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# Political Science & International Relations

## PSIR Mains Test Series – 2024

## Test 8

**Time Allowed: 3 Hours** **Max Marks: 250**

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**Test Date** 13/09/24
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**UPSC Roll No** 0857592

**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 | |
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| 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) **Write on the following in about 150 words each:**

**Give a critical assessment of the major arguments of Francis Fukuyama's "End of History" Thesis. (10 Marks)**

The disintegration of USSR in 1991 was a 'system defining moment', called as 'end of history' by Francis fukuyama.

A more vocal theory than 'end of ideology' Thesis of Daniel Bell, it held that we are not just witnessing end of cold war but we are witnessing an end of man's ideological evolution.

Liberalism has won the historical battle of ideologies & countries will move towards the western way of capitalism. (8)

China is often called as 'capitalism with chinese ~~capitalism~~' characteristics with state capitalism, neoliberalism.

However Samuel

Huntington criticised it & held that we will see a "clash of civilisation" & instead of end of history, we will see a "repetition of history" in the form of terrible bloodbath & ethnic conflicts in the form of "faultline conflicts" or "core conflicts" between major civilisations.

In present times, rise of "civic challenge" due to its phenomenal growth has altered the debate around ideologies & challenged "end of ideology" debate. China presents itself as a "New democracy" or a democracy that works. UNDP talks about "democratic paradox" in world where people have liking for authoritarian leaders. There is bolstering of authoritarianism & democratic recession [Larry Diamonds] as per EIA's Democracy Index. Dr. Jaishankar talked about "Return of history" due to rise of "civilisational states" like India & China.

Que.1(b) What are the advantages and disadvantages of comparative approach in international relations (IR)? (10 Marks)

Comparitive approach is an intellectual tradition that helps to compare the political systems of different countries. It has many advantages & disadvantages.

Its advantages include.→

(a) Helps in theory building in political science eg Elitist & Pluralist theories of democracy came out of comparitive approach

(b) It helps in making a good analysis and generalisations in politics

(c) Helps in studying political behaviour & discovery of new techniques to study political systems eg Political system approach of David Easton

(d) Helps in studying politics of "prismatic societies" [Fwriggs] and Less countries of G7

However it suffers from major disadvantages as well :-

(a) Lack of verifiability & objectivity of facts used in modern comparitive methods & Political economy

(b) Lack of scientific methods due to subjectivity of human beings

(c) Bias ness & Eurocentrism in comparitive approaches & Political development & political Modernisation approaches

(d) Lack of universal approach to compare political systems of all countries

However comparitive approach helps greatly in studying & understanding of political systems, so as oakshott says "politics is complex. It is a 'borderless & bottomless sea', so multiple methods shall be used in combination for a fair analysis

Que.1(c) Examine the challenges to democracy in present times across the globe with relevant examples. (10 Marks)

Democracy is facing the worst challenge in the contemporary times due to "democratic recession" [Larry diamonds] & "democratic Backslide" [Nancy Bermeo] as per EIA's democracy Index

First is the "China challenge" that has altered the debate around ideologies. China's "phenomenal rise" has enabled it to present itself as "New democracy" or "People's democracy" that has transformed a nation.

Authoritarian regimes are coming together with China & Russia supporting dictator of North Korea, dictatorial theocracy of Iran, military intelligence complex

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of Pakistan, Junta of Myanmar. Geopolitical games in Cold war 2.0 [Richard Haass] has led to coup culture in Africa as recent Bangladesh crisis. There has been an erosion of civil liberties in post covid world order with authoritarianism rising.

Pew Research Survey & UNDP highlight "democratic Regression" due to rising liking for authoritarian leaders, rising nationalism, Populism, right wing leaders (eg Trump or victory of far right in recent EU elections 2024 is the "year of elections & democracy". Summits of democracy and Daniel Bell suggested to improve efficiency of democratic models to reduce the liking for authoritarianism. PM Modi's emphasis that "democracy has delivered & will continue to deliver" suggests way ahead for democratic Renewal.

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Que.1(d) **Explain the basic assumptions of the Marxist approach to International Relations (IR). (10 Marks)**

Marxist Approach to International politics emerged out of the works of Lenin in his book 'Imperialism : Highest Stage of capitalism' & Rosa Luxemburg's work.

Marx did not wrote anything about Marxist approach for study of International relation besides talking about 'Proletarian Internationalism'.

Basic assumptions of Marxist school emphasise that capitalism has expanded on a global scale. They view globalisation as nothing but the expansionism of capitalism. They see core countries as bourgeoisie countries

or "core" countries & developing countries as "peripheries" or semi peripheries as per dependency theory or ~~core periphery~~ core & periphery model of world systems theory of wallerstein

They still believe that "economic structure is the basic structure" & revolution will start from the peripheries countries. They assume that Marxist doctrines will come true when there will be a rise of revolution and welfare states will eventually collapse.

Critical school of ~~Andrew~~ Robert cox & Gramscian school of Linklater though assume that it is not important to study material structure alone & we need to study cultural & ideological factors too for a comprehensive analysis

So Marxist school helped us to understand nature of state & global capitalism in a better way.

Que.1(e) **Define "national interest". How do sovereign states secure their "national interests"? (10 Marks)**

"National interest is the prime motivation of a foreign policy of a nation" → Morgenthau

National Interest are the interests which a nation may seek to preserve & protect when it comes to its relations with other states in an international system.

Machiavelli gave primacy to 'Raison d'etat' in his book 'The Prince'.

States secure their national interests by various means. Realists like Machiavelli & Morgenthau held that States use 'Hard power' to safeguard their national interests. Kautilya in his book 'Arthshastra' gave 'Saptanga' & 'Mandal Theory' & enabled use of Sams, Dam, Bheds,

bands to secure national interests.

Liberals on the other hand, focus of use of 'soft power' (smart powers [Nye]), diplomacy, dialogue, institutions like UN to preserve national interests.

feminist scholars criticise narrow view of national interest of realists & held that peace & dialogue through a foreign policy can be used to secure national interests.

However scholars like charles Beard criticise National interest as ambiguous concept. Raymond Aron criticised its vague & open ended nature. Mohd Yunus criticise it as as tool of promotion of interests of elites.

However in present cold wars era, Lord Palmerstone rightly held that "There are only permanent interests" in International Relations

Que.2(a) Critically assess the foremost criticisms leveled against structural realists by post modernist scholars. (20 Marks)

"In the absence of a world government, need of Balance of power naturally arises" → Kenneth Waltz.

Structural Realism also called as scientific Realism was given by Kenneth Waltz in his book "Theory of International Politics" during the "detente" phase of cold war to challenge the classical Realism of Morgenthau in his book "Politics Among Nations" based on traditional approach. It held that due to the absence of a global "Leviathan", there is anarchy in world politics which leads to security-dilemma [John Herz] & trust-deficit which causes international relations to

become a struggle for power. Hence till the structure of International relations doesnot changes, IR will remain a struggle for power.

Waltz held that States differ only in the context of amount of power they possess & ideology and other considerations donot make any difference.

Structural Realism has been subjected to criticism of various schools like Anarchical Society School, Feminist school etc.

Post Modern school also criticised & presented an analysis of structural Realism. It upheld that structural Realism is another 'meta-narrative'. They held that

it is another "discourse" by utilising the power, - knowledge connection established by foucault.

Richard Ashley in his book "Anarchy Problematique" held that though anarchy may be prevalent but the way structural realist interpret anarchy is problematic.

structural realists present anarchy as struggle for power among the states which leads to trust deficit & security - dilemma & ultimately leads to war. Then structural realists present their ideas as common sense when war happens. "deconstruction" of realists

was used by Der Derian to help in deconstruction of concepts of Structural Realism to bring the reality in light. They uphold that truth is plural & contested so we shall listen to multiple meta-narratives.

Though Post Modernists presented an analytical critique of structural realism. They could not highlight the continuing relevance of Neorealism till this day. The Neorealist concepts like "Polarity of Power" Thesis by Waltz, Three level analysis of Kenneth Waltz's actor, State & Structure levels added greatly to our understanding of International Relations

Anarchical society school presents a "Golden Mean" between two of them which highlights that International Relations is not a complete society or complete anarchy but an "Anarchical society" reflecting peace & conflict.

Que.2(b)

**What do you understand by the term eco-feminism? Also, discuss its key principles in international relations (IR).**
**(15 Marks)**

Eco-feminism is the "third wave feminism" school representing "intersectionality" in feminism. It was propounded by scholars like Vandana Shiva.

It holds the view that men are exploitative by nature & women are conservationist by nature. Environmental issues are better handled by women as they are worst affected by the environmental issues like the climate change.

They give the prominent examples of "Amrita Devi" in India or the recent examples of Licypriya Kangujam, Swedish

climate activist who started "Fridays for future" movement, Sunita Narayan also highlighted the role of women in her "New environmentalism" Elleanor Ostrom in Agenda 21 highlight the women contribution in environmental protection.

When it comes to its application in International Relations, the feminist foreign policy is advocated to better handle the climate change issue in the recent times.

Feminist foreign policy proponents advocate that exploitation of environment through resources exploitation & wars due to realist prescriptions & Industrialis-

ation & trade empheses of liberal school has to be changed by change of values guiding the foreign policies of the States.

J.B. Elshtain held that men have failed. Women perspective or feminist perspective in foreign policy highlights the shortcomings of masculinist perspective.

Feminist foreign policy guided by eco-feminism is needed for a global action to mitigate the climate threat & Paris Agreement. Antonio Guterres held that climate change is a 'problem without Passport' & 'Earth has passed from a phase of global warming to global boiling' so ecofeminism can act as a guide to Governments in domestic & in international relations

Que.2(c) **"The rivalry between the US and China is presenting multifaceted challenges to the existing world order". Elucidate. (15 Marks)**

Robert Kaplan hold that the world order is in the "Gate of Flux" due to the coldwar 2.0 between USA & China as per Richard Haass in his book "The world".

As per "power Transition Theory" of Kenneth Organski & Thucydides Trap" of Graham Allison, the conflict between "Pax Americana" & "Pax Sinica" has major implications for the existing world order.

The conflict has led to a challenge to the rules based order especially in Indo Pacific where chinese aggressive actions especially in South China Sea has brought

China & USA face to face due to USA's pacts with Philipines & Japan under its Island chains strategy, Hub & Spoke architecture.

It has also led to "crisis of legitimacy" & "crisis of confidence" in global bodies like UN when China is building its own multilateral framework as evident from SCO summit 2024 where SCO talked about expansion from a regional body to a global multilateral body.

Furtner, it has led to strengthening of "bloc politics" in the form of "Nato's expansion" and Russia - china quasi Alliance and increased Chinese outreach to

Iran, Taliban & recent Russian-North Korean defence pact.

Also, it has led to proliferation of minilateral & plurilateral bodies like Quad, SQuad, I2U2, Indopacific Quartet, AUKUS etc to provide a major blow to multilateralism. Further, it has led to de-globalisation due to de-risking & we have seen the rise of "Delhi Man" over "Davos Man" geopolitics recently. Also, competition among US & China has led to "politics of corridor [IMEC vs BRI] and it has led to proxy wars in Global South & recent coups in Bangladesh & Africa.

In this context, India has become a pole of stability vouching for Reformed & Effective multilateral order based on "vasudhaiv kutumbkam" & 5S approach. PM Modi rightly held that "we have the responsibility to shape post covid world order on our shoulders"

Que.3(a)

"Idealism in international relations is a theoretical perspective that emphasizes the importance of norms, values, and ethical principles in shaping the behavior of states and other international actors." Comment. (20Marks)

Que.3(b)

Give a detail explanation of how neo-liberalism presents a break from classical liberalism in international relations? (15 Marks)

Que.3(c) Critically analyze the role of emerging technologies like Artificial Intelligence (AI), Cyber Warfare, and so on in shaping the nature of warfare in present day international politics. (15Marks)

Que.4(a) What are the key features of interdependence liberalism in international relations? (20 Marks)

Que.4(b) Discuss the basic principles of Modern World System theory of International Relations. (15 Marks)

Que.4(c)

Even though Constructivism is a recent entrant into the club of IR theories, it has succeeded in gaining massive attention from scholars across the world. In this context, discuss the significance of social constructivism as an approach to the study of IR with suitable examples. (15 Marks)

Que.5(a) **Discuss the major pillars of India-France bilateral relation. (10 Marks)**

India-France's "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership" has compled 25 years recently in 2023. It is based on various pillars.

Economically, bilateral trade has reached to $13 billion with a huge trade of defence goods like Rafale aircraft. Besides that bilateral investments are also increasing $ recently France also accepted UPI during PM Modi's visit in 2023.

Geostrategically, India-France are cooperating in Indo-Pacific where France has presence in Reunion island $ Djibouti base. Rafale Trilateral $ India-France-Australia Trilateral has further increased cooperation

in the context of China's "Muscle-flexing" in Indo-Pacific. France is crucial for Project 75 Alpha of Ind is for which "INFRUS" is suggested by Gurpeet Khurana.

In Geopolitical terms, France supports India's membership in UNSC & NSG. India supported France's inclusion in IORA. Further both launched International Solar Alliance.

P2P contacts are great due to huge "Indospora" & PM Modi-Macron's "Bromance" has further lifted up partnership of "INFRA" [PM Modi]

Recent Horizon 2047 Communique highlights ambitious goals for bilateral relations. Dr. Jaishankar rightly called France as "German" of India in his book "Why Bharat Matters" due to rising importance of relations

Que.5(b) **"Convergences of interests and a mutually beneficial partnership have significantly reshaped the India–UAE relationship." Comment. (10 Marks)**

India-UAE partnership is historical, cultural & civilisational in nature leading to evolution in a "strategic partnership".

Bilateral relationship is based on convergence of interests in multiple domains.

Economically, UAE aims to diversify its economy under "khalegi capitalism" & India seeks new markets in west Asia leading to signing of CEPA that was called as "watershed moment" by PM Modi.

In geostrategic terms, both face the same challenge of instability in neighbourhood & region in the large due to

rise of radicalism & Non State actors like Taliban in Afghanistan & Iran's "Axis of Resistance" bringing strategic interests together.

In Geopolitical arena, UAE supports India's membership of UN security council as a permanent member & India uses UAE & Saudi Arabia to enter into a trade agreement with GCC.

In P2P contacts, presence of huge "Indiaspora" in UAE has led to India-UAE security community Recent initiatives like I2U2 & cooperation in science & tech [IIT in UAE], Space has further increased cooperation. BAPS Temple has further boosted India's soft power in UAE

In short, ~~Pak~~ India replaced Pakistan in West Asia under its pragmatic diplomacy & India-UAE ties are seeing "Cherry blossom times" as per C.R. Mohan

Que.5(c)

**Examine how deepening "Russia-China-Pakistan" Triangle is a cause of concern for India. (10 Marks)**

Going by Neorealist wisdom, The international environment acts as a huge determinant for a nation's foreign policy.

In the backdrop of cold war 2.0 [Richard Haass] between US & China, the formation of Axis & bloc politics has resulted in deepening of "Russia - China - Pakistan" Triangle adding to the major concerns to South block in India.

On a bilateral level, India's relations with Russia will face a downward trajectory and strengthening of Pakistan's defence by Russian & Chinese weapons will provide a major blow to India.

On a Regional

level, Russia is seen as a balancer of China by India in Asia going by Kautilya's wisdom. & form of this axis will further increase India's dependence on us as a balancer.

On geopolitical front, it will make India's participation in SCO & BRICS more difficult. India will face great difficulty in Balancing relations with West & East in Non Alignment 2.0

From security point of view, it will reduce India's relevance in Afghanistan and central Asia which will be devastating for India's security.

India shall utilise its 'bonhomie' with Russia to deter Pakistan's relations with Russia to prevent the rise of Islamist & ensure safety of relations along with soft & hard balancing, Regional & Global Balancing by negotiating with US & West

Que.5(d) **What are the challenges and limitations in India's "Connect Central Asia Policy"? (10 Marks)**

Connect central Asia policy was a product of Look North policy in 2015 to increase India's engagement with 5 central Asian 'stans'.

PM Modi has stressed on it as he believes that "central Asia is India's extended family" but it suffers from various challenges.

Prominent challenge is the lack of physical access to central Asia from India as Pakistan in west & China on North has blocked India's access to central Asia.

Further lack of diplomatic importance & infrequent visits by leaders of India has downplayed India's role in central Asia

Further the bilateral trade & cooperation is negligible due to negligible focus. Arrangements to reach central Asia like INSTC, Ashghabat Agreement etc. are moving at snail's pace.

Radicalism, separatism & terrorism in central Asia due to Taliban takeover is another challenge. Further "china challenge" due to its BRI projects has reduced scope for India in central Asia.

So to deal with central Asia, India shall work with Russia as central Asia is called as its "soft underbelly". India shall aim to reach central asia using recent "Chabhar deal" as a gateway. Trade & engagement shall be increased by regular visit. In short, it is time to Act towards increasing India's engagement & fame in central Asia.

Que.5(e) **India's active participation in the Quad reflects its evolving foreign policy priorities and its aspirations for a greater role in shaping the geopolitical dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region. In light of this statement, discuss the significance of Quad for India. (10Marks)**

Quad or Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, called as "four sons of Dasarth" by Dr. Jaishankar in his book "Why Bharat Matters" is a diamond of democracies of India, Australia, US & Japan, formed in 2017.

As centre of Gravity of International politics has shifted to Indo Pacific due to phenomenal rise of "China challenge", Quad has become very important for India.

Going by Thucydides Trap of Graham Allison, the gap between Comprehensive National power gap of India & China has enabled India to use Quad to establish a Balance of power in

Asia by external balancing.

Further, Quad is also necessary for countering non traditional security threats as highlighted in Quad's vision about climate change, disasters, technologies, terrorism etc.

Further, it reflects a change in "Reflexive Anti Americanism" attitude of India's south blocks Quad signifies rising India's relations with US & west formation of west Asian Quad or I2U2 has further signified that India has left its ideologically driven "Nestetrons of past"

However, India's friendly country Russia called Quad as "anti china games" & China called it as "Asian nato"

However, Dr. Jaishankar recently held that Quad is "post alliance thinking", post cold war institution". Quad is here to stay, cooperate & contribute in stability & development in Indo Pacific as per Dr. Jaishankar.

Que.6(a) **Critically analyze how India's engagements with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) foster regional stability and security in the region. (20 Marks)**

Shanghai Cooperation organisation, established in 1996 as Shanghai Five, is a regional economic, political & security organisation.

Going by Mackinder's World Island Theory, SCO covering over & about 80% of Eurasian continent is an immensely geo-political organisation to shape regional stability & global architecture. due to its profile containing more than 40% of world's GDP & 60% of world's area with huge oil & gas reserves.

India's engagement in SCO started in 2006 when it became a "dialogue partner" in SCO. Then in 2017, due to the Russian backing, India was inducted as

a formal member in SCO whereas China sponsored Pakistan's membership in SCO to counterbalance India's inclusion.

India's engagements with SCO are crucial for regional stability & security in the region. First of all, India has engaged with SCO to handle the Afghanistan crisis post US withdrawal from its "forever wars" in August 2021. SCO has established a special group to deal with Pakistan. Further India has engaged with the Regional Anti Terrorism Squad [RATS], HQ at Tashkent, Uzbekistan to counter 3 evils like Terrorism, radicalism & separatism.

Moreover, India's engagement with SCO has helped to engage with Russia & central Asia simultaneously as central Asia is called as Russia's soft underbelly. It has helped India to break the barrier imposed by Pakistan & china on its western & Northern direction.

Further, the inclusion of Iran in SCO in 2023 ~~SCO~~ summit hosted by India has enabled India to engage with Iran & enter into "chabbar deal" for 10 years recently to operationalise INSTC, Ashghat Agreement to counter China's BRI project.

Further going by Kautilya's Mandal theory of SCO

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has enabled India to engage with its neighbour's neighbour that is Russia & central Asia to establish a balance of power in the region.

However India's engagement in SCO has not gone well with the western powers who see India as a 'major swing State' or 'Pivot state' in their strategies of 'offshore Balancing' [mearsheimer], hub & spoke Architecture in Indo Pacific & QSD's Asia Rebalance Theory.

To convince west, India conducted 2023 SCO summit virtually & PM Modi didnot visit SCO summit in 2024. India shall communicate it to west that only inclusion of India is preventing SCO from becoming a defence pact, so as Filipo Costa, held that relevance of SCO lies in the eyes of beholder, so India shall continue to engage with SCO through its HEALTH & SECURE strategies given by PM Modi for "Reformed & Effective Multilateralism" under (N.A.I.G)

Que.6(b) **"Despite encountering obstacles, the mutual understanding between India and Bangladesh has fostered the continuation of the "Golden Chapter" in their bilateral relations." In the light of this statement, examine the dynamics which contribute to this enduring bond between India and Bangladesh. (15 Marks)**

India - Bangladesh relations have entered into "sonali Adhyaya" or "Golden period" as per former PM Sheikh Hasina due to historical & cultural contacts coupled with enhanced bilateral cooperation.

Recent major breakthroughs in the relationship is evident from infrastructure projects like Kushiara Rail Link, Agartala - Akhaura Rail Link, Ganga Vilas project. Both have inaugurated a "Friendship Pipeline" recently.

Issues like land boundary have been resolved in 2015. River issues like Teesta river

Kushiyara River have been also resolved.

Both are cooperating in BIMSTEC projects. Smart Bangladesh Vision 2041 & Viksit Bharat Vision 2047 are in harmonisation.

India has also involved third parties like Russia in Rooppur nuclear plant & Japan through Japan's New Plan for Free & Open Indo Pacific under Bay of Bengal Northeast India value chain development project that integrates with the BIG-B project of Bangladesh.

However, certain issue corrode the potential of the relationship. Water issue in the form of Teesta water dispute is a major issue. Recent Coup in Bangladesh ousting pro India PM

Sheikh Hasina & India out campaign of Bangladesh Nationalist Party of Khaleda Zia & Jamaat-e-Islami has provided a huge setback.

Bangladesh has become a hub of proxy wars between US & China and Pakistan & India as Pakistan wants presence & in Dhaka due to India's presence in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Maritime border dispute, illegal immigration issue, economic crisis like situation in Bangladesh, Presence of ISI in Bangladesh, North east insurgents like NSCN, CAA & NRC etc. are other issues.

Going Ahead, C.R. Mohan suggests India to engage with new rulers in Dhaka as per its Act East policy, Neighbourhood first policy to build upon the base of relationship built by Sheikh Hasina & by a carefully calibrated approach.

Que.6(c) **What is India's current position in pursuing a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)? What advantages would a permanent UNSC membership provide? Discuss.(15 Marks)**

Ruchira Kamboj, India's representative in UN held that UNSC representing a balance of power of cold war and a lack of democracy has become "anachronistic".

India, as a major contender of a permanent seat at UNSC since beginning of UN has taken various steps to take its "rightful place" on the horseshoe table among the "comity of nations" [J.L. Nehru]

India through its New orientation for Reformed Multilateralism [NORMS] approach held that there is a need of Reformed UN 2.0 with a reformed UNSC for an effective multilateralism

India recently proposed a reform plan for the reformation of UNSC. India through its participation in G4, L-69 groups, OGN negotiations aims to reform UNSC.

India has engaged west & Global South to generate support for India's membership in UNSC as a permanent member. S. Jaishankar highlights the 'presence of neutral countries like India in UNSC will address the 'crisis of legitimacy' of UN. He held that china is the 'only roadblock' to India's membership in UNSC as a permanent member.

India in this sense has adopted a 'multilayered' strategy to get a permanent seat at UNSC

A permanent seat at UNSC will bring huge 'strategic dividends'. It will enable India

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to tackle treats like terrorism by overcoming hurdles imposed by china through its technical holds on terrorist listing @ Rauf Asghar. It will help India in its bilateral dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir issue. It will strengthen India's soft power & India's leadership of the Global South. Further, it will enhance India's "comprehensive National power" to address traditional & Non-traditional security treats. It will also enhance India to realise vision of "Reformed & Effective Multilateralism in cold war 2.0 between USA & China. India will be able to shape global climate change negotiations & nuclear proliferation negotiations

So, India needs to engage China at RIC, BRICS, SCO with the help of Russia to clear the last roadblock in its journey to UNSC as a permanent member

Que.7(a)

"Pakistan sees the Kashmir question as the unfinished agenda of Partition and is not willing to put it aside — even temporarily — to develop a limited but positive engagement with India and facilitate South Asian regional integration under the auspices of SAARC." C. Raja Mohan. (20 Marks)

Que.7(b)

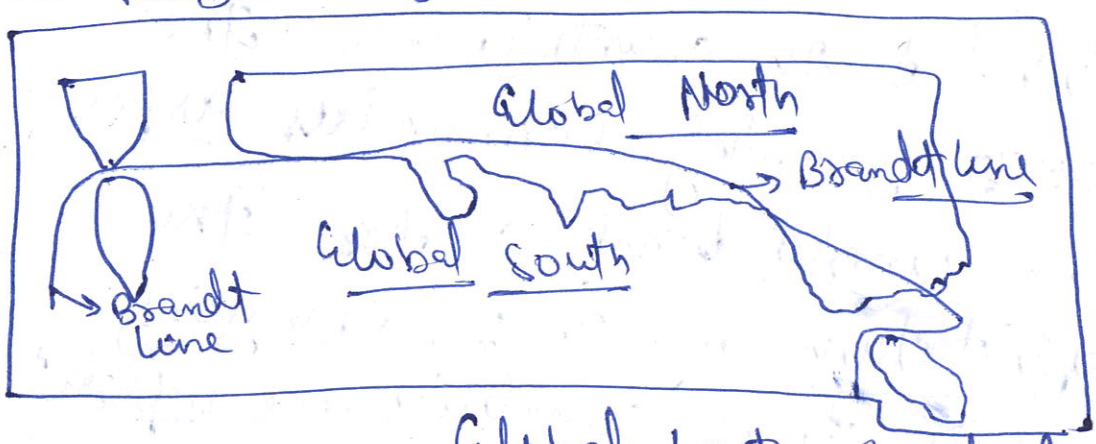
"The security dilemma in India-China relations is characterized by mutual mistrust, territorial disputes, strategic competition, military modernization, and nuclear deterrence." Elucidate (15 Marks)

Que.7(c)

"The current situation puts the diplomatic and political relationship between India and the Maldives at stake, which has been meticulously cultivated over six decades. A constructive way forward for the India-Maldives partnership could entail reducing tensions and recognizing that diplomatic relationships are shaped by shared and sustained interests." Discuss (15 Marks)

Que.8(a) Discuss the significance of the "Global South" for India in contemporary geopolitical scenario. (20Marks)

Global South is marked by Brandt Line given by "North-South divide : A program of Action" report in 1980.




Global South stands for countries of 3rd world as per "one Earth, Three world" article of Alfred Sauvy which are facing poverty, underdevelopment and have a lack of representation in the global bodies like UN & Bretton Woods Institution.

India since Independence in 1947 have proactively engaged with Global South as

the form of NAM, G77, South-South cooperation etc due to huge significance of Global South for India.

In geoeconomic terms, Global South countries are the fastest growing economies as per the world bank so for the exploitation of these emerging markets, these countries are important. further, resources from these countries like Lithium from Latin America's Li-Triangle is crucial for make-in-India's initiative of India

further, these are relevant for geostrategic reasons like countering of "Chinachallenge" in Indo Pacific & beyond. These countries are emerging as a

major defence export destination of India @ Lucknow & Gandhinagar declarations between India & Africa further increases their significance. Also multiple defence exercises like AFINDEX and defence exercises with Asean [AIMEX] further increases geostrategic relevance.

Moving on to the geopolitical significance, Global South is relevant for India's aim to get a permanent seat at UNSC. It will be crucial to realise the demand of a New International Economic order through reforms in trade & WTO like Agricultural issue.

Further, for shaping climate change negotiations like launching of International solar

Alliance, CDRI & IRIS & for realising the principle of CBDR-RC support from Global South is necessary. Moreover to counter non traditional threats like terrorism, non-proliferation, disasters etc., Global South has huge significance for India. However, internal divisions in Global South, competition with China over leadership of Global South, geopolitical games of Global North & coup culture & failed states in Global South presents numerous challenges in front of India.

India through its voice of Global South Summits, 5C's approach, Dakshin centre, Global development Compact & inclusion of African Union in G20 has tried to tap the potential of Global South. Dr. Jaishankar rightly held that India as a "Great power" has huge interests in Global South & it is India's "moral duty" to raise voice of Global South.

Que.8(b) **Discuss the major pillars of India's climate diplomacy in contemporary geopolitical state of affairs. (15 Marks)**

As per Aniruddh Bose's "Rio to Paris" book, India has transformed from a "passive voice" to an active shaper' in climate change negotiations.

India's climate diplomacy focussing on "pro ~~people~~ planet people, pro planet prosperity, pro planet progress' [PM Modi] stands on various pillars

In bilateral relations, India has entered into a "Green partnership" with Denmark, "water Partnership" with Sweden along with Lead IT initiative. India US conduct climate Action & finance Mobilisation Dialogue under their climate & clean Action partne-

-rship and they have entered into a strategic clean energy partnership in their PACER initiative.

Further, on a regional level, India stands for Green infrastructure under BBIN-MVA & it has pushed hydro electricity in countries like Bhutan, Nepal through projects like Sankosh, Tala etc. India has also vouched for Grid connectivity in region for transporting hydroenergy.

For Global South, India acts as their leader & representative in global climate change negotiations. It stands for climate finance under New Collective quantified Goal and represented their voice in platforms like G20 summit in 2023. Also, it has launched projects

like CDRI, IRIS (International Solar Alliance for helping Global South. In multilateral bodies, India is a shaper of climate change negotiations in COP, UNFCCC, UNCBD and India has played an active role in pushing for achievement of SDG's. Major initiatives include ISA in 2005 with France, One Sun, one World, one Grid initiative, Lifestyle for environment approach [LiFe] etc.

India has been an initiative taker to proactively shape climate change through its climate diplomacy. PM Modi himself acted as a "climate diplomat". India's climate diplomacy though brought it at loggerheads with certain western countries but it has brought huge soft power & leadership with India which led to India's emergence as "Vishwaguru" in climate change negotiations.

Que.8(c)

**"Regional integration in South Asia faces numerous challenges, hindering the region's ability to fully capitalize on its economic potential and address common developmental goals." Substantiate. (15 Marks)**

Going by New Regionalism Theory of Andrew Heywood post cold war, regions & regional organisations have acted as agents of economic prosperity & development. However South Asia, despite the formation of SAARC in 1986, remains the most underdeveloped area with highest number of poors & least integrated region with trade less than 5% & investments as low as 1% compared to Asean which has more than 25% of trade among its members

Multiple challenges have hampered regional integration in South Asia. First is the 'statist' mindset of SAARC as per

Smruthi Patnaik reducing cooperation in Multi track diplomacy. SAFTA & South Asia Agreement on Trade in services have failed to materialise

Lack of reforms in economies of South Asia, inadequate infrastructure & connectivity, lack of industrialisation hinder the economic cooperation

further, bilateral issues like border disputes (eg) Kashmir dispute, illegal immigration (eg) Tamils, Rohingyas, River disputes (eg) Teesta dispute etc. hinder the regional cooperation.

Moreover, India-Pakistan conflict still haunts the region as a "Banquo's Ghost" [Dilip Hiro]. Pak's state sponsored

Terrorism has made South Asia a "jammed vehicle"

Further scholars like Bhumitra Chakma held that presence of South Asia on "Arc of instability" & "commanding centre of IOR" has made South Asia a hub of proxy wars & Geopolitical games in cold war 2.0 (eg) recent Bangladesh crisis, reducing regional cooperation

So scholars like Amitabh Mattoo argue that "India's rise as a Global power is not possible without the support of its neighbourhood. Shyam Saran held that India with "75% of South Asia's" population & 70% of GDP has to act as a "hub of growth". S. D. Muni argues that a "disorient Saarc will make India's neighbourhood policy more difficult so SAARC 2.0 is not an option but a compulsion based on a new Neighbourhood Act 2.0

Space for Rough Work

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