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SUBJECT:	ESSAY TEST-2	Test Code:	1075
Name of Candidate	VAIBHAV GONDANE		
Medium Hindi/Eng.	ENG	Registration Number	103781
Center	PUNE	Date	160818

INDEX TABLE

Q. No.	Page No.	Maximum Marks	Marks Obtained

Total Marks Obtained:

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Do furnish the appropriate details in the answer sheet (viz. Name, Registration Number and Test Code).
उत्तर पुस्तिका में सूचनाएं भरना आवश्यक है (नाम, प्रश्न-पत्र कोड, विद्यार्थी क्रमांक आदि)।
2. All questions are compulsory.
सभी प्रश्न अनिवार्य हैं।
3. The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.
प्रत्येक प्रश्न/भाग के अंक उसके सामने दिए गए हैं।
4. 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 that the authorized one.
प्रश्नों के उत्तर उसी माध्यम में लिखे जाने चाहिए जिसका उल्लेख आपके प्रवेश पत्र में किया गया है और उस माध्यम का स्पष्ट उल्लेख प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर (क्यूसीए) पुस्तिका के मुख्य पृष्ठ पर अंकित निर्दिष्ट स्थान पर किया जाना चाहिए। उल्लिखित माध्यम के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी माध्यम में लिए गए उत्तर पर कोई अंक नहीं मिलेंगे।
5. Word limit in questions, if specified, should be adhered to.
प्रश्नों में शब्द सीमा, जहाँ विनिर्दिष्ट है, का अनुसरण किया जाना चाहिए।
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
उत्तर पुस्तिका में खाली छोड़ा हुआ पृष्ठ या उसके अंश को स्पष्ट रूप से काटा जाना चाहिए।

EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Alignment Competence
2. Context Competence
3. Content Competence
4. Language Competence
5. Introduction Competence
6. Structure - Presentation Competence
7. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

All the Best

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Section A

In contemporary world politics, smart power is neither hard nor soft, it is both

Rewind to 2017... Tensions between USA and North Korea had reached at its peak. North Korea's nuclear capabilites were not just threatening the Korean peninsula but even the American hegemony in the region. USA's President Donald Trump commented that the North Koreans will witness a "fire and fury" that the world has never seen. In return, North Korea threatened to attack Guam, "enveloping it in fire."

Coming one year ahead, both Mr. Trump and N. Korean leader Mr. Kim sat together at Singapore on June 12. Some media persons commented on this meet as the most important summit of the

21st century. N.Korea agreed for disarmament while USA stopped its military exercises with South Korea. How did this happen in matter of less than a year?

The answer lies in skillful diplomacy and use of SMART POWER. Had both leaders not shown maturity, world would had headed for a deadly nuclear arms race. It is this smart power that matters in current global politics.

What are components of smart power? How is it different from HARD POWER and SOFT POWER? Or is it a combination of two? In this essay, we will try to find answers to all these questions through various dimensions. We will also examine why ~~soft~~ smart power has to be a combination of two. Finally, we will analyze how it can be incorporated in contemporary global politics.

The Hard Challenge of defining Soft and Smart Power

Power is considered as central concept of international politics. According to realist scholar Morgenthau, nations are power seeking. For him, power is means and power is an end. But how do we define power?

Traditionally, nations have focused on military power, also called as hard power. So when USA tested nuclear bombs in 1940s, the era of hard power began. In later phase, Joseph Nye defined soft power as power of attraction. For instance, India's soft power lies in Yoga, Buddhism and Bollywood among others. However, as Chinmaya Gharekhan argued, "Bollywood, Yoga and Butterchicken can create attraction about India but cannot force nations to do what India wants." Thus came concept of SMART

POWER. For instance, President Barack Obama's foreign policy was based on 3Ds: defence, diplomacy and development. Smart power is thus seen as mixture of both hard and soft power.

Having seen the definitions and linkages of hard, soft and smart power, let us examine their interrelationship in various aspects of world politics.

Smart power: Beyond History and Across Geography

It is not that smart power as a concept has emerged in modern times. In medieval times, even if European nations were fighting with each other, they continued to have diplomatic contacts and sent and received ambassadors. In ancient India, Ashoka sent Dhammamahamatras in neighbouring countries. Also, in court of Chandragupta Maurya, Megasthenes was present. Similarly, Russian emperor had sent its ambassador to court of Jahangir.

In current times, we can consider the formation of the United Nations after deadly World War II as example of using smart power by warring nations. The relevance of such a hard and soft power strategy only rises in present multipolar world.

Consider, for example the military aspect. Today, no nation can rely completely on military force as world has nuclear weapons. Further, as Joseph Nye points out, "we are living in a world of complex interdependence". Thus no nation can afford relying only on hard power at cost of its economic growth. Its recent example is Iran nuclear deal. After aggressively building nuclear weapons, Iran was brought to negotiating table and Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was signed with P-5 and Germany. This smart power helped Iran to recover from its stagnant economic conditions.

Socially, smart power's organic fusion with hard and soft power is seen in refugee crisis of Europe. Though European nations were initially skeptical about taking refugees in their country, but the gravity of problem forced them to be smart: accept refugees as well as go for negotiations with West Asian nations. India also played this smart card in recent Rohingyan crisis by cooperation with Bangladesh and Myanmar. For instance, Operation Insaniyat was started to help Bangladesh.

Culturally, contemporary global

politics do need smart power on a much larger scale. We are living in an age of multicultural society due to globalisation and rise of immigration. Nations cannot be hard, for example, reducing visas or closing their borders. Rather, they have to be smart by giving them freedom as well as regulating them.

Economically too, countries have to combine hard and soft power. Take for instance USA's hard approach by starting trade war. As many economists has pointed out, this trade war will only reduce global trade. Americans themselves will have to pay more money due to rise in prices of commodities. A smart stand, according to experts is to resolve whatever problems USA has through sitting on the table. This smart methods are also essential as we have many Multi-national companies (MNCs) whose interests cannot be compromised.

As in economic sphere, smart power is more significant in environmental sphere. As Thomas Friedman commented, "The world has become hot and flat". To deal with emerging challenges of climate change, it is imperative to combine hard and soft power. Nations cannot be soft; for instance neglect climate change. Nor can they be hard; for instance close all carbon emitting industries. They have to be smart: go for agreements and partnerships. The Rio Declaration 1992, Rio+20 summit of 2012, Agenda for Peace document for 2000 and recently the Paris treaty, Kigali Agreement is replica of display of soft power with smart methods.

As climate change is major challenge, so are issues of terrorism and use of modern destructive technologies. A hard approach to terror only breeds more terror. For example, USA's Afghanistan war continues unabated despite 17 years of 'hard' efforts. The reason is neglect of 'soft' tools like focussing on training, capacity building of Afghan people. It is this 'smartness' that USA and world has to show while dealing with Islamic state and other terror outfits. Also, hard approach of using nuclear and biological weapons will hardly succeed. Thus nations have to be 'smart' ie. go for partnerships like Australia Group, Wassenar Arrangement, etc.

From above examples, we have seen how smart power is a combination of hard and soft power. It is thus neither hard, nor soft but both. How should nations develop this ~~sof~~ smart power in contemporary times?

Firstly, countries have to acknowledge existence of smart power. Nations continue to have temptation of hard power seen from Iran and N. Korea nuclear crisis. Another recent example is Israel's building of permanent settlements and neglecting Arab concerns. Countries have to recognize that this hard power will only put humanity in deep crisis.

~~Cause~~ Secondly, there is a need to involve the civil society and common people. Smart power lies more with these actors than in states. Thus India's initiative of starting Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas, Know India Programme, etc. are correct steps. We will have to involve NGOs like Amnesty International and Greenpeace.

Thirdly, smart power need institutions. It is sad that UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres has to publicly state that UN faces shortage of funds. Nations have to not only build and sustain institutions but even respect their decisions. For instance, USA coming out of Paris deal, Iran nuclear deal and UNESO goes against very logic of ~~soft~~ smart power.

Conclusion:

Indian Constitution under Article 51 calls upon state to respect international treaties and conventions. As world heads towards new wave of anti-globalisation and faces newer dangers of terror, climate change; smart power is need of hour.

We have to use ~~soft~~ smart power to prevent world from becoming hell. The age old saying of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' will be successful only by smart power.

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Section B

Is democracy the best setting for strong economic growth

Democracy is the most powerful idea of modern times. Today, we are living in an age of democracy. Democracy is a result of hard struggles of people for centuries. In medieval times, the despotic rule of king along with corrupt Church existed all around world. It is struggle against this tyranny that we are able to breathe air of democracy. As Abraham Lincoln said, "democracy is rule of people, by people and for people".

However, there has been a criticism of democracy as some argue that it slows down economic growth. They cite example of how India, a democracy lagged behind and China, an authoritarian state became 2nd largest economy of the world. According to former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, "democracy is a western obsession. It undermines the Asian values." He argues that India has chosen a wrong path of democracy.

Though this argument is factually correct, yet it has many flaws. Democracy remains the best setting for strong economic growth. Any growth has to be within framework of democracy to ensure that it is sustainable and ethical.

In this essay, we will see the interrelationship of democracy and economic growth through pages of history. We will see how democracy promotes economic growth and if growth is not democratic, what can be its implications. Lastly, we will try to find out how paradox of democracy and economic growth can be avoided.

History: A vital foundation

The importance of democracy for strong economic growth is well seen in two greatest revolution of world: American and French revolution. While both revolution represented will of people, America became a democratic federal polity while France headed for rule of Napolean. The result, America ended up as a superpower but France continued to lag behind due to slow economic growth.

Another example in modern times is the fall of totalitarian USSR. It could not sustain its economic crisis as its leaders were not accountable to people. We find many countries that became economic powerhouse due to democratic principles. Consider, for instance, the rise of Germany, Japan and South Korea after World War II. A common link between these three nations is that all are democracies. Thus democracy became a best setting for their strong economic growth.

Why does democracy aid in economic growth? To find this answer, we will have to find ramifications of democracy in all spheres of our life.

In social context, democracy rests on principles of ~~eco~~ equality and justice. Democracy recognizes that each individual is unique and should be given equal opportunities to develop his capabilities. This investment in human capital itself lays foundation of economic growth. We can take example of Japan after Meiji restoration that became economic power as it considered every humanbeing as unique.

Further, democracy eliminates many social tensions and strives to bring harmony among social groups. As Mahatma Gandhi puts in, "I understand democracy as one that gives the weak the same chance as strong." This opportunity given to minorities and historically disadvantaged communities help in setting the stones of economic growth. Rule of law is essential for this. As Kaushik Basu recently said that incidents of mob lynchings in country are creating a wrong image about India in the eyes of investors.

Similar to social content, political and administrative content of democracy to spur economic growth has to be seen.

Democracy makes governments of the day accountable. It checks economic policies of government. In democracy, governments also have to focus on economic growth to get mandate of people. This itself acts as a beacon to ensure rapid economic growth. For instance, in India, governments need to focus on economy and right since Community Development Programme to Make in India programme, it is only due to democracy that governments are so much interested in it. On other hand, dictatorial North Korean regime can well neglect economic growth and use that same money to build nuclear weapons.

In economic context too, democratic nations are favoured vis-a-vis dictatorial states when it comes to investments and technology transfer. It is not a coincidence that India receives one of highest foreign direct investment in world. Investors look towards India's strong democratic credentials, as world's largest democracy. This itself becomes a setting for more investment and stronger growth. Also, in democracy, tensions are resolved through peaceful means and investors get continuity in policies of the governments.

Further, a strong economic growth requires proper balance between growth and environment sustainability. As Gandhiji emphasised, "the earth has everything for one's need, but not for one's greed." This 'greed' of man can only be checked by democracy. For instance, India's economic policy is completed by its forest policy i.e. to enhance forest cover and to ensure

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participatory forest management.
As democracy provides voice to people, many environmental movements like Chipko, Narmada Bachao Andolan has ensured governments balance growth and environment. Here we can contrast with growth story of China. Today, communist Chinese state faces huge challenge of environment degradation and many of its cities are often enveloped in smog.

Above all, economic growth needs a solid setting of innovation, research and development. Even in this context, democracy is more suitable seen from example of USA. In present times, USA harbours highest startups and R&D centres in world. Comparing with China, we find that China is merely a manufacturing factory of world. USA's growth would continue to happen as it constantly innovates, while economists point out that China may face a middle income trap. It is only where democracy is strong that innovators like Bill Gates, Steve Jobs get a space to learn and modify their ideas.

If democracy is required for innovation, it is also needed to maintain internal and external security. Democracies often create a zone of peace among each other. They prefer not to go for war as it only affects economic growth. Two years back, when India-Pakistan relations had reached an all time low many analyst were arguing to go for war. But as experts pointed out, it would reduce our investments and economic growth. Indian government thus quietly went for backchannel diplomacy than escalation of conflict. Had India not been a democracy, it would had been difficult to convince the leaders.

Similarly, democracy also addresses the backwardness of few regions that affect economic growth. This is seen by India's own efforts to focus on J &K, hilly states, North East, etc. along with Naxal affected belt.

Having seen how democracy is perfect setting for strong economic growth, let us see how this relationship can be made more stronger.

The most essential step in this direction is making democracy more representative. This is crucial to reduce conflicts and enhance growth potential. Representation of minorities, women, etc. has to be increased. The 73rd Amendment to Constitution that provide reservation to women in Panchayats is correct step.

Along with this, we need to check adverserial politics, the use of money and muscle power and greater use of caste, religion in politics. It only inhibits India's potential to grow. Electoral reforms as suggested by Election Commission in its document in 2016 has to be fasttracked.

Investments are also needed in human resource development. Skilling ever increasing workforce, providing health and education for all is a challenge in front of our democracy. But they have to be tackled for acting as setting for growth.

Government has taken many initatives like Skill India Programme, Swachh Bharat Mission, Start Up and Stand Up India among other. For minorities, Nai Manzil and Nai Roshni schemes have been initiated. For women, Mahila Shakti Kendras and Gender budgeting has started. This will go long way to act as engine of strong economic growth.

Conclusion: Battles Half Won

Winston Churchill rightly pointed out that democracy is worst form of government, but it is best till we do not find a better one. Amartya Sen also comments that democracy is pre-condition for development.

It is true that democracy may slow decision-making but decisions taken indeed will be of higher quality. Kerala model is an example of growth along with democracy. History has time and again proved that democracy is best setting for faster economic growth. We simply have to make minute changes to ensure 'Sabka Saath Sabka Vikas'

—X—

Sol^{n}s
→ Demo. more represent
→ Check adversarial politics
→ Skilling people, making resources present.

Programmes → Make in, Skill, Labour reforms, etc.

Conclude → Winston Churchill, Amartya Sen, etc.

Start → Demo. is most powerful idea.
→ But today questioned.

Evolution → America vs France
→ India's growth from 1950s.
→ & China's falling, N. Korea stagnant.

Is democracy the best setting for strong economic growth?

Why, When: due to concerns that demo is against growth
lee Kuan Yew

Democracy vs. Economic Growth

Contemporary
→ rise in democracies
→ China

Evolution
→ America vs France

global / regional ⇒ Kerala + world ex.

sol^n

Multi

ethical & consti values

Gandhi quote

Security
→ zone of peace
nat'l → IR
→ deal with demo.

Social
respect people & invest in them.
Further people r ends & tensions less

Political
a/c, zone of peace

Economic
strong FDI due to it + regional devp
⇓
India's planning

Tech
~~Admin~~
only in demo. has startups, inventions, etc.
→ USA, etc Europe

Envi.
China's smog. but Scandinavia

ex. N & S Korea

→ Why, When → due to integration
→ Contempo → complex inter
→ Evolution: → Hard + Soft now Smart
→ Cause & Effect → India's case Buddhism, Yoga, etc. but unclear.
↳ multipolarity, safer place.

Conclude → Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, values of UN Charter, Dag Hammerskjold.

Start: Rewind a year back... N. Korea tensions, Mr. Trump + Kim then suddenly summitry — Joseph Nye — complex inter
- In this we will see hard, then soft then smart.
- See how smart is integration
- Also C&E of not following
- Conclude.

In contemporary world politics, smart power is neither hard nor soft, it is both

Contemporary world politics
- rise of TNCs, NGOs
- Terror groups
- Globalisation
- Joseph Nye → 3-D chessboard
- multipolar world, China + others
- protectionism
- nuclear weapons, human rts
- envi. issues, climate change

Smart power = Hard + Soft Power
- Hard
- Soft

Recent
- Trade war
- ~~US~~ Israel & Jerusalem
- ~~EU nego~~

Dimensions
- Military → but nuclear
- Social, cultural → society connect, Bhikhu Parekh's multiculturalism
- Economic → MNCs
- Political + Admin → civil society
- Envi → Destruction + carbon credit
- Disasters
- Security → Terror
- Tech → use effectively for welfare