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PSIR Test-10 Paper II

Name- SANJEEV KUMAR

Roll No- OAC 24 PIT N030

Mobile No-

Date - 10-09-024

Feed back -

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Section A

1(a). John Ikenberry defines "world order as the governing arrangement between nations to maintain rules and regulations.

However, current geopolitical flux has started a new rhetoric of New world disorder. Stephen Walt considers current world order is lopsided multi-polar.

whereas, Shiv Shankar Menon noted this disorder as, he calls current world order is economically multipolar, militarily unipolar and politically confused.

As many countries are rising with some Asian

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powers like India and China creating a room for new-world order.

Even, Fareed Zakaria noted a world with post-Pax Americana where USA is declining, and rest is rising. eg: Chinese $ 18 T economy is challenging USA's great power status.

with so much conflicts arising ranging eastern Europe to Middle east, it is creating a new geopolitical churn regarding a new world order.

Thus, Shashi Tharoor in his "New world disorder" mentions India can be developmental superpower in this new world order.

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1(b). Hegemonic stability theory has been given by Robert Gilpin who provides that hegemon-power provides stable world order.

A global policeman is required to maintain the existing rule based international order. eg: Pax-Britannica in early 19th century to early 20th century maintained order. Later on Pax Americanna is maintaining since end of cold war.

Hegemon is decided on the basis of two conditions such as willingness to be a hegemon and the capacity to punish the violaters. eg: with the economic & sometimes like recently on Russia.

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It has important role in establishing international order as it ensures a stability with cheers and balances over the country who tries to overrun the system.

eg: Sanction on China over 1988 - killing of protestors.

However, it has been criticised as a tool to ensure hegemony of USA. It also led to unilateral decisions like war on Terror in Afghanistan, withdrawal from JCPOA (Iran) etc.

It also faces the issue of megalomania when after 100 years, the hegemon ends. eg: Pax Britanica → Pax Americana → Pax-Sinica.

Thus, hegemonic stability theory is to ensure a better balanced world order.

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1(c). National security refers to commitment by a nation to ensure its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

National security is changing in this present geopolitical flux. Initially, there was focus on protection of national interest as per realists.

However, it led to new notions like human security (critical school and marxists), women security by feminists, economic & people security by liberals and so on.

In recent time, Copenhagen school talked about new notion of security. As it is creation of food security, energy

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security, water security and others.

Barry Buzan challenged the traditional security and called security is like a speech act. eg: 6 nukes is not a threat to USA of UK, but 6 nukes of North Korea is a threat.

Also, now after changed notion, we can't compartmentalize security because human security is related with national security and economic security is related with Environmental security. eg: climate change on food security.

Thus, security of nation is still supreme in this anarchic world order as per realists.

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1(d). Back channel diplomacy refers to quiet diplomacy which happens under the closed door.

This was recently in news due to canada - India tensions over khalistani extremists after the Nijjar killings.

So, in this back channel diplomacy country uses its strategic mind to find out solution at the tables. eg: Katju suggested India to do this quiet diplomacy with canada to rebuild the trust.

So, generally it happens outside the charm of media. It led to

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deeper geopolitical churn over sensitive issues to find out common consensus.

eg: even during G-20 summit, there was a lot of back-channel diplomacy to come on at the New Delhi leaders declaration.

However, it does not work always or it takes a lot of strategic patience to do the heavy lifting of issues.

Yet, this back channel diplomacy is effective method to come out with better minimum consensus.

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1(e). Democratic decline refers to the lack of democratic culture or participation of people.

SP Huntington has mentioned the issue of democratic decline due to rise of bureaucratisation ie unelected officials. eg: UNCTA officers.

FW Riggs mentioned about states inability to carry forward all the 3 functions at a time ie equality, capacity and functional specialization.

So, there is a democratic back sliding and democracy slum after 3rd wave of democracy as per Larry Diamond.

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There is a rise of technocratic regimes in the developed nations such as Japan and south Korea. As Jamie Bartlet in his 'The people vs Tech' mentioned about transfering of decision making to AI. eg: chatgpt.

Also, due to failure to deliver goods and services, it has been growing post-democracy (Rosenthal) and declining confidence of voters as per Runciman. eg: 65% voter turnouts.

Thus, recent 'Pew' research report indicated 58% people support expert based rule and 26% support autocratic regimes in developed country as an alternative to democracy.

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4(a). Claude de Tracy has coined the term "ideology" which is science of ideas. It transcended into various thesis including End of ideology.

In comparative politics, political modernisation approach (Shils-Huntington) analyzes the role of ideology and development in creation of any modern state.

It called that now after adopting the features of modernisation like secularism, rationalism and industrialisation. Any country can become democratic even a communist-autocratic regime.

So, it is called that the nature of modern state is shaped

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more by its level of development than by its ideology. Taking cue from WW Rostow, it is noted that now every countries passes through same phase of modernization process, so, now ideology do not matter, only matter is development.

As per Huntington, after a point of time, countries will adopt features like liberty, equality and fraternity which convert them into a better democratic nation.

It is even supported by Daniel Bell who provided that now every country is having the same authority based on bureaucratic model, irrespective of ideology.

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so, they even claimed that China will also convert themselves into a democracy. But it did not happen due to the experience of USSR's disintegration.

However, MacIntyre criticised this "end of ideology" because it created a void and it is also an ideology in itself to declare democracy and liberalism as superior. (Regime change).

Thus, End of Ideology has been now replaced by clash of civilizations (of Huntington) and "New End of Ideology" due technocratic democracy (Japan, South Korea).

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4(b). 2nd ARC defines terrorism as the concerted efforts to secure political motives by various actors.

There are various forms of terrorism such as state terrorism (Saudi Arabia killing Jamal Kashogi), non-state terrorism, state sponsored terrorism (Pak's ISI).

So, there are various factors responsible for the rise of Global terrorism such as:- Firstly, the diffusion of networks and leadership after end of USSR. UL Haddi's pointed that USA killed the python but it gave rise to various terrorists (snakes) in the region.

For example - after end of Mujahideens in Afghanistan,

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it led to various organizations such as Jamaat-e-Islami, Lashgar-i-Taiba, Boko Haram, ISIS, Jais-e-Mohammad and many more.

Secondly, rise of technology gave them ease to world's radicalised youth. Currently, Kerala youth using Maldive routes to go to ISIS.

Thirdly, global terrorism is also due to state weapon as a proxy to destabilize governments. Eg: ISI using Taliban Mujahideens to send their fighters to Kashmir.

But, there is a difference between local and

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global terrorism such as use of networks and arms and ammunations.

Generally, local terrorism operates within small region such as lone wolf attackers. Also, giving rise to the sleeper cells in small cities.

Moreover, local terrorism try to get some political gains such as secession. eg: Khalistani terrorists want to carve out Punjab from India. (North east insurgency, Left wing extremism, Jammu-Kashmir Militancy are other examples).

Thus, terrorism needs to be deradicalized in west Asia using spy agencies as per Brahma Chellany.

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4(c). David Easton's input-output model is also known as System Approach in Comparative politics.

It is one such approach of behavioural revolution and first approach to use scientific methods to study the comparision between states.

The relevance of Easton's model is to understand the political systems using environment, boundaries analogies. It considered to be a grand theory that analyses the political decisions, supports and policies and demands.

Easton uses

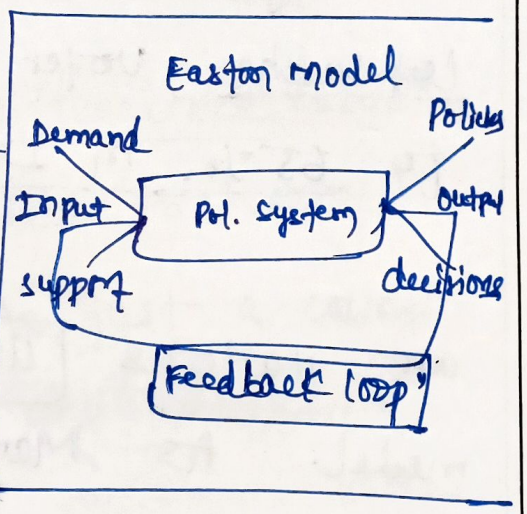
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It to decide the authoritative allocation of values. It helps to understand the government's schemes, laws and regulations.

Further, its relevance is to make the system stable because it also provides a "feedback mechanism" through which citizens can give their reviews.



Another relevance is to "public support" to the government via "taxation" and "voting patterns".

eg: People give taxes to the government they like or they will do tax evasion.

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Similarly, the voting turnout can be the deciding factor in understanding "political support" to the government. eg: recently 18th Lopsabha voter turnout reduced to 65%. in India.

However, there are various limitations in his model. As Marxist, Eugene Muller noted that it does not consider protests in his model. It is claiming that there is no protests in the western society.

secondly, it is trying to declare liberal nations as supreme, so it is a strategy of APSA against socialist nations.

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Almond - Powell noted that system approach is not suitable for developing country because it is considering the macro view (not micro) and it is static (not dynamic).

Traditionalists called it as challenging due to heavy terminologies which is just a cosmetic change rather than any valuable insights.

Thus, oakeshott calls we move in a borderless and bottomless sea in political science. We need more approaches to understand the comparative politics completely.

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Section-B

5(a). Lineoln and Ford defines the foreign policy of a country is the collectivity of its decisions towards external environment to protect its territorial Integrity and sovereignty.

There are several Challenges in Indian Foreign Policy in 21st century such as:- First, China's ambition to establish a chinese century and become a "middle kingdom" which will undermine India's vision of multipolar world order. (Shyam Sharan)

second, Happyman Jacob mentions India's rise at global stage but challenges at regional stage. It is due to instability in

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South Asia - eg recent dramatic departure of Sheikh Hassina in Bangladesh can lead to pro-China & pro-Pak regime in the mask of BNP.

Thirdly, instability in Middle east can push again India towards strategic balancing rather than delivering in gulf regions.

Fourth, balancing east-west with growing tension in Ukraine. Eric Garcetti criticised India's approach of strategic autonomy amidst war.

Thus, Anchal Malhotra noted India policy need to be pragmatic, flexible and proactive based on Arthashastric rhetoric (HV Pant).

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5(b). International Humanitarian law (IHL) refers to rules and regulations relating to the humanitarian aid provided to any crisis-driven nation.

Recently, the Israel-Hamas war pushed the discourses on the IHL to protect the children of Gaza.

So, this IHL provides the support via medical, food, energy aids to the countries. eg: India for support humanitarian aid in the Gaza. As it provided its support for humanitarian pauses.

Further, IHL aims to ensure a regular

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protection of the country from any inhuman attack. It ensures the human dignity and protection of human rights. eg: Implementation of Universal declaration of human rights.

However, in realist world where states are living in anarchy, everyone is chasing for national interests ignoring the humanitarian law. eg: Russia attacked on children hospitals, similarly Israel on Rafah hospital.

Thus, International humanitarian law need more legal and vocal tooth to stay relevant.

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5(c). World Trade organization is the only international body that deals with trade. It was established in 1995 after Uruguway rounds of talks (GATS).

There are various mechanisms, one of them is grievance redressal mechanism. It provides the opportunity for member countries to file any complaint against other member states - (Dispute settlement body)

Eg: Brazil has filed against Sugarcane FRP of India in which India lost the case.

So, there are members who are appointed by members like USA. But due to Trump's protectionism policy

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and its rhetoric of "America first policy", dispute settlement body is in coma. USA denied to appoint members which led to no functioning since then.

To tackle this, many countries are opting for plurilist arrangements. Recently, Japan created a multilateral arrangement as an alternative to dispute settlement body.

Thus, there is a need to appoint the members to start its functioning. India is pushing for it.

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(Please do not write anything except the question number in this space) कृपया इस स्थान में प्रश्न संख्या के अतिरिक्त कुछ न लिखें।

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उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए Candidates must not write on this margin

5(d). Joseph Nye defines soft power as the strategy to influence nation without using any force.

India has huge soft power due to its various notions such as bollywood, handloom, cuisine, music, yoga, ayurveda, and Buddhism.

The significance of Buddhism as a tool is since its missionary zeal. It has created a cultural connect with south east Asian nations. eg: South Korea, Japan, Tibet has huge buddhist populations.

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Even, recent Nalanda university in Rajgir was inaugrated where many buddhists are studying from south east asia. It provides SS for India as per Modi- such as Samman, Samridhi, Sanskriti, Suraksha, and Sabhyata.

Further, Buddhism ensure people to people connectivity as per diaspora politics (Gabriel sheffer).

However, Joseph Nye upgraded his soft power to smart power to ensure better benefits.

Thus, India need to upgrade its soft power to smart power.

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5(e). New International economic order was first time adopted by NAM nations at Algiers conference in 1973.

India's role in establishing NIEO has been significant. Initially, India as a leader of NAM talked about global asymmetry in the present economic order. As it has been captured by Europe and USA.

This was further enhanced by India's leadership at G77 where it garnered support from Latin american nations. It led to adoption of a resolution in

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8th special session of UNCTAD (now UNTAD) -

India as a leader of global south and ensuring south-south co-operation (Hannah Arendt) with creation of multilateralism can provide a better opportunity to establish NIEO.

India is pushing reforms at WTO, IMF and world Banks with focus on alternatives like New Development bank can put pressure on west.

Thus, despite Cornwall consensus, there is still a chance to establish a NIEO.

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7(a). India - Japan relationship is dated to history when Budhasena visited Japan in 752 AD, since then their is civilizational links.

Kapil Sanwal called present relationship as cherry blossom phase. This has grown due to many factors, one of them is Chinese agression.

As China is increasing its "assertive diplomacy" in south China sea with its 9 dash line-rhetoric. It's also doing wolf warrior diplomacy.

For India, the Salami Slicing Strategy & Strings of Pearls of China is creating issue in

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both Himalayas and Indian ocean.

eg: Yuan Wang 5 visited srilanka.

In this premise, there is strengthening of India-Japan relations. Both have signed a logistic pact named "ACSA" to share their naval ports. As India can share its Andaman-Nicobar island, so will Japan - its Djibouti base which is at Babel-Mandeb chocke point.

Secondly, Both are strengthening the rhetoric of Quad in this geo political flux. Conducting Malabar exercises, Shinyu maitri exercise and other guardian exercises. It will ensure a better geo-political stability in both oceans.

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Both are also co-operating on other areas like Semiconductors. eg: India's "Make in India" partnership with Japan's "Society 5.0" to build fabrication units.

Even co-operating on "2+2" dialogues, health, infrastructure such as MAHSR (Bullet train), western dedicated corridors. etc. PM Modi mentioned the role of Japan as largest Official development assistance provider.

Thus, S. Jaishanker in his "The India way" mentioned Japan's importance to create multipolar world order with India.

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7(b). Currently, the geopolitical world order is in flux with rising instability across the world.

With current crisis in Ukraine and Gaza, the situation is getting worse with Hezbollah's attack on Israel recently. India has come forward as "Vishwa-Bandu" and "Vishwa-rakshak" via humanitarian aid.

C. Raja Mohan mentions that these are not just new vocabulary of "South Block" but real discourses in rising India's great power rhetoric. India is playing greater role in humanitarian role in Gaza.

As India has supported the "humanitarian pauses" in Gaza to supply the food, oil,

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medicines across Rafah border. Even PM Modi had conveyed its message to Netanyahu to stop attacks on children and hospitals during Ramzan.

It is also sending medical equipment to various war torn reasons. Recently, when PM Modi visited Ukraine, it gifted "Bhishm Cube" which is a portable hospitals.

Therefore, with engaging itself through bilateral and multilateral challenges, India is supporting both Gaza and Ukraine. Not stopped here, but in peace keeping forces, India's active participation has helped to stop the crisis

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in African regions. eg: currently, Indian peacekeepers are deployed in Liberia, Abei etc.

Through "vaccine maitri" with the message of "Sarve- Santu Niramaya, Sarve bhavantu Shukhinah", India provided millions of doses of vaccines as humanitarian aids.

However, in the current flux, there is need to stop wars and start a peace-building exercises with the conflicting parties.

Thus, Indian foreign policy is shifting towards strategic participation as a mediator in such crisis.

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7(c). BRICS is a group of 11 countries now after expansion. It was coined by Jim O' Neil of Goldman Sach who claimed by 2040, these nations would surpass G6 in GDP.

BRICS is a major grouping for South-South cooperation (Hu Arendt) as it accounts for 23% GDP and 43% population. However, there is a western dominance in the global economic order. As both IMF and World Bank is being captured by European Union and USA respectively. Jeffrey Sachs called World Bank as the

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extension of Federal Reserve of USA. This is because of huge asymmetry in the power sharing in the economic order.

In such scenario, BRICS can provide a viable alternative for the developing countries. As BRICS already created a "New Development Bank" which has a capital of $ 100 Billion. It is also financing more than 100 projects including Infrastructure, health, education, environment etc. NDB even provides developmental loans to the states on soft rate. Now, with the increasing membership there is a demand to create a new

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उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए Candidates must not write on this margin

currency in BRICS. S. Jaishankar mentioned last year that it is in consideration to create a BRICS-currency which depends on individual members.

Further, there is also a contingent reserve to help countries in case of Balance of Payment crisis. As, it has members from 3 continents including Latin America, Asia and Africa, its importance increases multifold.

However, with rising rivalry within the BRICS over bilateral issues creating a new deadlocks. As Rajiv Bhatia

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noted that members are trying to create an anti-west grouping especially with growing Russia-China axis.

Also, the border disputes between India-China is creating the impasse on other development issues.

Therefore, BRICS need to co-operate on economic issues to create a new currency. As President Xi Jinping mentioned, all the five fingers need to reconcile together to create a fist.

Thus, BRICS is necessary to establish a multi-polar world order to establish Asian century.

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8(a). Recently, PM Modi visited Ukraine amidst war. It was the first visit to this war torn country.

As Russia attacked Ukraine on 24th February 2022, since then India has maintaing a neutral stand with its strategic balancing. Though it did not supported Russia directly, but it had abstained from UNHA voting to criticise Russia.

Even recently, India did not sign the declaration in Switzerland in the peace deal. such responses illustrating a realist approach.

Since Inception

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of war, India has taken a realpolitik stand (Henry Kissinger). It is strategically balancing both west and Russia.

India started to buy new-cheap oil from Russia as discounted prices. Answering a question, S. Jaishanker countered a criticism by talking about Europe's sponsor to war. He quoted that "Europe has to come out of this mindset that "Europe's problem is world's problem and not vice-versa".

This was evident when Modi visited "Russia" this year amidst war. It led to criticism from Eric Garicetti that India's strategic autonomy is not right during

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crisis. He was referring to both Chabbar port and Russia's visit.

However, realist notion can be found in maintaing a manouver. As Stanley Johny noted that it is not a zero-sum game, but a positive sum game. As India's purchase of oil led to price-stabilization in the world.

Therefore, India is on the way to creat a potential peace-deal as recently in interview Putin named India to play a role of mediator.

Thus, India's role in this mediator will enhance its status of swing state and provide a great power status (vishwa guru).

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8(b). UNSC is one of the 6 principle organ comprising of 5 permanent and 10 rotating non-permanent members.

It is the apex body with veto powers to ensure peace and stability in the world order. So, India is claiming a permanent seat on UNSC for so long.

The significance of India's claim for this can be understood through role of UNSC. Firstly, UNSC can amend the charter of UN which provides Article 1 that ensures various roles such as friendly relations, international co-operation, etc.

Secondly, UNSC seat can enhance the status

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of India as global power along with China, USA, Russia in this geopolitical flux.

Thirdly, a veto power that ensure a "Raamban" during Chinese or Pakistani aggression along the border.

Fourthly, UNSC seat will enhance the role in International Court of Justice as Permanent members can veto any decision. Eg: Kulbhusan Jadav case can be in India's favor.

However, it is debatable that should India continue to pursue this goal or not! Harsh V Pant mentioned that "enough is enough."

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India should adopt a new approach and stop fighting for UNSC seat. It is also viable decision because getting 2/3rd votes along with no veto from China is nearly impossible. As Sanjay Baru noted India has limited its chance by being in G4 because China can't allow Japan in UNSC

well, on the other hand, C. Raja Mohan prefers India to pursue its goal because it will ensure a multilateral personality (Teresita Schaffer).

Thus, PM Modi at UNGA called that the reformed multilateralism with reformed UN can ensure humanity.

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8(c). India and Israel are the only two true democratic nations from Mediterranean to Indian ocean. The relationship is based on democratic peace theory (Michael Doyle).

India was initially reluctant to declare a full fledged relation with Israel but with LPG reforms, India established its ties in 1992, Now it has been called as "Mehri dosti" by Israeli PM Lapid. PM Vajpayee called Israel as natural ally and PM Modi visit in 2017 shaped the relationship to strategic partnership. So, it has evolved through a long way

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over the last two decades.

However, India's position in West Asia is full of sensitivity as Robert Putnam mentions India play a two level game theory in Israel. One at the international where, it criticises Israel action and other at bilateral level where it launches Israeli spy satellite. (eg: Pegasus).

In this turmoil, Palestine issue is also full of strategic balancing as India initially supported Palestine. It was evident from JL Nehru's statement that "Palestine problem is India's problem".

However, after 2014, India has maintained a two-state solution approach. It is applying

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dehyphenation strategy where both is dealing on its own merits.

So, India-Israel is cooperating now on various arenas such as:- Firstly, defence patnership as both are co-operating on UAVs. eg: Spice, Herons etc. Israel is India's 4th largest defence supplier, and also have expertise in repairing of Russian weapons.

secondly, Both are cooperating on trade with volume worth $8 Billion including 50% trade in diamonds.

Thirdly, cultural diplomacy as 85k Jews lives in India that ensures people to people connectivity.

Fourthly, both

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are working on agriculture such as Israel is creating 30 Agricultural centre of excellance. Also helping in dryland farming. It can help in salt-water conversion.

Fifthly, space cooperation between both agencies (ISCF).

However, it will impact India-Palestine relations as currently Gaza is in conflict with Israel. India is maintaining a "humanitarian pause" stance in Gaza with no ceasefire.

India even abstained from UNGA voting to support ceasefire. However, it is providing humanitarian assistance keeping geopolitical relations with gulf nations in mind.

Thus, India is maintaining a realpolitik stand (Henry Kissinger).