



Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2021

Test 8

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name _____
Test Date _____
Email Address _____
UPSC Roll No _____

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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Que.1 (a)

Highlight the relevance of Political Sociology approach to the study of Comparative Politics. (10 Marks)

Political Sociology studies the interaction and dichotomies between Politics and Society.

Beginning with Aristotle's Theory of Revolutions based on Sociological understanding of ancient Greece; it has emerged as dominant perspective fixing ethnocentrism, lack of dynamism and over-textual nature of Traditional Approach.

Modern schools include Marxists studying class-relations and Weberians studying relationship between Power, legitimacy and Authority.

In developed world, Dahl's

formulation of 'Reformed Polyarchy' and CW Mills on 'Power Elites' are major contemporary examples.

But its cross-regional, quantitative and society-centric view has been applied to developing world. For eg: Paul Brass (Religion), Myron Weiner (Ethnicity) and Andre Beteille (caste) have analyzed Indian Politics from sociological standpoint.

However it is criticized for excluding role of Institutions (Theda Skocpol: 'bring State back-in') and economy in 'era of globalisation'.

Thus Political Sociology is highly relevant but must be used in combination with Political Economy and legal-Institutionalism.



Que.1(b)

Comment on the concept of Overdeveloped State. (10 Marks)

Hamza Alwi in his Post-colonial conception of state has given the concept of 'Overdeveloped State'.

He argues in Post-colonial societies there is a divergence between Political Development and Economic Modernization.

That is a colonial legacy of modern executive ruling over a traditional or mixed economy.

This leads to what Marx called Bonapartism i.e.

Basic Structure is NOT economic but State is 'overdeveloped'

i.e. most powerful agency.



For instance the Pakistani Military-Bureaucracy (Deep State) acts as equilibrium builder between Indigenous Bourgeoisie, Feudal and Metropole Bourgeoisie.

Alvi argues the Indian Bureaucracies pre LPG reforms (1991) was also a classic case of overdeveloped state with license-quota-permit Raj.

To prevent this Relatively Autonomous growth of state, strong democratic institutions, vibrant civil society and robust Constitutionalism (separation of Powers) is necessary.



Que.1(c)

With Taliban in power, global feminist movement is at crossroads.
Comment. (10 Marks)

Global Feminist Movement post regime change with US invasion since 2001 had supported Afghan women.

They under NGOs had enabled Women's Rights, women education, presence in public and political life and imagined an Inclusive and Democratic Afghanistan.

But with return of Taliban the hope of gender Justice has weakened.

Though the 'New Taliban' is less orthodox and stringent at least in International Posturing but UN agencies have reported return of exclusion, segregation based on



gender and restrictions on women's
freedom

Further on-ground NGOs have
even reported Human Rights violations
with child-brides, forced marriages
with Jihadis, 'revenge rapes' and
'honour killings'.

Without Hard Power of
NATO the two decade progress^{is}
quickly reversing and feminists
are powerless as Taliban remakes
Afghan society as per their rigid
interpretation of Sharia.

Yet few female members of
Afghan Parliament are running a
'parallel Govt.' from abroad.

Thus until Taliban hold weakens
the Feminists need to create Diplomatic
Pressure, spread the message of Gender
Equality (SDG#5) and help Afghan expats.



Que.1(d)

Highlight the significance of the 2021 G20 agenda- Planet, People and Prosperity. (10 Marks)

G20 is the International Multilateral body consisting of 20 major economies with 80% global GDP and 60% population.

The summit was significant as the geopolitical churn in world order and signs of restarting of Great Power Rivalry (US vs. China) [Mearsheimer] have led to 'malaise of Multilateralism'

Just before COP26, the Sustainable Development (SDGs) and Climate Action formed the first Priority.

Then after Planet, People i.e. ensuring robust post-covid



economic recovery and creating
Global Public Health governance
Architecture to ensure vaccination
and tackling future Pandemics.
was second priority.

Finally as G20 has its
origin in regulation of global
finance from Asian to global
(1997) (2009)
financial crisis.

Similar to BASEL Banking
regulations further reforms are
necessary to make global Economic
Order resilient to external
shocks to ensure Global Prosperity.

Thus G20 will remain a
major platform in era of great
geo-political & geo-economic flux with
common challenges of climate change and
Pandemics threatening Planet, People & Prosperity.



Que.1(e)

Relevance of nuclear deterrence as a security strategy in 21st Century. (10 Marks)

Nuclear Deterrence Theory was proposed by Realist Strategic game-theoreticians like Broadie and Schelling.

They argued that under 'Rational Actor' and given 'credibility of retaliation' Nuclear weapons provide perfect deterrence.

Thus Waltz called them 'weapons of peace' as MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) prevents hot war.

But liberals like Nye have questioned it as a security strategy in age of 'Complex Interdependence' in 21st century.

Further Scott Sagan points out

rational actor assumption is invalid given proliferation of Non-state actors (eg: Nuclear Terrorism) and Military/Authoritarian regimes (N. Korea, Iran).

While Cyberattacks have made accidental use likely.

Also as Nina Tannenwald from Social Constructivist perspective believes 'strong taboos and norms' against use of nuclear weapons has reduced relevance of Nuclear Deterrence Theory.

Thus Nuclear Deterrence Theory has become less effective in more inter-connected world; But as Mearsheimer says with deteriorating Security Environment esp. with possible flashpoint in South China Sea Nuclear Deterrence Theory has again become relevant.

Que.2(a)

Discuss the various notions of security with special reference to the Feminist approach to security. (20 Marks)

Security is the central concept in International Politics (IP) as the discipline is also called Security Studies.

But the meaning of notion of security is essentially contested between different schools of thought.

The Realist Hegemonic notion found in works of EH Carr to Morgenthau is about protecting core National Interests i.e. Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity.

While Liberals also include robustness and resiliency of global Economic Order in era of 'Complex Interdependence' (Keohane and Nye)

But more holistic and radical notion of Security is proposed by Barry Buzan of Copenhagen school.

He believes 'Security is a SPEECH ACT' and in modern world multiple domains are Securitized (eg: UNSC resolution on terror, climate change)

Thus he proposes comprehensive notion of Security including:

- ① Military or National Security
- ② Political (eg: Cambridge Analytica scandal)
- ③ Social (eg: Polarizing Propaganda by Chinese/Russian)
- ④ Economic (eg: cyberattack on critical Infrastructure)
- ⑤ Health (eg: COVID Pandemics)
- ⑥ Ecological (eg: climate change)



IR Feminists belonging to 'Reflexivist' tradition have criticized Positivist Masculine notion of Security

Ann J Tickner against Morgenthau's 'narrow' vision of security proposes 'Human Security' i.e. broader social, psychological, ecological impact of war on human beings.

Cynthia Enloe argues that gendered perspective of 'National Security' is based on two wrong assumptions:

① Myth of Protection (men fight war to protect women & children) is used to legitimize war

② Men & women suffer equally from war but in reality women suffer disproportionately



As multiple studies by UN and Amnesty show women are used as: War Booty (Congo civil war), Mass rape is justified (Bangladesh War, 1971), sex slaves (ISIS: Yazidi girls) and forcefully married (Taliban).

Thus the impact of Feminist approach has resulted in passing of UN Resolution 1325 recognizing role of women peace and security.

Hillary Doctrine asserts women's rights are Human Rights, Human Rights are Women's Rights.

While Gendered Security is replacing 'National Security' focussing on Demilitarisation, Rule of Law, Civilian Control of Security and women as 'agents of change'

Hence 'Security Discourses' are moving ^{away} towards Emancipatory/Inclusive notion ₁ from Realism.

Que.2(b)

To what extent Mortan Kaplan's Systems Approach is a qualitative improvement in the field of theorization of International Politics. (15 Marks)

Mortan Kaplan's Systems Approach is an ambitious attempt to extend David Easton's Behaviourist Concept of Political System to study of International Relations (IR).

As a Positivist Theory it views International Politics (IP) as a 'Complex Dynamic System' interacting with environment rather than analyzing Foreign Policies of Individual States.

Kaplan tries to explain past, present and future through MODEL SYSTEMS that capture capabilities of Actors, rules of



transformation and engagement
and the Information Environment

For example, Westphalian
World Order was described by
Multi-Actor Model, the Cold
War by Tight-Bipolar model ~~by~~
and post-Cold War by Hierarchical
Model:

However Stanley Hoffmann
criticizing it calls 'a huge
misstep in the right direction.'

It is mere victory of
'form over substance' and
Hoffmann decries it as
'a parlour game remote from
reality'

It is hard to see systems
Approach as any Qualitative



improvement as it does not even satisfy basic conditions of Systems Theory as input/outputs are missing, no clear definition of environment and International system is the wrong-level of abstraction.

While Lieber says it also suffers from 'Ludic Fallacy' (trying to capture complex human reality through GAMES) and fails to predict both Detente or End of Cold War.

Yet with development of Strategic Game-Theoretic Formulations (Thomas Schelling) and Computer Modelling Kaplan's Systems Approach does offer unique insights to Policymakers on Evolution of International System.

Que. 2(c)

Give reasons behind South Asia being one of the poorest regions of the world. What should be done to address the poverty in the region?
(15 Marks)

As per World Bank outside Africa; South Asia has the 'dubious honour' of having the most number of Pooors.

Kishore Mahbubani believes lack of Regional Integration as regional trade in SAARC is only 5%. (>20% in ASEAN and >60% in EU) has deprived South Asia of positive-sum economic growth.

Unlike South-East Asia where Asian Tiger Economies (SNG, S. Korea, Taiwan) drove regional growth; sanjay Baru argues 'the flying geese factor' is missing in South Asia.



While multiple attempts at Multilateralism (SAARC, BIMSTEC) and Regional Connectivity (BBIN, Kaladan, IMT) have been 'sporadic' and suffered from 'delivery deficit'.

But the root-cause as MEA's Jaishankar says is the poor 'security environment' created from nexus of transnational terrorism and organised crime.

For Pakistan's Military-Jihadi complex and the Af-Pak has been the epicentre of 'global Jihad' (Al-Qaeda, LeT).

Geographically South Asia is located between Golden Crescent (Af-Pak) and Triangle (Myanmar) creating a vicious feedback cycle where multiple deprivations from crime, drugs, human trafficking,



poor governance, infra-deficit interact to make 'Perpetual Poverty'.

To address Poverty, first and foremost terror and crime needs to stop, through mix of military (eg: hot pursuits, ^{surgical strikes}) and diplomatic (backchannel diplomacy with Pak) means.

Then SAARC 2.0 with mandate to alleviate multi-dimensional poverty including SAFTA (free trade) needs to take shape.

Next India should follow 'Neighbourhood First' to use complimentary potentials of dynamic economies like Bangladesh while delivering on 'Connectivity Infrastructure'

Finally aid should be optimally used for Capacity Building and Human Development (eg: Afghanistan).

Thus a peaceful & prosperous South Asia is in best interest of both India & World.



Que.4(a)

How does the 'Tragedy of the commons' analogy help to illustrate the need for governance of the global commons? (20 Marks)

American Ecologist Garett Hardin coined the 'Tragedy of the commons' analogy to describe how 'common resources' deteriorate with time.

He argued using economic logic that no-one is responsible for maintenance of commons but everyone can use them.

This creates a 'free rider' problem where 'individual interest' goes against 'common good' with destruction of 'global commons'.

At present global commons include the rules-based LIEO (Liberal International economic Order), global climate, Ecology and Biodiversity,

Culture and Heritage, Oceans, Arctic,
and in times of COVID even global
Public Health.

The 'Tragedy of Commons'
creates the need for global
governance Bodies that could
ensure equitable and sustainable
use of global commons.

UN agencies like WTO,
IMF, WB, UNFCCC, WHO, IMO, etc.
perform this role of global governance.

But as John Mearsheimer says
the great Power Rivalries have
restarted with New Cold War (US vs
China) on the horizon.

Given the geopolitical churn; the
world order is transitioning from US
Hegemony to 'Multipolarity with
strong Bipolar characteristics'.



This has increased friction, fueled Protectionism (eg: America First) and made global governance bodies Dysfunctional.

Without robust global governance 'tragedy of commons' is visible in declining global trade, worsening climate change, pollution of ocean ecosystems, melting of Arctic, destruction of heritage by extremists (eg: ISIS → Syria, Taliban → Afg), and underwhelming response to COVID.

Thus to fight 'the malaise of Multilateralism'; PM Modi had proposed 'Reformed Multilateralism'

That is the current global governance Architecture must be made more Inclusive, multipolar and democratic to match the



current geopolitical reality'.

First World nations need to recognize 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities' (CBDR) and help the 'Third World' with capital and technology (eg: on climate change)

while the Global South should not accept 'Unilateral' actions or violations of Third generation of Human Rights protecting their commons.

Thus as Yural Noah Harari says the 'global Existential challenges' require a 'global solution' where to prevent the 'Trophy of Commons' we need to go beyond 'Individual Interest' towards Common humanity



Que.4(b)

How would you define Polarity of contemporary International system? Is Global governance a significant element of today's order? (15 Marks)

Structural Realist Kenneth Waltz gave 'Polarity of Power' thesis to explain features and consequences of different power-configurations of World Order.

Post Cold War world transitioned from Bipolarity (US vs USSR) to the 'Unipolar Moment' of US Hegemony.

!But as Fareed Zakaria says post global Financial crisis (2008) there has been 'decline of West's Rise of Rest' further accelerated by COVID.

Thus as Mearsheimer argues with 'unpeaceful rise of China' the World Order is undergoing a Transition. away from Unipolarity.



Thus Polarity of contemporary
International System can be
described as MEA S Jaishankar
does 'Multipolar with strong
Bipolar characteristics'.

As Organski's Power
Transition Theory or Graham
Allison's Thucydides Trap says
without global governance
the risk of conflict has
increased. (eg: South China Sea).

While liberals like Joseph
Nye argue without global
Governance; we suffer from
'Tragedy of Commons' with Climate,
Public Health crises.

Yet global governance



bodies of 'bygone era' (post World war II) are becoming increasingly insignificant in today's order.

Hence as PM Modi said to ensure 'Peace, Stability and Prosperity' we need 'Reformed Multilateralism'.

global governance reforms are necessary for Inclusive, Democratic and Multi Polar architecture that reflects the reality of today's geopolitical order.

Historically failure of League of Nations (LoN) led to World War II. Hence to prevent 'hot war' and 'solve global challenges' global governance is necessary to design a 'New World Order'.



Que.4(c)

In present times, do you think that Global South is more divided than united with respect to the negotiating positions on climate change?

Elaborate. (15 Marks)

'Climate change will be the most important debate of 21st century' — Robert Nisbet.

The debate on Climate Action has been divided across Global North (advanced developed economies) and global South [developing and LDCs (least developed) countries] along ideological lines.

However as C Raja Mohan argues in recent years esp. post Copenhagen summit (2009) the 'Third World Solidarity' has weakened.

global South seems to be more divided than united in climate negotiations as evidenced



in Paris Accords (2015) and recent COP26.

China in his 'strategic Environmentalism' has left the 3rd world camp to make ambitious targets of carbon neutrality, carbon-⁽²⁰⁶⁰⁾ markets and leadership in 'green energy'; to create pressure on India.

While Indian closeness to West as Harsh Pant argues has reduced our role as 'leader of global South' creating a vacuum for Third World leadership at climate talks as seen in 'hollowing-out' of NAM or G-77.

Further climate change has already aggravated problems and Internal divisions in global South visible in Migration Patterns,



conflict over resources and inhabitability of landscapes (eg: Sahel, Low-lying Island Nations)

Yet as Sunita Narain asserts India despite external pressure has been resolute on agenda of global South.

As laid out in COP26; it includes: Common but Differentiated Responsibility (CBDR), Historical Responsibility, Polluter Pays, Robust Climate Finance and Technology Transfer, prioritizing Adaptation over Mitigation and directly helping LDCs and SIDs.

Thus as Sunita Narain says solidarity of global South is necessary to achieve Climate Justice (SDG #13).



Que.5(a)

Though India's developmental co-operation is valued in Africa, it lacks clear strategy. Comment. (10 Marks)

Hitherto known as the 'dark continent' Africa has emerged as 'continent of hope' with fastest growing markets, mineral wealth, demography and fledgling democracies.

Despite shared history of anti-colonialism (Gandhi, Mandela) & anti-racism India's engagements in Africa has lagged behind in 'The Third Scramble' or 21st century strategic competition between major powers (China, West) for influence in Africa.

As PM Modi described in 'Guiding Principles' India's Developmental cooperation has focussed on Capacity Building (ITEC) and infrastructure



through AAGC (Asia-Africa Growth Corridor).

It has created goodwill and soft power but as Amb. Rajiv Bhatia says without a clear strategy our policy is like a 'car with empty tank'.

Our investments are one-third of Chinese BRI, major projects suffer 'delivery deficit', there are accusations of exploitation by private actors (eg: vedanta) and without Institutionalization the continent has gone missing from 'Strategic Vision'.

Thus as Amb. Shyam Saran says for 'tangible gains' India needs clear strategy that provides alternative to 'Debt-trap' diplomacy of China and Neo-colonialism of West with shared values of Ubuntu & 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbam'.

Que.5(b)

"India-Russia friendship has stood the test of time." Elaborate. (10 Marks)

PM Modi in recent summit with President Putin said Indo-Russian 'Privileged Strategic Partnership' is a constant despite geopolitical change and has grown in strength while Putin called India as a 'time-tested' friend.

Though as C Raja Mohan says India's closeness with West both in Strategic (2+2 dialogue, QUAD) and Security (foundational pacts) terms had strained Bilateral ties.

In the Great Power Rivalries (Mearsheimer) India was forced into Democratic camp (US, UK, EU) while Russia realigned with Authoritarian axis (China, Iran, N. Korea, Pak).

While Russian FM Sergey Lavrov called QUAD 'Asian Nato'; the Indians



criticized arms-sales to Pakistan and legitimizing anti-Indian undemo-
cratic Taliban regime.

But the recent summit has cleared many doubts.

As Bilateral ties were further Institutionalized with a 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue.

PM Modi announced investments in Russian Far-East alongside Chennai-Vladivostok maritime
corridor

while Putin ^{stressed} continued supply of High-tech Defense (S-400) csp. during Border Conflict with China.

And both converged on Afghan Policy (Delhi Dialogues), Arctic Policy and vision of more democratic, multipolar & equitable New World Order.



Que.5(c)

Though India has historically paid little attention to Latin America, the recent developments show India's quest to become a major player in the region. Discuss. (10 Marks)

Latin America is traditionally considered the 'last frontier' of Indian Foreign Policy (IFP) that remained 'out of sight' and 'out of mind'.

But post-2014 the narrative has shifted with Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) calling India as the 'Next Big Thing' in South America.

Politically, PM Modi visited Brazil for BRICS while Bolsanaro attended Republic Day Parade.

Culturally, India is leveraging its unique Soft Power of Bollywood, Cricket with Diaspora esp. in Caribbean.

Bilateral trade despite



geographical distance is higher than immediate neighbours.

The Private Sector of India has been dominating Latin American markets in Pharma, IT Services, Automobiles (Bajaj) etc.

While oil rich nations of North like Venezuela help diversify our Energy Security demands.

But despite progress China's ambitious BRI, Cheque-book diplomacy and Vaccine Diplomacy esp. in Caribbean has undermined India's quest for major player status in the region.

To overcome this strategic competition; India needs to step up its engagement and institutional relations with eastwhile 'forgotten continent'



Que.5(d)

"Japan is India's most trustworthy friend". Enumerate. (10 Marks)

Indo-Japan relations have deep historical (Tagore's Asian Solidarity) and cultural (Buddhism) roots.

But global and strategic Partnership post Cold War has made Japan as PM Modi says 'India's most trustworthy friend'.

Strategic Convergence and 'peaceful rise of China' (Mearsheimer) has made greater Institutionalization with QUAD, shared Indo-Pacific vision and 2+2 Ministerial.

On security front Malabar exercise has grown in intensity and Greater Logistical Support is possible with ACSA agreement.

Geo-economically, Act East Policy of India is matched by Japanese



investment through JICA and official Development Assistance (ODA).

Post pandemic both are cooperating on supply chain Resiliency (SCRI) and vaccinating the world (IB through QUAD) and ensuring economic recovery through 'Build, Back, Better World'.

While Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) and 'Blue Dot' initiative has allowed both to engage in Strategic Competition with Chinese Cheque-book Diplomacy (BRI).

Yet Japanese economic stagnation, geo-graphic distance, lack of Hard Power and delivery deficit on projects remain hindrances to Bilateral ties.

But Structural Contingences make them lynchpin of rules-based Indo-Pacific both need to further capitalize + consolidate on them.



Que.5(e)

Afghan chaos is an opportunity for India and Iran to strengthen their relations. Elaborate. (10 Marks)

Afghanistan in 'Heart of Asia' forms the Strategic Bridge between India and Iran.

Chaos in Afghan post hasty US withdrawal and threat to regional Peace & Stability is an opportunity for Indo-Iran relations.

The 'Maximum Pressure' of US sanctions, global re-alignment of Democracy (US, IND) vs Authoritarian ones (China, Iran) and regional realignment with Abraham Accords had pushed India and Iran away.

As was seen in Indian reduction in imports of Iranian oil and Iran's revocation of Chabahar Port.

But Sunni Taliban in neighbourhood has created a dilemma for Shia Iran.



New Delhi can exploit this opportunity to reinvigorate historical Bilateral ties.

Both can cooperate on Counter-terrorism originating from 'ungoverned spaces' of Af-Pak region.

As Delhi Dialogues showed 'Double Peace' peace within and outside Afghanistan is crucial for National Security of both.

Chabhar Port and INSTC could be revived to deliver Humanitarian aid to avert food crisis in Afghanistan.

Further Iranian non-conventional expertise could help curb organised Crime and Opium trade in Golden Crescent.

Thus 'time is ripe' and as recent visit by MEA S Jaishankar to Tehran showed Delhi is using Afghan chaos to strengthen Bilateral ties.



Que.6(a)

Explore the geo-political dimensions, economic ties and the aspect of Diaspora in India's links with the West Asia. (20 Marks)

As geo-strategist Alfred Mahan said Near-East or West Asia is the geo-politically most significant region of the world.

For India, West Asia is part of our 'Extended Neighbourhood' (Kautilya) and has huge Strategic Importance and direct implications on National Security, Peace and Stability.

Geo-politically, US policy of 'Maximum Pressure', the global realignment along Democratic vs Authoritarian axis and the regional realignment post Abraham Accords has pushed India away from Non-aligned Neutrality to closeness with Israel-Gulf nexus over Iran.

But the recent 'Afghan Muddle'



and rise of Sunni-extremist Taliban has brought Shia Iran and India together once again as visible in MEA S Jaishankar's recent visit.

India's 'Think West' under PM Modi is matching the intensity of 'Act East' and West Asia is viewed not just as an 'Oil Pump' but 'Strategic Partner'.

C Rajamohan even proposed a formation of 'West QUAD' through Indo-Arabian accords to preserve Indian interests like free Sea lanes of Communications (SLOCs) for Economic and Energy Security.

In Geo-economic terms India imports 80% of Crude Oil from the region.

For a 'rimland nation' (Spykman)



like India West Asia is the gateway to Heartlands (Mackinder) of Eurasia and Central Asia.

Our Connect Central Asia Policy is incumbent upon successful completion of Connectivity Projects like Chabahar, INSTC corridors etc.

But in recent years the economic partnership has diversified to become multi-sectoral.

As Sovereign Wealth Funds of Gulf (UAE) are driving investments in Indian startups, Tourism, Technology.

While Israel has emerged as 2nd largest defense supplier and cooperation has ranged from agriculture to cyberspace, to counter-terror to Space.

Further post Abraham Accords,



there is an opportunity for Indian Talent, Israeli Technology and Gulf Capital to act in Synergy.

Finally the unique feature or leverage that India enjoys is over 8M strong diasporic presence in Gulf.

Which is major source of remittances and Soft Power for India.

But New Delhi needs to ensure labour rights, prevent proliferation of Extremist ideologies, safe working ^{living} condition, access to consumer services etc.

The West Asia is the most volatile region but as MEA S Jaishankar says it also creates opportunities. New Delhi needs to continue its Intensification with Modi Doctrine (High-level visits), reassure Iran ^{which} ~~is~~ exploiting the 'colossal potential' of Indo-Abrahamic ties.



Que.6(b)

India and USA can have overlapping consensus but lack overarching consensus on geo-political issues. Comment (15 Marks)

India and USA from 'estranged democracies' (Dennis Kux) have 'overcome the hesitations of history' (PM Modi) to become 'engaged Strategic Partners'.

As John Mearsheimer argues Indo-US relationship is driven by 'Structural Convergences'.

That is the 'Thucydides Trap' (Graham Allison) created between status-quoist USA and revisionist China.

India shall act as 'offshore balancer' to prevent Chinese Hegemony in Asia and QUAD, Indo-Pacific pivot (Obama Doctrine) of American Foreign Policy testify this.

But liberals like Joseph Nye



continued Indo-US overlapping consensus is a product of shared values of Democracy and Open Society and geo-economic interest in free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific and rules-based world order.

However both geography and history lead to lack of overarching consensus on many geo-political issues

India as MEA S. Jaishankar sees itself as 'leading not balancing' power and maintains 'Strategic Autonomy' unlike other partners of USA.

On vision of Indo-Pacific India stresses ASEAN Centrality, multipolarity and inclusivity missing in Washington's vision.

It is against excessive Securitization, Militarization and Brinkmanship keeping QUAD as non-alliance while



USA signed Security-focussed AUKUS.
that would reduce centrality of QUAD.

Further exercising Strategic
Autonomy India continues. Defense
Imports from Russia and oil
from Iran even under threat
of CAATSA sanctions.

While on Global Challenges
like Climate Change, Pandemics
India showed Third World Solidarity
on CBDR, IPR waiver, Climate Finance
etc.

Despite burgeoning closeness with
West; New Delhi remains 'uncomfortable'
with Unilateral US actions on geopolitical
issues like Iraq War (2003), NATO expansion,
attack on global Bodies (WTO, UNHRC) and
renegeing on Multilateral Agreements (Paris Deal).

Yet as Obama said Indo-US
relations will define 21st century hence Delhi
& Washington need to increase consensus &
reduce differences



Que.6(c)

Though the relationship between the two Asian giants is painted in Apocalyptic terms yet the two need a new equilibrium in their relations. Discuss. (15 Marks)

'The 21st century will be the Asian century' - Thomas Friedman

The Liberal rules-based order has led to rise of two Asian giants: India and China.

As Mearsheimer says it has shifted the geopolitical and geoeconomic centre of gravity to Asia-Pacific from Atlantic.

But as Kantilyan or Modern Structural Realism both suggest the 'Security Dilemma' between two Nuclear-armed powers is recipe for Apocalyptic Nuclear armageddon.

Kanti Bajpai in 'Why India & China cannot be friends' says the conflict and confrontation is on



differences in :

- ① Perceptions i.e. trust-deficit esp. deep in Indian-psyche post 1962 war
- ② Perimeters i.e. unsettled border conflicts along Himalayas with recent conflagrations in Ladakh, Arunachal, Doklam (2017)
- ③ Power-differential i.e. Middle Kingdom rejects 'equal-status' with India and 'Chinese Dream' (Xi) is of Asian Hegemony
- ④ Partnerships i.e. India's closeness with USA and 'strategic partnership' to contain China (QUAD, Indo-Pacific).

Despite structural, value and differences in vision; as 'Atal Bihari Vajpayee' said 'you cannot change your neighbour'.

Thus as S. Jaishankar says India's 'Strategic Imperative' is to 'manage China'.

Both powers need to negotiate a new equilibrium while protecting their core National Interest.

In era of 'Complex Interdependence' Indo-China trade has only grown despite efforts at disengagements (FDI ban)

New Delhi's China Policy needs to be based in Pragmatic Realism. It needs to compete in strategic and security arena (eg: Indo-Pacific, Himalayas, Central and West Asia).

while cooperating on Multilateral Reform (WTO, IMF/WB), Climate Change, Sustainable Development (SDG) and regional peace & stability (SCO: Afghanistan).

Thus for permanent neighbours new 'modus vivendi' allowing positive-sum growth is necessary.