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PSIR Test-09 Paper II

Name- SANJEEV KUMAR

Roll No- OAC 24 PIT N030

Mobile No-

Date - 31-08-2024

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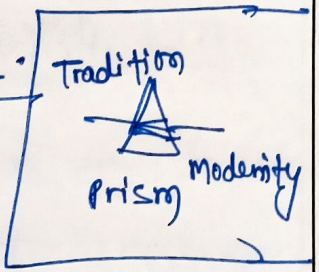
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Section-A

1(a). Post-colonial states are those who have got independence from the colonial regimes. They are termed as third world countries such as India, Pakistan etc

The major challenges faced by these states in the process of nation-building are :- Firstly, Fw Riggs called them prismatic societies because of their heterogenity nature. It caused them to rely on the identity factors.



eg: caste based politics in India.

secondly, Hamza Alvi noted the notion of over-developed states which are completely autonomous. It created the issue of deep state and bureaucratic control.

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eg: military regimes via coups in Pakistan.

Thirdly, the poor implementation of policies due to being a soft state as per Gunnar Myrdal.

eg: failure of land reforms in India.

Fourth challenge was lack democratic culture in these states that leads to frequents coups and civil unrests.

eg: Myanmar coup in 2021 and recent civil unrests in Bangladesh.

Thus, these post-colonial countries need to provide democratic ~~democrat~~ decentralization to promote the human emancipation as per Andrew Linklatter.

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1(b). National interest refers to protection of countries' territory from any adversial threats (Kautilya).

National interest is a dynamic concept because it keeps on changing with time. It never remains static as Morganthau has claimed in his "theory of international politics".

eg: USA's Bush Doctorine ⇒ West Asia
Obama Doctorine ⇒ Asia-Pacific
Trump Doctorine ⇒ Indo-Pacific.

So, its keeps on changing with change in leadership. That's why it has called as situation specific. Recently, Russia has invaded Ukraine because it serves their national interest.

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In "Revenge of history", RD Kaplan writes that it is in fate of Russia to expand to protect its national interests. when its expands, it collapses.

Similarly, the recent attack by Israel to protect its citizens and territories are also an example of national interest.

However Raymond Aron called it as a pseudo-concept because it keeps on changing as per interests. Charles Beard critics nations for misusing this concept.

Thus, Machiavelli called national interest as raison de tate & everything is justified for the national interest.

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1(c). World Trade organization is the only international body that deals with global trade. It accounts for 98% trade It was formed in 1995 after the Uruguay rounds of talk.

Structure of WTO consists of two body. First is the ministerial conference which consists of all the members. It meets biennaly ie after every two years in their headquarters.

second is the secretariat that over-sees the day to day functioning of the WTO. It consists of further bodies like dispute settlement bodies. It listen the disputes and solve the issues. However, it has been defunct due

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to USA's withdrawal to not appoint the members.

The functions of WTO is to ensure free-and-fair trade among nations. It ensures inter-dependee as per Roseerance and Thomas Friedman's Golden Arches theory.

It also reduces the tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers among the nations. It promotes the implementation of TRIPS, TRIMS and GATS agreements.

eg: Compulsory licensing, recent fishery agreement or agricultural agreement (Amber box, peace clause).

Thus, WTO ensures reduction in cost and provides benefit of comparative advantage as per Ricardo.

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1(d). Political parties are the group of individuals that aim to fulfill their ideology by coming into power (Edmund Burke).

They generally do the task of interest aggregation as per Almond - Powell. However, there is distinctiveness of India's party system from western system.

In India, parties are generally caste and class based ie identity based rather than ideology based (west)

eg: BSP ⇒ Mayawati (Dalits)
RJD ⇒ Yadavas etc

Further, parties are generally dynastic in nature with leadership

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being controlled by the one family.

eg: National conference (Abdulla-family)
SP (Akhilesh Yadav family) etc

Another distinction is intra-party democracy in Indian party. As there is no regular election for the presidentship.

eg: congress recently conducted election after many years.

Even from other indigenous paradigms, they are based on casteists. As Christophe Jeffrelot called Indians dont caste their vote, but vote their castes.

Thus, political parties are adversial in nature unlike consociational in west.

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1(e). New social movement term was coined by Alberto Melucci. It is the collective effort by the group for the social transformation.

New social movements (NSM) in the advanced countries have emerged after the legitimation crisis (Habermas).

eg: recent protest by students in Bangladesh or by Iranians after death of M. Amini.

In advanced countries, there is a clear distinction between their demands. For example- Yellow west movements was for improvement in the quality of life.

Whereas in the developing countries, there is no

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clear distinction between old social movements demands and NSM demands. The line of demands are blurred.

eg: Chipko Aandolan had both demands of protection of environment and fuels.

Also in advanced countries, it is generally led by middle class intellectuals or upper class. eg: #metoo movement.

whereas, in developing society, both workers, peasants and intellectuals participates.

eg: Medha Patekar and tribals in Narmada Bachao Aandolan.

Thus, NSM are the "new politics" to ensure participation in public sphere (Hannah Arendt).

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2 (a). Comparative politics is the sub-discipline of the political science that deals with the comparision of governments, political system. Aristotle is the father of comparative politics.

There are various approaches have been created to study the comparative politics. It is divided into 2 parts - traditional and modern approaches. In traditional approach, there is legal-institutional method that focus on the study of governments and constitutions. As earlier, the western nations were only democratic, so it used to study those like USA or France etc.

In the modern approach, it was the result of the behavioural revolution that

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focused on scientific methods. In this, there are 7 approaches such as System approach (David Easton), structural functional approach (Almond-Powell), political developmental approach (Lucian Pye-FW Riggs), Political modernisation approach (Huntington-Mills), political sociology approach (SM Upset), political culture approach (Almond-Verba) and the last is political economy approach.

Political economy approach is based on the study of interface of economy and politics. It is father is Adam Smith who studied the renissance through laissez-faire states.

Its significance

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are to study the impact of economic policies on the politics.

eg: impact of LPG reforms on Indian politics.

Kautilya even gave "Yogashem" which denotes the material well being of the citizens by the King. It will impact the consent of the population towards King's policy.

Milan Vaishnav called good economics leads to good politics. Thus, Political economy approach also tells the reason why nations fails due to bad economic policies.

eg: Venezuela crisis.

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2(b). Thomas Paine in his book "The rights of man" defines Human rights are those which are entitled through being virtue of humans.

It has been provided on the basis of continuation to natural rights. UDHR -1948 and international covenants-1966 became the tool to protect these rights. However, in the contemporary international politics, they are facing concerns.

Asian values debate by the leaders like Mahathir Md and Lee Kuan Yew countering the western values. They called these human rights as imposition of western values. It is a tool of Regime change by west.

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eg: China denies the human rights to Uighuir muslims and claims their own Han way of life as supreme.

Further the global crisis is on the anvil due to two simultaneous wars. one in Israel-Hamas and other in Russia-Ukraine. It has led to denial of human rights to palesthnians and Ukranians in the war.

eg: mass killing of children by Israel.

Further the concerns have become more evident due to debate regarding its protection. As there are questions regarding its

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universal definition.

eg: When does rights starts, is it in the womb or after born.

Does terrorists have also these human rights? or, who will protect these Rights, state or universal institution like UN? so, these ambiguity has led to more complexity of issues.

However, Amartya Sen countered these debates in his book "Argumentative Indians". He called that such democratic values are already in Asia such as din-i-illahi (Akbar).

Thus, Human rights concerns need to be tackled through a common global definition that will be universal.

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2(c). The oxford encyclopedia defines feminist theory of IR as a praxis oriented concept aimed to ensure gender justice and equality.

Feminist theorists like Katherine MacKinnon have criticised the Liberal theory. In liberal theory, they have focused on creation a liberal institution (Woodrow Wilson) to curb the anarchy at world level. But it does not talk about representation of women at world level.

In Interdependee and Complex Interdepende (Joseph-Nye), they have favoured a economic man but have not provided the "economic women" (MacKinnon). Therefore, they even

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demands proper division of labour in the international economic sphere.

Even, there is a prevalence of war at the word level to protect the vulnerables. But in reality, "men make war, because war make men". Instead of protection of women, war leads to rape and prostitution.

eg: rape as official policy by Japan during world-war II in china

Cynthia Enloe in her "Banana, beaches & Bases" writes that women have only 3 task ie working in a plantation worker, serving the dinner as wife of diplomat, and prostitute workers in the army bases.

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Even Jean Elshtain has criticised the masculanist IR theories because they have divorced the war and emotions.

Not only this, J Ann Tickener has criticised the morganthau's 6 principles. She reformulated those by putting human security over national security. She even added ethics and power as a constructive role in IR.

However these are just one side of the coin. There are other alternative approaches of feminist theory of IR.

One is Constructive

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approach by J Ann Tickner to promote the women security in IR. Second is post colonial approach that criticises the Eurocentric theories like realism, liberalism and marxism. It re-defined the concept keeping in minds, the need of 3rd world nation.

Third is given by Cynthia Enloe that promotes "personal is political" at IR level. It demands international organization to indulge into protection of women's private sphere.

Thus, UN Resolution 1325 is a step forward in fulfilling the women's participation demands. It creates opportunity for world's peace.

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Section - B

5(a). Lincoln and Ford defines Foreign policy as the collective effort to protects the country's strategic and territorial integrity.

As foreign policy are not made in vacuum, so there are various determinants. For India, it has changed after the post-cold era. As India has moved from a closed economy to open economy.

New determinants are many such as rise of think tanks in Indian strategic culture. In recent years, ORF, Gateway house are influencing the government's stand on foreign policy.

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Secondly, changing environment around the globe like end of Cold war reduced the importance of NAM for India.

Thirdly, role of leadership in influencing foreign policy with strong leaders like vajpayee and Modi, it has impacted the foreign attitude

eg: personal diplomacy with global leaders (eg: PM Modi- Putin, Melodi)

Fourthly, the role of soft power has increased significantly the diaspora politics (Gabriel shepper) and role of smart power has made India a swing state.

Thus, Anchal Malhotra noted Indian FP has become pragmatic, proactive and flexible in recent years.

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5(b). India has initiated look east policy in 1992 to forge the relationship with south east Asia and beyond.

It was recently upgraded to Act east policy in 2014. It has various motives, one of them them is to ensure development of North east region.

eg: Japan is contributing with JICA.

However, in recent years, look east policy is facing challenges for NER. This is because of instability in the region. Military coup by Tatmadaw in Myanmar to replace Aan san su Ki has destablized North east.

eg: Kuki-Meitels ethnic

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violence was the outcome of refugee influx from Myanmar.

It is also facing delay in infrastructure development such as IMT trilateral highway that connects Northeast.

eg: Kaladan, MCG, BCIM corridor → all are getting affected in recent years due to red-tapism,

Therefore, there is a need to rebuild the ties and using Asian Regional forum to reboot the ties with Myanmar.

Thus, Japan's presence in north-east is critical, using its official development aid, to develop NER.

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5(c). UN peace-keeping forces were created in 1948 to tackle the intra-state and inter-state conflicts.

Till then, there has been several successful operations such korean crisis. In this, India's contribution is notable. India has contributed to over 2.5 lakh troops by participating in 50 plus missions.

Currently, India has its mission in 8 plus countries including Abei region. India was also the first nation to deploy all women contingent in Liberia.

Also, India's new delhi provides a secretary type forum to deal with issues.

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During COVID pandemic, India provided 2 lakh vaccines for the soldiers. It also launched UN ITE, a tool for real time tracking for the soldiers.

During these all years, India has lost over 170 peacekeepers which is highest than any country. It has also rare designation of helpful troops who work for the local development.

eg: helped in humanitarian assistance. (road building).

Thus, for India's contribution, it was awarded a Dag Hammerskjold award.

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5(d). Fareed Zakaria mentions the rise of rest and decline of west as Pax-Americana is vanishing. So, it is a chance of creation of new world order.

SS Menon noted that currently world is economically multipolar, militarily unipolar and politically confused.

So, India aim of New world order is based on 'Jambudweep' - a part of world Island. (Shyam Saran in "How India sees the world"). Unlike Chinese middle kingdom syndrome, India wants to create a multipolar world order. Not only in Asia but also in the world. It aims to prevent the

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Chinese hegemony and thus chinese century in the world.

India's vision is based on "dharma" and "vasudhev kutumbhakam" that aimed to create one-earth one family based on democratic rules and order.

For this S. Jaishanker called Delhi to come out of Dogmas. He writes in "The India way" that India want "sabka-saath, sabka vikas" at world level too.

Thus, Shashi Tharoor in his "New world disorder" noted that non-hegemonic image of India can help to script the new world order.

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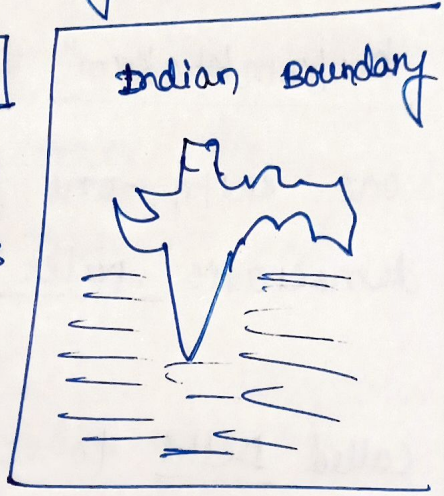
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5(e). Maritime security refers to the protection of coastal boudary. As India shares 7512 km coastal areas with Indian ocean, coastal security is critical.

The elements introduced in Indian foreign policy to address maritime security is creation of SAGAR framework which focus on peace and stability in the region. India being the net security provider with focus on environmental sustainability.



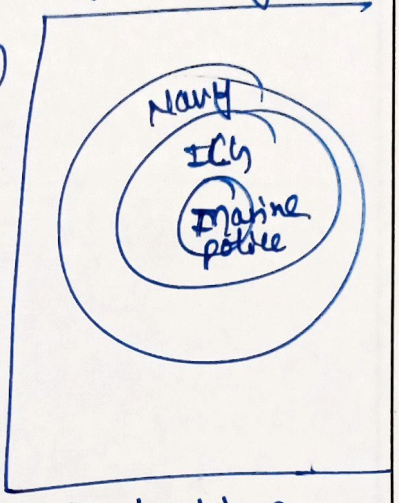
Another element is 'maritime pancheel' that reduces the trade barriers with focus on maritime resources.

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IFC-IOR was created to allow the white-shipping data sharing among the states. With creation of IORA, IONS and IOC, it enhances the security framework for India.



India even focus on protecting the critical checkpoints in the Indian ocean including Malacca straits, Palk straits, strait of Hormuz and strait of Babel-al-Mandeb etc.

Thus, Indian maritime security is using necklace diamond strategy to tackle chinese string of pearls strategy.

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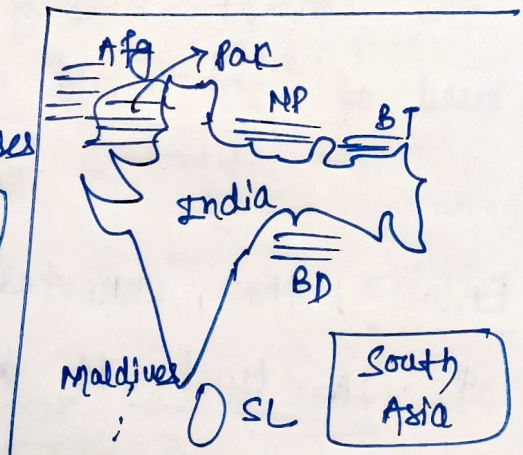
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6.(a). South asia is composed of 8 nations such as India, Pakistan, Srilanka, Nepal, Afghanistan etc

It was initially part of Indian sub-continent (Akhand Bharat) which later on divided by Britishers. Despite having single land-mass, it has huge diversity.



So, this causes a lot of ethnic conflicts. The main reasons are:-

Firstly, the divergences in the languages of every country every ppn.

eg:- There are 121 languages in India as per 2011-census.

So, it leads to linguistic diversity based regionalism. They demands

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their own states based on language.

eg: Gorkhaland, Purvanchal, Dravadhadu etc

Secondly, social reasons such as lack of connectivity, education, health facilities causes people to demand new states.

eg: North-east insurgency.

In Nepal, the conflict between Madhesi and Pahadi.

In Pakistan, the conflict between Balochistani and Punjabi-Sindi. In Bangladesh, between Chakma-Hajongs.

Thus, the lack of political will causes the conflicts to take roots.

eg: Kuki-Meitles ethnic violence recently in Manipur.

This causes huge

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Implication on peace and stability.

These conflicts destablizes the politically elected government. In Nepal, there has been protests over issues by Madhesi for neglect.

Similarly, the Tamil elams protests in Srilanka killed many innocent people. Singhalese and Tamil demands.

Further, it impacts the relationship among nations such as recent civil war in Bangladesh has put India under pressure to extradite Sheikh Hassina.

Thus, such ethnic violence can be tackled with Amitabh Madtoo's 4D approach (Diplomacy).

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6(b). India – Africa relationship has long history and connectivity since ancient times, but increased since 1920s due to freedom struggle.

Although relationship was on strain during cold war due to African support to china after 1962 war. But after 2000s, relationship has improved as both realized the common developmental challenges. In the recent years, the relationship is based on partnership as equals.

But, it has several challenges also in this relationship. Firstly, Rajiv Bhatia noticed the lack of Indian support (aid) in recent years. He called the car is running at near empty tank. Need to provide more aids.

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Secondly, the regional instability in Africa has caused delay in infrastructural projects.

Eg: military coups in Sudan, Burkina Faso, Niger etc.

It has impacted the joint project of India and Japan ie Asia-Africa growth corridor. Also, it was impacted due to red-tapism and fund delay by Indian government.

Thirdly, the humongous presence of China in the region as a resource provider, financier and investor. Although India is catching up. Tanzanian leader noted that all the hospitals have been made by China, but nurses are trained by India.

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Fourthly, violence on African students in India on the racial basis have also created strategic challenges.

To tackle these issues, Ratja called India not to do catch up game but play on its unique strengths, eg: Diaspora politics (Gabriel Shaffer) with 30 lakh population in Africa (Ajay Dubey). It provides a leverage to India in Africa.

Also Africa is the continent of future with just 19 years of median age with 17% population. provides ample opportunity for India to invest.

Thus, recent strategic inclusion of African union into G-20 at Bharat Mandapam provided a new beacon of hope.

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6(c). RD Kaplan argues that current geopolitical order is in flux. There is decline of West and rise of rest (F. Zakaria).

In this flux situation, as geopolitical environment is evolving with a creation of new axis between Russia-china, NAM needs to evolve to remain relevant. As cold war was over, it faced a issue of identity crisis and agenda deprivation. Raja Mohan argued NAM was in coma.

But with the potential cold war 2.0 is on the anvil, NAM should reform itself to deal with such challenges. India, during its release of NAM 2.0 document, provided a way to

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120 NAM countries to co-operate on the global contemporary challenges.

As NAM did not focus on human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, terrorism, gender justice, environmental justice and democracy; it faces the issue of lack of agenda.

Recent Kampala declaration in January-2024 tried to tackle such issues. But it is not enough as still NAM has no status, no rules, no charter and no secretariat.

So, NAM should reforms in both its Structure and Scope. In terms of structure, India and LAC group should take the lead to initiate the reforms. Firstly,

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there is a need to create a NAM charter that should focus on the peace and stability. It should aim at multi-polar world order.

secondly, a permanent headquarter need to be created like SAARC (Kathmandu). It will ensure round the year connectivity among the members.

Thirdly, focus should shift on the new global challenges like human rights and LGBTQ rights. work for getting environmental sustainaibility via CBDR-RC.

Fourthly, in terms of scope. NAM should create a new organization as a subsidiary

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will deal with the social issues like poverty, inequality, health, education etc.

Fifthly, scope enhancement requires support from the founding members like Indonesia, India, Egypt, etc.

However, in the recent time, India is playing a game of diplomatic signalling (Robert Jervis) by not-adopting and not attending the summits regularly. As India has moved from non-alignment to multiple alignment.

Thus, NAM 2.0 is needed to ensure multipolar world order with strategic autonomy (CR Mohan).

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8(a). Contemporary global nuclear order is evolving. It refers to the number of nuclear weapon states and aspiring powers to acquire it.

As Scott Sagan mentions that there are 2 main theory to acquire nuclear weapons - survival theory and great-power status cum prestige theory. Many nations have acquired for both the reasons, However, certain nations are hiding it like Israel, and some have all resources but have not made yet like Japan.

So, the role of India in the contemporary global nuclear order is very critical. India is a responsible power in the nuclear

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proliferation. It has adopted a nuclear doctorine (2003) that provides no-first use policy. Even "K. Subramanian" quoted that India's nuclear weapon is for perception than posture.

India's role is also important to restrict the nuclear proliferation in the South Asia and across globe. As India supports the global nuclear disarmanent policy. It wants complete elimination, universal disarmanent and international verification.

Further, it aims to restrict the arms race in south Asia by declaring no use policy against non-nuclear weapon states.

eg: India will never ^Nuclear weapon weapon against Nepal, Bhutan,

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Even, in controlling the ~~fissile~~ materials distribution, India plays an important role by promoting only for the peaceful uses.

eg: have signed MTCR, Wassenar, and Australia group. It is also seeking NSG membership (though China is creating roadblocs).

So, despite not signing NPT, PTBT, CTBT. India is the only country that wants to end the nuclear weapons completely. It shows its positive role.

Thus, India's nuclear policy shows nuclear abhorrence as per C Raja Mohan in "crossing the Rubicon".

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2(b). Denis Kux noted that Indo-USA relationship has transformed from estranged democracy into engaged democracy.

After 1990s, Indo-USA relationship have improved significantly. It reached new heights after signing Civil nuclear deal in 2008. In the recent years, the advancements in defense relations have increased significantly.

The factors for signing BECA, COMCASA, LEMOA and INSMOIA are many folds. Firstly, the dramatic rise of China which is no more peaceful rise.

eg: China is challenging the USA hegemony.

secondly, the convergence between Indo-USA over the Indo-Pacific

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rhetoric to keep it free and open from any power. For this, Quad members are conducting Malabar exercises in the Indo-Pacific

Thirdly, the rising importance of India as a swing state providing leverage USA to use India as a tool against any rivalry.

eg: Meirsheimer argued to use bait and bleed approach against China.

Fourthly, the diversification policy of Indian government to maintain the strategic autonomy leads to $18 billion defence pact with USA.

eg: USA also granted

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STA-1 status and "major defense patner status". It made the transfer of technology easier such as HAL 414 Jet engines.

Fifthly, to remain relevant in South Asia and Middle east. Both nations perform several exercises together.

eg: Yudh Abhyas, Tiger Triumph etc.

However, the reluctancy of USA to transfer 100% technology unlike France is a matter of concern.

Its soft corner towards Pakistan and secondary sanction such as on Iran, Russia is hurting India's strategic interests.

Thus, Suhasini Haider termed USA's exceptionism towards India to forge a relationship in a crisis.

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8(c). On October 7, Hamas attacked Israel that started the ongoing war between Gaza and Israel. It's almost a year now since the start.

India's approach to West Asia has changed in past few years. It has changed from 3E (Economy, Expartriate, energy) to 3C (capacity building, collaboration, connectivity). It even engaged on multilateral platforms (like I2U2 (India-Israel-UAE-USA) and IMEC corridor.

But the ongoing crisis in West Asia had led to new approach. Currently, India is following the realpolitik approach (Henry Kissinger). It is very pragmatic in dealing with all the axis either Shia,

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Shunni or Jews (3 poles). It is engaging with all the nations.

Towards Israel and Palestine, India is following a two-state solution approach. It has also led to a new policy of dehyphenation which is not based on zero-sum game (Nicholas Blarel).

Further, India has stopped looking at west Asia from the prism of Pakistan as per Nicholas Blarel. It has lead to secular diplomacy and cultural diplomacy.

eg: recent inauguration of BAPS Hindu temple in Abudhabi amidst the war.

Further, with regards to Israel's retaliation, India has maintained a approach similar to USA. It is calling

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for Humanitarian pauses rather than ceasefire. It has even voted against ceasefire in the UNGA.

This stand is clear from the India's criticism on the attack by Hamas. Although there is a difference between India's and west's approach as India criticises Hamas but have not declared it as a terrorist group unlike west.

Further while dealing with Iran and Turkey, India is maintaining a strategic autonomy in the geopolitical rivalries.

eg: India-Iran signed a decade long Chabahar deal.

However, India's

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interest has been affected due to prolong war in west Asia.

Eg: IMEC corridor has been delayed due to the war.

India is again back on strategic balancing approach rather than strategic delivering in West Asia after Abraham Accords.

Therefore, India needs to be cautious regarding its any step in west Asia. It needs to support the peace and stability in west Asia.

Thus, the litmus test of Hamas-war is on for India to prove its diplomatic skill.