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Question No.
प्रश्न संख्या

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सिर्फ अभ्यास के लिए

PSIR Test -02

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Date - 25-07-024

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Section-A

1.(a) "Cold war" term was coined by Bernard Baruch and popularized by walter Lipmann. It denotes the rivalry between two power blocs namely USA and USSR.

Cold war started due to various reasons namely- First, use of delay tactics when Germany attacked on Russia in 1941. Stalin realized that USA wants to destroy Germany - Russia each other.

Secondly, the usage of nuclear bomb on Japan to establish supremacy on the world. This time also, Stalin was not informed about Manhattan project and attack.

Thirdly, the long telegram of Mr X. (George Kennan) to

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USA regarding containment of USSR because Stalin was determined to overthrow capitalists from their roots.

Fourthly, Truman doctorine that ended Munroe doctorine which ended USA's isolationist approach across the globe.

Fifthly, Marshall plan of USA and in response Molotov Plan of USSR to help their allies in re-development.

Thus, Social constructionists like Nicholas Onuf calls cold war was the result of miscalculations and mis-understanding which could have been avoided.

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1. (b) United Nation has been created in 1945 based on liberal institutionalism of Widrow Wilson. It aims to establish peace and stability.

The structure of United Nation:- Includes 6 principle organs and 15 specialized agencies.

Principle organs :-

(1) United National general assembly as highest deliberative organ with 193 members.

(2) UNSC ⇒ with 5 permanent and 10 - non permanent members.

(3) International court of Justice ⇒ to adjudicate the international laws.

(4) The secretariat to provide day to day functioning of UN with 4000 plus workers

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⑤ UNECOSOC for the socio-economic development of the countries

⑥ Trusteeship Council with major developmental functions.

In addition to this 15 specialized agencies :- such as World Health organization, World Bank, IMF, FAO, ICAO, World Tourism organization and many more.

These organizations can ensure the advancement of peace and stability across the globe.

Thus, Jaffrey Sach called UN as the best Innovation of 20th century and best bargain of the earth.

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1.(c) NIEO refers to New international economic order which has been demanded by NAM countries during 1970s. It was formally mentioned at 6th special session of UNCTAD in 1975.

NIEO emerged due to asymetric and baised present international economic order. It is totally tilted towards west as described by world system theory (I. Wallerstein) in core-periphery analogy.

So, NIEO demanded several changes such as economy order based on equity, sovereign responsibility etc They demanded cut off from the liberal order of free trade because it had led to unequal exchanges of raw materials and finished goods.

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second demand was to equal representation of all continents in equitable manner because Europe is over-represented and Africa - Asia is under-represented.

They even promoted autonomous national development by cutting all ties with west. (Samir Amin).

However, after Washington consensus and recent Cornwall consensus, NIEO has been put under black boxes.

Thus, an united front by NAM again can put pressure for NIEO.

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1(d). Malta Summit in 1989 between Bush and Gorbachev provided the end of cold war which became basis of fall of communism.

In 1991, fall of USSR and communism led to multi-fold impact on developing nations.

First, developing countries like India became an orphan who had ties with USSR. They had to move ahead, so they developed a close ties with USA.

Second, pressure from World Bank and IMF to adopt neo-liberal policies. Structural adjustment programs of IMF was imposed on India and other developing countries.

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Third, establishment of WTO and win of liberalism as an ideology. Many developing countries became member of WTO and agreed to TRIMS, TRIPS and GATS.

Fourth, End of Ideology (Daniel Bell) and End of History (Francis Fukuyama) ensured that the evolution of ideology has ended and now everyone must left socialism behind.

Thus, fall of Communism established a unipolar world order for a decade till 2001.

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1(e). International monetary fund has been established as part of Bretton wood institutions to tackle the balance of payment crisis after second world war.

IMF has been captured by west as always it's president comes from Europe. Therefore, after criticism, several reforms have been introduced such as :-

Chinese currency Pebble has been added recently among top 5 SDR currency mechanism. It is based on top 5 exporting countries.

Even earlier countries had faced the "triffin dilemma" which led to buying and selling of dollar to replace gold. so,

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to tackle this, IMF introduced SDR mechanism in 1969 which will act as paper currency.

Thirdly, now countries can give developmental loans to IMF which can be given to BOP crisis country. Bailout mechanism became smoother after that.

However, it is still managed by west because voting is based on donations where west have advantage.

Thus, IMF needs to be reformed to ensure equitable representation.

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3.(a). United Nation security council is the one of 6 principle organ of United Nation. It was created to establish peace and security in the world by preventing another world war.

Since its creation, UNSC has been only once reformed in 1964. Initially, it was made of 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent members. It was increased to add 4 new non-permanent members without increasing the permanent members.

However, it is still representing the reality of 20th century - a by gone era (Vijay Gokhale). It's reform demand has been on the table since ages but did not work out.

There are various models proposed by various

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Individuals or grouping. Antonio Guteress, secretary general of UN, gave his model by proposing 4 points namely -

(a) Add 6 new permanent members amounting total 10.

(b) Restrict the use of veto powers only in case of urgency and important issues.

(c) Allow rotating new permanent members similar to current non-permanent method

(d) Establish accountability and transparency.

Another model has been proposed by 4 nations including India, Brazil, Germany and Japan. They have talked about

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equitable representation of each continents like Asia, Africa, Europe because there is no representation of Africa while Europe is over represented.

Even adding new non-permanent members are on the suggestion list to increase the total membership to 25-26 including Permanent and non-permanents.

Kofi Annan suggested to reform the UNSC unless it's too late. It needs to indicate the multipolar world order.

Thus, PM Modi argued that a reformed multilateral institution with reformed UN at the centre will serve the purpose of humanity.

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3. (b) Liberal international order started after the end of westphalian world order, it became obvious after second world war, and prominent after end of cold war.

It basic constituents lies in the idealism of liberal scholars who wanted to convert a jungle into zoo (Woodrow Wilson). It was decided that the anarchy in the international sphere can be tackled with the creation of an institution at world level just like in domestic politics. This promoted liberal institutionalism and led to creation of two institutions such as League of Nations (failed) and United Nation in 1945.

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Joseph Nye provided support to this because this institution will provide the basis for dailogues that can ensure peace and security, and prevent wars.

Another constituent was creation of cosmopolitan world based on security community (Karl Deutsch) where people can interact with each other without any mis-trust.

However, Robert Kagan noticed that liberalism is crumbling due to racism, protectinism and economic recession. This prompted Fareed Zakaria to mention that there is rise of rest and fall of west.

After 2001- war on terror and, 2008- financial crisis in the west, it has led to debate about

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decline of western world order based on washington consensus (1980). The neo-liberal policies are also on back seat, as Thomas Picketty ("capital and ideology") noted the rise of inequalities due to such neo-liberal policies.

This was reached at peak during 2020-covid crisis when countries started putting lockdowns across the globe. It led to more protectionism policies such as Aatma Nirbhar Bharat in India.

Thus, decline of liberal world order is being seen but it is necessary to have a global policemen to ensure peace and stability.

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3(c). Various institutions such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, WTO, United Nations are there to provide stability in world.

These institutions have been created based on liberal institutionalism, interdependence (Keoserance), complex-interdependence (Keohane-Nye).

It was initially created to help the war-torn countries for the re-development which later on extended to development of third world countries.

However, from the beginning these institutions have been serving the motive of few developed Countries. For example World Bank has been captured by

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USA because it has 16% vote-share which indirectly denotes a veto as it is 85% vote-required to bring a major change.

Jeffrey Sach called world Bank as an extension of Federal reserve of USA because of this veto. USA's chairman is always selected to the world Bank.

on the other hand, IMF has been serving the interest of neo-liberalists and MNCs. The structural adjustment programs (SAP) were forced on many third world countries during 1990s. one of them was India in 1991 to adopt LPG reforms.

Joseph Stiglitz Las

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analysed the impact of SAP in the poor countries. He found that it had led to inequality and poverty in developing countries.

Dependency school scholars like Samir Amin and Ah Frank provided core-periphery analysis where there is unequal exchange of raw-material and finished goods is going on that leads to development of under-development.

Andrew Haywood has found that the decisions of Bretton woods institutions are not for all, but for USA and its allies.

Even Shashi Tharoor in his "the world disorder" writes that the global financial institutions

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have been captured by the few western nations.

Further, Marxists have analysed the role of MNCs and NGOs (trans-national actors) which are creating exploitation in the third world issues like labour exploitation, environmental degradation have become common problems.

Thus, a better word order is required, most suitable would be NIEO (New International Economic order) which is based on equity, sovereign responsibility in economic sphere.

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4(a). Non-alignment term was coined by George Kista who defined it as the staying away from the power blocs during cold war era.

It was finallized during Bandurang Conference based 10 principles and Bandung spirit. JL Nehru pointed out that it is an attempt to stay away from any military alliances.

However, it has been argued that it has been little more than a rational strategy because it stopped countries to get benefit from power blocs. Tanvi Madan argued that India was never non-aligned because it was with USA during 50s-60s and with USSR during 1970s-90s.

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During bi-polar world, there were instances when a third world nation faced problem which would have been avoided, if they were with any of the power-blocs militarily.

For instance:-

India engaged in 3 wars during cold war (1962, 65, 71) which would have been won easily if India was with USA or USSR.

That's why

S. Jaishankar noted that non-alignment is a concept of specific era ie cold war. Now world has moved from non-alignment to multi-alignment. But India is not rushing towards any alliances, it is currently maintaing strategic autonomy

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C Raja Mohan calls NAM as a movement is in the state of coma due to agenda deprivation currently.

Since its inception, NAM has no binding treaties, no charter, no rules, no secretariat. Even it does not raises voices against gender injustice, child exploitation or human rights issues.

However, TV Paul argued that non-alignment provided a basic of soft-balancing by weaker nations using shaming and naming tools.

Thus, Non-alignment 2.0 is needed with changed attitude that can ensure a greater role for India in a multipolar world.

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4(b). World Trade organization is the only global institution dealing trade rules. It was established in 1995 as a successor of GATT.

It is based on inter-dependence and comparative advantage theory (Ricardo) that leads to complex-interdependence. It currently deals with 98% of world trade.

However, due to its biasness and asymetric in nature towards west, the third world countries have raised certain issues.

Firstly, the dispute settlement body which is a costly mechanism has been made out of service by USA's attitude.

secondly, Doha agreement

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have raised eyebrows of the third world countries. Even the Amber box and green-box categorization based on 1986- base year have been core issues.

Recently, fishery agreement have been criticised by developing countries like India. India wants a moratorium of 25 years but just 2 years were granted. Another issue regarding, non-tariff barriers and non-trade barriers which give a edge to west.

Issue regarding TRIPS and compulsory licensing, evergreening of patents have been core area of conflict between east and west.

E-commerce and COVID vaccine issues are the recent areas of concerns.

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To address these issues, there are certain options available to the third world countries such as plurilateral agreements among nations to avoid the consensus rule.

Revive the Dispute Settlement body through active participation of NAM, SCO, BRICS countries by lobbying at global stage.

Thus, WTO needs to be reformed seeing the changing economic structure of a new world order.

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4. (c). Gareth Evans calls no other body has evoked so much dreams yet so much failure like United Nation. This was created on the ideas of liberal institutionalism to provide a platform to stop any other scourge of war. Jeffery Sach noted that UN has been the best innovation of 20th century and the best bargain on the earth.

As per liberals, it was created to establish peace and stability in the anarchy of international politics.

However, realists critcise this by saying that it has been used to advancing the geopolitical interest of west.

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Liberals used these institutions as a tool to propagate and impose the so-called universal values like human-rights, democracy, free trade etc.

Gramscian marxists like Robert Cox analysed that the liberals values help to establish hegemony through ideological-soft power.

It is also evident that USA has been most beneffited from such institutions because it became super-power and a hegemon in 20th and 21st century.

Francis Fukuyama (End of History) and Daniel Bell (End of Ideology) supported this

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notion by declaring the liberal ideology as supreme. Fukuyama even argued that the ideas of socialism is now in the dust-bin.

It is even more clear from the one-sided decisions to enter to Iraq, Afghanistan by citing some vague reason of terrorism. USA mis-used its domination in world governance institutions to advance its geo-political interests.

However, these institutions have helped countries to develop and reduce poverty. In the last 30 years, poverty has halved and going to be eradicted by 2050 except Africa.

Similarly,

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UN specialized agencies have done tremendous task of food security (by FAO and UN world Food Program), environment protection (by UNEP) and heritage protection (by UNESCO).

Even international justice is being upheld by the International court of justice. Counter terrorism operation, peace-keeping operations across globe are few achievements which was for universal help.

Thus, UN and other institutions have been a mixed bag, but these need to reflect the current dynamics, so need reform.

Section-B

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5.(a) Non-Alingment movement was formalized after Bandung conference. It refers to not joining any power-blocs during cold war.

It is made up of 120 countries across various globle accounting 55% population. JL Nehru termed NAM as an attempt to decide matter on the basis of merit.

In the 19th Summit held at Kampala to various declarations like maintaining territorial integrity and sovereignty. Promoting mutual trust to ensure mutual benefit among nations.

They even endorsed their earlier idea of NIEO which

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can end the dominance of west in global financial institutions.

Agreed to receive the NAM in the multi-polar world order to prevent rise of any single hegemon. Still they respect the non-intergerence in each other's internal matters.

However, C. Raja Mohan called NAM is in coma due to agenda deprivation. It does not even raise the voice for global concerns like gender justice.

Thus, NAM need to be revived to ensure a better multi-polar world because again a new cold war is on anvil.

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5(b). Democracy is the rule of law, rule by law as defined by Abram Lincoln. It has became the world wide concept.

In the recent years, democracy has been declining in various part of the world. SP Huntington called this as a "democratic decay" because government is not able to fulfill the aspiration of the public.

Even this decay is due to bureaucratisation of global institutions like UN where there are only non-elected officials taking all decisions.

Decay has been also due to military regimes in various countries. Recently in Myanmar. Aung San Su Ki has

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been imprisoned in 2021 after a military coups. And such incident has been common in African nations like Burkina Faso, Sudan, DRC, Chad etc.

Lastly, it is declining due to lack of democratic culture in those countries as Ernst Nolte have argued that lack of this culture led to fascist regimes.

Thus, democracy need to be decentralized to provide a real benefit to down-trodden.

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A. (c). BIMSTEC has been created through Bangkok declaration in 1997 as a regional organization.

It consists of 7 nations of South Asia and South-East Asia. It acts as a bridge between both region. It's role as regional organization is to ensure maritime security in the Bay of Bengal. This region accounts 22% of global trade.

Vijay Kothale termed this BoB region as a subset of a growth region ie Indo-Pacific. BIMSTEC even provides opportunity for nations to co-operate on agriculture, fishery, tourism, transnational crimes and so on.

Recently

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Initiated connectivity projects such as Paladan multimodal projects, IMT trilateral highway, Mekong-Ganga co-operation are few to be mentioned.

This region has huge significance for India because it helps to fulfill SAGAR, neighbourhood first policy, Indo-Pacific, and even development of North-east region.

However, SD Muni criticised it, because it is an example of reactive regionalism when SAARC failed.

Thus, BIMSTEC needs to be prioritize with regular summits to ensure better connectivity.

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4(d). Andrew Hurlen defines regionalism is the interaction among ~~among~~ nations in a region which leads to socio-economic integration.

Asian regionalism and European regionalism can be considered as a result of social liberalism (Karl Deutsch). However, there are several differences such as :-

Asian regionalism is result of USA foreign policy to tackle communism expansion whereas European regionalism was driven by Russian fear and also to save themselves from outside cultures.

Secondly, Asian regionalism is started much earlier in 1967 with the formation of ASEAN whereas European regionalism peaked after

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end of cold war ie in 1993 with the formation of EU.

Thirdly, Kishore Mahbubani called Asian regionalism as the pragmatic regionalism, whereas European regionalism is mainly based on David Mitrany's functionalism.

Thus, Edward Best argued that different reasons have provided different regions to unite themselves, and also fight against illiberal world order.

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5(b). NAM 2.0 is a recent concept emerged during 2012 studies headed by Shyam Sharan, Sunil Khilnani, PB Mehta, Nandan Nilekani and Prakash Menon.

Before this report, NAM was criticised as a cold war concept. NSAB chairman criticised NAM as a dead foreign policy tactic. But after this report, a new energy can be seen in scholars.

Ch Khan analyzed that NAM 2.0 provides a better opportunity for India to lead in global south in this geo-political flux.

NAM 2.0 suggested strategic autonomy in the era of multi-polar world because the

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period of non-alignment has gone. Now, it is the era of multiple alignment.

NAM 2.0 also accepted to change as per requirement based on Thiruvalluvar's ideas that it is better to change with the changing world.

It even promoted country like India to adhere to universal values and strict to its developmental goals to help poors and end inequality.

Thus, NAM is a tool for soft balancing (TV Paul) in this changing world order.

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7. (a). 2nd ARC defines terrorism is an act of crime to achieve certain political goals. There are various forms of terrorism such as bio-terrorism, ethno-terrorism, narco-terrorism and so on.

Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon but it resurfaced during cold war. Noam Chomsky calls USA as the first terrorist state because it gave rise to Mujahideens.

Today, it is marked by diversity because it has various types such as state sponsored terrorism where indirectly ~~directly~~ involves. Non-state actor based terrorism and third is state terrorism where state involves like Saudi Arabia killed a journalist in its embassy.

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It has been driven by multitude of ideologies. Firstly, religion as the basis for the islamic terrorists. They use jihad to establish - Dar islam by ending Dar-l-kaafirs.

secondly, culture as a major tool, because they want to preserve the culture of their region. SP Huntington called it clash of civilizations.

Thirdly, the ideology of poverty, inequality, unemployment which has motivated to get recruited in such organizations. eg: peralaits in ISIS.

It has also been driven by their own grievances such as marginalization

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in their own countries. Khalistani terrorists are motivated by secessionist trends to create a new country by use of violence.

Other grievances are regarding political overthrowing of unjust government. It was seen during Afghanistan when USA withdrawn in 2021. It led to Taliban 2.0, a terrorist based organization which is leading the government now.

Thus, global co-operation is required to tackle such trans-national threats. Brahma Chellany talked about dialogue to end the radicalization of youth and de-criminalize the middle-east.

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7.(b). The current global order is in flux. RD Kaplan noted that the rise of China can lead to a new cold war between them and USA.

The dramatic rise of china in the current world order has led to their ambition of a middle kingdom (Shyam Saran).

It is argued that China can replace the America as hegemon. At some extent, it is possible because Fareed Zakaria mentioned that there is fall of west and rise of rest.

China has the best benefitor of Liberal world order, it is evident from their rise in economic terms. Since 1980s,

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China has climbed the ladder like nothing, and now they are at 2nd in GDP rankings.

In military, China is building second strike capability, already they are nuclear power with continental missile capability. It even uses North-Korea to keep USA on anvil via nuclear tests.

In technological domain, China is investing heavily in cutting edge technology like AI, IOT, robotics to come out of middle-income trap and lead in Industrial 4.0.

In the sphere of culture, they are providing multi-culturalism and Asian values as basis to tackle western-liberal

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values like human rights and democracy.

However, China can replace America as hegemon is not easy because China is neither capable nor willing to go into conflict with USA militarily.

Still in economic terms they can fight but recent trends of Chinese economic downfalls are not a good sign. Even at the ideological level, USA has hold over its soft power in which China lacks.

Thus, multi-polar world order is a reality but China centric world order is a far-fetched idea as of now.

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7(c). MK Gandhi defined democracy as the mobilization of social, political and economic resources for the common good.

Democracy is based on liberal ideas which has its roots during Greece. It is based on the idea of people participation and deliberation in politics.

Before second world war, many countries were following monarchy but it led to change after the second world war. There are various factors which contributed to the rise of democracy promotion such as:-

Firstly, the establishment of a liberal institution namely United Nation that supported democratic regimes and

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opposed colonialism. SP Huntington has given 3 waves of democracy. In first wave, the old age capitalist country came to democracy like USA, UK.

In second wave, the post-colonial countries adopted the democratic regime due to its liberal framework. JL Nehru remarked that India will provide democratic government at grass-root level, if people didn't want.

In third wave, countries which were satellites of USSR came to adopt democracy. They adopted because they had witnessed the communist regimes where there was no freedom of speech

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and expression. They attempted to adopt Sinatra doctrine.

other key factors were promotion of human rights in the form of fundamental rights and direct public participation. As Hannah Arendt rightly mentions that power comes when people act in concert.

However, the adoption of adoption have faced several challenges and it was not smooth. JS Mill had already warned to introduce only in those countries where there is democratic culture.

But its adoption everywhere, gave rise to fascist regimes like Mussolini and Hitler. Onega Hasset explained lack of democratic culture was the reason for such regimes.

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In third world countries, there was a reverse wave when all these country returned to military regimes or democracy failed.

eg: Myanmar coups in 2021, Pakistan coups (4 times).

only India became an island in the third world which remained a democracy (PB Mehta).

Thus, democracy is not just merely a government, it is a reverence and respect towards fellow citizens. (BR Ambedkar).