



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 04

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Vaibhav Rawat

Test Date

2/12/2020

Email Address

VAIBHAV.RAWAT.VAIBHAV@GMAIL.COM

Mobile

9876543210

UPSC Roll No

7100943

Instructions:

- There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
- Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
- Content of the answer is more important than its length.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
- Content of the answer is more important than its length.
- Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
- All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
- Write the test in exam atmosphere.
- Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						



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[illegible]



Que.1(a)

India has no good reason to overturn its nuclear doctrine.

(10 Marks)

India has adopted formal nuclear posture of "No First Use" as per the draft prepared by K. Subramaniam and adopted in 2003.

Recent demands by many strategic experts like Sushant Sareen and indicated by Defence Minister to change the NFU policy. It is argued that in face of Pakistan's irrational behaviour through continued use of non-state actors as state sponsored terrorism and using its nuclear weapons as umbrella leaves little scope for India to pursue NFU.

However with Balakot Airstrike India has already called out Pakistan's nuclear bluff. Although Pakistani Army



still claims that there nuclear weapons are for tactical warfare but experts like C-R. Mohan argue that NFO has served Indian interests well.

Indian nuclear weapons are aimed at the bigger military threat of China.
The three pronged doctrine of Credible Minimum Deterrence; Massive Retaliation and NFO have successfully deterred both adversaries from direct military operations.

With changing times India instead of focusing on nuclear weapons should develop Cyber & space capabilities as they are more effective security mechanisms of 21st century.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

India's role in UN Peace keeping.

Que.1(b)

10 Marks.

UN ~~was~~ developed on the concept of "Collective Security" as per liberal Institutional theory of peace. But failure of UNSC and internal civil wars has created the need for UNPKF as argued by Dag Hammarskjöld.

India has been active participant in UNPKF operations. It is the second largest contributor to troops and Indian missions are currently serving in atleast 14 UNPKF missions ranging from Somalia to Libya.

India has also provided training facilities to other countries armed forces and has developed a credible record by adhering to the UN's guidelines of using



force only in self defence and allowing
for politically negotiated peace to settle in.
More than any other country; Indian
soldiers have martyred in these operations.

However despite these records
the global community has failed to
recognise contribution of developing countries
in general & India in particular. Global North
does not send troops rather funds the
operation and is the decision maker. India
has constantly raised demands for a more
inclusive & consultative UN mechanism.

UNPKF contribution is the biggest
strongest claim for a permanent UNSC seat and
India should develop a consensus on UNSC reforms.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(c)

As Sino Indian relations occur a free fall, New Delhi find itself on the margins of SCO. 10 Marks.

Normalization of relations between India - China were hailed as emergence of the Asian Century in 1988. However recent border clashes ~~are~~ ^{have}, in the words of S. Pais honkar "seriously hurt the overall relationship".

Although India was granted entry into SCO in 2017, a block that is dominated by the Chinese and also includes Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Pakistan. The block focuses on counter-terrorism; political & geographical integration. As per Mackinder's Heartland ~~theory~~ ^{'Rimland'}

Theory the SCO can be seen as an effort by China to integrate the Eurasian region which in the eyes of West and

especially the US is a challenge to its hegemony.

Since the India is largely seen as allying with the US and presence of two hostile neighbours and a declining friendship with Russia, India is seen on margins of SCO. Scholars like C.R. Mohan call India's conundrum in justifying any meaningful presence in SCO to be a challenge given the recent fall in Indo-Sino relations.

However SCO still remains relevant to India in ensuring stability of the region which includes TJK and India remain relevant to SCO due to inherent insecure partnership of Russia & China as the insurance of Russia against expansive China.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(d)

The role of PMO in shaping India's foreign policy.

10 Marks.

Decision making school of International Politics ~~refers~~ argues that actors play a significant role in shaping foreign policy choices. In India's case rather than MEA it is the PMO which have historically & even today that is the main actor in decision making.

Starting from Pt Nehru as both PM and External Affairs Minister had significant impact. Today PM Modi has personal relationships with both foreign leaders and has taken direct charge of several initiatives like Act West Policy; Indo-Pacific strategy, Look For East ^{for} ~~with~~ Russia's Siberian region etc

MEA as the line ministry although still functions as the implementing body but PMO takes authoritative decisions like



hosting of events like "Hardy Modi ?",
"Namaste Trump" ~~etc~~ "Wuhan Informal summit"
and "Chennai Connect" etc.

The annual dialogue between
PM and respective Heads of states and Summit
Diplomacy has created even more space for
PMO in post LPG era. However as Shashi
Tharoor Committee argued Indian is vastly
understaffed and hence India suffers in
delivering of projects & promises.

Thus as neoclassical realist Forrest
Zakaria claims institutions as well as actors
both contribute in foreign policy choices.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(e)

China is a pivotal actor in South Asia's hydro diplomacy.**10 Marks**

Napoleon remarked "When China will awaken from slumber it will astonish the world." Xi Jinping has discarded Deng's policy of Hide & Bide and has increasingly placed China at the centre of global affairs. The ^{immediate} ~~first~~ impact of this is also seen in South Asia.

China controls the 3rd pole of the world, the highlands of Tibetan Plateau which accounts for highest amount of frozen freshwater in glaciers of Hindukush-Himalayan region. The rivers that originate from Tibet feeds more than 3 Bn people of South Asia, South-East Asia & China eg Ganges, Yangtze, Brahmaputra, Indus, Mekong etc.

China has built various dams as the upper riparian state it has advantages



vis-a-vis other states in the region. Harsh Pant argues that China uses whole of state approach to foreign policy and given aggressiveness it has shown under Xi Jinping since 2013, strategic usage of these hydro-power dams in conducting hydrodiplomacy in South Asian states like Nepal, India, Pakistan & Bangladesh can not be ignored.

Chinese dams in PoK, Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) can not only create security threat for India but also hyphenates our relations vis-a-vis other SAARC countries. This makes China the central player in hydro-diplomacy of the region.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.3(a)

"An enduring dilemma of India's Afghanistan policy has been the choice between those calling for the direct engagement with Taliban and those who believed that there is no reason for Delhi to join the international stampede to embrace Taliban." In light of the above statement, suggest what should be the key element of India's playbook in the critical geo-political space?

20 Marks

Rudyard Kipling called Afghanistan graveyard of empires. It has been the land of great games since last two hundred years. As US withdraws and hands over Afghanistan to Taliban, Harsh Pant calls this as end of one game & the start of another.

This has significant impact on India as India had invested heavily in stability of the region in last 2 decades. More than a \$100 Bn have been spent. As per 'M&A India - Afghanistan Friendship Book 2019': India has built Afghan parliam-ent, Salpura Dam, the goalend highway, used Chabahar port to export grains and connected road from Zaranj - Delaram.



The return of Taliban would mean the pre 2001 state where Pakistani ISI used 'strategic depth' and the connect it has within Afghani Taliban ranks to use Afghani territory for anti India activities and gain immunity from FATF eg: IC-814 Hijack.

As Ambassador Katja argues that given that US would inevitably withdraw sooner rather than later & Afghanistan government itself recognised Taliban as part of Afghanistani society, it is only prudent for India to build ties with Taliban.

But the immediate fallout would be throwing away the goodwill gained in Afghan society. As Suhesini Haider points that talking to terrorists of Taliban could



weaken India's case in J&K insurgency and
our policy of no talks & isolation of Pakistan

She argues India should not give up the
gains made in democratic & economic
progress of Afghanistan & should continue
supporting Afghanistan's legitimate govern-
ment of Kabul.

C.R. Mohan pins this dilemma on
flawed foreign policy of putting all eggs in
one basket that means trusting US too
much for our own security. As Henry
Kissinger held "It is dangerous to be an enemy
of US but it is fatal to be its ally."
India is learning it the hard way.

India's policy option to come out
of this dilemma as explained by ^{EAM} S. Jaishankar
in his new book 'The India Way' is the



"Krishna's choice". Acting as per our own national interest without being dogmatic nor indulging in Panipat syndrome of being defensive. India is a leading stakeholder in the process and must ensure that the ~~outcome~~ peace is "Afghan led, Afghan owned and Afghan controlled".

As interest of other powers like Russia, China, Iran, Pakistan rises in the region, India should adhere to Machiavelli's advice that victory comes to those who are fearless. As the game never ends in Afghanistan & its stability is of paramount importance, India should get involved in Moscow talks, Hearts of Asia Conference among others.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.3(b)

"South west Asia is a new geo-political framework between the war on terror and the Silk Road strategy." Discuss. Analyse India's concerns in the region.

15 Marks

Spykman gave 'Rimland Theory' as a prescription ~~an advice~~ to geopolitical thinkers. Those who control the ^{are} land between Mediterranean sea and Arabian coast of India would control the entire world. This strategy is evidently visible in the current super-power rivalry between the Hegemon US and Rising China.

South West Asia includes several key connectivity routes and is situated at the confluence of three great civilisations - Indian, Chinese and Iranian.

US entered the region during its moment of unipolarity. As John Mearsheimer argues Great War on Terror in Afghanistan ~~has~~ led



to great dent on US hegemony. The 20 year war period coincided with China's entry into WTO. Chinese Communist Party Congress in 2002 could foresee a 'strategic window' of 20 years for building national power.

As S. Jaishankar in 'The India Way' claims that for last 2 decades, ~~China~~ US fought without winning and China won without fighting. This has led to China's own gameplan in the region.

US uses democratic peace theory by promoting democracy at gunpoint (Bush doctrine) to ensure stability & security whereas China under BRI uses developmental peace theory where it creates infrastructure. But BRI has ^{been} increasingly criticised for 'Debt Trap diplomacy' as seen



in Pakistan & now 25 year \$400 Bn deal
with Iran.

India's concerns stems from increas-
ing Chinese control over political affairs
of weak states in South West Asia. Chinese
extractive economic policies promotes author-
itarianism and creates scope for obedience
from the Middle Kingdom as seen in recent
case of Nepali Communist Party leadership.

India would ideally want peaceful
cooperative relations & to ensure its energy
security from Gulf, direct connectivity to
Central Asia through Chabahar but as Harsh
Pant argues the geopolitical flux has made
it challenging to pursue strategic autonomy.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.3(c)

Critically examine the role of geographical factors on India's foreign policy. Do you think India's continental grand strategy is facing an existential crisis and it is high time it needs a maritime focus?

15 Marks

Foreign policy of a country is determined on the basis of its national interests (Morgenthau). Each state's national interest as given by Swedish Political scientist Rudolf Kjellen is primarily influenced by its geography. Geopolitics is the discipline that studies role of geography on international politics.

Indian foreign policy is based upon India's centrality in the South Asian region. Being the preeminent power in the subcontinent India has followed a largely pacifist & a neighbourhood first policy based on Gujral doctrine of non-reciprocity & reassuring benevolence towards much smaller



neighbours.

Kautilya's mandal siddhant is also largely applicable as shown by C.R. Mohan. India views foreign policy in concentric circles of neighbourhood of South Asia, extended neighbourhood of West Asia & S-E Asia and so on.

Thus geography determined India's good relations with Russia, Japan, Iran as being neighbour to a neighbour and it has also led to big brother syndrome among Nepal, Bhutan & Sri Lanka. However this grand continental strategy is only partly useful given the increasing maritime challenge from China in the erstwhile Indian backyard of Indian Ocean.

Indian Ocean has become a hotspot of geopolitical competition with Chinese



Malacca Dilemma, increasing militarization of bases by US & China. The encirclement of India by Chinese String of Pearls has shows that it is high time India need to develop a maritime strategy.

India's response has been to ensure it remains the 'net security provider' in the region by ensuring SAGAR (security & growth for all in the region) doctrine. India has been acquiring maritime cooperative agreements like with Singapore, Indonesia, Seychelles, Mozambique etc. USA's backing with 'Indo-Pacific' concept gives India another push to ensure that it controls all the choke points and dominates SLOCs of the Indian Ocean to ensure free, fair & open navigation.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(a)

Delineate the relative degree of continuity and change in India's foreign policy in the light of the major initiatives taken by the present government. 10 Marks

Neo-Classical realists claimed that it is both institution & actor that shapes foreign policy. Randall Schweller and Fareed Zakaria view foreign policy as continuity with change depending upon choices of PM Modi.

India's foreign policy has maintained some degree of continuity in its neighbourhood first policy. The neoliberal economic imperative pushes all states to look for trading partners hence India's Look East converted into Act East that emphasized greater connectivity especially with BIMSTEC countries. India's relationship with Russia has been the single most consistent ~~has been~~ relationship in entire IR in last 50 years (S Jaishankar).



Although India's Link West Policy has seen considerable changes with dehypenation of Israel - Palestine; strategic embrace of Gulf monarchies despite Pakistan's foulplay. India - US have emerged as 'two bookends of stability' (Rex Tillerson) and as PM Modi ^{said} ~~called~~ 'India has moved on from hesitations of the past'.

According to CR Mohan India's earlier anti-American reflexivism seen in global south cooperation has changed to a more nuanced stance. Recent Virtual NAM Summit on Covid 19 showed India's continued commitment towards developing countries. Hence this showed India's foreign policy is continuous yet continuously changing.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(b)

How India should priorities its economic, political and security needs in face of China's increasingly powerful and aggressive strategies?

10 Marks

Samir Saran in his book 'Pax Sinica' claims that Xi Jinping's China has arrived at global stage and its increasingly aggressive strategies bear unparalleled implications on India's overall foreign policy.

India - Sino relations were always a management of competition & collaboration with varying degrees of both. Recent killings on the border & advanced PLA movement has not only disillusioned South Block of China's 'Salami Slicing' but has threatened the awakening of Dragon on its borders. as ~~claimed~~ ^{quoted} by C.R. Mohan.

India is still a lower middle income country and Kautilya's Arthashastra orders to focus on economic empowerment of the nation. Continued presence of soldiers at LAC



has created heavy dent on already weakening state treasury & thus would lead to imbalance of priorities on economic, political and security needs.

Although India could use its political capital to go for external balancing with QUAD

but as Shiv Shankar Menon argues internal capacity building is the only way to deter the Chinese advances. Mike Pompeo recently

said "However appears weak will invite PLA's attack (metaphorically)". Hence India needs to

prioritise upgrading defensive & tactical offensive

capability across Himalayan border and focus on

economic growth that is the foundation for a

stronger political & security power.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(c)

The story of bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka is a story of ups and downs.

10 Marks

Island nation of Sri Lanka is one of the hotspot of geopolitical tussle for South Asian hierarchy between India and China.

India & Sri Lanka have enjoyed a historical, cultural, linguistic connect for ~~millineums~~ millenniums (MEA). Although post indep. endence as CR Mohan calls India's foreign policy under At Nehru mimiced Curzon's Treaty diplomacy and that led to big-brother syndrome among Sri Lankan elites.

Constant political meddling in domestic issues were justified on national interest (a realist discourse). Civil Wars in Sri Lanka between ethnic minorities of Sri Lankan Tamils & majority Sinhalese led to India sending troops to ensure peace.



Even today there are many issues in the relationship that largely stem from China factor. China's string of pearl of Nambantota is too close for comfort to India. Political leadership of Sri Lanka although claim putting Sri Lankan interest first but 'debt trap' diplomacy by China is a cause for concern.

India - Sri Lanka although enjoy a bond that has stood the test of time. India's FTA ; \$ 2 Bn LOC to Sri Lanka and continued top level engagements have ensured that India follow Neighbourhood first policy by adhering to non-interference & non-reciprocity that creates 'soft power' & good will to tide over all ups & down.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(d)

How India's history as a dominant and oppressed entity affected and constituted India's foreign policy discourse? 10 Marks

With the end of 'Pax Britannica' started the 'New World Order' with many newly decolonised ~~and~~ countries. India was one of the prominent voice of the third world then.

India's history of 'humiliation of 2 centuries' (S. Jaishankar) led India to pursue a policy based on anti-imperialism, promoting decolonisation of Indonesia from the Dutch & in Africa. India along with Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Ghana & Egypt formed Non-Aligned Movement at Belgrade Summit in 1961.

Although India was fully aware of its dominant history as well. During the time of Ashoka, Guptas or the Mughals Indian subcontinent contributed more than 20% of world GDP (the position occupied by the US today).



This made India follow a unique 'Indian Exceptionalism' as a hallmark of its civilizational values. The Indian state even today follows doctrines like 'Vasudha-iva Kutumbakam'. This is evident in India contributing to UN PKF; raising global south issues at global bodies like WTO Sdha Development Agenda.

With increasing economic power and India's rising global stature India need to be a leading power (S. Jaishankar). ^{thus} Indian foreign policy discourse has changed from idealism of 1950s to realism in 2020s.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Discuss the current state of India-Africa relations. Examine the challenges and opportunities. **10 Marks**

Que.5(e)

Africa was called the Dark Continent but now is called as the continent of hope. Today we witness a new Gold Rush with many major powers competing for strategic interests.

As PM Modi called "India Africa relations are bounded in emotions". India has been an active advocate for global south issues from the start. In 1950s the issues were decolonisation to 1970s neo-colonialism and to today's issues of terrorism, climate change and economic development.

India has instituted several key relationships for eg with South Africa (strategic Partnership), Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda etc. African Union & India also hold India-Africa dialogue. The current relationship

has focussed on extending line of credit,
helping in democratic institution building,
through training, ITEC for capacity building
of youth. However due to players with
deeper pockets like China, US, EU India
is still lagging behind.

As Shyam Saxon (Enters the Dragon)
argues India needs to focus on its own
strengths. India has credible soft power and
need to keep on building stronger people to
people connect with more African students
scholarships & creating inclusive domestic space.
~~and~~ Chinese (debt trap) diplomacy can not be
sustained as seen in cases like Rwanda.
Thus India's Africa Policy needs to deliver on its
promises and build on the goodwill.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.6(a)

The relationship between India and USA is more robust than ever. However, the deepening of relationship is bound to bring its own challenges. Critically examine. Analyse the challenges and opportunities in India US Relations.

20 Marks

Former PM AB Vajpayee called India-US as "natural allies". Rex Tillerson claimed "India-US to be two bookends of stability in 21st century". India-US have elevated their relationship to Comprehensive Global and Strategic Partnership.

India being the largest democracy & the US being the oldest are bounded by political realism to protect the crumbling international rule based world order. The rise of China as explained by Potter's Power Transition Theory by Kenneth Organski is bound to create geopolitical ripples. Thus India which has outstanding border issues & US which has paramount interest in saving its hegemony have embraced each other



military & strategically.

Despite this strategic depth of the relation, which amounts to STA-1 status to India only short of NATO alliance; India USA have found challenges in other sectors. Samir Saran holds that Trump's transactionalism was largely responsible for trade issues eg, withdrawal of GSP, developing country tag, 'tariff King' kebel and 'H1B visa limits'.

But India & US have not yet signed a trade deal due to vast difference in level of development. US would want increased market access for its MNCs in agriculture, e-commerce and dairy whereas India is acutely aware of 'data being the new oil'. RBI's data localization norms, new e-commerce draft policy, tax IPR norms and



high custom duties promoting local manufacturing
more so in Aatmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan would
amount to increased differences.

Shiv Shankar Menon in 'Choices' argues
that India - US are perfectly aligned in
~~eastern~~ Indo Pacific but do not agree on
western side. Iran policy of US (Maximum
Pressure) has created India's conundrum
over choosing one of them. USA's policy
of Russian sanctions under CAATSA also
brings S-400 deal in trouble.

growing proximity to USA as Harsh
Pant argues will lead to rebalancing in the
entire region. As Russia - China - Pakistan -
Iran ^{are} getting a common interest over anti-
Americanism India would require deft
diplomacy to pursue its national interest in

maintaining Kautilyan wisdom of good relations with both Gan & Russia.

As S Jaishankar writes in 'The India Way' India needs to engage USA, manage China, reassure Russia and bring Japan into play in the larger geopolitical tussle. As our economic aspirations are growing India need support of USA's economic, political, technical help. Given that relations are driven by large Indian diaspora & enjoy bipartisan support, this opens a plethora of opportunities for both countries.

For this USA would need to learn to work as equal partner (Marsh Pant) and S Jaishankar argues that Indo-US Strategic partnership has matured enough to understand each other's national interests.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.6(b)

Critically examine the impact of Abraham Accords on India's West Asian diplomacy. What has been India's response to the accords?

15 Marks

West Asia is called as the most sensitive region of International Politics. The term coined by Alfred T. Mahan was a guide to UK to ensure its control over the region to ensure 'Pax Britannica' as the region controls the most important trade routes.

UK's decolonisation policies of divide and rule through Sykes-Picot line, exploiting multiple fault lines of Shia-Sunni conflict of the region & creation of state of Israel as per Balfour declaration has led to Arab-Jew conflict. The region has seen 4 wars albeit ending in the victory of Israel over multiple efforts of Pan-Arab unification.

Abraham Accords signed between Israel-UAE have altered the geopolitical alignment in the region. Brokered by the US 4 President Trump in particular, this is a logical fallout



of growing proximity between Gulf monarchies & Israel. Now even the Arab states have recognised Israel (UAE, Bahrain, tacitly even Saudi Arabia). Hence India's already dehypenated stance on Israel Palestine issue has received reinforcement.

During 1950 - 1990 India was criticized for being more Arabic than Arabs themselves for taking the cause of Palestine statehood. India limited relationship with Israel due to domestic compulsions of not upsetting the minorities. However as AB Vajpayee held 'India-Israel' are natural allies.

Abraham Accords will lead to two consequences for the region & thus have implications for India:

- (A) Greater isolation for Iran
- (B) Increased rivalry between Turkey & Saudi for claiming leadership over Political Islam.

As Shiv Shankar Menon argues that all policy choices are a bet on future. India has

already placed it bet. Saudi & UAE have promised \$100 Bn & \$75 Bn investment in India. Israeli PM Netanyahu calls India-Israel a match made in heaven. During PM Modi 2017 visit the two signed a Strategic Partnership. Hence India has welcomed the restoration of friendly relations & Abraham Accord.

India has still maintained its principal position of advocating for 2 state solution in UN for Israel-Palestine issue. Given the advice of Spykman's Rimland Theory and C.R. Mohan's Kautilyan conception of Extended Neighbourhood stability in the region is vital for India. India has a large 8 Mn Diaspora & earn \$33 Bn remittances thus West Asia is key to India's economic growth.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.6(c)

What do you understand by strategic culture? Do you think India has its own strategic culture? What are the salient features of India's strategic culture?

15 Marks

Strategy is a means or plan devised to attain one's objective. In terms of foreign policy game theory given by Thomas Schelling seeks to devise a strategy game played among rational players / states. Each state adopts a strategy or a foreign policy to get the larger geopolitical objective or the national interest.

Strategic culture refers to a set paradigm i.e. realism of US, Confucianism as expounded by Sun Tzu of China through which states view the world & adopt their strategy. It is claimed by western scholars that India lack a strategic culture. As Teresita Schaffer (India on a High Table of Diplomacy) explained India is unaware of its own interests sometimes.



However as held by C.R. Mohan
India has a long tradition of strategic
culture. Indian thinkers like Kautilya in
Arthshashtra, Nitisara's Ramandaka,
Mahabharata by Ved Vyas & even Ramayana
are filled with long term visionary plans
and effective mechanisms & detailed prescriptions

India's strategic culture is best
explained by Kautilya's Mandal Siddhant. India
has cultivated long term strategic partnerships
with Russia, civilisational connect with Iran
and increasingly engaging with Japan. Although
as S. Jaishankar in his book 'The India Way'
holds that India is a victim of Panipat
syndrome ^{vs} Treaty of Versailles syndrome. India
has been reluctant or defensive in pursuing its
apparent national interest for which it had to
eventually face consequences. The story of



Prithviraj Chauhan 800 years ago is testament to the fact.

As J.L. Nehru wrote in 'Discovery of India' India had an idealistic vision of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' but also realizes pragmatism as PM Modi explained in his talk to jawans post Galwan clash 'India believes in peace with Bravery'. India admires Krishna who not only plays flute but also wields the 'Sudarshan chakra'.

Indian nationalism as held by Aurobindo Ghosh seeks to spiritualize the humanity ~~but~~ and Indian state follows "Krishna's choice" [S. Taishankar] by adhering to 'Rajdharma' or the national interest.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.7(a)

In recent times certain developments have given rise to the increasing concerns among India's strategic community with respect to its reliance on Russia. Elucidate. To what extent do you support the view that in order to protect its interest vis-à-vis China, India has to forget its reliance on Russia. 20 Marks

Henry Kissinger in his book 'World Order' has explained that the current world order is in a state of flux. The rising aggressive China as predicted by John Mearsheimer in his book 'The Tragedy of Great Power Politics' seek to replace USA as the global hegemon.

India can't choose its neighbours and has to deal with an irredentist China (C.R. Mehan) which has unresolved boundary dispute with India. Given the shifting centre of gravity of global politics new alignments are increasingly visible.

Robert D. Kaplan argues that Russia-China axis has emerged due to shared antagonism towards America but it is a fractured partnership; a marriage of convenience.



But Russia under V. Putin and China under Xi Jinping have found shared interests economically, politically & strategically. Russia's faultering economy requires Chinese hunger for its vast energy resources and China would do well to keep at least one strong ally in an otherwise hostile international environment.

Kautilyan wisdom has ensured India-Russia remain committed partners in the last 50 years (S. Jaishankar) but India's over dependence on Russia for its military needs is an overwhelming strategic vulnerability. India-Russia relations lack economic, political, people to people dimensions due to which strategic experts like Harsh V Pant and C.R. Mohan have expressed concerns.

Shyam Iran in 'How India sees the World' has explained that India-Russia relationship is bounded by



mutual interest in keeping check on the Chinese assertiveness. Both Russia & India have been the victim of earlier territorial expansionism by China in 1950s & 60s. Thus, Russia even invited India into SCO in 2017.

However given new Cold War 2.0 due to Covid 19 has arrived earlier than what experts like Richard Haas predicted, China - Pakistan - Russia axis is seen to be emerging in the neighbourhood. India's challenge of managing China should now be multifaceted as continued Russian support goes against the eternal wisdom of geopolitics, 'There are no friends or no enemies, but only interests'.

India has got closer with the USA by signing of all 4 major foundational security agreements & increasingly buying US weapons. But past weaponry needs continuous

servicing that only Russia can provide.

Thus India should first look to strengthen internal capability vis-a-vis China.

This endeavour requires deft balancing i.e. 'strategic autonomy' between Russia & the USA.

Investments in Russian Far East, buying of S-400 despite CAATSA display prudence in foreign policy. At the same time, engaging with QUAD is also the need of the hour for balancing China's grown dominance in Indo-Pacific.

As Bismarck said "One can't play a game of Chess if 16 out of 64 squares are blocked from the start" India should focus on self-reliance and multiple alignment in the current chaotic world order.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.7(b)

Enumerate some of the recent developments in the relations between Japan and India. To what extent India's decision to withdraw from RCEP creates dilemma for Japan? 15 Marks

India & Japan are undergoing a "Cherry blossom time" (Amitabh Mattoo). Being an enemy of an enemy (China) Japan & India make of an ideal partnership as per Kautilya's Mandala Siddhant.

Japan is the world's only post modern economy & society. It has the required capital but needs economic space. It has the required technology but needs adequate talent. India offers Japan an ideal investment destination and India is bound to gain from Japanese expertise to fully utilise its period of demographic dividend.

India & Japan have signed a Comprehensive Economic Partnership agreement. Japan is helping in India's smart city program, bullet train, Metro projects, North East development.

and also in strategic A & N islands. Japan has offered a currency swap agreement to aid in mutually beneficial trade.

Japan's fear of closed seas, hostile China & its claims on Senkaku islands and an increasingly transactional & retreating USA creates concerns. Japan is thus caught in a dilemma of bandwagoning with rising power China or hedging against it with the help of traditional security umbrella of USA.

Japan has joined RCEP without India but with hesitations. Jan Bremner calls Japan - South Korea relations as "frosty", and it already has an FTA with ASEAN. Indian market was the biggest incentive for Japan to join RCEP. But since USA has withdrawn from TPP & WTO is crumbling it is left with no other choice but to join a grouping dominated by China.



This creates an incoherence in Japan's policy vis-a-vis security & economic interests.

But as Xi Jinping in latest APEC Summit claimed that China would change its development model by encouraging more consumption based economy much like the US, RCEP is all set to become the world's largest trading block with one preeminent superpower in & the other out of it.

Japan faces tough choices but seeks to decouple QUAD & RCEP. India has already made a choice to keep Indian market separate from RCEP due to increasing trade deficits. Thus it would become difficult for Japan to balance China & US and seek deeper economic integration with India all at the same time.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.7(c)

India's decision to remain out of RCEP shows that it is retreating from its Act East Policy. Comment. Support your view with convincing arguments. 15 Marks

India decided to opt out of RCEP despite participating since its inception in 2012 Takata Summit. Given the liberal international order is in a state of chaos (Harsh Pant) regional multilateral economic integration have become the norm.

India's decision is criticised by Shyam Saven as being 'short-sighted'. India justified the decision due to its increasing trade deficit with ASEAN, China, South Korea, Japan and even Australia & New Zealand. But as Shyam Saven argues Economic Survey 2018-19 suggested that India benefitted from FTAs due to increased competition & 'creative destruction'.

India's commitment to 'Act East Policy' has been questioned by 'Kishore Mahbubani'.

as "deeply disappointing" for ASEAN nations.
India provides the perfect counter weight to
Chinese dominance.

However S. Jaishankar has defended
India's position as based on pragmatism.
India's concerns were not alleviated and
hence instead of a bad deal; India opted
for a no deal. The fear of farmers & dairy
industry who are not as competitive as in
Australia & New Zealand; manufacturing
industries concerns about cheap flooding
of goods from China and severely curtailed
commitments in services sector & immigration
norms led India to decide not to join.

Shiv Shankar Menon argues India's
decision is based on a belief that Indian
market is itself so huge that local companies
should come here to cater this. But as pointed
by him, companies / MNCs not only eye local but
regional market before making investments



hence this could leave an impact on India's FDI and overall economic growth in long term.

India's call for 'self Reliance' amid Covid19 has strengthened the belief of need for reforming local domestic market, strengthen Indian enterprises and integrate with world value chains. Ricardo's theory of Comparative Advantage shows trade openness do lead to wealth creation.

Hence the ^{time} ↑ India has bought must be utilised in strengthening Indian economy & reforming the system so that it should be the world that is afraid of Indian Tiger and not the other way round (Kishore Mahbubani).

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	