



## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

#### Test 04

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name MANASA  
Test Date 3.12.2020  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Mobile \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No 5000686

#### Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. 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.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. 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.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. 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						



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

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All the best for next test..!!!



Que.1(a)

India has no good reason to overturn its nuclear doctrine.

(10 Marks)

India acquired nuclear weapons in 1998. The strategist K. Subramanian was responsible for drafting India's nuclear doctrine.

India has adopted a No First Use policy. However, if India faces a nuclear attack or if Indian forces encounter a chemical or biological attack, India can retaliate and cause "unacceptable damage".

Thus, India's deterrence policy is based on mutually assured destruction. India has developed nuclear triad and the Strategic Command Force to cement its deterrence.



However, India's no first use policy has been criticised by Lt. Gen B.S. Nagal as immoral and putting our population at risk. Pakistan continues cross-border terrorism under its nuclear umbrella.

Thus, India's deterrence is questioned and the Defence Minister has said the doctrine is open to change.

However, a first use policy will require significant investments in weapons, delivery systems and intelligence. It also hinders India's entry into NSG under other civil nuclear deals. As Shivshankar Menon suggests, deterrence is also about perception rather than posture, and India does not need to change its doctrine.

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



Que.1(b)

India's role in UN Peace keeping.

10 Marks.

UN Peacekeeping is one of the most successful organs of UN. It is to ensure peace and stability in nations with conflict and maintain ceasefire.

India has been the major troop-contributing country. Indian forces have been highly professional and have built a rapprochement with the local populace, for which they won the Dag Hammarskjöld award.

As the nature of peacekeeping has transformed to include humanitarian and developmental functions, Indian troops have provided medical and educational facilities, especially in



Africa. India has even sent an all-women unit to Liberia.

This role of India is a strong basis of its candidature for a UNSC permanent seat. However, in recent times, India has faced competition from China in sending troops. India also feels that troop-contributing countries have been sidelined in decision-making and wants more transparency.

Hence, peacekeeping is critical in ensuring the primary objective of UN, i.e., world peace. In peacekeeping, no other country has contributed like India.

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.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is a grouping of Russia, China, India, Pakistan and 4 Central Asian Republics.

India and Pakistan joined SCO in 2017. Presence in SCO provides multiple benefits to India such as closer relationship with Central Asia, counter terrorism under RATS and so on.

However, in the emerging bipolar world order with US and China as the main rivals (C. Raja Mohan), India's rationale for membership in SCO is questioned. India is also margin-



alised due to growing nexus between China, Russia and Pakistan.

The growing India-China tensions, seen in the LAC standoff, India's sanctions on Chinese apps and imports, and Chinese support to Pakistan's state-sponsored terrorism, has pushed India towards other groupings such as Quad.

Hence, India finds itself on the sidelines of SCO as seen in the recent Delhi Summit where its remark on terrorism was not reflected in the final statement. Analysts like Harsh V. Pant however suggest that it is an era of multiple alignments and SCO is relevant to India.

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.

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has emerged as a critical institution of policy-making in India since the time of Lal Bahadur Shastri and even stronger since Indira Gandhi.

In shaping foreign policy, PMO is a central body. Former foreign secretary Shyam Saran suggests that PMO leads a centralised decision-making structure.

While foreign policy is shaped by stable factors such as geography, economic & military strength and the international environment, as Fareed



Zakaria argues, it is also dependent on individuals in decision-making structures.

The PMO, filled with top bureaucrats and IFS officials provide seasoned advice to the political leadership on foreign policy decisions. For example, the decision to pursue a border agreement with China in 1993 or a civil nuclear agreement with US in 2004 was led by PMO.

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

According to Brahma Chellaney, we are moving from the age of nuclear deterrence and warfare to the age of hydro-warfare.

South Asia is a land crisscrossed by rivers. The states are demarkated on unscientific lines by colonial masters. It is also home to the largest population of poor people outside sub-saharan Africa and is faced with a severe water crisis.

Hence, hydro diplomacy assumes importance. While India has acted as a gracious upper riparian state



as seen in the Indus Water Treaty with Pakistan and Ganges Agreement with Bangladesh, China is pursuing more sinister plans.

Development of dams on the Tsangpo such as the Zengmu dam close to Arunachal threatens India's security. China can stop the flow of water leading to food crisis or can release water to cause floods in Assam.

China is also building dams in Gilgit-Baltistan, disregarding India's claims.

Hence, China is a pivotal factor in South Asia's hydro diplomacy and India must strategise keeping it in mind.

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



Que.2(a)

Deconstruct the recent territorial dispute between India and Nepal. What are the possible factors behind escalation of the problem? What are the mechanisms available to address the dispute in structured and institutionalised manner? 20 Marks

India and Nepal have a long history of close relations and what is touted as a "beti-roti" relationship.

The two countries have signed a Friendship Treaty in 1950 that was revised in 2006. This promotes an open border for the movement of people and goods and mandates national treatment to people in property, purchases, employment, etc:- India also employs Nepali Gurkhas in the army and is the source of their pensions.

However, there are structural constraints in the relationship due to the huge power asymmetry between India and Nepal. Nepal is overwhelmingly dependent on India for economic growth (e.g: access to ports, hydropower projects). Nepal also fears India's "big brother attitude".

The territorial dispute is a manifestation of these tensions. The Treaty of Sugauli between British India and Nepal mentions the Kali river as Nepal's Western boundary: But the course of this river is disputed. Recently, Nepal has amended its Constitution and revised its maps to include the area uptil Limpiyadura.



The factors for this escalation are multidimensional. Nepali politicians allege that India has been ignoring Nepali requests to hold talks on border settlement. The recent abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu & Kashmir seems to have created a fear that India will attempt to change the status quo in disputes with other neighbours.

Moreover, a major factor is domestic politics. Former Ambassador to Nepal, Shyam Saran suggests that Nepali politicians such as Prachanda have "securitised" India and encouraged anti-India rhetoric to mask their failures. The recent mishandling of the pandemic and its economic impact may have prompted Nepali

politicians to take a strong ultranationalist stand.

However, as Army Chief Gen. Naravane suggested, China is a major player in the region and has probably instigated Nepal. The affinity of the Communist parties of Nepal to China and the recent standoff at LAC also point to it. The Chinese may not want India to control the strategic Lipulekh pass.

These issues must be addressed through existing institutional mechanisms such as Joint Army Chiefs talks and high-level visits. The public opinion in Nepal also has to be changed to favour India.

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





Que.2(b)

West Asia has now become a centre of internal squabbling and rivalries with civilizational and sectarian dimensions. Elucidate. Suggest how the power struggle in west Asia affects India's interest?

15 Marks

West Asia has always been a hotbed of conflict since the unscientific drawing of state boundaries by Sykes and Picots, which cut across tribes and left large minorities in each state.

Samuel P. Huntington has predicted a "clash of civilisations" as the new fault line of conflict. In West Asia, this can be seen in the rising Islamic fundamentalism against American interventionist policies, the Israel-Palestine conflict and the rivalry between the Arabian and Persian civilisations.

Within Islamic countries, the Shia-Sunni rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states is also a major fault line. The recent Abraham Accords suggest that Israel and the Arab states may be mending their ties in view of Iran as the common enemy.

This ~~to~~ tension is compounded by greatpowers such as USA and Russia intervening to back rebels or support dictators (Syria, Libya). Presence of non-state actors like ISIS and the Kurdish militia also add to the confusion.

West Asia is important to India since it is a major source of our oil



and gas that are crucial to our economic growth. The Gulf countries also employ millions of Indians who send back remittances. Moreover, conflict in West Asia has spillover effects on Afghanistan and Kashmir, which are witnessing rising religious extremism.

Hence, as Gandhi held, peace and stability in West Asia is important for peace and stability in India. Harsh V. Pant suggests that India must adopt a balancing act of multiple alignments with nimble diplomacy.

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

Que.2(c)

Permanent seat in UNSC is neither necessary nor the only way for India to assert its arrival on global centre stage. Comment.

15 Marks

The UN Security Council is the core of the multilateral order established after World War II. It is the only UN body with the power to make binding resolutions and sanction the use of force against rogue states.

Permanent members of the UNSC (P5) enjoy a veto on decisions with the ability to protect their own national interest. This gives them the status of great powers as they can not only protect their own geopolitical ambitions but also protect their allies or client states.

India has long desired to be a permanent member. As PM Modi pointed out in the virtual UN Summit of 2020, 1/6<sup>th</sup> of humanity cannot remain unrepresented.

India is also the third largest economy in PPP terms, a major military power, the largest contributor to UN peacekeeping, and a responsible nuclear power. India's civilisational values of vasudhaiva kutumbakam, and the trust it enjoys among the global south make it a natural candidate for permanent membership.

Thus, India has sought UNSC reforms as part of the G4 and has been elected as a non-permanent member



more than 7 times. However, India's aspirations are hampered by reluctance of China, the Coffee Club formed by Pakistan and the delays in negotiations on broad reforms.

However, scholars like Shyam Saran suggest that the single-minded pursuit of UNSC membership allows India to be taken advantage of. Guha holds that there is no need to be in race for "superstardom".

Thus, they hold that the emergence of India as a major power cannot be denied due to its economy, military, diaspora and soft power, and UNSC membership is not necessary.

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



Que.4(a)

The decade from 2008 Global Financial Crisis to 2020 Corona virus pandemic has seen a real transformation of the world order.

Substantiate. What should be "The India way" to navigate through these unique times?

20 Marks

World order is the set of rules or distribution of power in the international sphere. According to Henry Kissinger, there has never been a true world order but just different perceptions of it.

The end of the Cold War in 1991 heralded a unipolar world order under American hegemony. However, scholars like <sup>Kenneth Waltz</sup> ~~Robert~~ Gilpin point to the ~~uncert~~ instability as the single hegemon will overstretch itself and free riders will take advantage.

We have seen this overstretching of USA in the 2003 war on Iraq, 2011 intervention in Libya and so on. The 2008 financial crisis marked a definitive reduction in American hegemony.

The decade since then has witnessed the phenomenal rise of China as a challenger to US by building artificial islands, developing nuclear arsenal, attempting to create a parallel financial architecture through AIB and create a Sino-centric world through debt-trap diplomacy under BRI.

The retreat of US superpower is also evident in Russia flouting UN norms by annexing Crimea.





The present world order is thus witnessing rapid geopolitical flux. Macron has stated that US does not want to be the guarantor of the world order it established any longer.

In this geopolitical scenario, India needs to evolve a new framework of foreign policy. It is in India's interest to safeguard the rules-based international order and prevent rogue states like China from destroying it.

India is at the cusp of economic transformation and this requires a stable external sphere. Hence, India must support revitalisation of the UN and other multilateral fora, with like-minded countries such as Japan, Australia and EU.



India also desires a multipolar order and seeks to emerge as a pole in it. Hence, we must be free of our dogmas and play a greater role in shaping the new order.

As Kenneth Organsky through his power transition theory held, times of power transition are the most dangerous and chaotic. Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar in his book 'The India Way: Strategies For An Uncertain World' has held that India must follow a multi-pronged approach: engage America, manage China, cultivate Europe, Reassure Russia, and bring Japan into play.

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



Que.4(b)

One of the main, if not the primary spoiler for any reconciliation between India and Pakistan can be found in Pakistan's internal political and institutional struggles. Comment.

15 Marks

Dilip Hiro in his book 'The longest August' suggests that the Partition of 1947 remains as "Banquo's ghost" in India-Pakistan relations, traumatising them.

A major factor in the lack of improvement in the relations even after 73 years is the internal political and institutional struggle in Pakistan.

The democratic institutions in Pakistan have always been fragile. The deep state, i.e., the Army and ISI have aggrandised powers by securing India as a threat. They point



to India's role in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 and allege that Pakistan can never eliminate the threat of India unless the army is fully in control.

Successive military coups have led to military dictators like General Musharraf which makes diplomacy hard for India as it does not have a civilian leadership to negotiate with.

The factional domestic politics use Kashmir as a strategy to garner votes, raising anti-India rhetoric in Pakistan and fueling cross-border terrorism. For e.g: Benazir Bhutto's speech on "azadi" led to a spurt of terrorism in Kashmir. This reduces the options



available for India as it cannot be soft on terror.

Moreover, whenever India-Pakistan relations seem to be at a turning point, the army intervenes with a terrorist attack, setting back any hope of reconciliation. eg: 2008 Mumbai attacks after Manmohan-Musharaff talks, Uri and Pathankot attacks after Modi's invitation to Nawaz Sharif to attend the 2014 Republic Day parade.

Hence, while there are other factors such as religious fundamentalism, paired minority conflict, etc:-, Pakistan's internal struggles are a major impediment. Shyam Saran argues that India must accept this factor as the "normal".

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

Que.4(c)

Critically analyse the future prospects of India-Bangladesh relations by examining the challenges and opportunities existing in the relationship. 15 Marks

India - Bangladesh relations have been a "see-saw" alternating between extremely cordial and hostile. Starting with India's help in its creation in 1971, India's ties with Bangladesh have been friendly when the Awami League is in power.

However, the growing religious fundamentalism and military coups have strained the relationship when BNP or General Ershad were in power.

India's asymmetrical power projection in South Asia is a cause of concern for most of its neighbors. Bangladesh too fears the "big brother" attitude

of India and seeks to balance it with China. Deepening Chinese influence on Bangladesh such as sale of arms & infrastructure projects is a cause of concern for India.

The other challenges include river water sharing (Teesta), maritime boundary dispute and the influx of migrants illegally from Bangladesh into North East. The recent Assam NRC is a sore point that is worsened due to CAA and evidences of infiltration of terrorists from Bangladesh.

However, there are several opportunities too. Bangladesh can help improve connectivity to the North East, reducing dependence on the Siliguri corridor. India too can provide Bangladesh access to



Nepal and Bhutan. Cooperation in inland waterways development, anti-insurgency operations, and in the SAARC and BIMSTEC platforms has great potential.

India must seize the opportunities and fast track projects such as Rappur nuclear plant, electricity grid and BBIN motor vehicle agreement. India must reassure Bangladesh regarding CAA and Teesta waters and strive to reduce its dependence on China.

India and Bangladesh have a shared history and culture. Bangladesh can emerge as our major partner if the ties are cultivated.

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

According to structural realists like Kenneth Waltz, foreign policy reflects continuity regardless of the changes in government due to the structural constraints of anarchical global politics.

This is apparent in India's foreign policy too. Since its independence, India has pushed for respecting state sovereignty and the idea of Panchsheel given by Nehru. The present government too follows this. Eg: supporting non-interference of Western countries in Middle East, arguing for an Afghan government led solution against Taliban.



However, neoclassical realists like Zakaria emphasise on the leadership factor. With the NDA government, there is a new thrust in foreign policy. eg: look East to Act East, ~~as~~ high-level visits to Africa and Central Asia, etc:-

The changing world order has also prompted a shift from nonalignment to "multiple alignments". Hence, foreign policy reflects both continuity and change. As Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar held, India continues to uphold its strategic autonomy while discarding "the hesitations of the past".

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

Que.5(b)

How India should prioritise <sup>se</sup> its economic, political and security needs in face of China's increasingly powerful and aggressive strategies?

10 Marks

The rise of China as a global power and its discarding the facade of Deng Xiaoping's "peaceful rise" with Xi Jinping's "wolf warrior diplomacy" poses several challenges for India.

China is India's biggest external security threat with a long border under dispute. The recent LAC stand-off threatens to escalate into war.

India requires a peaceful external environment for its rise as an economic powerhouse. While India and China had been cooperating in the past in WTO and climate talks to safeguard their development, in recent



years, Chinese actions threaten our economic growth. China also obstructs India's entry into forums like NSG & UNSC.

Strategists like C. Raja Mohan suggest that India must align with the Quad countries to check China's rise. This must be followed with decoupling of India's economy with China and reducing its trade deficit.

Moreover, the recent Atmanirbhar Bharat initiative will boost our economy, helping us find our security imperatives. India must partner with like-minded countries such as Japan & EU to boost development and check China.

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

Shivshankar Menon holds that Sri Lanka is like an aircraft carrier located 14 km from India. Hence, it is important for India to have cordial relations with it.

In the past, the relations have been a story of ups and downs. India's initial support to the Sri Lankan Tamils due to domestic imperatives and its seemingly "big brother" attitude was not appreciated in Sri Lanka.

However, the role of IPKF in curbing the LTTE and Indian assistance in developmental projects has been able

to mend the relationship.

In recent years, the growing Chinese influence in Sri Lanka, e.g. leasing of Hambantota port & docking of Chinese submarines, has been a sore in the relationship. India has responded with its own projects like the Mattala airport revival and East Container Terminal at Colombo.

Due to the structural asymmetry in South Asia, wavering ties are natural. India must deliver on projects improve connectivity with India and balance China, regardless of Sri Lankan domestic politics.

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

India is a civilisational state with a historical dominance over South Asia and parts of South East Asia and Central Asia.

India has also been subjected to numerous invasions and was colonised by European powers leading to underdevelopment and loss of power in global politics.

This complex history has shaped India's foreign policy discourse heavily.

India draws enormous soft power from its culture such as yoga, Buddhism, etc:- India refused to be a junior partner to any superpower and strived for strategic autonomy due to pride

in the dominant part and ~~painful~~ memories of colonialism. Hence, India has pursued non-alignment & Panchsheel, and supported efforts of decolonisation.

India has also emerged as a champion of the global south in trade and climate negotiations due to its dual history. Moreover, India strives for great power status and seeks to ensure world peace due to its civilisation values of dharma and sarve bhavantu sukhinah.

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



Que.5(e)

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

India-Africa relations have long been neglected in India's foreign policy making. India had supported decolonisation efforts of African states and the anti-Apartheid movement. India also led the global south in nonalignment and trade & climate negotiations.

However, India's diplomatic presence in Africa is weak with few embassies. India has also lost out to China which has invested in infrastructure projects, given soft loans to dictatorships and bought tracts of arable land and aquifers.

Other ~~are~~ challenges are the rising anti-Indian rhetoric in countries like Ghana



due to attacks on African students in Delhi, the growth of terrorism in Nigeria & Somalia, etc:-

However, India also has opportunities such as its large diaspora, history of shared anti-colonial struggle and cooperation in multilateral bodies that gives it soft power.

India has initiated projects such as Asia-Africa Growth Corridor, ITEC and TEAM-9 and its increasing its diplomatic reach and high-level exchanges. In the future, India must expand cooperation in other areas such as health, education, energy, and service sector.

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

During the visit of US President Donald Trump to India in 2020, Indo-US relationship was elevated to the level of "global strategic and comprehensive partnership".

While historically, India-US relations were constrained due to the Cold War where India was "non-aligned" and later joined a friendship treaty with USSR and USA was pro-Pakistan, from the 1990s, the ties have improved significantly.



This is seen in the Indo-US Civil nuclear agreement in 2004. Recently, the relations have been further enhanced with the signing of defence cooperation agreements such as GSOMIA, LEMOA, COMCASA and BECA. The formation of Quad and the common apprehension of China's rise is a major factor in the deepening relations.

However, the ties are not without challenges. The "America First" policy of Trump has hurt trade and climate talks resulting in revocation of GSP status to India and pushing developing countries to contribute more to curbing emissions. The H1B visa restrictions also hurt the interests of Indian workers in the US.



Moreover, USA's dependence on Pakistan for the peaceful withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan has made Trump to offer to mediate the Kashmir issue, a stand that India does not appreciate.

USA is also emphasising on India as a major security provider in the Indo-Pacific. Scholars like M.K. Narayan argue that this is the "bait & bleed" strategy to allow the two Asian giants to fight, leaving China weakened.

Hence, there are multiple issues. However, there are equally multiple benefits in the emerging relationship such as stronger security cooperation. The new Biden administration may be more conceding in trade negotiations. US has also promised to help India's



entry into NSG and UNSC. Moreover, as C. Raja Mohan argues, US is our natural ally to contain the rise of China and form a grouping of like-minded countries.

Thus, in the age of complex interdependence (Keohane & Nye), the relations between any two states are multi-faceted. As Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar suggests in 'The India Way', we must let go of the hesitations of the past and pursue multiple alignments.

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

Historically, India's West Asian diplomacy in the era of nonalignment during the Gold War, is viewed as a success across the academic landscape.

India had to navigate between regional states such as Iran, Israel and the Arab nations, and balance the geopolitical rivalry of US and USSR playing out in the Middle East.

The recent Abraham Accords represent a changing geopolitical landscape. UAE and Bahrain have formally established relations with Israel, and this is viewed as a major achievement.



nt of Trump's presidency in USA.

This development is leading to a bipolarity in West Asia with Israel and the Arab nations, that were in conflict over the Palestine issue, mending their ties against a common enemy, Iran.

The proximity of Israel and Saudi Arabia to US and the growing axis between Iran, and Russia & China presents a challenge to Indian foreign policy.

India has historically close ties with Iran. In recent years, it has deepened partnership with Saudi on FDI, supply of oil, etc. and with Israel in defence and food security.





While India has welcomed the accords as it seeks to see Israel established as a "normal country", India will need to pursue tough balancing to not alienate Iran. This will be harder due to US policy of "maximum pressure" on Iran and the escalation of tensions due to assassinations of Soleimani and Fakhri-zadeh.

India must protect its larger interests in the region such as energy security and the diaspora who send remittances. The incoming Biden administration may pursue different policies and India must pursue nimble diplomacy.

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

Strategic culture is the ability of foreign policy-makers to recognise the opportunities and constraints they face and formulate strategies that make the most out of the situation.

George Tanham in his essay 'Indian Strategic Thought' held that Indians lack strategic culture. He pointed towards India's inability to deal with Pakistan, a country  $\frac{1}{8}^{\text{th}}$  its size.

Teresita Schaffer in her book 'India at the Global High Table' also suggested the same.



India's foreign policy is viewed as idealistic and not realistic. For e.g., nonalignment during the Cold War was denigrated by both Stalin and John Foster Dulles.

However, India has a deep strategic culture that can be traced to Kautilya. India's broad objectives are to pursue strategic autonomy and create an international environment best suited for India's growth. In this sense, it has largely been successful.

Shivshankar Menon, in his book 'Choices: The Making of Indian Foreign Policy' holds that while India often had to face poor choices, it has made the best out of them. He points to the strategic restraint shown after

2008 Mumbai attacks, which has in the long term proven to be the correct choice. Moreover, Henry Kissinger also acknowledges that non-alignment was the best course India could take.

However, there have been specific instances where scholars like Harsh V. Pant have criticised India's actions as narrow-minded, e.g. blockade of Nepal in 2015 and Bhutan 2013.

Nevertheless, seen over the whole India's strategic culture is very much apparent. With few resources, low number of foreign service officers and underdeveloped academia, India has done a remarkable job so far.

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