actors (NGOs etz) in the domestic matters.

Thus realists look with suspicion the matters pertaining to theman Rights in I.R.

- Answer the following questions:
 - (a) Theory of nuclear deterrence is full of shortcomings. What are its major criticism.
 - (b) The solution of terrorism must be global as terrorism has become a global problem. Analyse the statement in context of different approaches for curbing terrorism? (200 Words) (15)
 - (c) Comment on the role of Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater to the post-Marxist tradition of international relation?

The theory of nuclear deterrence is based on mitually assured destruction (MAD) notion and realists advocate it as a ceedible way to maintain balance of power and hence world peace.

However the liberals criticise it as balance of terrol and also there are many shortcomings of this theory. They are: -

- 1 false / faulty assumption of eationalitynot all state actors take decisions rationally at all times moreover factors like public pressure, deep reated military Ensecuidies or control of nuclear weapons under military establishment, may result in nuclear attack.
- terestist-organisations & the logic of

MAD or rationality doesn't work against suicide bombers and fundamentalists. 3 It is just a theory- of there are no credible evidence with. And the leasons behind not using nuclear weapons. 3 it imparts a galse sense of security - in pscychological & not actual terms 1 it premotes nuclear proliferation 4 global arms race -> as happened in case of buth Isia wherein pahistan acquired nucles to counter India. 6 possibility of accidental yese is high due to lack of effective/communication & misunderstandings This scholars like Scott De Sagan have certicised mudeal deterrence & instead advocated other Edeological, institutional, economic means to minimise the possibility dong content open you can be or of was. Jehole or rather logar Remarks they

Terrorsion as defined as the use of violence or perpetuation of terror to inflict pear in the hearts of minds of common people and the authorities to justili political aim, has assumed global dimensions. This is due to factors like globalisation (clash of civilis alions), advancements in science of TCT (to.

Thus the struggle against it also requires a renifed and multi-pronged raction. The diverse approaches to fight terrorism are:

Dealist view -> military suppression i.e. esse of beute force with no exceptions on humanitarian grounds. Also this has to be coupled with strengthening state security domestically (via legislations, training etc) of internationally (via global collaboration to enternationally (via global collaboration to doubters) terror funding & activities like drugs arms sumugglisf which sustains tobrorism).

Ex; UNSC resolution on Masood Ashas & FATF (financial action lask force's) attempts

to curb turor financing @ Likeral view -> the hard tactics can only be successful in curbing the symptoms not treating the loot causes of exaggisated sense of injustice. Thus they advocated regotiations, political devolution assurance of inclusion in development etc as long term solutions. 3) witical view - a hearts & mind strategy i.e. giving oppostunities of beconciliation and entering ento agreements (Ex: India s dealing with Naga insurgency in a constitutional mariner: granding of stateling) but at the same time suppressing any halmful & violent attacks. This approach requires an understanding from all stakeholders & among global powers to not Resceive terrorism as another dice in their Zero sum game mixed with proxy wars. The spirit of globalism must descend in fighting tenosism. els pourte on he Politica Soup. Mitherent Francist

c)

The Marxist tradition of IR. is classified into a no. of echools based on certain modifications in orthodox marxist understanding of international political economy. These are the:

* critical school > Rober or emanicipatory achoof of ondeen Tinklater &

* gramcian trend - Robert Cox.

Robert Cox has farmously remarked that any theory is always for someone 4 with some purpose. Thus he kints upon someone francis understanding that ideology or domination of ideas - called ideology or domination of ideas - called hegemony peays an equally important hegemony peays an equally important lole as economic base or wealth. This sole as economic base or wealth. This is exemplified from USA's soft promes is exemplified from USA's soft promes is exemplified from USA's soft promes william valley. The so-called Americanisation of world is such a rampant of visible phenomenon.

Remarks

Hederical to englad or

Thus besides economic aspects, these ideological pactors also snape the I.R. discourse.

Even social construvists also perceive the impettance of Ideas & pro-existing Knowledge or rattoric in shaping the consciousness.

Thus Robert Cox via his "social forces, state & the world", ex has contributed immensely to post-marxist discourse.

Similarly Andrew Linklater has talked about abolition of lemtorial boundaries of creation of moral boundaries, facilitated by gualer collaboration among people, communities of vivid society groups. The advent of global citizenship will result in emanicipation of humanity from all Mreats of wants. The influence of mass-society, materialism of consumerism has engulfed the modern man of made him his one

dimensional. Hence the need is to
fight against the exploitative tendencies
(in not just economic but all sphere),
in a united & cooperative manner.

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- 4. Answer the following questions:
- (a) How far the idea of peace offered in functionalism and neo-functionalism, based on trans-national ties, different to each other?
 - (b) Discuss the feminist understanding of international relations in respect of different Discuss the reliables. How far is it correct to say that feminism is more relevant in third world countries than in developed states?
 - (c) What is national security? Analyse Indian national security in contemporary world order.

9) Functionalism & neo-junctionalism are both the sub-schools within likeralism which essentially belives in the goadness of human nature of cooperation rather than confrontation as the status quo of the evities & wild cultimate state.

Functionalism - propounded by David Milsony is based on fighard Cobden & idea of " Keeping the politicians out 4 monoting collaboration among economists, scientists & tecnicians from across the globe. It relies on the Ell's successful model based on :-

* functional soverighty (unlike monistic or territorial sovereignby) like EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK etc.

- * peace by pieces (i.e. collaboration.
- * spin-off effect of doable issues over non-doable ones.

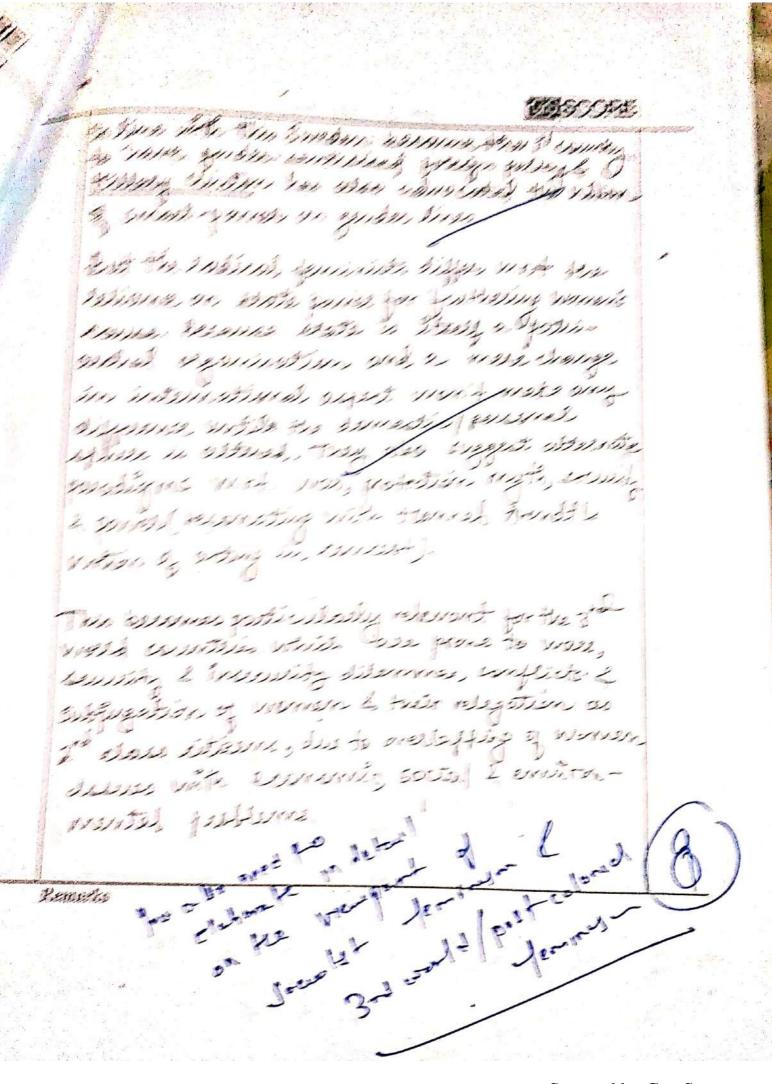
while neo-fundionalism of Einst Hars, keing similar to functionalism, differs from it on the point of including the politicians because the political mile of governmental support are social for facilitating greater entegration. Ex:- Ey's integration was possible due to jush & pull factors & its success rests upon political will.

However both the approaches have been criticised for being slow, time-taking & enduring enough to extract maximum political will.

(0) 900g Carpert oleyone you

- All streams of ferminismi (diberal & radical, along with social feminists) agree upon the fellowing notions of I.R. ;
 - * it is the most masculine of all disciplines
 - * it is patriarchal
 - * women are accorded secondary position (as wives of diplomats posting dinners)
 - * Cynthia Enlie raises the question " where are the women? " (Banana, Beaches & Bases)
 - Ann J. Tickner's writicism of Morganthau's 6 principles as based on a biased of stereotyped understanding of human nature, narrow interpretation of national interest, neglect of ethics, morals etc.
 - * frequediced notion of security 4 was.

Thus the liberal periorists advocated gender mainstreaming de incorporation of female perspective in foreign policy. They advocate looking at women not as victims but enablers & partners in growth.



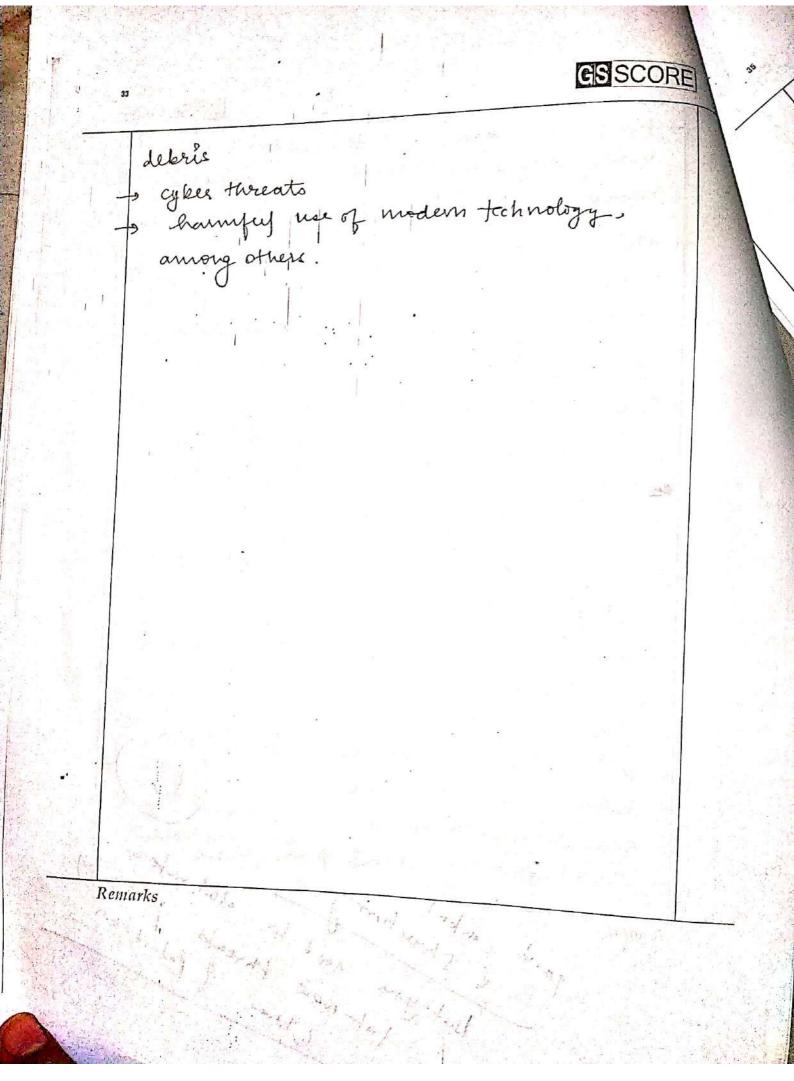
National security was conventionally emderstood as absence (security from was, via greater militarisation 4 modermisation of weapons etc. But in contemposary discourse to national security implies militi dimensional notion of food security, energy security, emironmental security, gender security among others. Thus it encompasses external, dimensions, political & socio-economic dimensions.

Indian national security in contemporary world order (in traditional terms) may imply the territorial & martime security. The former undudes threats like:

perpetrated by Patistan under Its thousand

Stand off against China) of wease-fice

+ two front threat (at the earlern & wedern front) against non-democratic nucleal weapon states. threat of mideal terrorism & also mudear to insurgency of illegal immigration in N.G. maretime threats: + increased assertiveness of China & Ho policy of strategic encyclement via string of pearls, in the Indian ocean & the Indo-pacific region > non-conventional threats like piracy, Smuggling ct. National security threats (in nonconventional terms) include: > climate change protectionism & reverse-globalisation Internal see water scaricity o economic Howdown Meat to space assets from space Remarks Dut you vee? to lature threats. (lalarton Ofine





SECTION-B

Attempt all questions;

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

 $(10 \times 5 = 50)$

- (a) Energy Diplomacy of India. Elaborate.
- (b) Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Analyse.
- (c) Do you agree that we are losing to China in terms of influence in South Asia. Provide arguments.
- (d) How are India and developing countries interests affected by Nairobi package at WTO? Discuss.
- (e) Diplomacy of Buddhism. Elaborate

increase dramatically in the next 20 increase dramatically in the next 20 years which also heightens the issue of energy security (the access affordatility of energy at all times for every availability of energy at all times for every one). En mis context andials energy diplomacy becomes important. Its key

features are:

* diversifying the sources - to eliminate over reliance over unstable middle-east of also reliance over unstable middle-east of also over the countries mostile to USA (dike sudan, Iraq, Iran etc). ex:- recently India succumbed to USA's pressure to cut Iranian oil imports. Hence we are looking for alter-

natives like Contral Asia, Afghanistan, Ascan member states (incl. myonward), dactio seal observer status in Arctic countify

We have also entered into agreement with the for shale gas reserves sharing & origoral arm engaged in humierous joint explorations,

is inferred & focussing upon remarked energy of domestically & with international collaboration (Int. Edeas, tolliance, 1213) etc.

Mravium eich kazathetom. Australia of Manada along with seaking membership of muders security architecture (MTCK, Wassens, kulur)

* Indian ocean bed exploration for poly-

Remarks administrative for the formation with the formation of the second of the secon

GSSCORE Indian ocean as zone of peace was first conceptualised in 1940, ias an attempt to keep out external powers from Indiate traditional spenere of influence this was meant to ensure non-indesperence in domestic matters. But in present times, some of peace can't imply exclusive presence of India lue to increasing Chinese assertiveness (in form of string of pearls to secure its choke points of hence energy security) and Indlais vision of emerging as a net-security provider (in collaboration with other natives havies as exemplified via tout maillime exercises like Malabar, Varuna, Milan, SLINEX, INDO-CORPAT, Konkan, Sahyog kaichin etz) and also platforms like IONS (Naval Symposium) & IORA (Indian ocean rim association). teence, ene of peace in present discoursed

Remarks

The part led separate Dedice to or not be formula de la company of the part of th

suggests — free & open Indian ocean; with the freedom of navigation and open-ners of Sea lines of communication 4 equitable & just sharing of globel marine resources.

c) China is threatening Endials traditional sphere of influence in South Asia. This exemplified from developments like

Sonadia, Kyakpyu) i.e. establishment of ports at strategic locations.

Delt & Road initiative (CPEC, posts devedopment en Seilanka etc)

Infrastructural innestments in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Maldires

Planing to be viable alternate to Indla > to Nepal (which plays the China card to threaten of weaken India's stance over madhesi issue)

acting as mediator between Bangladesh & Myanmar W. Tt. Rohingya crisis -> largest arms supplies to myanmar - proposal of BCIM covidor etc. And our South Asian neighbours too are drifting towards China due to :-1) Big Brother attitude of India - Insecurity from India (due to its size, economic promeso, resources etc) resulting in it being seen as threat tother than opportunity of greater pocket of China Stimes GDP vis-a-vis India) greater military promess of China. However despute this, India com l'everage its Soft paner, tier I linkage, soft loans etc under Gujral doctrine of non-receptocity to counter chinese attempts. or spoke to eleparate to revent des couper Showtwell situation Remarks

The 10th ministerial conference of WTO (Nairolai,
The 10th ministerial conference of WTO (Nairolai,
Kenya) witnessed some changes in agricultural
issues, cotton export, Specifal safeguard
issues, cotton export, Specifal safeguard
mechanism and giving greater market
mechanism and giving greater market
access to LDG in market of both developed
4 developing countries.

However it was a disappointment for India & other developing countries due to:

non redressal of grewances with public stockholding of tood grains and amber kox subsidies

period of permissible subsidies from 1936-87 to a viable year.

technology (59), e- commerce etc.

Development dgenda from the toveloped countries.

the discriminatory nature of export subsidies provided by developed countries, couldn't be raised.

Remarks

Quo conference de proposite à

Similarly the 11th conference at Buenos Aires.

Argentina was obstructed in attaining substantial reports due to stand off between developed north 4 under-developed south.

Diplomacy of Ruddhism in an attempt to reinvigorate Indials soft power and to reinvent the notions of cultural connect and historical bendages with the rest of he sein.

Buddhism or cuthuse has emerged as an important pillar of our interaction with to EAN states of Si-Lanks. We project to highlight India's position as the birthplace highlight India's position as the birthplace highlight Buddha & here the decision to of great Buddha & here the decision to elebrate the furnima diwas with great celebrate the furnima diwas with great ing (as day of birth, emightenment of nix voma)

Besides, MEA also attempts to establish the contemporary relevance of Buddhist thoughts furtaining to non-violence (in environmen-

talem (dimete charge) o democratisation of world governance architecture 4 financial genemance institutions along horak et ent gort un pris context with notion of harmony of happiness. County con be the role by the power

- 7. Answer the following questions:
 - (a) Discuss the role of MEA in foreign policy making along with a brief discription of its specalised structure. (200 Words) (15)
 - (b) What is considered to be soft power. Discuss the rise of softpower as a part of the Indian foreign policy? (200 Words) (15)
 - (c) Indian commitment to nuclear disarmamnet remains unchanged from Nehruvian era. How far is it true to assume that the Indian nuclear doctorine is committed to non-proliferation? (250 Words) (20)

MEA (ministry of external offairs) is the premier institute of foreign policy making in India. It is headed by a foreign minister (who most of the limes is a political leader but like presently can also be an expert in foreign policy—ex: Ms. S. Jaishankar). If he is assisted by a foreign secretary (Ifs officer), who is an expert 4 in turn assisted by foreign sectaries (east) & (nest).

Besides this fundamental structure, there are 24 divisions in MEA (12 territorial & remaining functional including -> publicity, 14k). These divisions are headed by joint secretaries: and they specialise in their respective endeavours.

Since foreign policy making is a complex

task the MEA Leeks input from various think tanks, universities, military & academic experts.

It performs the following functions:

consular access to NKIs OF PIQ abroad

lafeguarding interests of Indian diaspera

the embassies perform the task of visa

authorisation & inter-country communication

aggregation of information rendered by NSA,

NSC, votal military establishments of other

ministeries to prepare a holistic of and

multi-dimensional foreign peolicy.

Thus MEA occupies central position in

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Johnstern Challerys June prod

[mulature]

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Spendly

soft power was popularised by Joseph Nye as a sustainable, viable & irredible alternative towards the traditional hard Rewer (military through & hard economic power in form of sanctions). It includes -> loans, one-time grant assistance, cultural, ideological & Societal Poter-tonnectedness among others. The religious & historical dimensions also putil the tasks of essential lynchpins in bilateral ties.

In Indian context, soft power implies the strengthening of the based on yoga, bollywood Indian dence, music, cuisine, culture & values among soft loans, educational & employment training.

Although soft power has played an important sole in IFP, since ancient times (Ashoka's Dhamma & sending envoys to sei tanka), there has been secent sixe in soft paner like:

-> importance to Buddhist diplomacy -> Kartarpur corridor as a means to engage Pak.

Trechander of

Remarks

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(traditionally bus diplomacy, cricket diplomacy, vericket diplomacy or existed diplomacy with Afghanistan/like giving grand to practice along with equipments + soft loans to Afgh. coupled with infrastructural Privestments (like Salma Dam, parliament), hospitale, girls' schools etc - Project MAUSUM - to connect with Indian ocean sim countries (East Africa, Arabian poninsula, S. E. Asia etz - celebration of International Yoga Day (27 June) & festivals like Holi, Riwali globally " Samosa-caucus in American senate consists of many Indian - origin political leaders (Incl. Kamala Harris) who play an Emportant hole in furthering India's interests. Thus, such oft power efforts will further strengthen India's historically strong rengest med partahar relations with several countries of me refor Challery. roft borns, where India's commitment to nuclear disarmament has displayed an element of continuity & advocacy for peaceful uses of nuclear technology since Gandhian & Nehrurian times.

Gendhiji called the nuclear meapons as the most diabolical use of technology & dubbed them satanic. Similarly Nehruji advocated complete elimination of Neckes. But developments like China's testing of Nucles (at Lop Nur in 1964) immediately after the 1st Indo-China war (1962). I failure of global disarmament lates among superpowers made some bureaucraft experts suggest that India must have its own nuclear security umbrella Hence came Operation Smiling Ruddha (1975).

But India signed the partial fest bars treaty before 4 conducted the searceful test. And our efforts at disammament continued at un4A 1s 3rd special session (1988) whereir

ex.pm, Rajiv gandhi j. advocated complete nuclear disarmament by 2010. Indla also raised 9+3 voice against the discriminatory MPT (non- proliferation treaty) that targeted horizontal proliferation only of not the vertical proliferation among Ps states 4 the faulty CTBT.

But the disintegration of USSR, permanent extension of NPT (1995) resulted into operation Shakti (1998) and the formulation of Indía's nuclear security doctrine (2003) guided by F. Subsamaniam & Brajash Mishea (NSA) It clearly spelt out that -"despite having acquired NW Indla still believes that its interests can best be secured in a N-W free world!

Moleaver our commitment to No first use non-use against non-nuclear weapon States redible minimum determente etc. "i-e as a responsible of mature nuclear kanel

