

Political Science & International Relations
Crash Course & Test Series - 2021

Test 04

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name Utkarsh Dori Vedi
Test Date 2/1/22
Email Address _____
Mobile _____
UPSC Roll No 804881

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						

Trace the roots of ideological vision of India's present foreign policy. (10 Marks)

According to former foreign secretary J D Dixit, foreign policy of a country refers to the statement of what it stands for and the role it takes upon itself and projects to the world.

India's ideological vision can be traced back to the Vedas which says "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" [the world is one family]. This makes India undertake humanitarian efforts in other countries like assisting Sri Lanka during Tsunami, providing COVID vaccines under its vaccine maitri initiative.

Amarendra Ghosh in his theory of nationalism calls India a "Vishva Gurur". Hence India has promoted traditional forms of medicine like Ayurveda and Yoga.

the world over.

Mahatma Gandhi's views on non-violence, peace and anti-racism led India to establish Non-Alignment movement.

British Raj played an important role in determining India's ideological vision of its foreign policy. As the inheritor of the British Raj, India considers itself as the net security provider in the region and takes efforts to keep the sea lanes of communication free and open.

Nehruvian consensus and Modi's personal diplomacy are now guiding India's present foreign policy vision to get the rightful place for India in the comity of nations

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	

1(b) Define Strategic Culture. Does India have a strategic culture? (10 Marks)

Strategic Culture refers to norms and ideas that shape a country's policy in the field of strategy and politics. According to RAND Corporation VP, George Tanhem, India lacks a strategic culture.

According to Tanhem, politics is this worldly while strategic culture is other worldly. Hence India is strategically empty as far as strategic culture is concerned.

This is countered by Professor Morris Jones who calls Tanhem as "ethno-centric." He says ignoring India's culture will lead to impoverishment of the West. According to F. Max Mueller in "What India can teach us", no other place have issues been dealt with such

variety and depth as with India.

In "Essays on Mahabharata", Arvind

Sharma says even if all books on politics and strategy were to disappear from the world, the Mahabharata is enough to capture all the debates within the realm of justice, order and politics. S.

Jaishankar in "The India Way" writes "Mahabharata is the most distilled form of India's strategic culture."

Max Weber in his work "Politics as vocation" writes that Machiavelli's Prince appears harmless when compared to Kautilya's Arthashastra.

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

There are no easy options for India as far as the complexity of the Israel-Palestinian conflict is concerned. Critically analyse in context of India's approach with respect to the recent crisis. (10 Marks).

The Israel Palestine conflict is one of the longest running territorial and ideological conflicts in the world. It started from UK's Balfour declaration to create the state of Israel from Palestine and precipitated through various wars like the six day war, Yom Kippur war, etc.

There are no ~~ese~~ easy options for India as India's interests lie with both, Israel and Palestine. With Israel, India has a strategic partnership and co-operation in defence, technology and people to people contacts.

On the other hand with Palestine, India has humanitarian concerns. India being a leader of NAM and Global South, it supports the Palestinian's

right to self determination

Recently there was a shoot war between ~~two~~ Israel and Hamas after Israel undertook territorial activities in West Bank and Al Aqsa mosque in East Jerusalem

In this regard, India took a neutral and balanced stand. It called for both countries to stop violence and enter into a ceasefire. On one hand it asked Israel not to encroach upon Palestinian territory, on the other it called Hamas as a terrorist force.

UN resolution 1365 and Arab Peace Initiative 2002 which call for a

Understanding of Questions	<u>two state solution</u> <u>are way forward</u>
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	

Describe the Challenges emerging out of EU's new legislation "Fit for 55", for India. (10 Marks).

India and EU partnership is based on democratic values, human rights, and similar visions on the global order and quest for a multipolar world.

EU is India's largest trade partner and largest destination for Indian exports. On the other hand, India is EU's 9th largest trading partner.

However EU has come up with "fit-for 55" legislation that calls for carbon neutrality by 2050. To achieve this, EU has proposed "carbon tax" on imports from countries that rely excessively on fossil fuel.

This could create problems for bilateral trade as India's 50% energy

is derived from coal. This would further reduce exports from India and increase its current account Deficit, particularly in a COVID year.

Also other legislations like the General Data Protection rules calls for data localisation of Europeans, This could increase cost of business for Indian firms operating out of Europe. EU's repeated lecture on human rights further creates tension between two players.

As we are heading towards new multipolar bipolarity and UK has come out of EU, India and EU will find greater avenues of co-operation.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	

Discuss the role of India Council of World Affairs (ICWA) in formulation of India's foreign policy. (10 Marks)

The India Council of World Affairs (ICWA) was formed to project India's soft power abroad at a time when countries are relying less on hard power due to increasing complex ~~int~~ interdependence (Keohane and Nye) in the era of globalisation.

ICWA is a state owned think tank operating out of New Delhi with various regional centres. It is part of India's public diplomacy.

ICWA ~~has~~ organises conferences on regional and international issues and leads to track 1, 2, 3, and 4 diplomacy involving governments, civil society organisations, business leaders, etc.

It leads to increase in

consciousness of the general public over the issues of foreign policies.

ICWA helps in the liberal goal of achieving interdependence (Richard Rosecrance), functionalism (David Michman) and sociological liberalism (Karl Deutsch).

To enhance India's soft power, ICWA organises yoga events, celebration of birthday of Gandhiji as international day of non-violence, etc.

It has played key role in engaging civil society of China and Pakistan with that of India to promote peaceful relations in South Asia.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	

India is a rising power that seeks to protect its widening interests and advance its influence in international affairs. Comment. Is India's foreign policy capacity commensurate with it delivering on its greater ambitions? (20 Marks)

Jawaharlal Nehru in the "discovery of India" writes that there would be a day when India will be given its rightful place in the comity of nations.

From being a colonised nation in the nineteenth and twentieth century, India is now seen as a rising power. This is because India today is world's fifth largest economy by market prices and third largest by purchasing power parity. India has world's second largest

army and is ranked fourth in global fire power index. According to SIPRI, India has is the world's largest arms importer in the last decade.

As a rising power, it also seeks to protect its widening interests.

Being a South Asian country, India's interests lie in the stability of the region as South Asian countries are prismatic societies (Fu Riggs) and influence of identity politics at national level makes the co-operation at regional level difficult.

As the key net security provider in the Indian Ocean, India's interests lie in a secure Indo Pacific. A free, open and inclusive Indo Pacific are in India's interests.

Due to India's rising "multilateral personality" [Teresita Schaffer], India's interests lie in making multilateral institutions like UN, Bretton Woods as democratic.

To protect its interests, India is advancing its influence in international



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Always Ahead

(affairs). As a member of BRICS, SCO, IBSA, RIC, etc India is emerging as key player in deciding important issues like climate change, terrorism, etc.

As a non permanent member of UNSC, India played key role in drafting UN resolution 2593 against takeover of Afghanistan by Taliban.

India is also advancing its influencing through the projection of soft power (Joseph Nye) in the form of yoga, bollywood, vaccine neighbourly initiative to distribute free covid vaccines.

However, India's capacity to deliver on its greater ambitions is questioned.

Panel committee pointed out that these are lacunae in India's foreign policy making.

because of lack of interaction between Ministry of External Affairs and other ~~ministers~~ ministries.

There is also lack of involvement of civil society and think tanks in foreign policy making like the US where various Harvard professors are appointed ambassadors.

Shashi Tharoor committee pointed out that India's diplomatic corps is of the strength of Singapore and hence India punches below its weight.

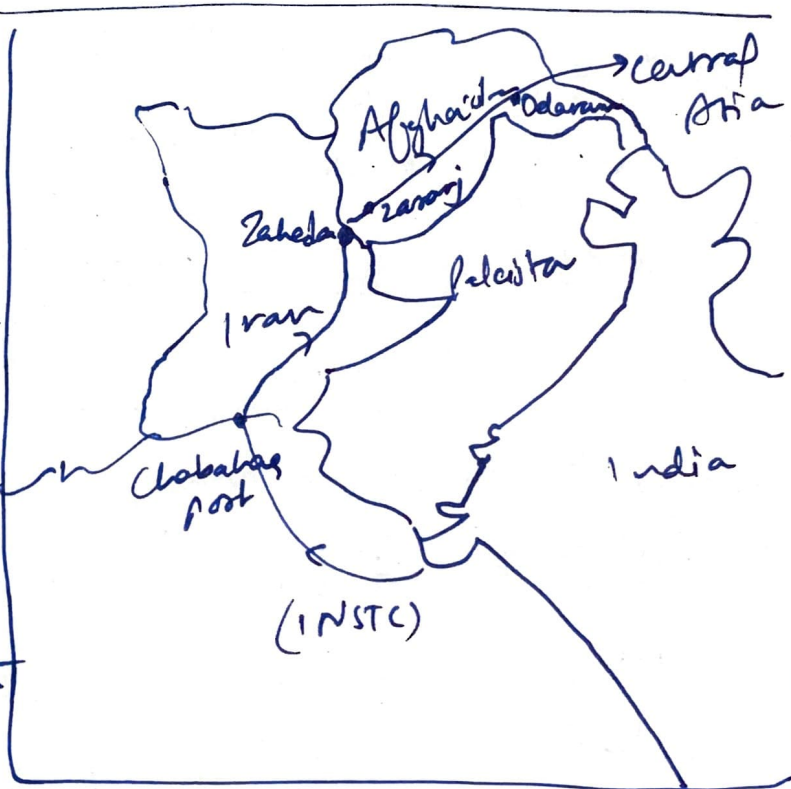
However ~~due~~ in recent times, collaboration with think tanks, increasing budget of MEA and recruitment of officers, India is on the path to play definitive role in future global politics.

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

The shared geography has always made Afghanistan an important subject of mutual interest for India and Iran. Comment. (15 Marks)

Afghanistan has always been the land for Great Games starting with geopolitical contestation between UK and Russia in nineteenth century, US and USSR in twentieth century and has recently become a theatre of geopolitics after the withdrawal of US.

Robert D Kaplan has called Afghanistan as "Breath-takingly strategic."



This location of Afghanistan at the cross roads of Central Asia, East Asia, South Asia and Middle East makes it an important subject of mutual interest.

for India and Iran.

In ancient times travellers from Persia travelled through Silk Route passing through Afghanistan and into India. Since Iran is this majority country and India has second largest ~~co-operation~~ population of muslims in the world, both countries share mutual apprehension of Wahabi Sunni terrorism emanating from Al Qaeda and Islamic State of Khorasan Province (ISKP) in Afghanistan.

Iranian Revolution in 1979

removed USA as a major player from the middle East and India - Iran relations during cold war were strengthened as India too did not want USA interfering in regional affairs. However the current withdrawal of USA from Afghanistan poses security risks of terrorism and narco terrorism.

to both countries.

Due to Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, various India-Iran mutuals are at stake. From TAPI and IPF pipeline of transferring gas to India to India's quest for connecting to Central Asian region and beyond through International North South Transport Corridor, all require Iran and India to deeply co-operate on regional issues.

However, increasing footprint of China in Afghanistan, signing of \$500 billion strategic partnership with China, US withdrawal from JCPoA and Iran's support to rebels like Hamas, Hezbollah and Houthi complicate the bilateral relations. However India and

Understanding of Questions	Iran must come together to face the various challenges now that US has withdrawn.
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.2(c)

India's broad spectrum relationship with Israel has transformed into a strategic partnership. Substantiate. (15 Marks)

India and Israel's relationship is based on Michael Doyle's democratic peace theory that talks of co-operation among democracies. This is because, from mediterranean to Indian ocean, only two countries can claim to be democracies in true sense - India and Israel.

Initially, India had voted against the formation of Israel as it was opposed to ~~basis of a~~ formation of a state on the basis of religion. However, due to Arab nations' support to Palestine, India slowly drifted towards Israel by establishing official relations in 1992.

Since then India's relationship with Israel has only broadened. Both the countries co-operate on counter-

terrorism operations as both are affected
by extremist Islamic terrorism.

India is the largest defence
buyer of Israel. Israel has unique capability
of understanding of both US as well as
Russian arms and ammunition. This is
because US supplies weapons to Israel and
Israel captures Russian weapons from Arab
states. This increases defence cooperation
between India and ~~to~~ Israel.

People to people ties are very
strong as 75000 Indian origin jews reside
in Israel. From the parameters of
Karl Deutsch's sociological liberalism,
there are a large number of letters
exchanged, travelling between two people.
Israel is a leader in technology

and India and Israel co-operate on dryland farming and water purification techniques.

Geopolitical interests converging, India and Israel are now part of the Middle Eastern Quad comprising India, Israel, US and UAE. The Indo-Abrahamic accord follows the Abrahamic accords between Israel, UAE and Bahrain.

Hence in twenty first century Israel is emerging as a reliable and strategic partner of India. In words of Netanyahu IT x IT = I²T² i.e. Israeli technology and India's talents equal to India Israel ties for tomorrow.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks	

Though Geo-politics and Geo-strategic interest take precedence, science, technology and trade remain central to the strong Indo-US ties. (20 Marks)

In the words of Dennis Kux, India ~~was~~ and US have come a long way from being "estranged democracies" to "engaged democracies."

recently, India-US ties were upgraded to the level of "Comprehensive Strategic Global Partnership."

Spanning 60 dialogue forms, no other relation of India is as comprehensive as with the US. ~~not~~ with Geo-politics and Geostrategic interest taking precedence, both India and US collaborate through 2+2 mechanism comprising the Foreign and Defence Ministers.

Other geopolitical issues that involve co-operation are rise of terrorism particularly after the US withdrawal of

Afghanistan. At the global forums like UNSC, US has reiterated its support for India's membership in the security council and the nuclear suppliers group.

Other Geostategic interests include the rise of China that is changing geopolitical status quo in Asia and beyond. Multipolarity is in the interests of both USA and India. The rise of China has led to India and USA collaborating on two Quads.

One Quad is with Japan and Australia to ensure free and open Indo Pacific. This is done to ensure strategic sea lanes of communication remain free. Other Quad, also called as the "middle Eastern Quad" or the "New Quad" involves collaboration of India and USA with Israel and UAE to keep the volatile middle Eastern region

stable and ensure continuous supply of oil.
Science and technology and trade
are central to Indo-US ties. After the
Indo-US nuclear deal, co-operation in nuclear
technology has increased. Also at the
recent Quad summit, India and US have
agreed to collaborate on critical technologies.
These would involve co-operation in 5G,
Lithium-ion exploration and rare earth materials
for semiconductor manufacturing.

The trade aspect is stronger
than ever with bilateral trade touted
to touch \$145 Billion by end of this year
financial year. This makes ~~the~~ USA, the
largest trade partner of India after EU.
This trade has seen diversification
with India buying \$18 Billion worth of
defence equipments. A large Indian

diASPORA engaged in USA's IT sector leads to increasing complex interdependence between the two countries.

However challenges remain in bilateral ties. Donald Trump had called India a "tariff king" and imposed tariffs on India's aluminium and steel. India is on the "currency manipulator" watch list. Also removing India from being eligible under Generalised System of Preferences has affected India's MNC exports.

India's purchase of S400 has led to threat of sanctions from the US. However, despite the differences, when India and US work together, they form an "unbeatable partnership".

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

Que.3(b)

"Formulation of a foreign policy is a complex process mediated by the participation of various stake holders". Discuss in context of India. (15 Marks)

"Foreign policy of a country is a statement of what it stands for and the role it takes upon itself and projects to the world."

- J N Dixit [former Foreign Secretary]

Formulation of foreign policy is a complex process and involves various stakeholders. First and foremost being the Ministry of External Affairs which is the nodal ministry for this purpose. It is manned by a Foreign Minister and the Indian Foreign Services. Its main task is to take inputs from various ministers and prepare roadmap for future.

Other important stakeholder is Parliament. After the Beau Bassin case

1961, the supreme court had said that constitutional amendment is required to cede any territory. Hence 100th constitutional amendment was passed by Parliament to settle land boundary agreement with Bangladesh.

Through its departmentally related standing committees, parliament exercises oversight mechanism over the ministry of external affairs.

According to Neoclassical scholars like Fazee Zalcasia and Landell Schweller, actors too play an important role in foreign policy making. Hence the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's office is an important stakeholder from organising events like Howdy Modi, Namaste Trump. PM Modi's personal relations with leaders like Netanyahu, Biden and Putin play an important

role in foreign policy making.

After 1991 reforms, the role of think

tanks and civil society, media and business

have increased. The debtors pressure group

opposed India's joining of the RCEP: FICCI

and ASSOCHAM play important role in

connecting to business houses of other countries.

The Bairasia Dialogue is organised

with Observer Research Foundation is flagship

event of MEA to discuss issues of regional and International importance.

Hence, the involvement of various stakeholders in foreign policy

making make India's foreign policy comprehensive, representative and democratic.

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

Que.3(c)

With US withdrawal from Afghanistan, there is strong case for India to revive SAARC. Critically Analyse. (15 Marks)

South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation was formed in 1985 through the Dhaka declaration. It was formed to strengthen south Asian identity and help the post colonial south Asian states to mutually develop and prosper.

However as pointed out by a World Bank study "A Glass Half Full", intra-South Asian trade is just 5% of total trade at \$23 billion. This is in stark contrast to intra-ASEAN trade which is 25% of total at \$87 billion.

Other issues have plagued the SAARC region as well with the most prominent being Pakistan's use of terrorism as an instrument of

state policy, India's perception as
'big brother of the region', ethnic conflicts
in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka
and increasing Chinese footprint in the region.

However US withdrawal from
Afghanistan calls for India to revive
SAARC. This is because the advent of
Taliban can destabilise the whole region.

It can give boost to Islamic terrorism in
Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Bangladesh.

Also since Afghanistan forms
part of Golden Crescent, it can become hub
of narcotics smuggling in the South Asian
region.

The withdrawal of US has created
refugee crisis in the South Asian region.
Due to increasing identity crisis as pointed
out by Huntington's Clash of Civilisation



theory, South Asian region can see decline in human indicators.

To tackle the situation, India could call a summit of SAARC, inviting all members including Pakistan. The agenda of whether to recognise Taliban or not could be discussed.

SAARC anti-terrorism forum could be formed for intelligence sharing on terrorist activities. Also all countries must commit to humanitarian assistance in the form of food, clothing and medicines to the displaced population of Afghanistan.

India's image as a leader will be tested on how it tackles the Afghanistan challenge by inviting all SAARC players

Understanding of Questions	inviting all SAARC players
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks:	

Que.5(a)

India need to re-examine it's Tibet policy. Comment. (10 Marks)

Tibet's location between India and China has always kept it important in the geopolitical calculations of the two countries.

Initially Tibet was an independent kingdom and was under suzerainty of British India. Lord Curzon, who was apprehensive of the Chinese, had sent Young Husband mission to Tibet to keep it as a buffer territory between India and China.

However, Lord Dalhousie considered Tibet as the palm and Aksai Chin, Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunchal as its fingers. After the capture of Tibet by China, India and China became immediate neighbours.

Since China does not endorse the Simla agreement of 1912, there

is always a face-off at the line of Actual control.

Though India accepted Dalai Lama and hosts his government in Exile in Dharamshala, it does not recognise him as independent entity. However due to Galwan clash, China's support to Pakistan and its blocking of India at NSG have called for India to re-examine its Tibet policy.

China asserts that next Dalai Lama would be Chinese. But this is opposed by India and USA that brought the Tibet Reassurance Act.

~~However~~ Since China attacks India's core concerns at Arunachal and Aksai Chin, India can attack China's core concern by changing its Tibet policy.

Understanding of Questions	concern by changing its Tibet policy.
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(b)

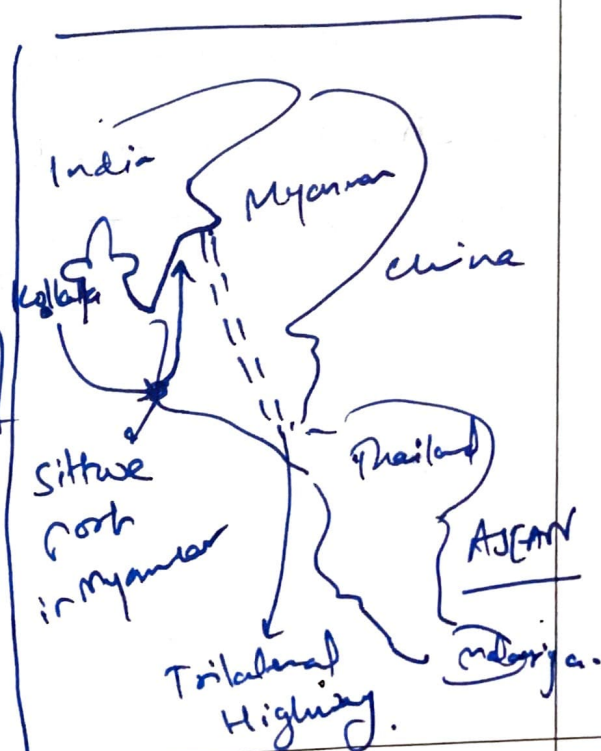
Myanmar as the lynch-pin of India's Act East Policy. Discuss. (10 Marks)

India. Myanmar relations go back to ancient history wherein Myanmar was called the Swarnabhoomi [Golden Land].

India enacted the Look East policy in 1992 which was given greater boost in 2014 in the form of Act East. This policy talks about increasing the 3Cs [commerce, connectivity and culture] contact with the South East Asian region and ASEAN centrality in India's vision of the Indo Pacific.

Myanmar is called as lynchpin of India's Act East policy

because it is the gateway to the ASEAN and beyond.



A central pillar of India's ~~Act~~ Act East policy is the development of India's North East. This cannot be possible without Myanmar's co-operation as many insurgents like ULFA, Mizo National Front, NSCN(IM) hide in Myanmar.

To connect to the South East, India has come up with India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral, Kaladan multimodal project and Sittoung port.

However, the ethnic cleansing of Rohingyas and military coup in Myanmar pose serious challenge for India's Act East. Hence India must tread ~~careful~~ carefully by adopting "middle path" in Myanmar.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	

Enumerate the achievements in India-Latin America relations. (10 Marks)

Latin America is termed as last frontier in India's foreign policy vision. Latin America has figured only figuratively and sporadically in India's foreign policy, suffering from the out of sight, out of mind syndrome.

However in recent times, India and Latin America relations are seeing new boost. According to Inter America Development Bank, "earlier India and Latin America ~~were~~ did not see eye to eye, but ~~not~~ now they are seen sitting together at the global high table deciding issues of global importance."

Since India and Latin America form indispensable part of Global South, they formed the G77 grouping that opposed the Agreement on Agriculture of

the Doha round of talks at WTO

Both form part of ~~WTO~~ E-25, like minded Developing countries and negotiate an equitable and a fair climate deal at the UNFCCC summits that recognises historical role of developed world in increasing green house gas emissions.

Latin American countries formed a major part of Non-Alignment Movement as these ~~was~~ were major theatre of US- USSR conflict particularly after Cuban missile crisis.

However, India-LAC trade lags at \$40 Billion, while China-LAC trade is at \$264 Billion. Hence India is the next big thing for the Latin American Countries.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	

Explain the importance of NAM 2.0. (10 Marks)

Que.5(d)

The term non-alignment was coined by George Lisca to describe the policies of post colonial states who did not want to form part of any power bloc and assert their independent decision making.

Shyam Saron in his book "How India sees the world" writes that "the quest for strategic autonomy is the central thread that weaves India's foreign policy."

In this regard India, along with Egypt and Ghana formed the Non-Alignment movement as a platform to resist interference of US and USSR in domestic policies of post colonial states.

However, since the end of cold war and rise of multipolarity the relevance of NAM is questioned. Hence

In 2013, Indian Strategic community came up with NAM 2.0 doctrine that talks about multialignment.

According to advocates of NAM 2.0, India must build partnerships of interest, engage with all two powers, and sit at the high table when the major issues of the world are decided, as opposed to NAM 1.0 that led to India being called a "reluctant power" and a "fence sitter".

NAM 2.0 further assumes importance as we are entering into new era of bipolarity and a new cold war between US and China is on the anvil. To remain strategically autonomous, India must adopt multialignment under NAM 2.0.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	

ue.5(e)

Write a short note on dynamics of India's vaccine diplomacy. (10 Marks)

India is the world's largest manufacturer of vaccines as it is the home to serum Institute of India. This manufacturing prowess came in handy during COVID-19 when the virus raged faster than people got access to vaccines.

Under its vision of "Sarve Samam Niramaya" [May all be healthy], India undertook export of COVID vaccines to the developing and the developed world. Since India is home to many vaccines like Covishield, Covaxin, Zydeno Cadilla's DNA vaccine, India not only produced vaccination in large doses but also exported them.

Even when India continues to suffer from large population and rising infections, India under its Article 51 of Directive Principle of State Policy that asks

for promoting global peace and solidarity,
it exported vaccines to its South Asian
neighbours, Africa, South East Asia and
Latin America.

India under its "vaccine maitri"
provided vaccines free of cost to WHO's
COVAX initiative. At the first in person
Quad summit, India's role as world's
leading vaccine manufacturer was highlighted
and the Quad countries agreed to produce
and share 1 billion vaccines to the
world by 2022.

Antonio Guterres, UN chief,
~~has~~ has rightly called India's vaccine
manufacturing capacity as the greatest
weapon against ~~the~~ COVID 19.

Understanding of Questions

Structure and Flow

Subject Knowledge

Presentation

Que. 8(a)

In an era of new bipolarity, it appears that the path of India and Russia are set to diverge along with their visions of future. Comment. (20 Marks)

PM Modi at India-Russia annual summit had remarked that every child in India knows that Russia is India's best friend.

India-Russia relations have remained a factor of stability in international affairs.

The affinity with Russia dates back to Communist revolution (Bolsheviks) of 1917 that overthrew Czarist regime. It inspired Marxists like Mr Roy, Bhagat Singh, JL Nehru, etc. After independence, the following of socialist model of economy and central planning that gave state "the commanding heights of economy" further increased India's dependence on USSR.

The 1970 Indo-Soviet treaty led to an everlasting bond between the two

countries. However with the fall of Soviet Union, India lost a key ally and was forced to look East. In this manner, India also started Malabar exercises with USA and Japan.

Since then it is said that the divergence between the two is increasing. In the era of new bipolarity, wherein a new cold war is ensuing between ~~India and~~ USA and China, India and Russia are under pressure to take sides.

Unfortunately both are on the different sides. As both the countries are allying with their worst enemies, Russia with China and India with the US, it is argued that India and Russia have different visions of future.

Though both argue for a multiple world, there is difference in who would form the

pole. India is not ready to accept China as the new pole of power because it resides directly at India's border. Rise of China is seen as threat for India.

But this is not the case with Russia which is busy in limiting the rise of US. Russia under Putin is walking on a "revenge mentality" for the breakup of Soviet Union by the US.

This difference in vision is colliding in many geopolitical spheres. Russia is opposed to the concept of Indo-Pacific which Sergei Lavrov [Russia's foreign minister] has called as "divisive" and "exclusionist" and efforts by west to put India in "anti-china games." This remark irked the Indian side as it shows India's foreign policy is made in Washington DC.



Also Russia and China are keeping their embassies open in Afghanistan which shows an implicit recognition of Taliban much to India's ~~chagrin~~ chagrin.

Recently Russia's foreign minister visited Pakistan and talks of supplying weapons to Pakistan are on the anvil. Also Russia is increasing forming an alliance of Iran, China, Russia and Turkey against the Middle Eastern Quad involving India, US, Israel and UAE.

However, Indo-Russia relations are still very strong and both countries realise that rise of ~~the~~ China can be a threat for both of them. Hence working for a multipolar world is in both countries' interests.

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

India's quest for deterrence stability with China has created the instability with Pakistan. Do you think that the three way dynamics add complexity to India's nuclear policy? (15 Marks)

Nuclear doctrine of a country refers to how a country deploys its nuclear weapons in the times of war and peace. India's nuclear doctrine was formulated in 2003, and has the following features:

- ① Credible minimum deterrence
- ② No first use ~~again~~
- ③ No use against non nuclear states.
- ④ massive retaliation even if the attack is through biological or chemical weapons
- ⑤ Retaliation even if Indian troops outside India are attacked.
- ⑥ Civilian command and control
- ⑦ maintenance of a nuclear triad

India's nuclear weapons were made to create deterrence against

Chinese nuclear weapons. Since India is relatively weak in economy and military terms with China, ~~not~~ balancing way not an option. Hence through Pokhran tests, India went for nuclear deterrence.

However critics of India's nuclear doctrine like P.R. Chari say that through No first use, India lost a strategic opportunity without gaining any advantage. This is because since China also has No-first use, there is slight chance of nuclear weapons being used in India-China conflict. Since India cannot use its nuclear weapons, India's conventional military strength would not be able to deter the Chinese.

Complexity is further added to this since Pakistan is also a nuclear power.

and has explicitly stated that it would use its nuclear weapons against India. This has led to stability-instability paradox between the two countries.

As nuclear weapons should make the region stable because of nuclear deterrence, it has increased instability as Pakistan resolves to asymmetric warfare by using terrorism as an instrument of state policy. Any retaliation from India increases the risk of nuclear retaliation from Pakistan as it does not have a No First Use.

However according to Manmeet Sethi, India's nuclear policy is No First Use because it is the least expensive and most pragmatic option in a volatile region like South Asia.

Understanding of Questions	option in a volatile region like South Asia.
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks:	

Que.8(c)

India is back as non-permanent member of UN Security council for 8th time. What should be India's agenda from the platform amidst the Geo-political turbulence? (15 Marks)

India has recently been elected for a two year term of 2021-22 at the UNSC as a non permanent member. Since India has won the 8th time and has secured 107/190 votes, it points out India's rising "multilateral personality" [Terestita Schaffer in India at Global High Table]

The world is suffering from various geopolitical turbulences. There are civil wars in Middle East, particularly Syria and Yemen. New civil wars are emerging in Myanmar due to military coups, in Ethiopia due to Tigray rebels and in Afghanistan, due to withdrawal of the USA from the region.

Other geopolitical turbulence

include Belarus. Poland migrant crisis,
Russia's likely invasion of Ukraine, Chinese
aggression in Line of Actual Control and South
China Sea. Non traditional challenges like
cyber wars, terrorism, climate change and
nuclear proliferation are on the anvil.

Hence India's agenda from the
platform must be multidimensional. As
an important power of the Asian region,
India must ensure that China ~~also~~
adheres to the UN Convention on Law of
the Sea in the Indo Pacific Region.

After the US withdrawal, India
sponsored UN resolution 2593 against Taliban's
takeover and called for Afghan led, Afghan
owned and Afghan controlled process, keeping
in mind rights of minorities, women and
children.

As a developing nation, India must ensure that reform of UNSC and Bretton Woods be made ~~eff~~ to keep the organisations effective.

Recent corona19 pandemic calls for aggressive, universal and free vaccination under the aegis of COVAX for all. Recent UNFCCC summit at Glasgow highlighted climate change as an important issue. India must build global consensus on this issue.

Civil rights movements in Myanmar, Hong Kong, Chile must also need due consideration.

Hence membership at UNSC gives ~~the~~ chance to India to promote its leadership to the world.

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