



PSIR Answer Writing Module 2023

Test 15

Time Allowed: 1 Hour 30 Minutes

Max Marks: 120

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Test Submission Date: 14.06.2023

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Instructions:

1. All questions are compulsory.
2. All questions are for **15 marks** each.
3. Word limit for each question is **200 words**.
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. Filling all the details in **BLOCK LETTERS** is mandatory.

Q. No.	Marks	Q. No.	Marks
Q1		Q5	
Q2		Q6	
Q3		Q7	
Q4		Q8	
Total Marks:		Evaluator Code:	

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Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

[illegible]



Que.1

The Ministry of External Affairs is losing its importance in the making of India's Foreign Policy with the parallel rise of the PMO. Explain. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) is the pivot of foreign policy making - from sending ambassadors to embassies and consulates, to sending missions to international organisations like UN, WTO, BRICS, ASEAN etc.

MEA is involved in formal policy making, implementation and the daily conduct of Relations. Further, its secretarial staff send information and analysis to PM and its office PMO.

PMO plays a significant role in parliamentary government - as the PM forms the head of the government. He is responsible for implementing foreign policy of Nation.



PM is critical to steering the direction of Foreign Policy (J. Bandhopadhyay). Narasimha Rao showed pragmatism in the foreign policy as was seen during the liberalisation period.

Manmohan Singh's contribution played a pivotal role in signing of Indo US civil Nuclear Deal (2005) and ending nuclear apartheid against India.

Recently, Modi government has played an assertive role in India's first policy outlook - with signature moves like Act East, Neighbourhood first, Look West and so on.

Thus, one can argue the PMO is no mere coordinator now but conducts negotiations with foreign dignitaries, media and other aspects (AJ Noorani)



Thus, we can say that foreign policy is finalised only with the prior approval of Prime Minister.

However, it should be noted that MEA remains significant to the foreign policy paradigm.

Both the MEA and PMO are equal partners in shaping foreign policy. Together, they work for policy formulation and implementation.



Que.2

India's current foreign policy marks significant qualitative shifts from that of the previous regimes. Discuss. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Indian foreign policy since its inception has undergone several changes in light of changed geopolitical realities and continuing of India's National Interest.

"India has moved on from non alignment to alignment based on issues" - Vijay Gokhale,
Foreign Secretary

India is sailing in the uncharted waters involving china and Pakistan, despite setbacks and is closer to US than ever before.

As a global player, India is willing to define priorities of international system. The confidence of an aspirational



society that is willing to reassert its civilisational soft power is quite visible

Earlier during the cold war, India was engaged in nonalignment vis a vis ~~USSR~~^{US} and USSR, but, since 1991 (breakdown of USSR) India has tried to mend its ways with USA and is moving towards multilateralism

India has maintained friendly relations with all great powers to usher Vasudev Kutumbham, even visible during G20 presidency. One Earth. One world. One family.

India's transformation should happen through incremental adaptation (C. Raja Mohan) as a symbol. India has repeatedly argued for UN Reforms, started international organisations like International Solar Alliance (ISA), neighbourhood first, Asia Africa Growth



corridor, global south cooperation
for climate change and democracy

India's foreign policy has moved
great miles. India now aspires
to be a leading power, rather
than a balancing power (S. Jaishankar)

Its ambitions have moved
from a rule taker to an
active rule maker.

The country has departed
from a cautious power and is
ready on to larger global role
by being more nimble than
ever in playing the great
power game.



Que.3

"The World Trade Organisation (WTO) serves as the guardian of free and rules-based world trade. Unfortunately, the multilateral organization finds itself confronted by significant challenges." In light of recent conflict between USA and China, discuss the prospects of WTO in post pandemic world order. (200 words, 15 Marks)

WTO, as a successor to GATT, was formed in 1992 for an open market and a rules based world order.

Until recently, WTO was a functional organisation that aimed at opening up of the borders for shared prosperity.

But WTO faces several challenges. The trade war between US and China has turned the organisations goal dysfunctional.

US is bent on to reform the organisation given that ill-defined version of developing and developed countries



By taking benefit of the special and differential treatment, the US feels that china is dumping cheap goods in the country.

Further, disputes exist on the opening up of the agriculture sector in developing countries and the subsidy given to the fisheries sector.

The prospects of WTO as an organisation seems weak and feeble given the WTO dispute resolution mechanism is dysfunctional.

Trump believed that china had cheated them and a complete overhaul of the institution is needed.



Alternatives to WTO have emerged since the deadlock at the Doha Development talks. EU has ascertained that china should claim leadership by not taking benefits.

The Nairobi talks of 2015 led to the signing of Infotech agreement.

B3 Initiative - BUILD BACK INITIATIVE of the USA aims at reconstruction of the world post pandemic.

Countries have shifted away from WTO to include bilateral and regional groupings including

FTAs and Regional groups like RCEP, since consensus at WTO seems a distant reality.



Que.4

Elucidate India-Myanmar relation in light of the recent Rohingya Crisis. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Rohingyas are the most persecuted minority group in the world. They are concentrated in western Myanmar - are the Native Muslims of Arakan (Rakhine) state of Myanmar.

India's position towards them has evolved over time. Initially, India regarded them as the internal affairs of Myanmar, were sympathetic to Myanmar. During the period, over 40,000 illegal migrants have settled in India.

Even though they may have the UNHCR certificate, yet it has to be ascertained that India



is not a party to UN Refugee policy.

MHA had asked for the deportation of people. The political and military establishment sees the Rohingya issue as a security issue.

Kofi Annan had urged states for engagement and even appreciated the then MEA Salman Khurshid for accepting the refugees in light of India's policy of acceptance.

UN Human Rights saw their persecution as crimes against humanity.

However, recently the government is not keen on accepting rather deporting them.

P. B Mehta has highlighted that the presence of Rohingyas



is synonymous with radicalisation, spill over to security, law and order situation.

In 2015, India turned away the Rohingyas, just like Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. Since then India has maintained quiet diplomacy.

At present, India finds itself in Catch22 situation vis a vis Bangladesh and Myanmar on Rohingyas.

India and ASEAN should work collectively towards the Rohingya issue - in a way for socio-economic development, constructive engagement and not mere megaphone diplomacy.



Que.5

Define the term Strategic Culture. Do you think India has a Strategic Culture? (200 words, 15 Marks)

The term STRATEGIC CULTURE was first coined by JACK SYNDER during the Cold War. Strategic culture refers to the sum of ideals, conditional emotional responses and patterns with regard to strategy towards National Interest.

Strategic affairs are 3 dimensional to secure its existence (Kisame) achievement (Yoga) promotion (vivandhana)

Many western countries like US have held that India lacks strategic culture in the behaviour of state actions, beliefs and value.



George Tanham, 1992, asserts that India lacks strategic coherent culture. British didn't include Indians in decision making. The culture seems of defensive strategic orientation with not developed serious strategic planning institutions.

Countering the above, Srikant Patanjali asserts that Indian strategic culture has a civilisational framework and is not narrowly nationally located. The value stands for defence than expansion.

Shiv Shankar Menon opines that India has a well defined strategic culture. With its most frugal innovation, despite having a small band of



professional diplomats with minimum means to deliver, they have done a fine job.

Unique features of India's foreign policy, are seen in its non alignment posture, multilateralism, voice of global South where India has used its force for just ends - Sri Lanka and Maldives. Economically, India has its own foreign entanglements and root engagements.

Thus, we can ascertain that India has its own strategic vocabulary and doctrines.



Que.6

"Non-alignment was for a specific era and India is no longer a bystander"—S. Jaishankar. Comment on India's contribution to Non-Aligned movement. Do you think the movement is relevant at present? (200 words, 15 Marks)

"INDIA HAS MOVED FROM NON
ALIGNMENT TO MULTI ALIGNMENT"

- S. JAISHANKAR

Non Alignment refers to India's foreign policy during the cold war period. Intense rivalry between US and USSR divided the world into two rival camps but India remained non alignment. NAM represented the III World Independence (Shashi Tharoor)

India's contribution to NAM has been everlasting. J. Nehru was the founding father of the movement. He termed NAM as a "moral force"



Foreign secretary V.K Menon coined the term Non Alignment.

By giving voice to newly independent nation states, NAM gave freedom to choose the fate of nations.

It stood for multilateralism, non violence and international cooperation for international disputes as seen in case of Vietnam, Malaysia, Philippines

NAM's principle was formed in 1961 Belgrade in consensus with the Bandung conference of 1955.

NAM stood for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It fought against imperialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination, disarmament, non interference in internal affairs and peaceful coexistence.



Since, the breakdown of USSR, the relevance of NAM has been questioned. However, NAM remains relevant as :-

- i) an active contributor to world peace by preserving its founding principles
- ii) to support and promote territorial integrity amid repeated violence
- iii) Integral for global south unity
- iv) Reform international organisations like UN.
- v) Deal with global issues on terrorism, WMD, nuclear proliferation, economic imbalance and safeguarding interest

NAM shouldn't be seen as an organisation of Cold War. As times have changed, NAM can be seen as a counter to neo-colonialism.



Que.7

'The two words - 'continuity & change' sum up the historical & current engagement of India with Africa'. Critically examine. (200 words, 15 Marks)

India and Africa share historical and cultural linkages. Both have been subjected to racial discrimination and decolonisation.

Lakhs of Indian indentured labourers moved to several pockets of Africa for working in British colonies. Gandhi started his satyagraha from Africa. The relation is deeply rooted as the African saying goes,

"You gave us Gandhi,
we gave you Mahatma."

Continuity in engagement from post colonial ~~times~~ times is seen with the formation of NAM, India's efforts to aid decolonisation in Africa.



Uganda 10 point agenda highlights the four pillars of the relationship including Trade, Investment, Lines of credit and capacity building

Cooperation has extended to peacekeeping cooperation for humanitarian aid and disaster relief (eg operation Bahatya - Mozambique-2019 for cyclone relief)

Capacity building extends to ITEC and Asia-Africa Growth Corridor.

However, the rise of China, geopolitical dynamics and increasing rivalries has increased the relevance.

C. Raja Mohan opines Indian efforts in Africa require push as it doesn't have leverage of time. Stalled projects need revival for economic strategic and political returns.



As East African countries gain relevance (F. Zakaria), Djibouti has attracted strategic threat.

change is needed in the diplomatic footprint that India is leaving in Africa. It needs to staff the headless consulates and spread ICCR projects.

Trade and Investment in Africa has seen tremendous jump. In 2017, it accounted for \$62 billion (22% more than previous year).

India and Africa share a special bond. India is seen as a representative of Gandhian values based on fair cooperation and capacity building beyond simple trade of consumer goods.



Que.8

According to Ashley Tellis, the antagonism between India and Pakistan, the two nuclear rivals remains one of the greatest tragedies of 'Asian Politics'. In light of this statement, discuss the prospects of SAARC in the post-pandemic world order. (200 words, 15 Marks)

SAARC is the least integrated regional group in the entire world. Two of its greatest members - India and Pakistan, both nuclear powered are at loggerheads with each other on a variety of issues including border - Kashmir, Sir Creek, water and trade disputes.

SAARC has been jammed vehicle (S. Jaishankar) especially, since the Uri, Pathankot strike the organisation seems to be breathing its last.

The Caravan of SAARC has been stopped due to Pakistan. Any attempts to revive the organisation



like the composite dialogue process (Manmohan Singh) has been had limited success.

However, the need to revive SAARC is essential for a peaceful, prosperous and supportive neighbourhood. Acknowledging that SAARC has been in ICU since 2015, S.D Muni has urged for the revival of Neighbourhood 2.0.

Following Gujral doctrine, India needs to engage with its neighbours including Pakistan and China through various platforms such as SCO, Russia, India, China and G20.

In line with above, India's recent endeavours like Vaccine Maitri have boosted SAARC.

India needs to shed its big brother bully image (Muchkund Dubey) and actively aim



for increased bilateral engagements
Intra regional trade has been
at a level of 5% in contrast to
ASEAN - 25% ; EU - 60%.

As S.D Muni had highlighted,
a dead SAARC will only make
Indias neighbourhood policy
more difficult and its
international image unpalatable
thus its revival is needed.



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