NEXT IAS

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES - 2023

(To be filled by candidate)

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Test-02

Dated : 24-06-2023

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Time Allowed : Three Hours | **Maximum Marks: 250**

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)

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. Among these THREE questions, one should be from each section.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certification 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.

Observations

1. (a) How can the United States, as a hegemon, strengthen the international world order? (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Idea of hegemony in political theory is given by Gramsci. In International relations hegemon is considered as state with preponderant power to shape global order.

According to Hegemonic stability theory by Robert Gilpin and charles Kindleberger - hegemon is necessary to establish rules in a liberal world order and ensures global peace.

U.S.A. which emerged as the super power post pax-Britania after 2nd world war - played key role in shaping post 2nd world war order. It did that by establishing institutions like UN, WTO, IMF based on idea of liberal institutionalism.

ALSO, hegemon acts by the hard power as emphasised by Realist scholars.

USA, acted as International policeman in case of Iraq, Afghanistan. Thus, through military means, it can act on rogue states to strengthen International order.

Also, by propagating values of democracy, freedom of trade, navigation and rules based order it can strengthen world order. In the Indo-pacific region, formation of alliances (QUAD, AUKUS) can be seen from this perspective.

However, according to Scholars like Fareed Zakaria, US hegemony is on decline and we are witnessing emerging multipolar world, which is creating new set of challenges.

Mearsheimer suggests USA to focus on offshore balancing in faraway regions (AUKUS, QUAD).

1. (b) Analyze the factors contributing to nuclear proliferation in the post-Cold War era and the challenges it poses to the international community. (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Nuclear weapons are not ordinary weapons. They are weapons of mass destruction. Gandhiji called nuclear weapons as most diabolical use of science.

During the cold war period, attempts to prevent horizontal nuclear proliferation were made by Nuclear non proliferation Treaty – 1969. Also, nuclear umbrella by super powers prevented new state) from acquiring nuclear weapons.

End of cold war, saw, emergence of multipolarity and states went for balance of power at regional level. Thus we saw new nuclear weapons state – India, pakistan, Korea.

Also, the failure of attempts at disarmament too contributed to states like India going for

nuclear weapons, despite believing in a nuclear weapon free world.

Failure of IAEA, also, can be seen in not able to check clandestine nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea.

According to Scott D. Sagan, nuclear proliferation is a threat to peace and security. Future nuclear weapon states are more likely to be less responsible and can have poor civilian control.

Also, there are fears of nuclear weapons falling into non-state actors. Attitude of military dominated regimes also poses a risk due to offensive culture.

Russia-Ukraine war has further increased states' reason to acquire nuclear weapons.

The goal as India suggested should be - Global complete disarmament.

1. (c) To what extent did the Bretton Woods system contribute to the postwar economic boom and subsequent transition to neoliberalism? (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Bretton woods system consists of trinity of worldbank, IMF and world Trade organisation. These emerged post 2nd world war based on ideas of liberal institutionalism and promoting economic interdependence.

Post war, world bank, Through its agencies like IDA, IFC and IBRD has provided funds for development of newly emerged independent countries and also war-ravaged countries.

Similarly, IMF played role in financial stability through shocks like oil shock 1973, Asian financial crisis 1997.

The transition to neoliberalism happened with the formation of WTO in 1995 - post Uruguay round of talks.

WTO promoted free and fair trade, based on theory of comparative advantage of Ricardo. world trade as percentage of share increased from 2% in 1950s to 60% in 2000s.

According to prof. Jagdeesh Bhagwati it led to trickledown of benefits, eradication of mass poverty. Also, economic rise of China, IT boom in India are attributed to it.

However, neo-liberal globalisation based on washington consens started facing backlashes for rising inequalities. Joseph Stiglitz in his 'Making Globalisation work' called for 'post-washington consensus'.

Today, Brettonwoods institutions are facing challenges which needs reforms in spirit of 'reformed multilateralism'.

1. (d) Assess the criticisms of the IMF's policies and practices and their implications for its effectiveness in promoting global financial stability and growth. (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

International monetary fund (IMF) was part of Brettonwoods institutions that came into existence aftermath of world war-II.

IMF, which consists of 189 member countries, has mandate to ensure financial stability and helps countries in balance of payment crisis, and to deal with liquidity crisis.

It does this via loans, currency swap agreements. Recently, IMF signed an agreement with Pakistan to bring it out of financial crisis.

The policies of IMF are, however criticised as 'neoliberal' which are based on 'washington Consensus'. The conditionalities put forward by IMF for loans are seen as impinging on

'economic sovereignty' of people.

→ Also, after the structural adjustment programs spearheaded by IMF increase inequalities and leads to rolling back of state. The rise in inequalities was highlighted by Joseph Stiglitz and 'thomas piketty'.

IMF, also, remains dominated by west, with US having 17% of voting share, enjoying 'virtual veto', making the proposed reforms a difficult process.

BRICS countries have been demanding to increase their share in voting. The current economic reversals including in Global North has made realise west the need to reform IMF, WB in line with post-washington consensus.

1. (e) Globalization and Terrorism (10 marks, 150 words)

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Frantz Fanon described ~~Terrorism~~ fervour as the weapon of choice for impotent'. Terrorism is use of violence to terrorise people to achieve political, ideological goals.

Terrorism, traditionally considered as 2nd order security threat emerged a) major threat post end of coldwar, especially after 9/11 attack in USA.

The spread of terrorism as a global phenomena is closely linked to the Globalisation. Globalisation is 'janus faced'. While it created greater awareness about human rights, it also led to spread of terrorism across borders.

Samuel P Huntington held that in post cold war world, the clash of civilisations is going to be major concern. The

rise of Islamic fundamentalism (ISIS, Alqaeda) can be seen from this perspective.

Also, the Globalisation enabled terror networks across states to coordinate, recruit, plan terror activities. The recruits to ISIS spanning across world shows how Globalisation enabled terrorism to spread.

Also, the attacks in Srilanka in response to Christchurch attack in Newzealand shows the interconnected nature of ideology. It also enabled fuelling of organised crime and better financing across borders.

Thus, solution should also be from Global efforts. Multiculturalism, early adoption CCIT and 8 point action agenda proposed by MEA S. Jaishankar needed to be implemented.

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2. (a) Critically examine the factors responsible for the Cold War and discuss their impact on global politics, citing relevant examples. **(15 marks, 200 words)**

The term cold war was used to define the nature of relations between two super powers post 2nd world war - USA and USSR. The term was coined by Bernard Baruch' and popularised by Walter Lippman'.

It was called war because the extent of hostilities between USA and USSR were such that it resembled a war like situation. However, it was called 'cold', because, despite war like situation, there was no direct confrontation between two.

The origin of cold war is debated among scholars. Some consider emergence of Soviet Union post Russian Revolution in 1917 as beginning, while others suggest, it started after 2nd world war, citing Fulton speech of Winston Churchill who told that from Baltic to Adriatic iron curtain has descended.

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on the similar lines, the reasons for coldwar too are debated. They were both ideological and geopolitical.

From the side of USSR, its open borders were always a foreign policy concern for it. So, Stalin's policy of 'salami slicing' emphasised on securing the peripheries. However, USA and west saw it as an 'attempt' to export communism.

From the side of USA, as outlined from the letter of Mr-X, it saw USSR as a threat to capitalism and went for systematic containment of USSR.

Also, as explained by Mearsheimer, it also reflects attempts to establish hegemony by both as tragedy of great power relations suggest.

The impact of cold war was not only on two countries, but entire world. The most visible was division of world into two blocs and the Berlin wall symbolised this division.

Moreover, the paralysis of UN due to east-west confrontation was another consequence.

Worst brunt of coldwar, however, was faced by newly emerged countries — as they became victims of proxy wars. The Arab-Israeli war, Korean war, India - Pakistan war 1971, in all these the two sides were on opposite sides.

The arms race, nuclear proliferation (the cuban missile crisis) was one consequence of coldwar.

In contemporary times, the new era of relations between USA and china are described as Newcold war.

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(b) Can China replace the USA as a hegemon in the emerging world order? Analyze China's potential to become a regional hegemon in Asia. **(15 marks, 200 words)**

The idea of hegemony in political theory was given by Gramsci - who described it as predominence by consent'. In International relations it is understood as domination (both military and ideological) of a state over other states.

According to Offensive Realist John Mearsheimer in 'the Tragedy of Great power politics' - states seek hegemony, to ensure preponderant status because 'appropriate power' is never sufficient. According to him, aspiring hegemon will always try to replace existing hegemon.

The rise of USA as hegemon started with the end of cold war and USA emerged as single super power. However, as Realists scholars suggest hegemony is desirable but not sustainable, in rest century we

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are witnessing decline of US hegemony. Fareed Zakaria mentioned it as decline of west and rise of rest!

In this context, rise of China is considered as a challenge to US hegemony. China is not only challenging USA economically (BRI) and militarily (South China Sea) but also ideologically.

China is projecting its model of authoritarian governance as ideal, and is also establishing its footprints far and wide by debt trap diplomacy (Hambantota port) and acquiring strategic ports (Doqm port).

Also, China is attempting to establish alternates to US led institutions, in the form of NDB, AIIB and in context of Russia-Ukraine conflict, actively pursuing de-dollarisation.

However, as Niall Ferguson argues, USA hegemony is not in

question. Attempts by USA to counterbalance such as QUAD, AUKUS aim to check the rise of china. Also, to check the economic might ideas like china +1, active decoupling are pursued. The emphasis on supply chain resilience can be seen from this perspective.

At the Asian level, China is the largest military, largest economy and attempting china centred economic order through Belt and Road initiative. Also, china is aggressively staking claims from South China sea to land borders along India.

However, it is countered by emerging players - India, Japan along with support of USA. As Kenneth Waltz argues attempt for hegemony produces counter moves' - we see QUAD, AUKUS as attempts to contain china.

Yet, china remains one of the most rising power. As Napoleon Bonaparte pointed out - when china comes out of slumber it will astonish the world.

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2. (c) How can ASEAN ensure its relevance and centrality in the Indo-Pacific region amidst the emergence of the Quad and the AUKUS? Discuss the factors influencing ASEAN's approach and the potential areas of collaboration. **(20 marks, 250 words)**

In the words of Alfred T. Mahan, the country which dominates Indian Ocean will dominate the world.

The idea of Indopacific is the most dominating pocitical construct of our times. Geographically, it represents the regions spaning eastern shores of Africa, to the shores of America. It is the region whose geopocitics meet geo-economics.

The origin of concept of Indopacific can be traced to former Japanese PM Shinzo Abe who talked about dynamic coupling of two oceans - Indian and Pacific.

The region is home to most important trade routes, SLOCs and home to valuable natural resources (oil, gas along South china sea). Also, it seeing simultaneous rise of powers — China, India, Japan, creating great game!

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The emergence of Indo pacific as a concept also indicate shift of balance of powers from Trans Atlantic to Indo pacific. The rise of China along with its wolf warrior diplomacy led to countermoves against it.

The emergence of AUKUS and QUAD can be seen from this angle. According to Brahma Chellany, while rise of Germany led to formation of 'triple entente', similarly we have been witnessing QUAD and AUKUS.

QUAD is a security dialogue forum among diamond of democracies USA, India, Japan and Australia. It aims at free, open, prosperous Indo pacific establishing rules based order.

AUKUS is a defence pact among USA, UK and Australia, that seeks to transfer nuclear powered submarines to Australia.

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ASEAN, which forms the central part of the region of Indo pacific has no representation in AUKUS or QUAD, thus raising questions on 'ASEAN centrality'.

ASEAN centrality, emphasises that, ASEAN countries and ASEAN led forums, like ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asia Summit, shall be central in decision making, guiding policies in Indo Pacific. This is seen as being challenged by great power rivalry in the region.

The ASEAN outlook on Indo pacific emphasised on ASEAN centrality., Also, QUAD in its summit emphasised on ASEAN centrality.

To maintain ASEAN centrality, most important is to have unity with ASEAN. Members of ASEAN are divided over their approach

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towards China. ASEAN as pro China and anti-china countries. Also, the economic dependence on China, recently concluded RCEP make ASEAN even more integrated with China. The charm offencive of china in South china sea further complicate the process.

However, ASEAN needs to find its own voice and come together for free, open and prosperous indopacific. QUAD's recent summit, which emphasised on cooperation on climate change, HADR, critical technologies offer a broader approach towards indopacific, going beyond militaristic approach'.

Its time for ASEAN, to work in spirit of ASEAN way' to ensure its centrality in indopacific.

3. (a) Discuss the relevance and potential role of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the contemporary international order. How can NAM act as a soft balancing mechanism against powerful states? (15 marks, 200 words)

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Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) emerged in 1960s in the era of cold war, as an attempt to safeguard 'strategic autonomy' of newly emerged independent countries and establish 'world Peace'.

The origin of NAM can be traced to Belgrade Conference 1961, spearheaded by heads of India (Pt. Nehru), Indonesia (Sukarno), Egypt, Yugoslavia and Ghana. It advocated the members, not to join any bloc as 'satellites'.

The relevance of NAM was questioned, after the end of cold war, as no two super powers existed and states entering into 'issue based coalitions', emergence of bodies like G-20, BRICS etc.

However, in the contemporary world order, as there have been

indications of new-cold war between USA and China and also, world was virtually divided between two blocs in the context of Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Also, in this backdrop, as we see weaponisation of supply chains, and weaponisation of trade - the impact is faced by third world countries. Thus, cooperation to collectively voice concerns through NAM becomes important.

Also, as we see multilateralism under strain, with UN, UNSC stuck in 'moment of history' (Shashi Tharoor), NAM can push for reform of the global institutions with centrality of UN.

Moreover, in the era of 21st century, we are witnessing problems without passports (Kofi Annan), ranging from climate change to

terrorism - which require collective action which NAM as a platform can push for.

During covid-19, NAM online summit was organised where PM called NAM as 'moral voice of the world' which can act as 'force of good' for the peaceful, prosperous word and push for reformed multilateralism.

According to T. P. Sreenivasan, the essence of NAM was freedom of choice in decision making which will remain relevant, if we have two blocks or even one.

MEA S. Jaishankar held that, with 2/3rd of world countries we stand shape agenda at global level. The 'voice of Global south' summit by India is a positive step in this direction.

NAM should work together with reformed agenda of 'Havana declaration 2006'.

3. (b) What are the key outcomes of COP27 climate summit? (15 marks, 200 words)

In the words of Thomas Friedman in his book 'Hot, flat and crowded: Why we need a green revolution', we have entered from coldwar era to energy climate era in International politics.

The institutionalised response to issue of climate change at global level started with 1972 Stockholm conference. Consequently, in 1992 - in Rio Earth summit, members come up with UN Framework convention on climate change' (UNFCCC)

Members of UNFCCC meet annually in what are called as conference of parties to UNFCCC (COP): COP27 was such annual summit held in Sharm-el sheikh.

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Key outcomes of COP27:

The most important outcome was agreement to setup a financing facility on loss and damage. which has been a longstanding demand of developing countries worst affected by climate change.

Also, on fossil fuels, COP27 talks about promoting 'low-emissions energy' which include solar, wind etc.

COP27 for the 1st time mentioned food security and hunger in climate negotiations. This is important, as held by Indira Gandhi, poverty is the worst pollutant.

COP27 emphasises on finance to adaptation strategies with goal

to double funding for it. Also, a mitigation work programme was also launched.

cop 27 reaffirmed the need to revisit paris pledges to achieve 1.5°c target and also achieve the targeted finance for climate of 100bn $.

India also proposed Mission Life for environment to nudge global population to 'eco friendly' lifestyles.

However, issues remain such as no talks on phasedown of all fossilfuels, and finance related issues remain a concern.

The need of the hour is climate justice as highlighted by Sunita Narain and world needs to choose unity over chaos (Antonio Guterres).

3. (c) Explain the evolving security dimension of the Quad and its implications for regional stability in the Indo-Pacific. (20 marks, 250 words)

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In the words of Brahma Chellaney, if the rise of Germany in 1930s led to formation of triple entente, rise of China in 21st century led to emergence of QUAD.

QUAD is a security dialogue forum - among four diamond of democracies - India, USA, Australia and Japan. As described by Kenneth Waltz, the hegemonic ambitions results in countermoves by other states. QUAD is seen as response to Chinese middle kingdom complex.

The idea of QUAD goes back to 2004, when navies of four countries, came together during Tsunami. After a meet in 2007, however, it could not progress.

QUAD was revived with ministerial meet in 2019 and QUAD summit in 2021 - in virtual and offline meet.

The security dimension of QUAD, as mentioned in 1st summit outcome document 'The spirit of QUAD' is comprehensive view of security - covering traditional and non-traditional threats.

It emphasises on climate change, HADR, cyber security, freedom of navigation, cooperation on critical technologies - which show broader security dimension. QUAD also had created working group on vaccine supply during covid-19.

QUAD aspires for free, open and prosperous Indopacific creating a rules based order. As pointed out by MEA S. Jaishankar, QUAD is not against something, or somebody, but 'is for something'.

In the latest summit in 2022, QUAD also emphasised on

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centrality of ASEAN in Indopacific.

Emergence of QUAD is seen as an attempt to contain rise of china, which as countries agree, is not peaceful. China is not only expanding its military footprints but also entering to psychological warfare - wolfwarrior diplomacy.

China, in this context, described QUAD as Asian Nato reflective of coldwar mentality. It also cautioned India of maintaining 'strategic autonomy'.

Also, Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov called QUAD as a 'devious policy' to engage India in anti-china activities. Thus, QUAD is seen by china, Russia as a disturbance to peace and stability in the region.

Also, emergence of AUKUS, along with QUAD has further raised concerns over regional stability. While QUAD has broader security dynamics, AUKUS has a military component to it, which raised eyebrows even in the west (France).

Thus, the security implications in the region of Indo-Pacific are shaped by various factors. QUAD is seen as an attempt by like minded countries to establish rules based order and ensure freedom of navigation and preservation of Rule of law.

SECTION B

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5. (a) Examine the significance of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) in the context of global nuclear arms control and the prevention of proliferation. Discuss the challenges and criticisms associated with the treaty.

(10 marks, 150 words)

CTBT is the treaty under negotiation that puts checks on further nuclear weapons testing. It aims to check 'vertical proliferation'.

CTBT is seen as complimentary to NPT-1969 which puts check on horizontal proliferation. Also, while partial test ban treaty (PTBT) puts check on testing in environment, CTBT covers underground testing as well.

CTBT is seen as a positive step towards nuclear arms control, as SIPRI data shows increasing stockpiles of nuclear warheads.

However, CTBT faces the same problems as that of NPT. It also divides countries into haves and have nots of nuclear weapons.

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India has criticised CTBT saying that it is neither comprehensive, nor test ban. It cannot and does not ban simulated testing.

Also, it puts pressure on Non countries which have capability to develop nuclear weapons to sign the treaty, which is seen as violating 'sovereignity'.

India has proposed comprehensive global verifiable timebound nuclear disarmament - as the only ultimate solution for a nuclear weapon free world.

Happymon Jacob however suggest India to sign CTBT and postpone ratification. It will help India's credence at NSG, UNSC.

CTBT, thus remains a stalled agenda due to lack of willingness to act in concert by states.

5. (b) What are the major obstacles to Southeast Asian Integration with reference to ASEAN. (10 marks, 150 words)

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ASEAN is interg overnmental organisation formed in 1964. It is most succesful example of regionalism after EU. It consists of tem member states in South East Asia- including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Myanmar, Thailand etc.

ASEAN is based on idea of non-interference in internal affairs and is not a supranational institution like EU. It is a free trade area since 1992 and also adopted ASEAN charter - which established ASEAN as economic community, political-security community and socio-cultural community.

In present times, ASEAN and South East Asia has been facing both internal and external challenges.

Internal challenges include, economic

downturns, political instability in Myanmar, Thailand, military coup, and lack of agreement among members on how to deal Myanmar Junta govt.

Also, emergence of new security threats - climate change, disasters put constrains on these countries.

External challenges include, changing security landscape in region. ASEAN countries huge economic dependence on China, presence of pro-china and anti-china countries; militarisation of region, formation of alliances (AUKUS, QUAD) put strains of ASEAN integration.

The need is to work together in spirit of ASEAN centrality Kishore Mahbubani in his book The ASEAN miracle' calls ASEAN example of pragmatic regionalism.

5. (c) Discuss the limitations of the European Union (EU) in exerting political influence and its impact on its role as a global actor. (10 marks, 150 words)

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European Union is regional organisation based on idea of functionalism (David mitrany). Its the most succesful example of supranational form of governance.

It started in 1952 as European ~~economic~~ coal and steel company and evolved over the years into economic and customs union - through Maaschrist treaty and Lisbon treaty.

In contemporay times, EU is facing both internal and external challenges - ranging from economic to refugee crisis; from changing geopolitics to great power rivalry.

With EU, it is divided between old Europe and new-Europe; east Europe and west Europe) North and South Europe. The economic policies and priorities of east and west Europe are different.

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Also, refugee crisis put questionmark on liberal values of Europe. BREXIT also weakened ~~Euro~~ EU.

External challenges include, the attitude towards Russia, China. The lack of strategic unity in acting towards external challenges hindered Europe from exerting political influence and shaping global order.

Also, some countries supporting China's BRI project also acted as a dividing line in Europe/EU. So, Europe remains divided internally and externally.

~~Euro~~ EU, thus need to find its voice in Union to protect its interests and a multipolar world order which it envisions.

5. (d) How has regionalism emerged as a response to globalization in the economic, political, and cultural spheres? (10 marks, 150 words)

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Regionalism can be understood as an idea of cooperation - economic, political at regional level. In this sense, it is similar to globalisation as it promotes transnational cooperation.

However, regionalism is also seen as a response to Globalisation. Globalisation has created its own economic, political and cultural challenges. Joseph Stiglitz argues that in pursuit of narrow profit, globalisation created a system that is neither resilient and not free from disruptions.

Also, it led to cultural assertiveness across countries, with anti-immigrant sentiment and clash of civilisations (Samuel P. Huntington).

Politically, Globalisation is facing

backlash in North and South.

Regionalism thus emerged as a viable alternative to globalisation. It is seen as a goldilocks option (Suhasini Haider) between globalisation and ultra nationalism.

We see groupings at regional level from ASEAN, EU, to RCEP, USMCA which seek regional collaboration.

Regionalism is also seen as a way of supply chain disruptions and shift to 'friend shoring' from offshoring.

Regionalism can be a viable alternative for future of Globalisation, but as we see problems without passports with global manifestations, Globalisation with humane face is the need of hour.

5. (e) Elaborate on India's contribution to the United Nations and its role in promoting global peace and development. (10 marks, 150 words)

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India was founding member of UN and has been actively engaging even since before its independence.

India saw itself as a part of Jambudweepa (Shyam saran). Thus, India always believed in multilateral institutions and respect for International law.

Since 1950s India contributed to UN, starting from sending medical personnel to UN repatriation commission to Korea.

India also has served as a non-permanent member of UNSC and contributed to global agenda setting in multiple ways.

India's contribution to UN peace keeping is well appreciated, with

successful deployments like all women contingent (Liberia) and operation Khukhri.

In climate negotiations too, at platforms of UNFCCC, India played role in evolution of norms like - Polluter pays and common but differentiated responsibility.

India, in spirit of Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam has helped in development projects in global south - in Africa, Afghanistan as a 'peace maker'.

In this context Shashi Tharoor calls, India has potential to become 1st 'developmental superpower'.

7. (a) Discuss the politics of financing the United Nations and its implications for the organization's functioning and decision-making process. (15 marks, 200 words)

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United nations emerged out of the shadows of 2nd world war in 1945, with the goal of protecting future generations from the scourge of war. It emerged from the experience of failure of League of nations.

In the words of Gareth Evans, no other organisation embodies so many dreams, yet so many frustrations. UN has been victim of great power manuevering, UNSA of politics of empty rhetoric, and of its inefficiency.

one of the main reasons for the ineffectiveness of UN to function is the dependence on donor countries for funds. This not only effects its functioning, but also its credibility.

During covid-19, WHO -a

a specialised body of UN has been alleged of corruption and delayed response due to alleged role of China in funding. WHO's own budget is miniscule and dependence on donations affects its autonomy in functioning.

Also, dependence on donations creates scope for bargaining by countries to push for their agendas. US decision to stop funding to UNESCO can be seen in this light.

Similarly, in case of UN peace keeping often the countries contributing troops have no role in decision making while fund contributing countries, take decision without consulting and also complain of misuse of funds.

The decisions by International

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Court of Justice remain unimplemented because, it ~~often~~ cannot enforce its decisions. Despite having power to involving UNSC in implementing decision, ICJ does not act.

According to Kevin Rudd, UN faces crisis of credibility. It is facing foreign neglect, institutional decay in the face of new challenges. As the world becomes more poorer, meaner and smaller (Shivshankar Menon) we need to refine the functions, finances of UN- so that it can work on today's challenges, because, as Jeffrey Sachs puts it 'UN is the best bargain on planet'.

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(b) How has the role of the United Nations changed in the post-Cold War period, and what new challenges has it faced?. (15 marks, 200 words)

United Nations was created post 2nd worldwar in 1945, with the goal of protecting succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It is based on the ideas of liberal institutionalism.

During the coldwar, is the world dominated by two super powers. UN played role in independence of countries in Africa, Asia, came out with Universal declaration of Human Rights 1948; worked on refugees of 2nd world war.

Post-end of coldwar, UN is faced with new challenges. In the words of 'shashi Tharoor UN is stuck in moment of history' and doesnot reflect current realities.

Postcold war saw, rise of intrastate conflicts and civil wars. UN, based on

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idea of non interference in domestic affairs find it difficult to play role in conflict situations. Expanded role to UN Peace keeping has often led to counter results with attacks on Peacekeepers (in Africa).

End of cold war, also saw, rise of problems without passports (Kofi Annan), ranging from Terrorism, organised crime, climate change, pandemics — where UN is finding difficult to act in one voice.

Kevin Rudd - former Australia PM said, we need UN, that not only deliberates but delivers.

Also, role of UN expanded in humanitarian actions. Food and medical aid, protection of child rights — via its agencies like world food program, UNICEF, UNCTAD etc..

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UN is also facing challenges due to fractured functioning of UNSC — currently divided over Russia-Ukraine conflict. India's PM said, without comprehensive reforms UN faces crisis of confidence.

Also, UN faces challenges of meagre finances, lack of transparency, issues of corruption — as alleged in functioning of WHO. UN secretary General held that, there is no relation between power and leadership at UN'.

In the words of S.K. Hammarskjold UN is created not to take mankind to heaven, but to prevent humanity from hell'. In this vision, the need of hour for UN is to reform to suit the need of 21st century.

7. (c) Assess the rise of multipolarity in the global order and its implications for international politics and security. Provide examples of emerging powers and their role in shaping the new power dynamics (20 marks, 250 words)

According to polarity of power thesis world order has changed from bipolarity of coldwar to the unipolarity and now moving towards multipolarity. In the words of Fareed Zakaria, we are witnessing "Decline of the west and rise of the rest".

The rise of multipolarity said to be started in 21st century as the unipolar moment led to single superpower stretching itself militarily. According to Kenneth Waltz and Mearsheimer, unipolar world is not stable inherently, because it creates scope for free riders. Also, with great power comes megalomania.

Rise of multipolarity can

be seen through simultaneous rise of powers like china, India, Russia, Japan, France, Germany — which are challenging the hegemony of USA. Formation of BRICS was a important step towards establishing a multipolar world.

According to classical Realist Hans Morgenthau, multipolar world is more stable because it leads to balance of power, thus preventing emergence of preponderant power.

However, Waltz and Mearsheimer argue that multipolarity is unstable as it increases chances of miscalculation and can lead to chaos. They support bipolar world.

However, there is no consensus over emerging multipolarity, with some scholars like Nial Ferguson

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predicting domination of US for coming decades. Still, some other scholars predict a bipolar world with USA-China being two poles.

Multipolar world can lead to emergence of alliances. According to Tanvi Madan, if cold war was era of 'blocs', today is era of alliances — QUAD, AUKUS, talks on expansion of NATO, China-Russia ('no limits' partnership reflect this trend.

In this context, Sivishankar Menon held that, the world is militarily unipolar, economically multipolar and politically confused. Also, decline of USA and no power willing to take up responsibility may lead to Kindleberger trap.

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Some of prominent emerging powers include- India, China, Japan, France.

India - is acting as agenda setter and institution builder as can be seen in climate change negotiations and initiatives like @ International Solar alliance, one sun-one world one grid. It is also acting as leader of south as can be seen from 'voice of global South Summit'.

China is aiming to create economic order centred around itself. It is also enhancing strategic footprint by institutions (NDB, AIIB, BRI) and debt trap diplomacy.

Japan is collaborating with likeminded countries like USA, India to play key role in emerging global dynamics.

Thus, world order is at constant flux.