

# Political Science & International Relations

## Crash Course & Test Series - 2021

### Test 06

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Test Date

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

ANKITA  
7/12

### 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						

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# 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...!!!



1a. Comparative politics has gained immensely from the behavioural revolution of post war years.

The structural-functional approach by Gabriel Almond came out of the behavioural revolution. It was an attempt to improve upon the systems approach given by David Easton.

The structural-functional approach emphasised on the functions of the political system - making it more inclusive of developing societies (~~some~~ prismatic societies). Each system has various functions

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to perform like rule making,  
rule execution & rule adjudication.

Inputs are political socialisation,  
\* interest aggregation etc.

This approach was also criticised  
as giving too much emphasis  
on the input functions. It was  
called status-quoist as it did  
not account for revolutions  
or breakdown of the system.  
Much like Easton's theory, it  
was seen as a mere conceptual  
framework, with no deep  
insights.

However we cannot deny that it  
widens the scope of study to  
developing areas, making it  
truly comparative.



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(b) Hans Morgenthau is considered the Father of Realism. His approach to realism is called classical realism.

In his book "Politics Among Nations, (1948)" he gives his six principles of realism, one of which is on National Interest.

For Morgenthau's National Interest is the signpost that should guide nations on the bumpy road of International Politics.

It has both static and dynamic components.

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न लिखें  
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in this part)

The dynamic component changes with context but he explains the static component as

"protection of a nation's territorial physical, cultural, economic identity against external and internal forces".

Morgenthau's concept of National Interest have been criticised as vague and abstract - a "pseudo theory". Feminists criticise it as homogenous & based on masculine experiences alone.

His concept may be vague but the practice of IP shows that nations continue to put National interest at the centre of foreign policy.



1c

Realism is a hegemonic school of International Politics (IP) which believes that IP is state-centric and ego centric states in an anarchic world are embroiled in a struggle for power.

Realism is a meta ideology.

Defensive and offensive realisms are two views within neo realism.

~~Both~~ Both defensive (Kenneth Waltz) and offensive (Mearsheimer) realists believe that states are constrained by an anarchical world structure (absence of govt). Thus self help is the

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only way to survive.

But defensive realists believe that states are security maximisers.

They accumulate the amount of power based on threat perception.

Excessive power grab leads to other powers <sup>banding</sup> ~~balancing~~ together to balance the state.

However, offensive realists believe states are power maximisers who will seek hegemony. Other powers will not balance but bandwagon.

China's fascinating rise in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> under Xi Jinping ("getting strong" era) shows Mearsheimer may have been more correct.



2d

Terrorism is a pejorative, contested and passion laden term. It signifies "illegitimate" use of force/violence against non-combatants for political purposes.

## Religious terrorism.

Terrorists ~~that~~ that claim to take inspiration from their religion, and see violence as a legitimate means to religious ends are called religious terrorists.

In contemporary times, religious terrorism is practiced by a fundamental vision of Islam

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प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

इस भाग में कुछ  
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espoused in West Asia.

Al Qaeda is one such organisation which was born out of the rubble of American invasion of Iraq.

It opposed American / western presence on the "holy land" /

Arabia. The ideology of suicide bombing was given religious sanctions (attainment of heaven).

Religious terrorism of this brand is also seen as nihilism

as it cannot be negotiated with for political ends.

However, social constructivists ~~take~~ caution against essentialising it as ~~if~~ it further alienates and has led to Islamophobia.



Q1e UN Peacekeeping, started under Dag Hammerkjöld can be seen as the practical way of operationalising the UN objective of ensuring peace.

Though it has been one of the more successful UN initiatives, several reforms are needed -

(1) Troop contribution is dominated by developing countries but decisions on deployment is are taken by UNSC alone. Thus troop contributing countries should have a greater say in the

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decision making process.

(2) Financial contribution by rich countries is delayed often. Thus payments should be prompt.

(3) Dereliction of duty and other violations by UNPK forces, <sup>including misappropriation of funds.</sup> must be taken <sup>under</sup> serious consideration.

As a leader of the global south and one of the largest troop contributing countries, India has the credibility to take the conversation forward on these reforms.



2a

Realist scholars of International Politics, <sup>(IP)</sup> prominently Hans Morgenthau have conceptualised IP as the struggle for power between power-maximising states in a state of anarchy. ~~In context~~ During the cold war, IP was seen <sup>as</sup> shaped by the power struggles between the two super powers USA and USSR, with other states being mere satellites. In contemporary times, we can refer to the work of Mearsheimer (<sup>or</sup> "Tragedy of Great Power Politics", 2001) who believes that China is a power maximiser, and the rivalry between US and China will be the guiding

paradigm of international relations

## The rivalry

China today is the 2nd largest economy and the largest in PPP terms. It has the largest navy and a political culture that seeks to replace US as a hegemon by 2050 (19th CPC congress). It is using the Belt and Road initiative as its Marshall Plan, making <sup>claims over</sup> South China sea that no one is in a position to contest.

Its relationship with Russia is at its high point. The Russo-Sino axis, along with the BRI takes us to Mckinder's words - he who rules Eurasia will rule the heartland, who rules the heartland will



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rule the world Island, who rules the world Island will rule the world".

American policy elites cannot tolerate this, and are taking remedial and preventative steps, shaping the real world of politics.

The AUKUS alliance, the Quadrilateral security dialogue have been formed. ASEAN centrality is under question.

US forces have vacated Afghanistan. American's Asia Pivot and Chinese aggressions have decisively shifted India towards the ~~giant~~ "west".

This rivalry is also shaping scholarly debates about the nature of the world order and its future.

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Realists like Graham Allison give the concept of Thucydides Trap and predict a war between the hegemon and the revisionist. Similar predictions have been made by Kenneth Organski ("Power Transition Theory").

There are those like Fareed Zakaria, Gilpin, Kindleberg (Hegemonic stability theory) who predict an end of US hegemony. But many do not see it as a foregone conclusion as Balance of Power initiatives have started, and China may have overplayed its hand.

It Politics especially international politics is a bottomless borderless sea, where it is difficult to understand objective reality, let alone predict the future.



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2b

The Indo-Pacific is the key geopolitical theatre of our times. In Shinzo Abe's words, it can be understood as the "dynamic coupling of the seas" of Indian and Pacific ocean.

Till the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Atlantic and Eurasian landmass could be seen as the centre of gravity of IP as power was concentrated in USA, Western Europe and USSR.

The shift to Indo Pacific signifies the rise of China and the relative ascendance of Asian Tigers, ASEAN and India. The 21<sup>st</sup> century

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is to be the Asian Century.

If USA was the net security provider in the "Asia Pacific", this role is being challenged by China through BRI, claims on South China Sea, Taiwan, incursions in Japanese airspace etc.

It also signifies the centrality of India and the relative decline of US power. <sup>USA</sup>It cannot balance China alone, and thus looks at offshore balancing - working with India and other allies.

To this end, the QUAD has crystallised with two leader-level meetings in 2021. The QUAD aims not merely to be an anti china



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grouping but to provide public goods for a safe, secure, free and open Indo-Pacific.

It is focusing on climate change, infrastructure, semi conductor manufacturing, supply chain diversification. It has pledged to donate 1B vaccines for COVID-19 and created working groups for the above. India & Japan are building infrastructure in Africa and Myanmar, India-Aus in the Pacific islands etc..

While Japan, USA & Australia are allies, India's strategic engagement has accelerated with logistics exchange agreement, 2+2 dialogues etc..

QUAD thus has not dissipated like "sea foam". It must engage nations like Vietnam, South Korea, Indonesia to gain greater legitimacy

2c

The international system comprises of states ~~are~~ ~~are~~ poles of power, international institutions, and non-state actors. Since the Treaty of Westphalia, we had a multipolar world system, followed by bipolarity during the Cold War and then unipolarity post the collapse of the USSR.

Today, the world order is in a state of flux, with emerging indications of multipolarity. There is a decline of institutions of multilateralism. In the words of Shashi Tharoor and Saran, the world today is one where



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consensus is illusive, competition is rampant and cooperation is sporadic.

One of the major factors behind this state of affairs is the rise of China. In merely 3 decades, China has become a force to reckon with. It has hegemonic ambitions to shape a sino-centric order around the middle kingdom.

USA is determined to retain its hegemony. US-China tensions are making global institutions like WTO dysfunctional, tearing rendering arms control treaties like the intermediate nuclear

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Jones treaty <sup>(INF)</sup> unviable. china's rise has also led to interrogation of hyperglobalisation in the west.

Yet china's rise is not the sole factor behind the momentous changes.

Some other factors contributing to the changing structure of international system are - the return of Ottoman (empire) mentality in Turkey, Russian expansionist ambitions, rise of non state actors in West Asia and North Africa, opening of Arctic routes, a desire for Global Britain, to name a few.

Middle powers like India, Japan, France, Germany, etc. are determined to not let the international system become hostage to the emerging cold war.



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3a

The role of <sup>international</sup> institutions in world politics is most thoroughly examined by the liberal school of International Politics (IP). The first such institutions were the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO) formed during the interwar period under the influence of early liberals/idealists in the international space like Woodrow Wilson.

According to liberal Institutionalists like Joseph Nye (Jr), institutions

# U.P.S.C.

प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

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help convert the jungle of IP into  
a zoo. They take inspiration from  
the domestic sphere where state  
institutions prevent anarchy.

To them, institutions perform the  
following tasks -

- (i) Platform for dispute resolution
- (ii) To ~~deliberate~~ deliberate upon norms,  
and draft binding treaties
- (iii) constrain the behaviour of  
political actors

In contemporary times, some institutions  
have played a positive role towards  
cooperation among nation states.



(i) The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) under which Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement were signed have led to acceleration in cooperation towards Clean energy.

(ii) Montreal Protocol helped reverse Ozone hole formation.

(iii) UN- Peacekeeping Missions have helped build ~~pac~~ peace in Sudan, Indo-China, Korean Peninsula etc.

(iv) WHO has been instrumental in vaccine programs for Polio, Small Pox, Diphtheria etc.

However, there are critics of this approach. Joseph Stiglitz has shown how global financial

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प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

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institutions like the World Bank and IMF have destabilised Latin American states, as they are unaccountable, non-transparent and non-representative. Marxists have pointed out that these institutions merely serve the interests of metropolitan bourgeoisie.

Realists believe that institutions are not built for cooperation but for the hegemony of states. Eg. The Bretton Woods institutions built USA's hegemony in post war years.

We can conclude by referring to the views of English School / Hedley Bull - the institutions, norms, laws etc. do constrain to an extent, leading to formation of Anarchical Society.



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प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

3b The Feminist Approach to International Politics is a recent <sup>approach</sup> but fast gaining recognition. In the tradition of Critical Theory, it rejects the problem solving approach of the traditional schools (Realism, Liberalism, <sup>Marxism</sup>) by questioning the biases that inform them.

Feminists believe that mainstream theories are actually "male-stream" theories based on the experiences of men. This bias, they believe, must be rejected as it not only subordinates women in Global Politics but also

# U.P.S.C.

संख्या  
Question No.)

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creates conditions for war and conflict ("men make war because war makes men").

Feminists believe the approach to security should not be limited to state security but include "human security" as women are the worst affected by war, and their bodies become instruments of war through rape and sexual crimes.

Feminists believe that realists have distorted global politics. Ann Tickner, hence reformulates Hans Morgenthau's 6 principles of Realism. She says human nature



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has both male & feminine components, that national interest cannot be taken as homogenous, power should be conceptualised not just as 'power-over' but 'power with'; and that ethics cannot be divorced from politics if politicians are to be held accountable.

Thus feminists call ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> greater interreg-  
ation of masculinist biases, and  
more representation of women in  
decisionmaking. UNSC Resolution 1325  
endorses this demand. Many  
countries like ~~Sw~~ Sweden have  
adopted feminist foreign policy.  
Spain & Canada recognise sexual  
exploitation as grounds for refugee  
status. Rape is seen as a war  
crime. Thus feminists display a  
genuine concern for peace & wellbeing  
and this is being recognised.

# U.P.S.C.

प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

इस भाग में कुछ  
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7c

Social Constructivism is a reflective approach to International Politics. that gained ~~to~~ currency after the end of cold war as realism could not predict or explain the end of cold war and collapse of the Soviet Union. Alexander Wendt, a constructivist showed how it was a result of misunderstandings.

Constructivists question the basic assumptions of Realism that the reality can be observed and understood objectively.

They believe that man creates his social world. The way



We see this world is influenced by our norms, culture and way of life.

Thus, the realist construction of Anarchy as "lawlessness" where states have to struggle for power in order to survive is not necessarily true. This is the Hobbesian view, whereas we can see the state of nature not just as anarchy but a state of peace, mutual cooperation and goodwill, <sup>which is</sup> how John Locke saw it.

Anthony Giddens then gives us the concept of structuration.

# U.P.S.C.

संख्या  
(Question No.)

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We are not merely constrained by structures but we can also shape them, negating Kenneth Waltz "scientific" realism.

Thus, efforts should be made to for cooperation between states.

The post modernist approach inspired by Lyotard, Derrida and Foucault differs from the constructivists in that the latter believe that the reality can be uncovered through dialogue between various perspectives but post modernists do not recognise the existence of an objective reality. For them everything is chaos and narratives shaped by power relations.



~~20~~  
30

The concept of soft power was given by Joseph Nye (Jr) as the power of attraction where one gets others to do what they want without force.

Soft power has historically been an important tool for India, in the absence of hard power post-independence.

Even today, soft power is one of India's strength. Its components include -

→ South-south cooperation through ITEC, GSAT-9 etc

# U.P.S.C.

प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

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- Advocacy for the global south. For eg. for IPR relaxations at WTO, and differentiated responsibility at UNFCCC
- Indian cultural goods like bollywood, cuisine, classical music, cricket, ayurveda, yoga.
- Indian democracy & vibrant elections.
- Icons such as Mahatma Gandhi
- Indian diaspora, especially highly skilled ones (Nobel laureates, tech leaders)

Analysts and scholars suggest that India must be more strategic, focused and institutionalised in increasing its soft power. Much can be learnt from South Korea's Hallyu Wave



# U.P.S.C.

प्रश्न संख्या  
(Question No.)

6b

India and Sri Lanka have seen various ups and downs in their relationship over the decades.

Lack of trust exists because -

① Tamil issue - India has always been seen as sympathetic to Sri Lanka's Tamil minority due to cultural affiliations with Indian Tamil. The disaster of India's peace keeping mission under Rajiv - Jayawardhane accord, still hurts the relationship. The non-implementation of 13th Amendment is a thorn.

② China Factor

Sri Lanka is seen as using

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the Chinese card to gain concessions from India. A Sri Lankan port - Hambantota is under Chinese lease for 99 years and the docking of a Chinese naval submarine added to the distrust. Chinese investments abound in the island state, threatening India's security.

Recent events like cancellation of contract to Indian companies to build the East Container Terminal and its grant to Chinese company has not helped matters.

Yet both sides are eager to fix relations. India has taken steps to help Sri Lanka during its food and forex crisis.



5c

India Africa relations have gone from historical solidarity to a modern partnership  
(S. Jaishankar)

India's engagement in Africa is seen as benign, bottom up approach to development through partnerships between sovereign equals, a fundamental precept of south-south cooperation.

India has been investing in capacity building through ITEC, scholarships etc. (e-ITEC for health care professionals during the pandemic).

- Other areas of engagement include -
- market access (zero tariff trade)
  - Digital ecosystem building (Pan Africa e-network)
  - Agriculture innovation
  - Peacekeeping and training of defense personnel
  - Anti-piracy operations
  - MSME level investment

India has begun working with like-minded countries like Japan, Saudi Arabia and UAE for more comprehensive engagement.

India distinguishes itself from China which undertakes extractive investment and has been accused of debt trap of diplomacy.



59

Free Trade Agreements between countries allow for tariff-free trade between the jurisdictions.

India today has limited FTAs such as with ASEAN, some with South Asian states.

It recently decided to stay away from RCEP (ASEAN+5), has not been able to sign one with USA and negotiations with the EU are stuck.

Scholars such as Shiv Shankar Menon, Shyam Saran, etc in "The World Adrift" write that India needs more FTAs and should join the RCEP.

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संख्या  
Question No.)

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As the international order is in flux, the World Trade Org. is in dysfunctional. Countries like USA are imposing tariffs and the dispute resolution mechanism under WTO is dysfunctional.

India is a middle power that benefits from multilateralism.

In the absence of multilateralism, it has to take bilateral approach.

Post liberation, <sup>USA</sup> trade contributed to 25% of its growth - thus India cannot increase its comprehensive national power, which cannot happen without ~~FT~~ FTAs.

India must ensure FTAs are balanced, and other impediments to trade like infrastructure & customs processes are simplified.



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52

India's cultural tradition believes in "Sarve Bhavantu Sukhyam".

It guides India's foreign policy towards humanitarianism.

India's humanitarian diplomacy includes

- rescue and relief missions during disasters (operation vanilla)
- rescue missions during conflict (evacuation of South Asian nationals from Afghanistan)
- refugee status on humanitarian grounds (Sri Lankan Tamils, minorities from Afghanistan)
- medicines & essential commodities during war, disasters.

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→ post conflict / disaster reconstruction  
(homes in Nepal after earth  
quake).

Indian humanitarian diplomacy  
is anchored in respect for  
sovereign states and its people.  
It does not have conditionalities  
and does not demand  
reciprocity.

India's humanitarian diplomacy  
has gained it respect, soft  
power and the status of  
net security provider in the  
~~region~~ neighbourhood.



6a " "What is mine today, was someone else's  
yesterday  
It will be someone else's tomorrow  
change is the law of the universe"

The Bhagwad Gita -

International order is in a state of flux, and the Indo-Pacific is the key geopolitical theatre where the contest between the hegemon (USA) and the revisionist (China) is taking place. Within this theatre, the contest is hottest in the South China Sea; ~~with~~ <sup>where</sup> analysts believe a military conflict is possible.

The South China Sea is a waterbody straddling Northern parts of South East Asia and southern

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Chinese mainland, including Taiwan.

It borders Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Brunei etc. ~~The~~ China here claims large parts of the sea within its nine dash line in contravention of the EEZ claims of these nations under the UN Law of the Seas (UNCLOS).

Fight for the soul of international order

China's claims in the South China Sea have been rejected by the Permanent Court of Arbitration under the UNCLOS. Yet China has rejected the verdict.

China, under Xi Jinping has



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entered its "get strong" phase, no longer satisfied with "hiding its strength, and biding its time". Its relative power has accelerated compared to SE Asian states. It has area denial capabilities in the SCs. Thus it feels emboldened to bend the rules to its liking.

This hurts American hegemony in the region and threatens the "rules based world order". It threatens freedom of movement in sea lines of communication, which can jeopardise the prosperity of trading states, including India. If the balance of power <sup>(BOP)</sup> further tilts in the region, China could be emboldened to use force.

to annex Taiwan.

Thus to maintain BoP, USA is spearheading efforts like the QUAD, and AUKUS while increasing its Freedom of Navigation operations in Taiwan Strait.

India's Approach to South China Sea

→ India believes in following rules based world order i.e. the UNCLOS [India had accepted the PCA verdict in the maritime dispute with Bangladesh]

→ It provides strategic support to countries like Vietnam in the South China Sea.

→ J. Jaishankar said that - negotiations on code of conduct between ASEAN and Asia should not jeopardise the interests of third nations.



6b

With the exit of US-led forces from Afghanistan, the Emirate has come under the rule of the Taliban faction led by Haqqani which are seen as a veritable arm of Pakistan's ISI.

For India, this is a worrisome situation. India's long term policy in Afghanistan has been denying Pakistan a strategic depth in Afghanistan. There are fears that anti-India groups can now operate in

Afghanistan, giving plausible  
deniability to Pakistan. Further  
it threatens India's plan to  
use Afghanistan as a route to  
Central Asia and Eurasia  
through the Chabahar port  
and the INSTC.

Since the fall of Taliban I.O, India's  
policy was to provide developmental  
support to the UN-recognised  
Afghan govt under Karzai,  
and Ashraf Ghani, leaving the  
security aspects <sup>to</sup> the US-led  
forces. It had not formally/  
officially engaged with the Taliban  
[policy of "no good terrorists, no bad  
terrorist"]



~~Now that Taliban~~ Now that  
Taliban 2.0 is in the seat, India  
has to have a paradigmatic  
shift in its policy. It will have  
to engage with the Taliban which  
will not want to forever solely  
depend <sup>on</sup> its Pakistani benefactors.

The Taliban will also soon realise  
that fighting is easier than  
governing as the country stares  
at economic ruin and starvation.

It cannot survive without Indian  
assistance, and India can  
leverage that. Lastly, it must  
engage with Iran, Russia and even  
Turkey to protect its security interests.

The recent Delhi Dialogue with NSAs  
shows that India understands - "If  
you are not at the table, you will be  
on the menu"

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Question No.

bc In the New World Disorder; there are multiple alignments and multiple interests, rather than clean blocs. In such a world, India seeks "issue-based alignments" but sometimes, this can create tensions. India's relations with Iran exemplify this disorder.

## Importance of Iran:

Iran's geography is of interest to India, even more so since the fall of Afghanistan. Through the Chabahar port, India could have gained access to Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Russia - making it the



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Centre piece of India's ~~Eurasia~~  
"Connect Central Asia" policy.

It shares borders with Pakistan.  
Thus influence in Iran gave India  
a way to subvert Pakistan's  
nefarious designs.

Iranian extensive oil deposits  
fuelled India. They were more  
economical as due to a 60 day  
credit policy and free insurance.  
challenges in managing relations

① The US-challenge - over the last  
two decades, India has entered  
into a "strategic comprehensive  
Global Partnership" with USA.

\*\* now, it must learn to live in one.

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प्रश्न संख्या  
Question No.)

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USA on the other hand views Iran as a strategic threat, dubbed an axis of evil by George Bush (Jr).

Trump ~~is~~ reneged on the JCPOA and the subsequent sanctions have hurt Indian oil purchases from Iran, the Chabahar rail link and Farid-B oil field investments.

② Israel & Arab States -- India's growing equities with Israel, Saudi Arabia, UAE and the talks of Indo-Arahamic Accords further complicates Indo-Iranian relations. Israel & Arab monarchies see Iran as an existential threat

This has pushed Iran into the Chinese orbit & they concluded a 25 year, 600 B USD deal recently, conducted joint exercises in the Persian Gulf (with Russia)  
As C Raja Mohan says for long India wanted a multipolar world \*\*