



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

Test 8

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name ISHITA KISHORE
Test Date 7 SEP 2022
Email Address _____
UPSC Roll No 5809986

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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	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,

All the best for next test...!!!

Que.1 (a)

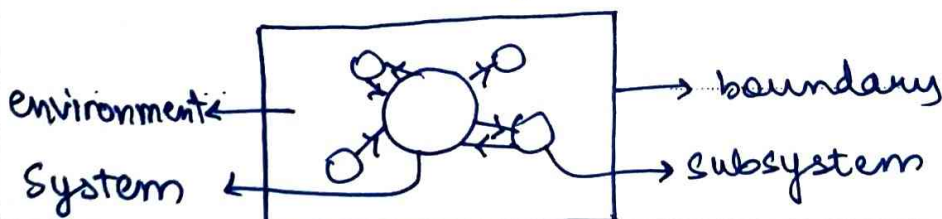
System approach to Comparative Politics. (10 Marks)

As per Gabriel Almond, Comparative Politics attempts an interdisciplinary analysis of 'political systems' via generalisations and categorisation.

David Easton, in this regard, gave the 'systems approach'. He was inspired by Bertalanffy (biology) and T. Parsons (sociology).

It gives a two way activity of nations in a regularised environment as per David McClelland.

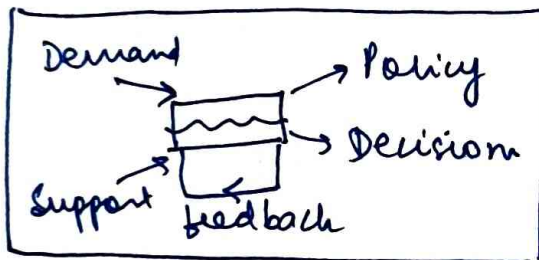
It attempts a scientific, value free analysis that excludes the normative bias of the researcher



This was in line with the behavioural movement that focussed on statistical scaling & scoring of data.

The system attempts a fair 'Authoritative Allocation of Values' with 'demand' and 'support' as inputs and 'policy' and 'decision' as outputs.

The feedback mechanism ensures continuity



However, Marxists believe it focussed on 'System maintenance'

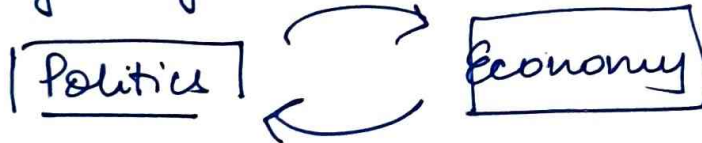
and is statusquoist. J D Singer believes it has led to unfortunate bifurcation in theory & practice.

Yet it remains an important starting point for further research, like the structural functional theory of Almond & Powell

Q.1(b)

Relevance of Political Economy approach for the study of developing societies. (10 Marks)

Political Economy attempts a cross sectional and interdisciplinary analysis of state, markets & individuals at the interface of



In East, it emerged with Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' emphasising on material well being. In West, Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' is a crucial starting point.

It showcases how politics and economy are mutually reinforcing priorities. This is understood with Ricardo's 'Comparative Advantage' theory.

On the other hand, Neo Marxists like Immanuel Wallerstein show how capitalism has become the 'World System Theory' with Development of Underdevelopment.

Amartya Sen's capability approach has created a new perspective in political economy. In Indian context, Atul Kohli showed how a 'crisis of governability' emerged with the failure of land reforms.

The rise in 'electoral bonds' show corporatisation of politics. Yet the discipline is criticised as economic reductionism monism.

It is best used in combination, with other theories like Gender budgeting lies at the tripecta of politics, economy & society.

Q.10) Fundamental differences in New and Old Social Movements. (10 Marks)

As per Vokey, Social Movements are informal and extra constitutional methods that create propulsion for the formal system.

While the old social movements focused on bread and butter issues, the new social movements attempt to improve quality of life. This is in line with JS Mill's 'progressive individualism'.

Earlier, they were led by lower classes and used conventional methods of strikes and protests. Now, they are led in metropolitan cities, mostly by middle class which uses intellectual tools like art, literature, internet.

We even see the youth participation like Greta Thunberg and Vinica Umashankar as climate activists.

Internet and social media have ushered a new dawn of collectivism, like 'Save Arrey'. but this has also created extremism.

2019 was the year of protests globally with Yellow Vests protest in France, Anti-billionaire movement in US & Shahen Bagh protests in India. This created hurdles in governance & public life (Supreme Court).

Yet, David Miller believes that progress lies in conflict & accommodation. This prevents resentments from snowballing and ensures 'power' remains with people (Hannah Arendt)

Ques. 1(a)

Changing trends in the nature of state in advance industrial societies. (10 Marks)

The Advanced Industrial societies are called as the 'Global North' or even 'OECD'. They hold power in cultural, economic and political sense.

Advanced Industrial societies were historical colonizers. The Industrial Revolution produced not for need, but for greed and profits.

This created a lopsided pattern. Marxists believe it led to the development of underdevelopment in peripheries (Samir Amin). Oxfam's Time to Care report shows glaring inequalities.

Further it created a climatic catastrophe with overuse and pollution.



This has led to Marx's prediction 'capitalism digging its own grave'.

The Antibillionaire movement in US is strengthening. Senator Elizabeth Warren demands the rich to pay equal taxes.

Inequality has fuelled the yellow vest movement in France. Developing countries are pressuring the advanced to take 'Historical Responsibility' in both economy & environment.

Noam Chomsky in 'Profits over People' holds the lack of social security responsible for this.

Trading States (Richard Rosecrance) like Japan, Germany also want to become 'normal militarised nations'

COVID has fuelled these trends in advanced industrial societies.



Ques. 1(e)

Compare the nature of party system between the developed and developing countries. (10 Marks)

Regardless of the political system, most countries have a 'party system' in governance.

While this is substantive in West with internal party democracy (Germany) and caucus debates (USA), developing countries reflect paradoxical features (Paul Brass)

There is a difference between text and context, theory and practice in developing countries unlike the developed.

FW Riggs calls them as 'Prismatic societies' as features of modernity and tradition coexist (Rudolph & Rudolph)

Max Weber's Theory of legitimacy can help us understand this as leaders reflect 'charismatic features' and parties often end with their death in developing societies.

But even in the developed countries, Dahl & Lindblom believe a deformed polyarchy exists as different groups exercise power. Eisenhower called US a military industrial complex.

India is an exception to the Duverger's law as well creating mysteries in political analysis. ^{Further} The developed cannot reduce value of one party countries in developed world if they enjoy popular support.

In both, party system plays a crucial role of interest aggregation (Nokey)

Que. 4(a)

Trace the evolution of feminist assertion in the realm of International Relations with special reference to the contribution of J. Ann. Tickner. (20 Marks)

Feminist assertion in the realm of international relations (IR) has been that there is an absence or lack of their perspective. Cynthia Enloe popularly remarks:

'Where are the women?'

In her book 'Bananas, Beaches and plantations', she shows how women are reduced to exploitation by MNCs, or as wives of diplomats. Some countries even monetise their subjugation, like 'sex tourism' in South East Asia.

This showcases the importance of 'human security' as opposed to realists who call for nation's security.

Ann J. Tickner in her book



'Gender in IR' realigns the six scientific principles given by classical realist Morgenthau in his book 'Politics Among Nations'.

She holds that realism (the dominant school of IR) is narrow in its conception of international relations as:

- i- 'power' should be seen in context of 'empowerment'
- ii- Human nature as 'animus dominantis' is historical & parochial
- iii- The role of ethics and ideology in IR cannot be undermined as we cannot absolve nations from the consequences of their actions
- iv- Security must be seen as 'human security'
- v- National interest is more than just power maximization.



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She successfully exhibits how realists have fallen short of giving a holistic and comprehensive theory. She highlights the 'security paradox' and ~~where~~ 'protection myth' where men, in their bid to protect others, cause more harm. (As per UNHRC, women & children are the worst sufferers of war)

In contemporary times, she has inspired feminist foreign policies, for instance Margot Wallstrom (Sweden). Nrupama Rao also holds importance for UNSC Resolution 1325 in South Asia.

Beyond the suffragette movement, the world now recognises the essential role of women in global affairs (Agenda 21, Rio)

The simple premise is that
'women rights are human rights'
- Hillary Clinton

Perhaps this can bring order in an
otherwise uncertain global scenario by
inculcating the feminist perspective to
address present day complex challenges
(climate change, terrorism etc.)



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Que. 4(b)

Critically examine the social and economic dimensions of the functioning of United Nations since its existence. (15 Marks)

United Nations (UN) was conceptualized with the goal that of

"Not to create heaven on earth,
But to prevent it from
becoming hell"
- Dag Hammarskjöld

It has three primary goals of peace, development and dialogue via which it fulfils its socioeconomic objectives.

The social dimensions of UN's functioning includes its internal dynamism. The UNSC's permanent members hold maximum weight in its decisions. However, it is criticised as reflecting cold war realities & being stuck in a moment in history (शस्त्री Tharoor)



This impacts decisions due to the 'East West Divide'. Antonio Guterres believes there is no relation between power and leadership at UN. This makes it fall short in achieving social goals.

Latin America and Africa remain unrepresented in 'P5', Asia is underrepresented while the west dominates.

This is despite the fact that India has timely paid its UN contributions while west falters on payments. The lack of adequate funds further cripples the jammed institution. Its budget is less than 0.5% of world GDP.

To tackle emerging 'Problems without Passports' (Kofi Annan), it is



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imperative to reform the social and economic dimension of its functioning. The need of the hour is discussion on proposed solutions like Emuwin Consensus or Kopiduman's formula.

'We need more UN than less UN'

— Ban Ki Moon

UN will be the 'port of call' for the world (S. Thurson) & must reflect present day realities to fulfil Woodrow Wilson's aspiration of liberal institutionalism and collective security

Que.4(c)

What are the basic assumptions of liberal approach to the study of International Relations. Critically examine the relevance of the approach in the context of current geo-political developments. (15 Marks)

Woodrow Wilson is considered as the father of the liberal approach to International Relations (IR). [14 points speech]

The intellectual precursors to this school include John Locke who believed peace, goodwill and mutual assistance prevailed in the state of nature. Norman Angell in "The Great Illusions" showed how safety via wars is a myth.

This school assumes that collaboration & institutionalism can ensure peaceful relations. Hugo Grotius, the father of international law believes a rules based order can emerge with consensus.



People to people relations harness goodwill (Rosenau) creating a society centric world. Economic collaboration in the Golden arches Theory of Thomas Friedman shows prevention of war.

Once basic socioeconomic relations emerge, David Mitrany believes 'Form follows function' creating a positive feedback loop.

This is however criticised by realists who believe state of anarchy prevails without a central actor. Nations are power maximizers and defect from their promises for national interest, creating a 'prisoners dilemma'.

Current geopolitical developments come close to Joseph Nye and Keohane's 'Complex interdependence'. Old issues aren't



resolved and new issues have emerged. This makes the liberal approach of limited use. As held by Rajesh

Rajagopalan :

'Ideas matter only when backed by material power'

This makes Nye suggest 'Smart Power' as a golden mean between liberals & realists. Current world problems need 'Fast track diplomacy', & John Chipman calls for 'Fast Power'.

In a world defined by COVID, Ukraine crisis and climate threat, the liberal approach offers a beacon of hope but needs to be used in collaboration with feminists, social constructivists and realists.

Que. 5(a)

If the topic of terrorism is front and centre for India, topic of Kashmir is the only topic for Pakistan in any bilateral dialogue. Comment. (10 Marks)

Terrorism is one of the complex challenges of 21st century and is defined as a 'problem without passport' (Kofi Annan)

India tries to highlight the paramount challenge at various fora - UN, SCO, BRICS, SAARC. Yet the only response from Pakistan has been to dial the dialogue down to tensions in Kashmir.

Recently, Indian representative to UN Shweta Dubey gave a befitting response to Pakistan.

Firstly, it is Pakistan that is haarbousing terrorists evident from its FATF grey listing.

Secondly, Pakistan is negating a larger global dialogue in its bid to counter India. Its anti India stance reflects the 'insecurity dilemma' (Amritabh Asharya)

The CCIT convention is crucial for ending fundamentalism of terrorists. India and Pakistan must follow '2+6' composite dialogue process for 'Functionalism' in relations.

Bridging the animosity can be a global victory in fighting terrorism. Shashi Tharoor recommends 'back channel diplomacy' for this.



Que.5(b)

Nehru's Foreign Policy was inspired by his idealism. Critically analyse. (10 Marks)

Pt. Nehru's Foreign Policy was inspired by India's civilisational values like Vasudeva Kutumbakam.

His 'Panchsheel' and 'NAM' reflected optimism and hope in uniting the global order.

However, the 1962 war with China showed his idealism in contrast to Patel's realism. Further, his Non Alignment was criticised by both blocs. As per Stalin,

'If you are not with us, you are against us'

The 1971 treaty with USSR made West call NAM a hoax.

However, Aparna Pandey in 'From Chanakya to Modi' believes that India's poor socio economic conditions compelled it to pursue NAM. This combined with an 'insecurity dilemma' (Mohd Syub) pushed it to assert its identity with the grand idea of NAM.

Understanding India's limitations was Nehru's realism. ^{Even today,} ~~However~~ India is the leader of global south, an advocate of rules based order and a champion for 'historical responsibility' of West.

The idealism of Panchsheel & NAM must be seen in light of 'pursuing our own national interests' (S Jaishankar)



Ques 40
Now India as an acutely energy short state is fashioning its diplomatic strategies to secure its energy security? (10 Marks)

India imports 84% of its crude oil requirements. This makes 'oil diplomacy' a crucial foreign policy strategy for its geoeconomic interests.

The shortage in global supply of oil was triggered by COVID and the current Ukraine crisis. India has manoeuvred the diplomatic walk on eggshells.

Middle East accounts for 52% of our oil imports. Groupings like I2U2 have been regarded as beneficial.

India's long standing ties with Russia have been leveraged. By trading in Rupee/Roubles, they have



navigated the Western sanctions. While this has drawn criticism from humanitarian groups, S Jaishankar holds

'Europe expects its problems to be the world's problems but not vice versa'

The 'material well being' (Kautilya) of a billion plus population stands in jeopardy. Our Finance Minister at WTO held 'Food, fuel and fertilizer are global public goods'.

India's strategy of multiple alignments only enforces the 'free market' ideology of west. (Adam Smith)

Via 'deft handling' and 'nimble diplomacy' (Chajamshan) it is navigating a global macroeconomic minefield.



Que. 5(d)

Discuss how, despite commitment to disarmament, India's acquisition of nuclear weapons was never inevitable? (10 Marks)

India's Nuclear Policy document reaffirms its longstanding commitment to disarmament. It holds that

"Its security is best ensured in a nuclear weapon free world"

While statements of Homi Bhabha and Pt Nehru are referred to for showing India's lack of intention for peaceful use, its acquisition of nuclear weapons via Operation Smar Shakti in 1998 created a huge challenge for NPT & its proponents.

It was never inevitable as efforts were being made to pursue India out of it. Rajiv Gandhi Action

Plan of 1988 also made West believe of India's peaceful mission. This was also the key agenda of NAM.

However as India lost the extended deterrence (Paul Huth) of USSR, it fast tracked its efforts.

Scholars like Bharat Karnad recommend even a 'First Use' posture given the security threat. But this can be expensive (M. Sethi)

India can adopt France's 'Asymmetrical Escalation Posture' which is effective for both conventional and non conventional threats. This can fulfil India's needs while it pursues comprehensive, non discriminatory, universal, time bound disarmament.



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Ques. 5(e)

Do you think India and EU need new avenues for greater political and security cooperation? (10 Marks)

India and EU are 'natural partners' as per Kautilya's Mandal Siddhant.

Trade between them surpasses a \$100 billion. EU's model of functionalism creates scope for a collective rules based order.

Many divergences exist. India's concerns with non tariff measures (eg - carbon leakage tax) and EU's concern on privacy and data democracy (India rejected Osaka Track) exists.

This creates ^{need for} new avenues as the world faces complex interdependence. EU is china's largest partner and



EU's long standing partner US is engaged in a Trade War with China. Further EU's dependence on Russian oil is creating inflationary challenges in Ukraine crisis.

In this light India & EU can emerge as factors of stability. Finalising the BTIA and 'Migration and Mobility' can foster new strengths in relations.

This can fulfil EU-India 'Vision 2025' for a peaceful and democratic global order that can address the leadership deficit and the complex problems of 21st century.



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Ques 6(a)

India has pursued the twin objectives of security and prosperity in South-East Asia. While the objectives remain constant, India's ability to realize them has been uneven. Comment. (20 Marks)

India's 'Look East Policy' was upgraded to 'Act East Policy' exhibiting geostrategic relevance of South east Asia in India's foreign policy calculus.

As the theatre of global affairs shifts to Indo Pacific (Fareed Zakaria), Southeast Asia is important for India's prosperity and security.

Successful functionalism displayed by the region with 'ASEAN' makes the 'Balkans of Asia' (Fischer) an integrated region.

HV Shringla believes India's North east is gateway to South east Asia and Indo Pacific. This is seen in projects like IMT highway, BBIN corridor,

Nehruvian Ganga cooperation & BIMSTEC.

At Shangri-la dialogue, Indian PM
highlighted the 'ASEAN centrality'
in a 'free open & inclusive Indo Pacific'

China's fast rise in the region creates
security threats for India as it fears
the 'string of pearls' strategy in Indian
Ocean. The docking of Yuan Wang 5
in its backyard in the name of
'BRI' is a case in point.

China is an 'amphibious state' (Spykman)
and a predatory hegemon that doesn't
believe in a multipolar Asia (Shyam Saran)

This not just hampers our security
but also prosperity as key choke channels
of navigation and chokepoints lie here
(eg- Malacca strait, Sabang strait)



India has collaborated with like minded nations to create a rules based order for maritime security like QUAD, IPEF.

Yet India's ability to achieve stability has been uneven. The common perception is that

'India Promises. China delivers'

As per C. Rajamohan, the failure of timely implementation of projects has pushed India's long time partners into the dragon's lap.

The slow process of our Line of Credits and bureaucratic red tape make our Southeast Asian neighbours disillusioned. India's refusal to join RCEP combined with a cold stance towards Rohingyas

has raised questions about India's commitments.

Yet, India is being seen as a 'Net Security Provider' in the region, with rising tensions in South China Sea (9dash line) and Taiwan.

India must fulfil and fast track its commitments under existing projects and revise the FTA with ASEAN to create a 'security community' (Kaul Deutsch) based on cultural bonds and civilisational trust.



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Q. 10 (10)
"There has been the historic links between India and Japan, however the common misgivings is that the dramatic rise of China in Asia is the key determinant." Substantiate. (15 Marks)

Bilateral relations between India and Japan were described by PM Kishida as multilayered and inclusive based on cultural bonds, historic friendship and common vision.

While many believe that the relationship is centred around the rise of the regional predatory hegemon China. This can be attributed to India & Japan being in opposite blocs during the cold war.

Further the aspects of sociological liberalism are missing with weak people to people tie. India's as a non signatory to the NPT drew criticism from Japan due to its sensitive past.



India-Japan's collaboration in Sri Lanka (East Container Terminal) and Apjia (Asia Africa Growth Corridor) show how they are coming together to counter China's debt trap diplomacy.

Further, the creation of QUAD is frowned upon in China as the 'Asian NATO', The 'Confluence of Two Seas' speech of Shinzo Abe aspired for a rules based Indo Pacific.

Other architectures like IPEF, JAI triangle are also construed in light of China's rise.

Yet we cannot limit India-Japan engagement to the Chinese perspective. Involvement in India's sensitive areas of North East, Andaman & Nicobar showcases how we are entering a



'cherry blossom' phase in relations.

(Amitabh ~~Das~~ Maloo)

This historic 'stepid' relations (David Malone) are now overcome with agreements on ACSA, Civil Nuclear Use, infrastructure (Delli Mumbai industrial corridor). They even partner in G4, demanding a rightful place in UNSC.

Thus, while China is a key determinant in India-Japan collaboration for a multipolar Asia, their engagement is much more than that. The recent \$42 billion investment in PM Kishida's visit shows ^{them as} geoeconomic partners who share a common view of a peaceful and rules based order.



Que.6(c)

The cold war imperatives enabled India to forge a close relationship between India and Russia. However, stronger imperatives exist for the two to work together in the post cold-war world order. Illustrate. (15 Marks)

India and Russia a 'Special and Strategic Privileged Partners' with their '2+2 Framework'.

Their longstanding and time tested friendship is a testament to their strong ties.

The 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship' 1971 reflected a quasi alliance - Russian help in 1971 war still honours soft power in the minds of Indians. PM Modi says

'Everyone knows who is India's best friend.'

Yet, C Rajamohan believes India should look at Russia from clear eyed realism and not sentimentalism.



Many believe that Russia's approach during the cold war was one of 'transactionalism' towards India to counter the US-China-Pakistan axis.

But it is certain that with USSR's disintegration, India lost its security umbrella and 'extended deterrence' (Paul Huth)

In a post cold war order, both represent important poles of a multipolar world order (Fareed Zakaria on BRICS).

To navigate the choppy waters of complex interdependence (Nye), they must work together and leverage platforms like SCO, RIC, BRICS and informal summits with the 'Social spirit'



India's abstention at UNSC and continued procurement of Russian oil despite the Ukraine crisis and Western criticism reflects India's diplomatic courage to

'Pursue our own national interests'
— S Jaishankar.

Concerns emerge with Russia's growing closeness with China (Power of Siberia project) and military exercises with Pakistan (Dushanbe)

India must bridge the trust deficit by augmenting Russia's 'Greater Eurasia Construct' with its 'Inclusive Indo Pacific architecture'. Diversifying our relations beyond energy & defense will be a crucial piece in the puzzle of 21st century challenges.

Explain the centrality and intractability of the border dispute between India and China and assess the prospects of meaningful resolution of the dispute between the two Asian giants? (20 Marks)

India China relations reflect classic case of 'complex interdependence' with disputed borders, trade over \$120 billion and civilisational connect.

The border dispute occupies centrality and intractability in relations. Historically, 'Panchsheel' principles guided the leaders. But the bitter and unfortunate memories of the 1962 war still linger. Its immediate reminder was present in the aftermath of the Galwan Valley incident recently.

This is fuelling deep distrust and animosity. Sreenoy Talukdar believes India has ~~is~~ responded by increasing the economic cost of such military



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endeavours with the 5G ban, Apps ban etc.

India continues to remain insecure due to the huge economic gap. China's border infrastructure development with roads, connectivity and military modernisation threaten India in a conventional warfare.

While both nations commit to 'No First Use' in nuclear weapons, China's tributary state - Pakistan is seen as a 'Mad child with a loaded gun'.

Not just in the Depsang Plain of North West, but Doklam standoff shows how our 'chickens neck' can become the 'Chinese dagger'. Kameng and Tawang regions make North east a crucial ~~and~~ geopolitical area.



This propels India to have better relations in its neighbourhood with Nepal and Bhutan. In Kautilya's terminology, these are 'Madhyam' or buffer states.

India's goal of a free and open Indo Pacific is also to counter China's maritime threat with its littoral neighbours being swallowed by Chinese debt under its 'String of Pearls'.

However, continued dialogue over international platforms and multiple rounds of talks between military officers offer a glimmer of hope.

Meaningful resolution can pave the way for an 'Asian century' as the economic powerhouses unleash a collaboration.

Fareed Zakaria describes this as

a 'Post American' world order with
'Decline of the west & Rise of the Rest'

This can even overcome fears of those who believe US keeps India & China engaged via its 'Bait & Bleed' or 'Blood letting' strategy by 'passing the buck' to India in the region.

However Shyam Saram fears that China does not believe in a multipolar Asia and will continue to corner India with Pakistan. China believes 'There can't be two tigers in the same hill'

C. Rajamohan's recommendation of 'deft handling' and 'nimble diplomacy' can enable India to walk the diplomatic tightrope. This must be in spirit of 'Panchsheel & 'Astana Consensus' (S Taishanku)



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Que. 8(b)

Trace the transformation of India-US relationship from one of mutual suspicion and distrust to one based on ever-widening areas of convergence of strategic interest and growing cooperation. Substantiate with suitable examples. (15 Marks)

India - USA are strategic partners today and have weathered the cold war era distrust. From being 'estranged democracies' (Dennis Kux), they are now 'engaged democracies'.

Their relationship is grounded on the convergence of internal values of Democracy which substantiates Michael Doyle's 'Democratic Peace Theory'. External values of ensuring a rules based order have brought them closer.

US was suspicious of India's NAM which was an irritant (Henry Kissinger) and not actual because of its 1971 treaty with Russia.

Yet with the disintegration of USSR, they came together as 'Natural Partners'. The Indo US civil Nuclear Deal 2007 was ~~was~~ a watershed moment, reflecting trust.

With trade over \$ 100 billion, it is said that the relationship is in 'auto pilot mode' as more than 40 platforms exist. Further US is home to over 2.5 million Indian diaspora (World Migration Report).

Ever widening cooperation is also imperative with the Rise of China. Its chequebook diplomacy and inroads in Eastern Europe, Africa, Central Asia make USA fear Mackinder's ~~theor~~ 'Theory of Heartland'. This makes India an important partner.



The growing interest in Indo Pacific with QUAD, Blue Dot Network, IPEF are aimed at ensuring freedom of high seas. US views India as a central actor & Net Security Provider here.

Yet Happymon Jacob warns not to be carried away by US terminology. India's strategic compulsions require it to pursue 'multiple alliances' (S^hraishankar) in QUAD & SCO, RIC & JAI.

This makes US call India a 'Swing State'. Shyam Bhasan believes US does not have experience to deal with India which is neither an ally nor a foe.

US-India relations remain a crucial link to preserve an ethical world order.

Que. 8(c)

Provide an account of evolution of India's foreign economic policies from the era of import substitution to the present era of liberalisation. (15 Marks)

Schaffer and Schaffer in their book 'India at the high table of diplomacy' describe India's foreign policy being based in its 'exceptionalism'

At the eve of independence, Prof. Amitabh Acharya believes India suffered from an 'insecurity dilemma'. Its import substitution policy was rooted in its fear of colonial drain of wealth since centuries.

It also reflects India's closeness to the socialist bloc. India adopted the Soviet model of centralised planning given its socio-economic compulsions. The drive for green revolution was also triggered by the humiliation of



PL-480 grains of USA.

However the massive BoP crisis of 1991 coincided with the disintegration of USSR. Scholars believe India lost the security umbrella & was an orphan.

India embraced the IMF conditionalities and opened its economy. This has ushered an era of high rate of growth with globalisation.

However Arundhati Ghosh in 'Capitalism a Ghost Story' shows how this globalisation has been a mutant variety of colonialism.

India is still a supplier of raw material to West and a victim of 'Politics of boxes' at WTO.

The FTAs have been uneven (ASEAN, South Korea). India has a surplus ~~on~~ with USA but was dropped from GSP & labelled as 'Tariff King'.

Present day global supply chain shocks with COVID, Ukraine crisis ~~now~~ have made India pursue a 'Vasudeva Kutumbakam' approach.

Finance Minister at WTO held that 'Food, Fuel & Fertilizer' are global public goods.

Lee Kuan Yew has rightly held that 'economic interest is the new national interest'. In this light, India's foreign economic policies are aligned only to its own well being (Taj Mahal).