

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Max. Marks: 250

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

You have made a great effort in some of the answers, some of which are quite good but others don't exactly fit the exact demand of question. Also write S.T less in short answer question. Try to adopt a more pointwise approach

1. Invigilator's Signature Pijay

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Aojasvi Raj
 Mobile No. _____
 Date _____
 Signature [Signature]

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- ✓(a) General Principles of Global Environmental Regimes.
- ✓(b) Women Movement: West vs East.
- ✓(c) New Cold War
- ✓(d) A theoretical analysis of Role of Nuclear Weapons in IR.
- ✓(e) Cosmopolitan Democracy.

(a) Environmental concerns has emerged as a new global common which requires concerned and jointed GLOBAL ACTION transcending National interests and international politics.

watershed events in the environment regimes such as Stockholm conference of UNCED, 1972, Brundland commission report and Earth conference, 1992 Rio led to formulation of certain global principles to be adhered to and followed while dealing with the issue of environmental degradation. These are as follows: -

- (i) NO claim of territory and sovereignty over Antarctica and Arctic, which must at all times be treated as global common.

Remarks
5

What are the specific principles that are causing a slow growth in North & South? Also include the principle of No Imperialism

2
 (ii) common but differentiated response being which emerged. out after North-South debate on environment wherein North agreed to their historic degradation.

(iii) financial and technological support to South countries. eg:- Green Climate Fund

(iv) concerns of Small Islands developing nations (SIDS) - common to all.

But it is observed that in the recent times particularly after the with drawl of USA from Paris agreement, there is an emerging indication of breakdown of general principles of global environmental regimes.

We as a community must put forth greater effort to not allow such breakdown because it not only challenges the existence of humanity but this planet earth.

(b) women movements emerged as a part of new social movements (NSM) as suffragate movement in the West. But at the same time the East responded with Chipko movement like issues which had a great women undertone.

Remarks

Re

This convergence actually is still quite rare

In the recent times there is a trend of convergence on issues of women movements in East and West. Sabnamala movement and Triple Talaaq movement has been predominantly a rights based movement which coincided with the rise of radical feminist strand globally.

But at the same time, movements of women in the East and West can see convergences against the patriarchal outset society - for eg:- Nirbhaya movement and #MeToo movement. Such issue is sadly resonated across the frontiers of globe challenging the inherently patriarchal nature of society.

There is a greater urge and need for women of the East to come out on the issues like 'equal pay for equal work' in East which have already been raised in the West substantially. movements like 'men for women' and 'Men against rape' has attained

predominantly a global character due to I.T. There is an urgent need to channelise this energy into actionable outcomes.

Remarks

Content is weak

you need to elaborate with how the two movements are getting based mostly on different sets of demands

(C) Idea of a new cold war emerged from the East when Russian PM ^{Medvedev} delivering a lecture acknowledged the presence of a renewed sense of tension on account of Ukrainian crisis, intervention to include Georgia in NATO, etc. between USA and Russia.

Increasing assertion of USA and withdrawal of the nation from liberal international world order (LIWO) which it so dearly championed led to the fragmentation of world order and renewed sense of cold peace. Increase in 3rd party conflicts whether in Iran or Cyber has led to even Vladimir Putin acknowledge cold war 2.0. Election meddling of Russia in 2016 USA election gave a renewed jolt to the expression of New cold war.

But recently scholars have started to acknowledge the presence of Cold war 2.0 not b/w USA and Russia but now China has replaced Russia. Scholars like Graham T. Allison has given ~~the~~ references to the world falling

Remarks

Wrong Content
 Read the entire topic



into Thucydides trap (a conflict b/w status quoist power and revisionist power). Issues like South China sea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Non convergence @ Iran / Afghanistan, Asia Pacific for freedom of seas and rule based regime presents a picture of cold war 2.0. b/w the Dragon and Washington. Trade war b/w both aggravates the situation further. Even Xi Jinping has called for 'new model of great power relations' to revise the hegemonic order of USA.

But situation of cold war 2.0 is majorly different as there exists multiple great powers like India, Australia and Japan who challenge the making of a bipolar order. Even Russia may be against losing its status of power of the Eastern world. Thus as Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye puts forth, instead of cold war 2.0, the world is slipping to a ~~complex~~ a regime wherein, complex interdependence is the norm and heightened brinkmanship is an exception.

This concept originated in the actual cold war era

Ever since this world has seen predominantly nuclear arms race not only b/w East and West but also within East (India-Pak).

Realist arguments for Nuclear weapons is that they appreciate the role of N-weapons to reduce the temper-ature of cold war to maintain its cold nature and not turn hot. Strategic realists even go to the extent of stating that nuclear weapons must be the single most pre-valent weapons of deterrence which needs no other component.

But realist arguments are often challenged by liberals which call for complete disarmament and consider N-weapons a threat to the very face of humanity. They also argue that the ~~now~~ increase in non-state actors might see a asymmetrical nuclear warfare away from rationality as chances of them attaining N-weapons are high.

At the same time Social constructivists like Nina Tannenwald calls that there is an urgent requirement of creating a nuclear taboo. She

Waltz's
Dart

liberal
scholars
actually
support
the idea of
strong
nuclear
sanctions
regime

Remarks

gives an example of Vietnam war wherein USA did not use N-weapons due to the said nuclear Taboo. Even at the last nuclear security summit, 2016 calls for creation of a space to shame nuclear powers and create a paradigm of nuclear unsustainability. Even India has a stance wherein it states that it visions a world completely free of N-weapons - complete and verifiable Nuclear disarmament.

Unfortunately we see the rising N-tensions b/w India-Pak seeking to revise N.F.U. moreover, Iranian and North Korean assertions of enrichment makes the possibility of N-disarmament extremely bleak. The world community must join global efforts to shame the N-powers and create a nuclear ~~a~~ ^a taboo to an extent where its impossible to own a N-weapon and create global goodwill among comity of nations at the same time.

5) you can avoid contemporary analysis, & unlike now on constructivist idea of threat perception reputation associated with NW

scholars of critical school of Frankfurt.
 like Bhikhu Parekh in his exemplary
 work 'Reinventing Multiculturalism'
 argues for a cosmopolitan model of
 democracy based on mutual respect,
 tolerance and protection for minorities.

Critical school theorists
 like Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe
 calls for an emancipatory bargain
 of democracy based on cosmopolitanism
 which is further based on dialogue
between civilisations.

In the present world of
 flux where homogeneity of cultures
and ethnicity is long forgotten, cosmo-
 -politan model of democracy is the
 only hope for survival and mutual
 peaceful co-existence. Herein, as visiting
 Iranian leader Rouhani quoted in 2018,
 "India is a living museum of diverse
coexistence" - India can present as
 a leader and a teacher for global
 peaceful and ~~best~~ productive co-existence
 based on cosmopolitan democracy.

Remarks

Not very accurate!
 (+) is about citizens
 of world participating
 through in global representation
 in parallel with
 national govts

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Is regionalism declining in world politics? Comment. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) The world is changing, but not the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which was established by 51 countries 70 years ago. Examine the statement in reference to the role of the civil society in reforming the council. (250 Words) (20)
- (c) Social movements are hard to define conceptually, and there are a number of approaches that are difficult to compare. Discuss. How is it different from collective action? (200 Words) (15)

Answer the following questions:

Q(a) Discuss the role of pressure groups in developing countries. (200 Words) (15)

Q(b) Foreign policy decision-making is no more a confined function of government. Discuss the role of think-tanks in foreign policy making along with its growing role in India. (200 Words) (15)

Q(c) Analyse the driving factors behind United Kingdom's decision to quit the European Union. What can be the possible consequences of this on Indian interests? What would be further implications with the change in regime under the Boris Government? (250 Words) (20)

Pressure groups are the instruments of interest articulation. As called by S.E. Finer they are invisible empires. Similarly Alfred de Grazia also calls them anonymous empires. But nature of pressure groups vary from developed nations to developing nations.

Gabriel Almond provided a comprehensive model of classification of pressure group in a polity:

- (i) institutional pressure groups
- (ii) Associational pressure group
- (iii) communal / non-associational pressure.
- (iv) Anomic pressure groups.

Gabriel Almond states that in developing world there is a larger presence of communal non association pressure groups and anomic pressure groups. This is because of the level of development and modernization of society. In the developing world

Remarks

due to the absence of institutionalization of democracy; we see a large presence of anomic/normless P.G. wherein people concert together for short term to present demands to democratically elected Govts. because institutional avenues to present demands are lacking.

Case of India: Although, India, there exists large variety and spectrum of PG, but community based / non-associational P.G. like Patidar andolan, Jat mahasabha, Harijan Sabha, Gujjar mahasabha shape public action. Moreover anomic P.G. like Jessica protest, India against corruption, Nisbhaya protest, Talikatta protest make predominant voice. Association pressure groups like amnesty and greenpeace often found in friction with Govt. Institutional P.G. like IAS association, ex-servicemen association have greatest say.

As Jean blendel has suggested that as society transforms from traditional to modern, nature of PG changes from non-associational / anomic to association which are predominant in the western developed world. But as Hitchner and Levine has said, no matter ~~how~~ what the nature of PG is, they are keystone in



Remarks

Wing framework
you don't have to talk about their nature
Simply elaborate on the diverse positive roles they are performing in S.D world along with supply

(b) The westphalian model of 'nation state' had a specialized function of ability to enter into relations and agreements with other nation states which was sole command and prerogative of 'national sovereign Government'. ~~but~~ Although still, foreign policy is predominantly a sovereign's domain, but it is increasingly been shaped by different non-Governmental groups in which policy think tanks play a major role.

not directly on think tanks

Although 'lobbying' as a function for policy making was predominantly a western bargain, developing world has also not remained vary of this.

Role of Think Tanks :

Think tanks are a collective aggregation of voices of experts voicing out opinions and ~~critical~~ analysis of global world. They provide an input function ~~up~~ from outside the view of the Govt. which is more democratic in nature. Moreover increasing the role of think tanks in foreign policy bring in ~~the~~ the much

Need to add more points

desired specialization functions which is essential in the complexly inter dependant world of present times.

Case of think tanks in India: Post L.P.G.

reforms, there is an unceasingly trend of think tank flux. Certain think tanks are also driven by private interests as they are backed by them. India institutionalized a dialogue with think tanks in the form of national security advisory board (NSAB). Moreover presence of P.M and world leaders in functions of private think tanks like D.R.F (raising dialogue) and India foundation ^{I.I.F} presents a case for increasing role of think tanks. In addition to global think tanks also shape public policy in India. eg:- Shangri La dialogues of I.I.S.S.

The presence and increasing role of think tanks is a reinforcement of Robert Dahl's polyarchy model.

It is a good initiative on account of analysis and specialization it brings to foreign policy making. But more institutionalization is required.

Remarks

Weak content
 your answer lacks examples of think tanks
 numerous both independent & state based

(c) Before the election and ~~set~~ rhetoric of Donald J. Trump's election as 45th president of U.S.A, first sign of the crisis of liberal international world order was evident in Britain's result on referendum to quit the European Union termed as BREXIT. Munich Security conference report 2018 which has perpetually championed the cause of liberal world order also acknowledged ^{to} the fragmented pieces of the world order wherein no one ready to pick the pieces. Ever since the Brexit decision, there has been regime changes, discussions, protests across G.B.R in regime trying to go for 'soft Brexit' in collusion with European Union commission. Reasons behind the decision of Britain to quit E.U. are as follows :-

- > Inability to recover from the sub-prime crisis of 2008-09 and corresponding Eurozone crisis.
- > Increasing sentiment of protectionism across the world due to growing of refugee crisis.

vague
~~Start~~
~~Directly~~
~~Enumerating~~
~~the~~
~~Reasons~~

Remarks

- > growing rhetoric that annual payments of ~~EU~~ GBR to EU outweigh the benefits that EU provide to GBR monetarily.
- > Increasing sense of nationalism challenging supranationalism on account of job losses, wherein membership to EU was made the scape-goat.
- > Inability of USA to provide a push factor to make force EU to remain conjoined.
- > Increasing rapprochement with China in the form of 16+1 dialogue and Russia in the form of Eurasian Economic Community.
- > lastly and most importantly, the emergence of a post-fact / post truth world on the I.C.T infrastructure where facts (true or false) spread faster than opinion which are informed.

What complaints they had against FUKO?

Remarks

↳ Haborak move on the Immigration Issue

Affect of Indian Interests :-

Due to globalized regime, decision across seas will have definite impact on Indian interests:

- > ~~Free~~ Free trade regime ~~are~~ is absent viz-a-viz Britain as till date Indian-EU economic relations were pursued under the shadow E.U.
- > problems related to students and migrant community (4.5 lakh) who has business across the English channel.
How will they benefit?
- > Companies (Indian) in E.U. had to incur capital expenditure in opening new offices in London.
- > Revival of Commonwealth seems bleak due to divergent interest in the groupings.
- > Bargaining trade deal with a nation wherein protectionism is on rise by the day will require hard ball diplomacy from India.
You need to also mention the numerous positive implications

Way ahead for India:

- > Redrawl and negotiation of new trade deal should not wait.
- > Finding out new Britain within EU. Paris would help in this regard.

Remarks

- > Negotiating reassurance from GBR regarding diaspora community.
- > Productive and mutually beneficial student ^{exchange} ~~education~~ and immigration programme.

This way, if not nullify, India could cushion the impact of the crisis of liberal economic world order in the form of Brexit.

Boris Johnson's regime: Boris Johnson

Jokingly known as 'Trump of GBR' is increasingly assertive about Brexit. His assertion about the backstop arrangement against Ireland shows his stance. One advantage of his regime is that at least he makes it clear that there will be a Brexit thus making things certain, even if towards dooms. Only thing the world must pursue ^{now} that there is not a 'No deal Brexit' but a mutually beneficial and responsible Brexit minimizing the economic and other ^{which are} hazards to sovereign nations in engagement with Great Britain.

Remarks

10

You need to elaborate on the negative consequences of a no deal Brexit.

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) What is Globalization? Discuss the difference between Globalization and Globalism. What are the arguments against Globalisation? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Globalisation promoted the integration of world economies on one hand, but also demoted the idea of human rights. Comment. Can we assume the emergence of civil society organisations took shape as a response to this crisis, specially emerging in post-colonial societies? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Water-related terrorism is widespread across most of the world and that water infrastructure is the main target of choice by most terrorist organizations. Comment? (250 Words) (20)

Attempt all questions:

SECTION-B

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Discuss India's contribution in Global Nuclear Security.
- (b) SAARC Development Fund
- (c) State responses to cross-border displacement in South Asia
- (d) A Glass Half Full: The Promise of Regional Trade in South Asia.
- (e) Major areas of concern in India-Bangladesh Relations.

(A) India became a nuclear nation after its peaceful explosions in 1998 termed as Pokhran-II. Consequently India had faced numerous allegations regarding (specially from, the West) ~~was~~ blaming India to convert South Asia into nuclear subcontinent. But contribution of India to global nuclear security also cannot be overlooked. It is as follows:—

- > India released its draft nuclear doctrine which called for Nuclear weapons not for offense but credible minimum deterrence.
- > In its official stance, India proposed to adhere strictly to 'No first use' policy which was not broken even after receiving nuclear blackmail by our neighbours.

Remarks

- > India after signing the Indo-US nuclear deal in 2008, co-operated fully with the norms and regulations of IAEA.
- > India's positive and supportive stance on Iranian JCPOA.
- > India's condemnation of North Korean nuclear posturing at multilateral as well as bilateral forums.
- > India's self imposed moratorium on nuclear testing.

Indo-US nuclear deal was a positive re-affirmation of India's responsible nuclear power nation stance. After the deal it signed similar deals with Kazak, Russia, Australia. Recently Japanese accession to nuclear deal is an affirmation to our nation's responsibility as it is the 1st deal of Japan with non-NPT nation. Moreover India at global summits on disarmament always presented its official stance firmly -

"India ~~is~~ envisions a world free of nuclear weapons with a support to complete, verifiable and comprehensive disarmament globally" (S)

Remarks

Apart from policy related issues, also elaboration like GCNAP & its multilateral cooperation with other nuclear powers

(B) SAARC was borne as an idea in 1985 with the thin Bangladeshi regime led by Zia-ul-Rehman's negative mindset to contain India. Offlately, it has been logjammed between the bilateral issues and issues related to terrorism between India and Pakistan.

Keep your key notes separate to see fund

Certain positives have come out of the regional organisation such as South Asian university, South Asian food bank, South Asian milk bank, South Asian satellite, South Asian power sharing agreement and South Asian development fund.

Need for S.A. Development Fund:

- > With 1.6 billion people, South Asia is home to largest malnourished children, deprived households and poor and displaced population.
- > South Asia political mistrust can be very well addressed using David Mitrany's 'peace by pieces' social constructivist approach that Manmohan Singh also practiced.
- > For SAARC it is often said - "Need to fight against commons rather than fighting amongst"

Remarks :

~~Vague~~

Need to provide 1% of actual on the fund

Therefore SAARC development fund if properly channelized and substantially financed has potential to restart the jammed regime. And as the largest GDP in the organization, India has much role to play as it has the highest stakes too.

(2)

Need to elaborate on the challenges being faced by the fund.

(c) Recently due to the global crisis of Rohingya displacement, South Asian human displacement came to the global light.

Reasons for such displacement:

- > Amb. Rajiv Sikri states that ~~due to~~ majority of borders in South Asia are colonial / artificial in nature and thus are still evolving.
- > Increased sense of hypernationalism often linked with majoritarianism creates such displacement for security.
- > People get migrated and displaced in search of better economic opportunities.

Examples of such displacements:

- > Rohingya (Myanmar → Bangladesh)

Remarks

- > Chakma- Hajon refugees in Mizoram.
- > fishermen refugees in search of catch from Sri Lanka.
- > Assam migration issue from Bangladesh.
- > political migration from Tibet.

State response:

In dealing with the issue of migrant population, state has to balance national security concerns with humanitarian cause. For example, India's response to Rohingya crisis was balanced as it did not openly accept the displaced but at the same time ran operation insaniyat to support them humanitarianly. Assamese migration has been dealt with politically using N.R.C.

Way Forward:

State must, while dealing with displaced population, ~~is~~ consider humanitarian angle with more profundness as one does not migrate out of choice. Rendering homeless communities was one norm of the world, but recently the world has seen the rise of stateless communities, which is a shame on humanity and global human rights regime.

marks
 Not just India, other nations also as to how they have been responding to displacement events
 S. Asian

(D) Recently the said title of 'a glass half full' is a report released by World bank to showcase the missed opportunity due to non-integration of the region economically.

The report highlights that intra regional trade is meagre 1% of GDP of the region whereas in ASEAN it is 10% and EU it is 27%.

Even after signing preferential trade agreement for South Asia in 1993 and South Asian Free Trade agreement in 2006 (12th SAARC summit at Islamabad), trade remains abysmal low.

Need for increased trade : case for regional economic integration is mentioned below:-

- > Possibility of political rapprochement after economic interdependence. This argument is put forth by social constructivists and liberal socialologists. We have the fine examples of E.U. which first came down as European coal and steel community. "Keep thy politician"

Remarks

First need to provide a detailed analysis of South Asian trade is so low

out of functionalists like Ernst Hars works well here.

- > Economic integration might develop ~~too~~ be 'forced to love'. eg:- Modi's surprise visit to Lahore is rumored to be mediate by an Indian businessmen.
- > More People to people contact will force regimes to go for pro-regime policies wherein war is never seen as an option.

Way Forward:

- > ~~As~~ As suggested by former F.S. Bhyan Sasom, need to create a South Asian economic office in SAARC secretariat with participation from the key businessmen of member states
- > Need to put political issues on the back burner and pursue economic issues first. eg:- E.U.

(E) Indo-Bangladesh relations have been a sinusoidal ride and dependant on the regimes and ^{pol.} parties in ~~the~~ Dhaka. However issues between the two neighbours have remained constant :-

- (i) water disputes - with more than 54 cross boundary river major being Ganga,

Read the topic again

42
Brahmaputra, Barak and Teesta, disputes regarding sharing of water are bound to emerge as Bangladesh is a lower riparian state. Ganga and Barak disputes, an arrangement has been reached, but Teesta has become the achilles heel with the High Commissioner of Bangladesh to India stating that future of our relations depend on Teesta resolution.

(ii) Border demarcation disputes - with longest 4096 km boundary, certain enclaves across was not settled earlier. Moreover river boundary and terrain issue makes physical demarcation impossible.

(iii) Terrorism and radicalisation - With organisations like HuJI and Jamaat-e-Islami, Bangladesh is prone to terrorism and associated fundamentalism which could spill over across to India.

(iv) N.E. insurgency - Link between separatist groups like ULFA and Bangladeshi fundamentalists is well established.

(v) Transnational crimes - Drugs and human trafficking control and elimination causes hurdles b/w the two.

But on the above issues, there has been generous progress recently.

Remarks

NRC
Issue

China
Factor

Tippai
Mule

Hydr

1st
Project

Answer the following questions:

- (a) India and OIC (Organization of Islamic Countries): An opportunity accompanied by challenges. Analyse. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) The lack of a concrete vision for water in South Asia reinforces the zero-sum nature of international water disputes. Elaborate. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) The fixation with South Asia-centric notion of neighbourhood can no longer serve as a useful analytical framework in understanding and explaining India's regional diplomacy. Comment. (250 Words) (20)

ical

and

led

7. Answer the following questions:

- (a) In the current circumstances it has become crucial for the UNSC to reform itself and uphold its legitimacy and representativeness in the world. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Provide detailed arguments with examples against the relevance of NAM for Indian foreign policy objectives? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) In an unpredictable global environment, India needs to shape a domestic consensus in matters of Indian foreign policy. In this context, discuss some of the major upcoming challenges for Indian foreign policy. (250 Words) (20)

(A) Only organ with a "teeth to bite" in United Nations system is United Nations Security Council. But it remains grossly underrepresented, non-transparent and deeply anachronistic. Apart from the said nature UNSC remains deeply divided on the basis of great power politics of nations representing therein according to their own narrow national interest. P2 and P3 division is nearly the norm when it comes to stand of UNSC on global issues.

Last expansion of the security council took place in 1963 wherein it was expanded to include 10 non-permanent members. UNSC reforms suggested are as follow :-

> Representation - Asia remains underrepresented, Africa and Latin America has no

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Representation and Europe remains over represented. Considering the fact that majority of UN actions take place in Africa, non-representation causes gross democratic deficit.

- > Democratic functioning :- closed door meetings of UNSC and based on power politics where national interests surpass international peace.
- > UNGA has no oversight over UNSC actions. Non-accountability of UNGA, which represents 193 members is unacceptable in such a body which seeks to maintain global peace.

Suggested reforms :-

- > Representations from G4 nations to get a seat of permanent nature in UNSC has been placed and positively pursued.
- > African representation calls based on Ezulwini consensus of 2 permanent seats with veto must be analyzed.
- > Kofi Annan plan to expand 15 member UNSC to 24 member body must be discussed in UNGA.
- > Need to relook veto system. Introduce double veto system.

Remarks

9

Good elaboration

Content

Also elaborate briefly
in this much delay
in need needed
reforms

If UNSC reforms are not taken place persistently then there is a gross danger of nations loosing sight of UN systems and get disillusioned. Recently there has been disenchantment among UN peace keeping contributing nations as they are not consulted before grossly dangerous operation that they are ordered for. UNSC system needs comprehensive overhaul to maintain its credibility.

(B) With leaders of Egypt (Naseer), Zimbabwe (NKrumah), Yugoslavia (Tito) and Indonesia (Sukarno), Jawahar Lal Nehru envisioned the idea of Non-alignment as a foreign policy. He desired to not make an organization but a movement. First conference took place in 1961 Belgrade wherein the movement resolved for an autonomous policy with regards to foreign affairs away from super power politics. But off lately, specifically since the disintegration of US&R, there has been a question on the relevance of NAM.

C. Rajamohan of Carnegie foundation argues that the movement is in comatose and thus it would have been better if it was closed in 1991 as 'objective complete' for a graceful exit. ~~As~~ Disenchantment of India was visible in the 2016 Venezuelan summit where no minister ~~was~~ attended the summit.

Arguments against the relevance of NAM :-

- > Present world is clearly multipolar or shaping into one. As Fareed zakaria says that there is decline of the west and rise of the rest, there seems clearly no reason to pursue NAM as a movement.
- > NAM in recent years have been highjacked by Iran, Venezuela for their narrow national interest.
- > Failure of NAM was visible in 1989, when 2 of its members Kuwait and Iraq were fighting and India provided fueling of air planes against Iraq from its soil.

6

you don't know whether or not NAM is dead how it has helped India's foreign policy since the cold war

NAM has not focussed on changing its business and economic policy wherein its N.I.E.O. commitment seems anachronistic and unsustainably left which is not relevant in globalized world.

But not NAM, but non-alignment as a foreign policy is long cherished by India in the name of strategic autonomy and must be pursued aggressively. In the increasing complex interdependent world with John Burton's cob web model, achieving a status of non-alignment in foreign policy is not only possible but desirable.

Recent examples of non-alignment in Foreign policy by India:

- > Deft balancing with Iran and USA.
- > convergence with China at WTO and Paris UNFCCC.
- > Afghanistan's decision to ~~not~~ not send boots on ground as against call by USA.
- > S-400 missile system purchase despite CAATSA

This shows the increasing relevance and importance of Non-alignment as a foreign

good content but does not suit the demand

(C)

In his renowned book 'world order' by Henry Kissinger, he states the present world is in flux and swiftly moving towards disorder wherein equations are constantly being shaped and unshaped. In this increasing world passing through the phase of disorder, Indian foreign policy needs smart balancing and tackling according to the uncertain world.

But such challenges can better be tackled when there is near domestic consensus regarding our path and objectives of foreign policy so as to provide a concerted effort to achieve our economic domestic transformation. Such domestic consensus is also necessary in present times in the light of

Ques

increase in PARA DIPLOMACY i.e.

involvement of states / federal units in foreign policy. Certain divergences as far as bi-party is concerned in India are as follows: -

- > Engagement dilemma with Russia (left) and -USA and (right)

Remarks

- > Issue realist engagement and deby phenation.
- > policy viz-a-viz Pakistan - realist approach v/g liberal approach.
- > Federal issues such as TNS sewa is fisherman issue and west Bengal front on Teesta issue.

There is an urgent need of convergence and consensus on foreign policy front to ~~not~~ gain India's ground in the inevitable Asian century.

Future challenges for Indian Foreign Policy: —

- > Balancing USA viz-a-viz Iran will be the test of Indian diplomacy as stated by Shyam saran.
- > Engagement and change of our stance viz-a-viz Taliban in Afghanistan as it is all set to broker a major deal with USA supported by all.
- > ~~So~~ Quadrilateral alliance to balance offensive of China in Indo-Pacific will be a challenge as every partner country ~~is~~ has deep economic engagement with China.

- > China-Pakistan all weather friendship poses great threat as ~~visible~~ in UNSC recently on Kashmir's issue. as ~~the~~ India is challenged by two N-powered ally allies in neighbours whom it has fought wars with.
- > Balancing defence co-operation with Russia viz-a-viz USA. Since this could possibly ~~throw~~ Russia in the lap of Pakistan if not handled well.
- > ~~consider~~ Early conclusion of border resolve with China to unleash the strength of our relationship with the dragon.
- > Counter to Chinese encirclement in the neighbourhood. (String of pearls)
- > Trade deals with UK post Brexit.
- > Reinventing and organizing W.T.O. after US disruptions to liberal international world order.

Since the sole objective of Indian foreign policy is to achieve fast and sustainable domestic transformation of India, ~~and~~ it must pursue accordingly using creative diplomacy, deft balancing and smart but fast diplomacy.

15

Remarks

Very good
 what kind of challenges are we going to face in Central, West & South East Asia & Africa

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the role of non-governmental institutions in foreign policy development. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What do you understand by the term Space Diplomacy? Elaborate on Indian initiatives in this emerging dimension. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Critically examine the major aspects of India's neighbourhood policy. (250 Words) (20)

(A) Although West Phalian (1648) system had subjected 'foreign relations' as the sole prerogative of 'nation state', in recent times there has been increasing role of non-Government institutions in foreign policy making of different countries:-

Role of MNC :

Among the non-Govt. institutions, in the era of globalization, MNCs have the most powerful role in shaping and pursuing foreign policy objectives globally. At times there were also allegation that MNCs trying to ^bswert/sabotage domestic Govt. eg:- Venezuela by USA companies, ST elections of Rajpaxsa support by Chinese companies. But in general class is very profound and thus even today businessmen ~~to~~ accompany the heads of Govt. in official state visits to other nations.

Role of NGOs

NGOs have ^{been} predominantly seen as appendages of MNCs and seek to further the interest of business houses who in return fund them through CSR. But off recently, due to environmental challenges, there has been increased pressure on domestic Govts. to pursue pro-climate policy.
eg:- Green peace.

Moreover rights based issues and migration related issues are better highlighted by NGOs as Govts. often try to downplay casualties in such cases to save their face.

eg:- # Me Too movement, Medicines Sans frontiers, green helmets. etc.

Other non-Govt. bodies:

> Think tanks are majorly institutionalized in the Govt. system of foreign policy.

eg:- NSAB of India

> Religious lobby groups. eg:- India's approach towards Iran and Israel/Palestine issue.

... pressure group ...

the role of non-Govt. bodies are nothing but only set to increase in foreign policy shaping. ~~will be~~ concluded

(B) Frontiers of foreign policy and diplomacy are increasingly shaped by ^{non-}conventional diplomatic techniques and approaches and space diplomacy is one of them.

Space diplomacy - It stands for ~~the~~ a nation leveraging its prowess in space based technology to gain pre-ponderance and bargaining power over other nations only to pursue its own domestic transformation.

Recent examples of space diplomacy: -

> India's ISRO using its commercial arm ANTRIX to place 104 satellites of foreign origins to gain economic capital.

- > Joint initiatives of ISRO and Japan's JAXA for co-development forms an important component of our diplomatic engagement with Japan.
- > Indo-Russia political engagement started on the foundation of Russia's stupendous co-operation by ROSCOSMOS.
- > Indo-US space initiatives like technical collaboration in Chandrayaan - I and Intl. space station is one of the few diplomatic efforts.
- > India launching SAARC satellite (renamed as South Asian satellite after Pakistan's opting out) is one initiative to leverage our soft power based on Gujarat doctrine.
- > China also embarks on space diplomacy as it is jointly developing Bangabandhu I with Bangladesh.
- > Indo-Saudi coopⁿ and Indo-Israel co-opⁿ has been one of the important pillars of diplomatic engagement.
- > Russian failure to transfer cryogenic tech to India in 1990s create bitterness in other forms of diplomacy.

Remarks

Recently, India has embarked upon missions like Mars mission and Chandrayaan-II, wherein ISRO is focussing on economic efficiency of space missions. It is generally an attractive soft power for nations, specially small and low income nations. Space diplomacy could well be utilized for economic leveraging as well as humanitarian cause through Indian Foreign policy.

- (c) PM Modi unleashed a renewed sense of commitment by embarking upon neighbourhood first policy.
 Going by the arguments of Mackinder who said that no power can become great if it possess an adversarial land power in its neighbourhood. Therefore, for India neighbourhood first policy is a natural option.

Different phases in our neighbourhood policy are as follows:-

- 1) Nehruvian era - He had a belief that ultimately every neighbourhood nation will

Remarks

merge into India since the region had a shared history and has artificial borders.

- (2) Indira Gandhi - Neighbours became apprehensive in light of Sikkim's inclusion in India and Bangladeshi liberation.
- (3) Rajiv Gandhi - Sri Lankan faux pas to send IPKF created unnecessary tension and caused mutual distrust and apprehensions of 'big brother' India. At the same time, SAARC, 1986 was formed by Zia-ur-Rehman of Bangladesh to contain and hedge India.
- (4) Gujarat doctrine - Shows progressive signs of thaw as he embarked up non-reciprocal unilateral concessions to neighbours.
- (5) Vajpayee era - Attempts of peace were made but were subverted eg! - Bus diplomacy
- (6) MMS era - economic engagement as primacy, MFN status to Pakistan and aids to Bangladesh.

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(F) Modi era - energetic start was made with inviting SAARC leaders to swearing in ceremony; ~~but but~~ But later on due to cross border terrorism and Pakistan's attitude the talks on neighbourhood 1st policy often excluded SAARC. Even in the new Modi 2.0 - Govt. 1st visit by EAM was to Bhutan showing its importance.

Way Forward :-

- 1) Amr. Panab. Ranjan Chakravarty called for revival of Gujarat doctrine.
- 2) Prof. Harsh V. Pant calls for a policy to shun the apprehension of neighbours regarding India as 'big brother'. He calls for equal engagement and India must avoid 2015 - Madhesi, 2013 - Bhutan blockade situations of regime change.
- 3) Shashi Tharoor calls for soft power cultural diplomacy through P2P which will persuade domestic regimes to go pro-India.

Remarks

- (4) Shyam Saran argues that India must go for E.O. like model with its neighbour for which politics has to be kept on the back burner and connectivity and trade as front mode of diplomacy. This requires to develop functional linkages and end an era of chicken's game and prisoners dilemma in the sub continent.
- (5) C. Rajamohan calls to hielook towards BIMSTEC rather than SAARC as our neighbours and pursue accordingly. Maldives and Afghanistan can be dealt bilaterally.

There it is clear from above that India must allow and provide certain economic and political concessions to our neighbours since being the largest economy. Moreover easing out border disputes and shunning out majoritarian rhetoric among political parties domestically would help leverage our ~~to~~ neighbourhood first policy to manifest into our domestic economic transformation.