

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS

Crash Course & Test Series 2020  
Test 06

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

Grand Total :

	Poor	Average	Good	V. Good
Understanding of Question				
Structure & flow				
Subject knowledge				
Presentation				

**OVERALL REMARKS**

1 (a) Explain the limitations of traditional approach to comparative politics.

Traditional approach to comparative politics is the oldest & most widely used approach. Beginning from the time of Aristotle, it ruled the sub-discipline up till World War I.

\* **FEATURES** :-> ① Closer to law, philosophy & history

② Studies different political systems on the basis of 3 parameters - historical evolution, institutional structure & normative values

③ Major exponents : Machiavelli, K.C. Wheare, Sabine, etc.

\* **LIMITATIONS** :-> It was highly criticised by Marcidie due to :

① Euro-centrality, i.e., parochial scope

② Prescriptive in nature

- ③ Not truly comparative as it excludes  
III - world countries
- ④ Non - scientific

Later on, Gabriel Almond calls for new paradigms of ~~evolution~~ evaluation states, and thus behavioural approach was born.

However, traditional approach made a comeback later on in the form of NEO - INSTITUTIONALISM when Theda Skocpol called for 'bringing the state back in'.

1(6) Differentiate 'New Social Movement' from 'Old Social Movement.' Substantiate the view that year 2020 can be considered as Year of Social movements.

Social movements are extra-legal instruments with loose organisational structure, that perform the functions of interest articulation & representation.

④ Difference between New & Old Social Movements

① Old social movements were class-based, e.g., trade union movements.

New social movements are not such, and are rather open to all.

Ex → LGBTQ movements

② OSM has leadership coming from lower echelons of society, while NSM has middle-class leadership

③ OSM focused on bread-and-butter

issues, while NRM focus on quality of life issues

① NRM used traditional methods like lobbying, protests, hearings, etc. while NRM uses digital media, advocacy, propaganda, etc.

\* 2020 as year of Social Movements

① Pro-democracy protests in Hongkong

② Farmers' protest & CAA-NRC protests in India

③ Anti-government protests in Iran for employment & good governance

④ Environmental movement in Brazil

⑤ Yellow Vests in France

Thus, 2020 can properly be said a year when people are gaining trust in representation but losing the same in existing political system.

1(c)

"The pandemic has put the final nail in the coffin of globalization." - Prof. Reichert critically examines.

COVID-19 unleashed de-globalisation tendencies world over, and most affected were the bastions of globalisation: the advanced industrial countries of the North.

It's now being said that globalisation was already passing through tumultuous times after Global financial crisis of 2008. While trade wars added to the urgency of its fall, COVID-19 has acted as an accelerator.

Economies world ~~wide~~ <sup>over</sup> are turning autarchic. Ex → Atmanirbhar Bharat while open movement regimes like Schengen agreement are collapsing, states are gaining back their lost sovereignty.

However, all is not lost yet. In the words of Gideon Rose, "The kind of cooperation which is displayed by scientists world over, coming together & pooling their resources, should be the new model for globalisation".

PM Modi during 4-20 also called for reformed, compassionate & regulated globalisation.

In today's world of complex inter-dependence, globalisation is a necessity, and not luxury. But it needs to be made equitable & humane. COVID-19 will play a substantive role towards this end.

As Deepak Nayyar said, "The verdict for end of globalisation are as false as the verdicts for borderless world in 1990s".



1(d)

RCEP is a paradigm shift in Asian regionalism. Elaborate.

Regional comprehensive Economic Partnership was recently entered into by ASEAN & its five neighbours viz. Australia, NZ, China, Japan & S. Korea.

Representing 33% of world's population & 30% of global GDP, RCEP is bound to be a game-changer. In today's world of increasingly protectionist world, RCEP is a new beacon of hope.

In terms of Asian regionalism, there has always been an emphasis on strategic & cultural dimensions.

Ex -> SAARC, ASEAN, etc.

The few economic-oriented projects like SAFTA, BBIN - MVA, BIMSTEC,

etc. have essentially been non-starters. In this scenario, to be able to clinch an FTA is no mean feat.

Moreover, it could shift the centre of economic activities to Asia-Pacific from current Atlantic ocean. Given the presence of APEC in the region, RCEP will be a cherry on the top.

However, there are associated concerns also. India pulled out of the FTA, giving it a jolt. China is a threat for other economies, given its dumping practices & currency manipulation.

Thus, there is a need for cautious welcome of the RCEP, and hope for it to unfold a new era of prosperity in the region.

11(c)

Climate change is the defining security issue of our times, international community has failed miserably.

Thomas Friedman has once remarked that we have moved away from cold-war era to climate-energy era. However, we have failed miserably to make a mark in this era

Security in today's world is not just the conventional security - the absence of war. It includes human security, which has climate security at its core as the survival of human race is dependent upon climatic conditions.

However, the increasing number of climate & disaster-induced refugees tells a different story. As per Nansen Initiative data, such refugees now far exceed those

from war-torn regions.

The reasons for this failure are manifold:-

- ① Extremely diluted nature of Paris Climate Accord
- ② Inability to finalise an institutional structure for carbon markets 5 years after Paris accord
- ③ Failure to mobilise funds & transfer technology by Global North, in accordance with Cancun Agreement
- ④ Inefficient INDC targets
- ⑤ Not recognising climate refugees under 1951 Convention for refugees

Thus, we need to broadbase our understanding of security & take urgent actions so as not to lose another decade after Paris accord comes into effect (2020)

2(a) "A feminist perspective based on the experiences of women can add new dimensions to understand international politics." Elucidate.

When Cynthia Enloe asked for 'where are the women?' in her book 'Bananas, Beaches & Bombs', it was a war - cry for feminist theory of international politics to be born.

Over all these years of existence of international politics as a field of study, it has been conspicuous with absence of feminist viewpoint. In terms of politics, there have been only 25 women Heads of State/Government in last 100 years; while in terms of theory, Morganthau declared the discipline to be masculinist. Thus, women were excluded from both the

theory as well as practice of international politics.

However, with Enloe's slogan 'personal is international, International is personal', there has been growing interest in bringing - in the feminist perspective into IP.

The need for feminist perspective comes from the fact that women are the worst sufferers of the war. According to International Organization for Migration report, 80% of war-displaced people are <sup>children &</sup> <sub>women</sub>. They are not only tortured, harassed & displaced by the war, they are also left to fend off for their children.

"Rape is often used as a systematic tool of violence against women in

war", says Susan Mollerokin. This not only rob them of their dignity, but also rendered women more vulnerable.

In order to rectify these wrongs, there have been increasing calls for including feminist perspective in IP.

Ann J. Tickner in her book 'Gender in Politics' have reformulated 6 principles of Morgenthau, deploring

him for separating politics from ethics. She asks for a broader view of security as human security, and calls national interest to be both masculinist & feminist.

In recent times, Sweden has adopted a feminist foreign policy. Its foreign minister Margot Wallstrom said,

"Women empowerment is not only a strategic objective, but a pre-condition for development". UNSC Resolution 1325 also calls for the inclusion of feminist perspective in the matters of war, peace & security.

To conclude, India's ex-foreign secretary Sujata Singh has once remarked that "Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit let us sweat in peace, & rather than bleed in war". This in itself is the testimony to importance of including female perspective in foreign policy-making.



2(b) Global capitalism is at the brink of another round of restructuring and transformation. Discuss.

Capitalism refers to the mode of production where capital suppliers & labour providers come together to produce tradeable commodities. However, in recent times, it has morphed into financial, industrial & trade domains.

The rise of global capitalism can be traced back to the times of Enlightenment, while the industrial revolution hastened its spread globally. The need for new sources of raw materials & new markets for finished goods gave rise to colonialism & imperialism.

In the words of Marx, "The imperatives of capitalist mode of production makes capitalist to settle everywhere & settle everywhere".

Post WWII, the process of decolonisation began. However, global capitalism morphed into neo capitalism, which stressed on the need for free-market & liberal world order. This was propagated by aid diplomacy of World Bank & IMF.

After the advent of globalisation, the world became more open to the flow of capital. Hence, finance capitalism began to dominate industrial capitalism of previous era. Today, \$4T flows across global markets every day, and no state has power to regulate such a large amount. Thus, the triumph of capital over sovereignty is far-reaching.

However, the COVID-19 pandemic

is sure to mark another epoch in this trend. Economics would go protectionist, and there will be greater reliance on autarky. Supply-chains would be diversified, with reduced reliance on traditional centers. Global trade regime at WTO would come to a halt, and there would be growth in regional cooperation like RCEP. Economies like China & USA will recede, and India, Vietnam, etc. would be net gainers.

Thus, a new reformed & regulated global capitalism would emerge, with greater shift towards welfarism because in the pandemic, there are no libertarians.

2(c)

Arab Spring has completed 10 years. Assess the legacy of the event on international politics.

What began as a small act of defiance by a <sup>a</sup> Tunisian vegetable-seller, who set himself on fire in protest of corruption, turned into a hotbed of revolutions. Beginning with the resignation of Ben Ali in Tunisia, it swept across entire N. Africa & W. Asia, being labelled as Arab Spring.

10 years down the line, situations are paradoxical. At some places, the army has gained power, e.g., Egypt. At others, there are civil wars still going on, e.g., Syria. Some of the Gulf monarchies chose to open up & grant greater freedom to their citizens like Qatar & UAE, while the others turned even more oppressive like Saudi Arabia.

But one thing this has made clear is the discourse of Arab exceptionalism. Though <sup>the</sup> West used this term to prop-  
- up clientelist regimes, now it has acquired a different meaning. It now stands for the need to let the people of Arab countries decide what they want. The involvement of external powers has only messed up the situation. <sup>Libya</sup> ~~Spain~~ is a case in point.

Stability in Arab, or any part of the world, is only possible if there is peaceful transition of power. Moreover, there is a need for politically educating citizens. When the time comes to take reins of power in their hands, there was no eligible candidate among the protesters.

Among other effects on international politics,

It created a refugee crisis in Middle East. It led to falling oil prices due to increased production, because the dictatorships started paying attention towards welfare of their citizens.

Another effect was the rise of asymmetrical actors like ISIS, which took 5 years to be subdued. These protests became a role-model for other citizen-led protests like those in Iran, Hong Kong, etc.

Thus, Arab Spring eventually turned into Arab Summer, bringing no concrete gains for the region. However, the door it has opened towards popular protests, civil rights & civic participation is here to stay.

5(a) India's economic diplomacy and 'Atma - Nirbhar Bharat'.

In the wake of COVID-19, India launched Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan touting the value of greater self-reliance, i.e., swaraj & swadeshi.

Atmanirbhar Bharat is based upon autarkic mode of development, with supply chains becoming indigenous & self-reliant. It is not protectionism, but is rather robust domestic production initiative.

However, in today's world of economic diplomacy, this can prove to be a detrimental step. India has already scrapped its Bilateral Investment Treaties with more than 80 countries since 2015.

It has stepped away from RCEP, and is, in general, against FTAs. Atmanirbhar

Blaise is just a continuation of India's protectionist economic diplomacy.

However, if India aspires to play a leading role in current global economic system, it needs to up its game. In the words of Samir Saran, "India aims to gain strategic supremacy but pursues protectionist economic diplomacy. These two are antithetical to each other & are bound to end into a disaster".

Thus, India needs to be a new involved, open & market-oriented player. It has been a winner in globalisation era, it should not give away all its gains in one throw.



5(c)

## International Solar Alliance.

ISA was launched by Indian PM at Paris Climate Summit (2015), along with French PM. It is a partnership of nations to promote solar energy as the future.

\* FEATURES OF ISA

- ① Earlier tented as an initiative for tropical countries (Singapores), it is now open to all
- ② It aims to mobilise \$1T in aid by 2030 for solar energy development
- ③ It seeks to develop 1000GW of solar energy annually world over
- ④ A capacity - building & training institute in Delhi
- ⑤ Secretariat at Gurgaon.

In today's energy-climate era, it is a step in right direction. It not only conforms to India's INDC target of 175 GW renewable energy by 2022 (100 GW of solar energy), but also places India at the center of global energy architecture.

Hence, ISA is the signature-initiative of India's energy diplomacy.

5(1)

Assess the achievements of 'Gujral - Doctrine'.

Gujral doctrine was unveiled by Indian Foreign Minister I.K. Gujral in 1996, and is touted as one of the most successful foreign policy initiatives by India.

Based on non-reciprocal benevolence for smaller neighbours, and mutual respect & non-interference for all neighbours, it has largely stood the test of time.

#### \* Achievements of Gujral Doctrine

- ① Mahakali Treaty with Nepal (1996)
- ② Farakke Barrage on river Ganga, for water-sharing with Bangladesh
- ③ Bus diplomacy by Vajpayee was built on the liberalisation of visas ushered in by Gujral doctrine

## ④ Treaty agreement with Bangladesh

Thus, it has been a successful plank of India's neighbourhood policy. Though there are still disputes like Kalapani with Nepal, this is a basic fact in relationship with neighbours (Mandela Theory). But the Gujral doctrine, on its part, has done <sup>much</sup> to alluviate fears from the minds of India's smaller neighbours.

India needs to pursue this doctrine in context of such emerging disputes for ensuring a peaceful & stable neighbourhood.

5(d)

Legacy of Nation Movement in formulation of India's foreign policy.

Foreign policy of a nation is a set of principle, objectives & interests it pursues in its relations with other nations. It is a product of a nation's history, geography, culture, society, etc.

Indian national movement played a large role in shaping Indian foreign policy.

The theme of anti-colonialism led to evolution of NAM, supporting freedom movements in other colonies.

Anti-racialism was inculcated by British racist policies, and led to India severing its relations with S. Africa in protest of Apartheid (1 country in the world to sever relations).

India's faith in multilateralism was

build during the participation of its leaders in League of Nation as well as United Nations deliberations.

India's pursuit for UNSC seat flows from the belief in India as a civilizational state (Nehru) & India as the leader of mankind (Aurobindo Ghosh)

India's 'neighbourhood first policy' is also a reflection of the shared struggles of South Asian people against colonialism. So is its advocacy for South-South Cooperation, based on similar developmental experience.

Hence, India's foreign policy shows a continuity with ~~its~~<sup>its</sup> national movement, while keeping in mind its aspirations as a global power.

56) Afghanistan is a litmus test for India's ascendance as a global power.

Afghanistan is known as a graveyard for the empires. The current  Afghan - Taliban rapprochement is a litmus test for India, as it can either prop ~~st~~ India up as a global power or can suck India up into eternal conflicts.

After a long war of 20 years, USA is finally pulling out of Afghanistan. There are negotiations on with Taliban, also touted to be next power elite in the region. Also, there are external powers like Pakistan, China, Iran, etc. looking to gain strategic depth in Afghanistan.

India, building up on its soft power, economic diplomacy & democratic

culture, can gain much with peaceful & friendly government in Afghanistan. It will help check terrorism in Kashmir, two-front war with Pakistan, India's aspirations in West Asia and success of INSTC.

However, an unstable Afghanistan will render India vulnerable to Panipat Syndrome, and making Pakistan even more assertive. Thus, need of the hour is pro-active, deft & skilful diplomacy.

India needs to ensure that its extended neighbourhood remains stable, if it wants to secure its own identity as a global power.



6 (a)

India, rather paradoxically find itself as a rising power, but which is largely status quoist in orientation. Elaborate.

While moving the Objectives Resolution in Constituent Assembly, Jawahar Lal Nehru had said that 'India will soon gain its rightful place in the comity of nations'. With the newly emergent world order, India is very close to realising this dream.

Right from the time of Civil Nuclear Agreement with US in 2005, India had announced its entry on the world stage as the global nuclear trade regime granted waiver to India. This was further compounded by India's entry in the elite club of G-20 post-2008 crisis.

With the advent of Modi Era, Indian foreign policy gained a newly-found enthusiasm. Its tactful neighbourhood

policy of Act East, reinvigoration of BIMSTEC, IORA & IONS and its tough stance on terrorism enhanced its stature.

The newly conceived Quad Alliance has brought India into the league of military superpowers like USA & economic heavyweights like Japan. Its heading of WHO during pandemic is a testimony of its rise as a responsible global power.

However, India has been said to be stuck in the old, status-quoist mindset. Its unbridled pursuit of Afghan-led resolution process resulted in India ceding strategic space to Pakistan & China. India's slow response to Chabahar resulted in its passing into the hands of the Chinese.

India pulling out of RCEP is a big blow to its economic diplomacy, while QUAD remains a non-militaristic grouping due to India's defiance towards alliances.

In terms of III-world leadership, India <sup>has</sup> again started moving in the direction of NAM as PM Modi attended recent NAM summit on COVID-19. India remains a leader of troop-contributing countries for UN peacekeeping, while UNSC remains out of reach for India.

However, foreign policy is a wide field, and many aspects lie in grey zone. India's opposition to alliances can be understood in terms of its strategic autonomy. India's support for III-world countries is both due to

historical ties as well as strategic importance. Ex → Africa plays a huge role in India's aspirations for being a net security provider in Indian ocean.

Thus, India is charting out its own path, rather than following any set norms. India's rise as a great power will be benign as per its civilizational values, and not in terms of revisionist power of Thucydides trap.

6(b) Define public diplomacy. Discuss its role in India's foreign policy.

Public Diplomacy refers to the outreach activities carried out so as to address foreign policy decisions to the intended audience. In the era of social media, public diplomacy is fast becoming popular.

Public diplomacy was earlier used in the West through print media & TV debates, which Jason Chomsky refers to as another venue for manufacturing consent. Sooner, it became popular in countries of the Global South as well.

Indian Ministry of External Affairs had set up its public diplomacy division in 2006. Since then, it has started many initiatives like 'Know

India', 'India Future for Change', etc. In the words of Harsh V. Pant,  
 "One of the major achievements of PM Modi is to take foreign policy from the hallowed confines of elites to the common people, and explain it to them in layman terms".

Public diplomacy assumes greater value when understood in normative terms, i.e., foreign policy can't be out of the sync of people's aspirations. With growing popular protests against elitist governments world over, it is important to include people for gaining legitimacy.

With the advent of social media, it has gained a new lease of life. For ex → PM Modi is the most followed

politician on Twitter. It is said that 'Trump <sup>has</sup> often run White House through Tweets' in diplomatic circles.

However, there needs to be a fine line between public diplomacy & propaganda. Advancing the interests of one country should not affect the values & standing of the other. In the words of CP Bhanbheri, "India is set to lose much if it makes foreign policy a football to be kicked by people".

Therefore, there is a need for properly laid-down public diplomacy policy so as to gain the maximum benefits out of it.

6(c) Global order is changing, what should be the direction of India's foreign policy?

World order refers to distribution of power among its various constituent units viz. nation - states, regional organisations & international bodies.

World order is never static, but in a constant state of flux. Currently, we are witnessing a receding America, internally torn Europe, rising India & increasingly assertive China. In such tumultuous times, foreign policies of all countries, including India, are in search of a new design.

Indian foreign policy in this scenario should be built on 3 pillars

① Idealational : India should shed its



ideological inhibitions, and enter into alliances which serve its strategic purposes, e.g., Quad. Also, India needs to be a leading power, rather than just a balancing actor.

② Structural : In multipolar world order, India needs to work towards multilateralism. Also, India should prevent anti-India axes like China - Pak - Russia or China - Iran - Pak from developing on its periphery.

③ Institutional : India needs to tackle west-dominated institutions (like WB & IMF) as well as Asia-centric institutions (like AIIB & SCO) with equal dylt. Also, it needs to reinvigorate institutions where India

enjoys natural leadership like NAM, SAARC, BIMSTEC, etc.

Hence, a multifaceted strategy, topped up with internal capacity - building & external balancing is India's best bet in the changing global order.

8(a) Comment on India's contribution to Non-Aligned Movement. Do you think the movement is relevant at present?

Non Aligned Movement was founded as a result of Bandung Conference (1955), with its I Summit taking place in 1961 at Belgrade. Built on the twin planks of anti-colonialism & III-world solidarity, it is the largest grouping of developing countries outside of UN.

India was one among the five founding nations of the NAM, other four being Indonesia, Ghana, Egypt & Yugoslavia. India contributed heavily towards NAM in terms of resources, leadership & ideas. India sponsored the NAM - supported NIES resolution at UNCTA in 1973.

India also represented the interests of NAM countries at trade & environmental negotiations, getting them fair deal from developed countries.

Ex → Common but differentiated responsibility at UNCED in 1993.

India did not leave NAM even when both Russia & USA tried to entice it to join their camps in lieu of material & technical helps. India rather provided aid & advice to NAM countries to help build their economical & political systems. Ex → ITEC, NEPAD for Africa, etc.

However, with the Uby reforms of 1991, India got enmeshed in its domestic compulsions. Also, the end of bipolarity after dissolution of USSR in 1991 effectively rendered NAM in search

of new agenda. Its founding members like Egypt proposed to end NAM, while Yugoslavia itself got disintegrated. With both Indonesia & India virtually becoming pro-USA, NAM was left leaderless as well.

However, after 3 decades of rubber-stamp existence, NAM is again becoming relevant. In the newly emerging world order, a new cold-war between US & China is brewing. There are other imperatives to cooperate: deglobalisation, pandemic, rise of xenophobia, terrorism, etc. These conditions affect developing NAM countries disproportionately.

India needs to realise that it still shares many characteristics

with NAM developing countries, and thus there are avenues for cooperation. India enjoys natural leadership at NAM, and it is conducive to its great power aspirations.

In today's world of flux, NAM acts as a peace-movement. In today's profit-oriented economic system, NAM acts as a moral voice for humane capitalism. NAM has not lost its relevance, it has just become all-the more relevant.

8(6)

Analyse the current developments in Indo-US relations. To what extent, they have become strategic?

Beginning as 'Estranged Democracies' (a term coined by Dennis Kux) during Cold war, Indo-US partnership is now the most defining partnership of 21<sup>st</sup> century in the words of former US-President Obama.

Indo-US partnership began with talks between Indian foreign minister Jaswant Singh & his American counterpart Strobe Talbott post-Pokhran test. It soon evolved into strategic partnership in 2005, upgraded now to Comprehensive & global strategic partnership.

This partnership is multi-faceted & multilayered. Its economic dimension includes a trade of \$100B

annually, its social dimension includes second largest Indian diaspora in US & its cultural element was clearly visible during Namaste Trump.

However, the most important dimension is strategic & military relations between the two. In terms of military partnership, US is India's second largest defence supplier. The two countries carry out most number of military exercises with each other than with any other country. US has granted India STA - 1 recently, declaring it as major non-NATO ally while India has signed all the 4 interoperability agreements viz. COMCASA, LEMOA, BECA & GISA.

In strategic terms, both of them have been cooperating with ~~the~~ each other in Indo-Pacific, new



christened as the Quad. India is supporting US-led blue-dot network to tackle Chinese hegemonic aspirations through BRI. There have been convergences on multilateralism, with USA further partnering with Maldives & Japan.

However, the relationship has its own share of problems like USA's protectionism, withdrawal from global institutions, etc. But India has its own way of charting its path despite the superpower halo.

Thus, Indo-US partnership holds lot of promise for a brighter future, with each open about the sensitivities of the other, while at the same time building on their mutual capabilities.

8(c)

Do you think that India's current policy of non-engagement with Pakistan may have run its course? Substantiate your views.

Dileep Hiroo writes in his book 'The Longest August', "Indo-Pakistan rivalry is a tale of fatal miscalculations, antagonisms & mutual paranoia of elites". India's current policy of non-engagement is a testimony to this diagnosis even after decades now.

After trying to improve relationships with Pak from hydro-diplomacy to sports diplomacy, Modi govt. decided to disengage in the wake of Pathankot attacks (2016).

Effectively blocking any platform for deliberations (including SAARC), India has put a condition of strict action against terrorism as a prelude to talks.

However, nothing much has changed on ground. The Pulwama attack (2019) was a major blow to Indian expectations of a Pakistani course-correction, so is listing Pakistan on FATF Greylist. The terrorist activities continue unabated in Kashmir (recent IB report on infiltrations)

Thus, there is a need for more nuanced & proactive policy when it comes to dealing with our brother-enemy (Shashi Tharoor). In the words of PB Mehta, "Pakistan is a rogue state & India is a responsible power. It can't appear to be following Pak's footsteps". There is a need to open back-channel diplomacy through countries enjoying leverage on Pak, e.g. Saudi Arabia.

We can go for business

negotiations (Track 1.5 diplomacy) or cultural contacts (Kartarpur Corridor)  
Though it is true that India becomes more vulnerable whenever it warms up to Pakistan, but playing into hands of miscreants through snapping all relations is not a long-term solution either.

There are both types of stake-holders in Indo-Pak relationships: those who want peace & those who want financials. We have spent lot of energy in tackling the latter, now it is time to address ourselves to the former.