

CIVIL SERVICES (MAINS)

EXAMINATION 2018

SOLUTIONS

Political Science

Paper 2

By

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POLITICAL SCIENCE AND IR - 2018

PAPER - II

SECTION - A

1. Comment on the following in about 150 words each :-

1. (a) Describe the changing nature of Comparative Politics. Briefly explain the Political economy approach to the study of comparative politics.

Ans. As the name suggests Comparative Politics is a discipline of Politics where scholars compare the different political system to analyze each one of them in a better way. Till the end of 19th century Traditional approach towards Comparative Politics was taken, under it, the Legal Institutional Approach was preferred i.e. studying government institutions like Legislature, Executive, Judiciary and Bureaucracy. Although after the first World War the world saw the rise of Communism and Fascism as the main political ideologies in Europe and the scholars saw a need for studying the Social and Economic conditions also. After this World saw the downfall of Fascism and the era of De-colonisation and rise of Cold War, Decolonisation forced the Western political scientists to also look in to the polity of Developing Nations and also Behaviouralism was considered for the first time as a legitimate tool to understand Intellectual development of the states and hence came in picture the major Behavioural approaches towards the Modern Comparative Politics, they are:

- **System Approach:** Developed by David Easton, Considered Status-quoist by Marxist scholars; Although gives an idea of how Polity as a system works but generalizes the nuances of Developing nations.
- **Structural-Functional Approach:** Almond and Powell build upon the system approach to develop it. They stated all political systems are in the different stages of evolution but there are certain essential functions which needed to be performed and they could be used for comparison.
- **Political Development:** It considers the system to be moving toward a democratic form of government. Lucian Pye gave three parameters of Political development which then can be compared, they are Equality, Capacity and Differentiation.
- **Political Modernisation:** It didn't give any added importance to Democracy bu to Modernisation and S.P. Huntington wrote 4 tenants of Modernisation: Industrialisation, Secularisation, Rationalisation and Urbanisation., based upon which comparison can be done.
- **Political Cultural Approach:** Culture is a long term trend and can very well be used for comparison. Almond and Verba developed Models for comparison based on Max Weber's Model using the Input-Output model of David Easton.
- **Political Economy Approach:** Adam Smith first defined it as that branch of learning meant for statesman which aims at achieving the welfare of the people. It's nothing but studying the Economic Policies of the state.

One can go for comparative analysis of states based upon their Economic policies. Political Economy approach is a combination of both Quantitative and normative approach, Quantitative because of Empirical methodologies used and normative because of the presence of different schools of thoughts.

The two main schools of thoughts are:

- **Liberal School:** It includes supporters of Laissez-faire, Utilitarianism and Welfare Economics.

- **Marxist School:** Its based upon criticism of Liberal School. It highlights the exploitative nature of Capitalism. The Dependency School of Marxism analysed the phenomena of Neo-colonialism. Rudolph and Rudolph's "The Pursuit of Lakshmi" and Gunnar Myrdal's "Asian Drama" are recent comparative work done using the Political Economy approach.

(b) Describe the changing nature of the state in the developing societies in the context of inclusive growth in the 21st century.

Ans. Inclusive growth means economic growth that creates employment opportunities and helps in reducing poverty. It means having access to essential services in health and education by the poor. It includes providing equality of opportunity, empowering people through education and skill development.

Every modern developing state aspires to fulfil these requirements of its citizens. In the new world order formed after second World War the countries which came out of colonial rule entered into the club of Developing nations, they needed to develop their Institutional system along with providing facilities to citizens which was promised by their leaders, for this purpose states opted for different nature of State China opted for a one-party state based upon the worldview of Mao, Singapore opted for a Totalitarian regime with Welfare as final aim based upon the worldview of Lee Kuan Yew, India opted for Fabian Socialism based upon the observations of her founding father led by Mahatma Gandhi and J.L. Nehru. On one hand, while the Maoist experiment caused the death of millions of citizens and destruction of whatever institutions they had till 1966, the Singapore experiment made Singapore a city-state with one of the topmost by HDI and per capita income wise.

India too faced a period of stagnation with almost no employment forever bulging population, low rate of GDP (the 2% growth rate) became almost synonymous to Indian State.

All these situations forced both China and India to mend their ways, China adopted the policy of Gaige Kaifang (reform and Openness) in 1987-88 under Deng Xiaoping and India opened its economy for trade through Liberalisation in 1991-92 under Narasimha Rao. Both the countries opened their economy for global trade to bring in more capital to develop opportunities for the citizens.

All three states mentioned above still consider themselves to be a welfare state. This idea is impacting the African nations who have got their independence in the 1970s and early 1980s and were still toying with the concept of development without giving much importance to inclusive growth.

The Scandinavian countries are a good example of what can be achieved if the concept of inclusive growth is kept at the core of policymaking.

(c) How big a role does identity play in determining political participation in the developing countries? Discuss your answer with suitable illustration.

Ans. Identity plays a very important role in political participation all around the world, its impact in the developing countries is even more because most of the developing countries have come out of the colonial rule in later half of last century and as Ambedkar opined Democratic process has been superimposed on us without any foundation with the hope that roots will develop and grasp-in. In actuality on an inherent level our society is divided on different identities like - Race, Caste, Religion, Linguistic differences and many more. These inherent characters of the newly formed Democratic states have now started showing its traits. Politics not only in India but whole of subcontinent is example of this-instead of supporting for developmental agenda citizens votes on caste/religion/tribes lines - Yadav support base for Samajwadi party in Indian plains, Pashtun support base for Ashraf Ghani and Hazara base for Abdul Mazari in Afghanistan, Punjabi support base for PML(N) and Sindhi support base for PPP in Pakistan further support the argument.

The major reasons for the growth of identity politics in developing nations:

- Political outfits know that accomplishing all the promises made during campaigns are impossible with the financial condition of the state and therefore arousing people's feeling on identity lines is the best way to assure electoral support.
- Many a times communities feel that they need to secure their identity (culture, a way of life) and support individuals or specific parties for doing the same. MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement) received the electoral support of Muhajir community in Pakistan for this only purpose. BJP's electoral advancement from 2 to 85 in 1989 General Election is attributed to similar phenomena when Hindu community support them for securing the identity.

Although Identity politics impacts even the developed world, 2008 U.S. general election saw unprecedented electoral support for Obama among the African-American community because of his race which is a type of identity. Therefore, one shouldn't always find problems in Identity politics, there have been instances when Identity politics has been done for good, for example, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in the U.S.A.

(d) Bring out the major differences between the Classical Realism of Hans Morgenthau and the Neo-realism of Kenneth Waltz.

Ans. According to the orthodox view, Realism is concerned with the world as it actually is rather than how it is ought to be. In other words, as Morgenthau stated, it is an empirical rather than a normative paradigm. Realism is also pessimistic and emphasises the recurrent patterns of power politics as manifested by reoccurring conflicts, rivalries and wars. Concepts such as the balance of power and the security dilemma become the main realist analytical tools. Realists of all strands also consider the state as the principal actor in international affairs. Special attention is afforded to great powers as they have the most leverage on the international stage.

There are however four key differences between classical realism and neo-realism, they are:

- Classical realist locates the roots of international conflict and war in an imperfect human nature while neo-realists maintain that its deep causes are found in the anarchic international system. Emphasizing on this point Kenneth Waltz considered Morgenthau's approach as bottom-up and reductionist.
- The state is ontologically superior to the system in classical realism, in contrast to neo-realism, allowing more space for agency in the former approach.
- Classical realists differentiate between status-quo powers and revisionist powers while neo-realism regards states as unitary actors.
- Neo-realists attempt to construct a more rigorous and scientific approach to the study of international politics, heavily influenced by the behaviourist revolution of the 1960's while classical realism confines its analyses to subjective valuations of international relations.
- Neo-realist lead by Waltz considered Power as a means while security as the final end, hereto his approach was different from Morgenthau who considered Power as the means as well as the end.

Lately, attacks like 9/11, London Bombing and Paris Bombing shows that only accumulating power as stated by Morgenthau won't be enough and Power has to be used to further assure the security of the state and its citizens.

(e) What, according to Joseph Nye, are the major sources of a country's soft power? Discuss its relevance in the contemporary world politics.

For Nye, power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes you want.

There are several ways one can achieve this: you can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments, or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want. This soft power – getting others to want the outcomes you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them. In his 1990 book, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* he wrote:

“when one country gets other countries to want what it wants-might be called co-optive or soft power in contrast with the hard or command the power of ordering others to do what it wants. A country’s soft power can come from three resources:

- **Its culture:** In places where it is attractive to others. For example, France is ranked high among countries with high soft power because of its vibrant culture, its openness and acceptance of free speech on not only political level but also on a cultural level. At the same time, Saudi Arabia is condoned throughout the world for its repressive culture which has held on the patriarchal mindset with the help of Orthodox religious sects like Wahhabism.
- **Its political values:** When it lives up to them at home and abroad. For example, again France not only implemented the idea of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity at home but also exported it to other parts like the U.S.A. and from there it got universal acceptance after the Second World War. On the other side the Political values of Pakistan which although was a secular state back in 1947 but toyed with religious ideas and now finds itself in a web of situation where blasphemy law related judgment is setting its agendas.
- **Its foreign policies:** When they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority. For example, U.S.A was celebrated as an eternal friend after second World War in Western Europe because of the part it played this helped it to build a reputation of torchbearer of Freedom but its action in Iraq (2003) has damaged its image and seriously degraded its Soft Power capabilities on Foreign Policy stand.

In contemporary World, Soft Power plays more important role than any time before, because of advancement in the field of communication the whole world has evolved into a global village and through Internet every state’s culture and Politics is open to being debated and discussed. Therefore every country needs to show its good side to the world while making sure that the disputed/difficult side is kept on the back till it’s resolved. The Chinese policy of sending Pandas to other countries is one such trick to form an acceptable narrative among the rest of world about China while making sure that to hide the running concentration camp on Chinese lands or the behaviour of Chinese administration with the ethnic Uyghur population.

A country like India has a lot to showcase, the similarity of the Political system already makes the Western World interact with India, its nuanced cultural and ethnic identities are well celebrated all over the World. India’s Foreign Policy stand regarding most of the world issues are also considered neutral and India prefer to use the international institution like UN to make her voice heard. These traits assure the rest of the world of India’s acceptable nature and increase its Soft Power on World forums.

2. (a) Discuss the significance of Non-aligned Movement as a unique contribution of the Non-Western world to World politics.

Ans. Non-aligned Movement was set up in 1961 as a force to counter the plans of both Superpowers to bring the nation states in their fold. It was a brainchild of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, J.L. Nehru of India and G.A. Nasser of Egypt. There were countries throughout the World who didn’t identify themselves in sink with either of the ideologies propagated by the Superpowers but at the same time, they needed both capital and intellectual support of the superpowers to build their countries. In such a scenario NAM provided them a much-needed platform to assert their point of view.

Following are the contribution of the Non-aligned Movement towards Non-Western Countries:

- All the World institutions were built by Western Powers and therefore there was always a sense of disenchantment among the other member states who find it difficult to pursue their agenda.
- NAM provided them with another platform through which they could raise their voice.
- South-South Unity also traces back its origin to the NAM summits.
- Most of the African nations received their independence in and after the 1960s and countries like Angola became the playground for Soviets and Americans to settle their scores. It was NAM which made sure that such Wars don't impact other parts of Africa.
- NAM also took the much-needed stand against the Racist practices world over, they not only passed a resolution against Apartheid South African state but also supported the Civil Rights activists in the U.S.A. in NAM summit of 1964 held in Cairo.
- NAM member states presented the case of de-colonisation in the trusteeship council in much more fervent manner than ever before.
- NAM played a very important role in making sure that South American countries are allowed to carry on their independent foreign policy and not become backyard of U.S.A.
- States like Cuba under Fidel Castro and Palestine under Yaseer Arafat were able to punch far above their weight because they were provided a platform by NAM.

But over the period its impact has reduced and it's in need of much needed transformation, leaders and countries have been talking about NAM 2.0 through which the developing countries can once again join hands to provide their citizens the much needed favourable trade deals in WTO's summit level of talks.

(b) Discuss the consequences of trump's "America First" and Xi's "Chinese Dream" on World Politics.

Nation states from the very beginning of the very idea have been competing against one another for achieving the title of Supreme Nation, nomenclature have been different but the aim has been the same whether it was the Anglo-French rivalry of the 18th and 19th century or the aim of the Third Reich in 1930s or even after the Second World War when the Soviets and the American went to the phase of Cold War to achieve the superiority over the side.

China's consistent growth for last three decade has brought it in a position where it is and will continue to aim for Global Supremacy all this while the U.S.A. will try to maintain its Supremacy by leaving behind China in all the global aspects mainly lead by Economic growth.

"America First" and "Chinese Dream" are just the instrument respective countries have decided to use to achieve the aim.

Important features of America First Policy:

- It's based upon Economic Nationalism, Non-interventionism and Rejection of Internationalist Policies.
- The current U.S. administration is of the opinion that they are spending way too much on international agendas whose return to them is negligible while not providing adequate support to domestic issues and therefore the fulfilling domestic needs are going to be their priority.
- U.S. President has increased tariffs on most of the Chinese imports with the aim of increasing the domestic production. This plan is based on the very idea of America First.

Important features of the Chinese Dream:

- It's based upon collective hope for restoring China's lost national greatness.
- As a policy of Chinese state, it's credited to Current Chinese President Xi Jinping, although it was popularised by Thomas Friedman on the lines of the idea of "American Dream".

- While the U.S.A. is trying to disconnect itself with the international forums China is increasing its influence. For example, U.S.A. backed out from Paris Climate Agreement and Trans-pacific Partnership (TPP) while not only China kept its commitment to Paris Climate Agreement but also in talks to enforce Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).
- The various international infrastructure Projects like OBOR and CPEC and international line of credit China is facilitating through AIIB are steps to increase its influence on the Global platform to fulfill the "Chinese Dream". The most expected outcome is China will take over the position of World leader from U.S.A. in near future unless and until U.S. mends its ways and reach back for support from its long time Western European allies.

(c) "Some feel Multinational Corporations (MNCs) are a vital new road to economic growth, whereas others feel they perpetuate underdevelopment." Discuss.

Ans. With Apple and Amazon both hitting the mark of \$1 Trillion in market Capitalization (if ranked along with Countries as per their GDP value they'll be fifteenth in the world) no one can deny the power of the MNCs on the global scale. They have amassed huge economic power which ultimately has lashed them with certain Political leeway too. For example, the UPA government was supportive of Walmart entering India in the Retail sector even though it would have impacted the small business. Similarly, in the U.S.A. Governors of seven different states have given a presentation to Amazon for opening its second headquarter in their state. Under these circumstances it has become really difficult to control the MNCs by any single country's government, this has brought in a situation where MNCs are free to perform their operations world over in an unrestricted manner. This has both good and ill effects on the economies. They are:

The good effects:

- Companies like Microsoft, Apple, Amazon and Walmart bring in the much-needed capital in form of FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) which is much appreciated in Developing Countries.
- They provide job mostly in Manufacturing and Tertiary sectors where otherwise domestic growth is not much.
- The youth learns the much needed technical know-how and further build on the concepts. So, technical and scientific growth also takes place.
- The government gets benefited not only through the Direct taxes but also because the youth gets employment the future of the country is secured.

The ill effects:

- The completely demolishes the small business. For example, Amazon forced the Retail bookstores and various Mom&Pop stores to close their shutters where ever their business went. This causes accumulation of capital while the small shop owners are forced to work as employees rather than entrepreneurs.
- MNCs are so big that they can't be regulated by a country's government. For example, Apple denying opening phone of a dead terrorist.
- Those who are at bottom most strata of society don't have basic e-literacy which is much needed to operate the products of these MNCs and therefore they are not the targeted market and their needs aren't given any importance too by market forces.
- MNCs are also using corrupt practices and lobbying for getting favourable deals from governments which hampers the development of the country.

MNCs have much to offer to mankind, but they have to keep in mind that the ultimate aim has to be serving the people and profit-making comes second. A recent example is Facebook whose data was

used to influence the U.S. Presidential elections impacting the whole world at once. MNCs possess great power and they need to operate it carefully to boost economic growth and reduce under-development.

3. (a) Discuss the relevance of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the security of women in conflict zones.

Ans. UNSC resolution 1325 was adopted unanimously by Security Council. The resolution acknowledged the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women and girls. It calls for the adoption of a gender perspective to consider the special needs of women and girls during the conflict, repatriation and resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration, and post-conflict reconstruction.

The main components and recommendations of the resolution are:

- Preventing sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflict.
- Participation of Women in peace negotiations.
- Protection of women and girls in refugee settings
- Taking care of the needs of female combatants in Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration process.
- Assuring Women political participation
- Incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations
- Providing training and sensitising the UN member states regarding the protection, rights and needs of Women folks.
- Gender balancing in UN
- Reporting the impact of ongoing armed conflict on the Women in zones by UN Secretary-General. Although Women are the worst impacted in the conflict zones throughout the history lately after the ISIS/IL took over major cities of Iraq and Syria, many disturbing reports came out of brutality by ISIS fighters towards the Women mostly of Yazidi tribe. This again brought back the world focus to the issue. Recently Nadia Murad who was enslaved by ISIS fighters was given the Nobel Peace Prize for bringing back this issue in focus and her work for helping other who suffered from ISIS hands.

(b) Would you agree that the on-going debates on international environment politics continue to be marred by a new North-South ideological divide over historical responsibility and developmental model? Illustrate your answer with suitable examples.

Ans. Over the past centuries the Northern Countries (Most of Western Europe and the U.S.A) have reaped the benefits of Industrial revolution while using the South (Asia, South America and Africa) as their farmland for raw material, this process has brought them in an economic well to do condition where they can shed the old techniques which ultimately are the main agent of causing drastic Environmental degradation. And the South still needs high growth for sustenance which can be either achieved by these old technologies or by new advanced technologies which are again in a development stage and require more capital infusion to bring it on the ground.

This is the core reason why the North which consist of almost all the developed nations to be held accountable for the present level of environment degradation and as a way to self-atone this wrong they should help out the South with technology and capital, not doing this while expecting the same level of commitment from Southern Countries is the main reason for the on-going North-South debate.

Days leading to Paris Climate Agreement saw this debates in nastiest forms when the Northern (Developed) countries wanted the Southern (Developing) countries to come up with the same level of INDC (Intended Nationally Determined Contribution).

Issues brought up by Northern Countries:

- Southern (Developing) Countries like China, India, Brazil etc to reduce their annual per capita emission because they are the one growing at the fastest rate.
- Every Human being has the same responsibility towards the Earth and therefore should contribute equally towards saving Environment.
- They rarely share new advanced technology because of Intellectual Property clauses in their domestic law.

Issues brought up by Southern Countries:

- Since the Northern Countries growth has been brought at the cost of Environment degradation for at least two centuries now the Southern Countries can't be stopped from doing the same for sustenance purposes.
- When Countries like the U.S.A. who has been the largest emitter of GHGs over past fifty years has backtracked on its commitment regarding Paris Agreement, the Northern Countries can't force the Southern Countries like China, India and Brazil to regulate their emission levels.
- There is also the context of Neo-imperialism too i.e. the Northern Countries have acted as the imperial power for centuries and now also they are trying to regulate the growth of Southern Countries through these International Agreements.

The Developed countries have committed to jointly provide \$100 Billion annually by the year 2020 to the Developing countries in exchange of them regulating their annual GHGs emission level. But the fine points about the source and dispensation process of the fund is yet to be developed, this is also causing the rift between the two sides.

(c) "Since its inception the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has failed to deliver on its promises." What initiative should be taken to reinvigorate the organisation?

Ans. SAARC was set up in 1985 with the intention of enhancing Regional cooperation and economic growth by the integration of the South Asian Nations on various levels lead mainly by Trade and people to people contact. But in past three decades, much has not changed on the ground mainly because of Bilateral issues of two of its biggest member states -India and Pakistan. Lately the faith of Motor Vehicle Agreement where Pakistan walked out the agreement forcing other states to go for BBIN (Bangladesh Bhutan India Nepal) Road Network impacting not only its own citizens but also the state of Afghanistan.

Major Initiative that could be taken to rejuvenate the SAARC process:

- India and Pakistan assuring not to bring Bilateral issues on SAARC platform and handling it separately.
- Certain points of Gujral Doctrine needs to be brought back as the confidence-building measures to reassure the smaller member states of India's good intentions. Launching of SAARC satellite is one such event.
- India has to make sure not to let China hack the leadership of SAARC grouping because of Chinese Hegemonic tendencies.
- SAARC needs to start separate Secretary-level/Track-2 level talks regarding the Trade facilitation and cultural connect with specific TOR (Term of References) making sure that the ongoing international issues don't impact the process. For example for the current ongoing turmoil in Sri-Lanka or Maldives SAARC could play the role of mediator instead of India doing so.
- SAARC also needs to take of people causes like the Rohingyas and the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.
- SAARC as a body needs to take a stand on ongoing Conflicts in various parts of World like on Syria Scenario, Yemen Crisis etc.

- India needs to find more alternative channels to connect with its immediate neighbourhood and reduce some pressure from SAARC. India has taken initiative regarding this through this new Process BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation).

4. (a) Critically examine the notion of “Asian Values” in the context of the on-going debates on Human rights.

Ans. Asian Values are defined as the value system based upon elements of society, culture and history common to the nations of Southeast and East Asia. It aimed to use commonalities such as the principle of collectivism and the ancient cultural connect – to unify people for their economic and social good and to create a pan-Asian identity. This value set was on the lines of the European concept of Universal Rights of Man. The concept was initially used by Lee Kuan Yew (Prime Minister of Singapore, 1959–1990) and supported by Mahathir Mohamad (Prime Minister of Malaysia, 1981–2003, 2018–present) and later accepted and used as the core idea of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). Even Deng Xiaoping also found the concept of Asian Values acceptable for Chinese people.

Lee Kuan Yew quoted about Democracy “The exuberance of democracy leads to undisciplined and disorderly conditions which are inimical to development.” and therefore Asian Values which gives preference to community development over Individual development should preferred model for Asian nations. He said, the government’s primary duty is to create a “stable and orderly society” where “people are well cared for, their food, housing, employment, health and for this if certain stringent steps are needed to be taken, a leader should take it. He implemented these ideas in Singapore 1965 onward in the form of compulsory public Housing which forced cultural integration and imposed various kinds of restriction on freedom of expression.

Lung Ying-tai, a Taiwanese social and political critic, supported by Kim Dae Jung (former President of South Korea) and Lee Teng-hui (former President of Taiwan), argues that “Asian values” is doublespeak for suppressing universal values such as freedom of speech and human rights.

Amartya Sen criticised Asian Values as less supportive of freedom and more concerned with order and discipline than are Western values, and that the claims of human rights in the areas of political and civil liberties are, therefore, less relevant in Asia than in the West.

But one can find these stringent constraints on Human rights even in Historical texts regarding Imperial Japan and in recent times Chinese state is putting on restraints upon people to maintain order based on these ideas only one such example lately is Chinese Social Credit System.

(b) Discuss the implication of the Trump-Kim Singapore Summit on the prospects of denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula.

Ans. Since the end of Second World War the greatest man-made threat World faces is the threat of Nuclear Annihilation. And to eliminate or reduce this threat the P5 along with other UN member states have tried to come up with different schemes like Nuclear Umbrella (provided by U.S.A and Soviet Union), NPT (Non-proliferation Treaty), CTBT (Counter-test Ban Treaty) and NWFZT (Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty) like Pelindaba Treaty but North-Korea has never followed these treaties and twice entered and went back out of NPT latest in 2003. Under Kim Jong Un’s leadership, they have developed ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile) with the capacity to attack mainland U.S.A. This has made the very threat of a North Korean attack on the U.S. seem real for the very first time since the end of Korean War (1950-53).

The triggering reasons for both the countries to come to talking tables are:

- The ever enhancing American scheme of putting sanction on North-Korea has devastated their economy completely but hasn't been able to stop their program to make an ICBM.
- The North Korean regime also finds the current U.S. administration especially President Trump eclectic and therefore a much more severe threat.

Main implications of the Singapore Summit on the prospects of Denuclearisation:

- U.S.A and DPRK has come to talking tables, this will assure that even in case of immediate crisis there will be a channel of communication and the U.S.A don't have to contact the North Koreans through either the Chinese government or the Olympics Association office in Pyongyang.
- The North Korean regime has assured to dismantle the ICBM constructing facility near Pyongyang.
- The North Korean regime has taken steps to dismantle rocket launching and a testing site near Tonchang.
- The Trump-Kim summit was preceded by the Moon-Kim summit (Moon Jae-in, President of South Korea), this will reduce the threat level between the neighbours and the prospect of a Nuclear war because the South Korean state is covered by U.S. Nuclear Umbrella.
- There are also talks going on regarding the second round of U.S.A-DPRK talks where the denuclearisation issue will be on the table in exchange for the removal or reduction of American sanctions.

4. (c) Critically examine the Functionalist approach to the study of International Relations.

Ans. The functionalist approach to study international relations arose during the inter-War period principally from the strong concern about the obsolescence of the State as a form of social organization. Rather than the self-interest of nation-states that realists see as a motivating factor, functionalists focus on common interests and needs shared by state actors and also by non-state actors in a process of global integration triggered by the erosion of state sovereignty and the increasing weight of knowledge and hence of scientists and experts in the process of policy-making.

Its roots can be traced back to the liberal/idealist tradition that started with Kant and goes as far as Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" speech which led the foundation of League of Nation.

The classic functionalist believed that the idea was to pool the sovereignty of members of an international organization like the European Union, as they worked together to deal with a common task. The idea was to do away with the evils of nationalism as individual citizens would transfer their loyalties to a higher or supranational authority. It was hoped that economic and technical cooperation would "spill-over" into the political world.

David Mitrany, the originator of functionalism, believed that this would result in a working peace system. A working peace system would be built gradually and incrementally. That is, "peace would be built by pieces."

The main criticism about Functionalist approach are:

- **Realist School:** Security of Nation state is threatened as the Nation state depends on international organisations like UN, EU and NATO.

The concept of Shared Sovereignty evolves and the people of the state are not the final decision maker even in case of a democratic form of government. The latest example was the Greek Economic Crisis and European Unions reaction towards it.

- **Neo-Functionalist School:** It builds on the work of David Mitrany, it downplays the global dimension and reintroduces the concept of Territorialism.

It's declared to be non-normative and tried to describe and explain the process of regional integration based on empirical data. Integration was regarded as an inevitable process, where the invisible hand of integration (Political or Functional Spillover) works rather than a desirable state of affairs that could be introduced by the political or technocratic elites of the involved states' societies.

SECTION - B

5. Comment on the following in about 150 words each:

5. (a) Do you agree with the view that Indian Foreign policy is increasingly being shaped by the Neoliberal outlook? Elaborate.

Ans. Historically Indian Foreign Policy is impacted by the worldview of our founding fathers like M.K. Gandhi, J.L. Nehru and the top Bureaucrats who headed the External Affairs Ministry like K.P.S. Menon and Subimal Dutt.

The foundational idea in initial years was Fabian Socialism (taken from Nehru's worldview regarding the Economics) and non-interference which took the form of Panchsheel. But over time these ideas were not able to fulfil the aspirations of growing Indian Demography and Globalisation was allowed under forcible conditions in 1991-92. With this change, the worldview of Foreign policy experts also mended, more Neoliberal ideas were given more importance with every passing day as India finds itself closer to the Western ideas of economics.

Following changes in Foreign policy shows India's increasing tilt towards Neoliberal Worldview:

- The opening of the Indian Market in 1991-92 followed by joining WTO (1995).
- Many changes have been brought to the Indian way of life to bring people on the same standards as the Western/Developed World is, this will let them act as a Demographic dividend.
- Lately, India is supporting the opening of World Market while countries like U.K. and U.S.A. are opting for a more conservative approach.

Another reason is that of sudden development in the communication techniques Indian people are knowing the benefits of transforming the World into an inter-connected global community and this puts pressure on the Foreign policymakers to get in line and bring desired changes. Recently, even the Saudi Administration took some steps to bring changes to the domestic level mostly because of similar reasons. Having said that, one should always keep in mind that the experience of the Indian way of handling foreign issues have served us best (except in 1962) and there is much to learn from experiences and even when Neoliberalism has been instilled in Indian foreign policy core ideas, Experts are and should keep on applying the principles of Neoliberalism in an Indian way not try to superimpose the western idea of Neoliberalism.

(b) "India is often said to have a rich strategic culture". Discuss.

Strategic Culture as defined by scholar Colin Gray, it refers to the "disarmingly elementary" notion that "a security community is likely to think and behave in ways that are influenced by what it has taught itself about itself and its relevant contexts. And that education, to repeat, rests primarily upon the interpretation of history and history's geography. And therefore the Indian nation knowing the bloody geographical history of the subcontinent has built a separate rich Strategic Culture.

Few characteristics of Indian Strategic Culture:

- Individual leadership, bureaucratic politics, and civil-military relations put in appearances in such accounts alongside strategic culture itself that is not found in any other developing democratic state world over.

- India has been very economical in its foreign entanglements but not engagements. Except the IPKF episode in Sri-Lanka India's strategic outreach has never failed whether it was Maldives (1988) or Seychelles (1986) or recent evacuation ops. in Yemen.
- Shivshankar Menon called Indian Diplomatic outreaches to be the most frugal diplomacy, with a small band of professional diplomats with minimum means to deliver all and more that much larger, better equipped and well- funded foreign services do.
- Providing a forum to those in need. M.K. Rasgotra mentions in his biography how the India house in London acted as the NAM's outreach centre for most of the African and South American countries in the 1980s.
- India has so far resisted siren calls for us to do what others want us to, in the name of being "responsible" or "stepping up to the plate". For example, the A.B. Vajpayee government rejected the appeal of U.S. government to send Boots on the ground in Iraq in 2003.

The prime reason for people like George Tanham of RAND corporation who propounded the idea that India doesn't have a rich strategic culture is lack of understanding of Indian past specifically the Arthashastra and Kautilya.

What Indian scholars need to do is follow the Chinese and Yan Xuetong have mined and reinterpreted their own past to produce what they see as a Chinese theory of international relations we should do the same.

5. (c) Evaluate India's stand on the recent Rohingya refugee issue.

Ans. The Rohingya are an ethnic community in the Rakhine state of Myanmar having linguistic similarities with some regional dialects of Bangladesh. The Myanmar authorities do not recognize them as its citizens but consider the Rohingya migrants from Bangladesh. This left the Rohingya in a stateless condition and subject to persecution in Myanmar. In the last 4-5 years due to consistent persecution Rohingyas are leaving Rakhine and moving to Bangladesh, India, Thailand and where ever they could feel safe. Bangladesh is currently giving refuge to 700,000 Rohingyas and an approximate 40,000 of them have been staying in India.

India's response to the Rohingya crisis:

- **First phase:** After the conflict started in 2012; Main Indian concern was the Humanitarian approach. Delhi considered it an 'internal affair' but was sympathetic to Myanmar. The then External Affairs Minister Salman Khurshid visited Rakhine State and announced a US\$ 1-million package of relief assistance to Myanmar. India also allowed Rohingya refugees to enter the country and did not make it an issue in its domestic politics or in its bilateral relations with Myanmar.
- **Second phase:** After Mid 2017; Main Indian concern was Internal security followed Humanitarian approach. The government planned to deport the Rohingyas who have settled in different parts of India. The government considered them Illegal Immigrants and not refugees. India supported the Myanmar Government after Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) carried out attacks in Rakhine against state forces. India launched "Operation Insaniyat" to provide relief assistance for the refugee camps in Bangladesh.
- **Third phase:** Main concern is steps to find a legitimate acceptable resolution. The phase began soon after China stepped in with its "three-step solution" to the Rohingya crisis and the subsequent signing of the repatriation agreement between Bangladesh and Myanmar.

Indian Foreign Secretary signed a MoU on Rakhine State Development Programme with Myanmar's Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement aimed at "socio-economic development and

livelihood initiatives in Rakhine State” that included “a project to build prefabricated housing in Rakhine State to meet the immediate needs of returning people.”

There is a view that with the Western world embroiled in its own challenges, there is a lack of global leadership. Under these circumstances, perhaps Delhi has framed an approach towards the Rohingya crisis without the need to concern itself about the reactions of the Western powers, who otherwise tend to preach to other countries from their self-appointed high-moral ground.

There are 2 schools of thoughts which explains India’s stand regarding Rohingya Crisis:

- The first school argues that the current Rohingya approach has some elements of continuity, as it is “consistent with [India’s] traditional hesitation about automatically designating asylum seekers as refugees.”

According to this line of thinking, India has conventionally “created disincentives” for refugees to “stay on in India permanently”, citing the case of refugees from Bangladesh during the 1971 War.

- Second School views the current approach as a departure from the past and analyses it from the perspective of potential implications on India. This school argues that the framing of the Rohingya crisis through the security argument is short-sighted as it could create more security challenges for India, including “greater radicalisation” of a repressed community that could have serious “spillover” effects on India.

It asserts that the government’s silence has allowed “ceding space for other countries to take the lead” in the Rohingya crisis. Further, the approach has undermined India’s long traditional heritage as an “open” and “democratic” society that has always kept its doors open for refugees.

5. (d) “India’s current foreign policy marks significant qualitative shifts from that of the previous regimes.” Discuss.

Ans. India is well known for that fact that its Foreign Policy doesn’t change much with changing of the government. Indian Foreign policy in that regarding is different from the U.S. or U.K. foreign policy outlook where the change of guards from Republican to Democrats (vice-versa) or Conservative to Labour respectively changes the overall foreign policy outlook of the nation. Instead, India has some core ideas and certain set agendas, till now every government aspires to achieve them. Certainly, the path to achieving the agendas somewhat change for example the current Prime Minister believes in personal diplomacy than the previous Prime Minister. In a way, this is something which can be explained best by the behaviourist approach to International relations. The recent informal summit between Modi and Xi Jinping in China and Modi and Putin in Russia are an example of this.

Following are the small changes which are visible in Foreign Policy initiatives to achieve the preset agendas:

- India has become more assertive on international platforms. For example Prime Minister personal outreach to China, Israel and even Pakistan. India also expanded the scope of its engagement with East and Southeast Asia in a year when India and ASEAN observed 25 years of their Dialogue Partnership, 15 years of summit-level interaction and five years of strategic partnership this year. India publicly and vigorously supported freedom of navigation and access to resources in the South China Sea in accordance with principles of international law, including the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

In its immediate neighbourhood, New Delhi followed a two-pronged policy. On the one hand, it continued its high-decibel campaign to marginalise Pakistan by repeatedly underscoring the pernicious nature of the terror threat emanating from that country. On the other hand, it started

an ambitious undertaking of re-imagining its strategic geography by linking itself more closely with the wider Bay of Bengal community. The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and the Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal (BBIN) Initiative are being revived by New Delhi's newfound interest. India has taken up the initiative in Afghanistan while using its Soft power tools to connect with the Afghan people.

Through participating in Security exercise like Malabar Exercise where along with India, Japan, U.S.A. and Australia participated, India again asserted its presence in the Indian Ocean.

It was India's diplomatic winning that the U.S. renamed its Pacific command Indo-pacific command, this will further assert India's presence in the region where otherwise China is having Hegemonic aspirations.

- India undertook measures to gather support for its membership of NSG, MTCR, Wassenaar Agreement and Australia group. Except NSG India has been able to receive membership of rest three control regimes and soon it will gather the support of NSG too.

On Cultural level too, India has taken steps like

- Getting unanimous support from UNGA for declaring June 21st as Yoga day. This adds another instrument to propagate Indian ideas and way to life to the whole world.
- Steps have been taken to increase the number of countries to allow visa-free travel to Indians.

On trade side

- The Indian government is assertively showcasing itself to the countries with large coffers in the form of Sovereign funds like U.A.E, Japan and Saudi Arabia, etc.

5. (e) Analyse the significance of India's Look East Policy in the light of concerns of the indigenous peoples of North-east India.

Ans. Despite having cultural and historical proximities, India could not ascertain mutual cooperation with the countries of East and Southeast Asia, particularly because of the existing global political scenario. Traditionally, India looked towards the West for her economic and trade interests. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and penetration of neo-liberal economy in a globalised set-up forced India to look for other avenues to connect with rest of the world. Look East Policy (LEP) was evolved in the early nineties giving paradigm shift to the country's foreign policy and international trade and cooperation.

Northeast India's stake in the Look East Policy has been visualised from two different perspectives. One view looks the region from the euphoria of economic growth in larger economic and trade frame of the global economy where driving forces are market reforms, transnational connectivity and market integration. This as the 'continental pole' which eventually bypass and supersede the local concerns of the indigenous people of the region.

Another perspective looks at the bargaining point of how much it (Northeast) can gain from the continental policy creating hope and excitement in different circles. The Look East Policy has also changed the perception of Northeast India from 'an anthropologist paradise' during the colonial era and the 'security perception' in the post-colonial era to the 'gateway for trade and cooperation' with Southeast Asia in the contemporary era of globalisation.

Following are the major significance of LEP with respect to the concern of Indigenous peoples:

- Those tribes who are completely disconnected because of the unnatural land border can reconnect. People to People interaction will develop. Nagas are present on both sides of the Indo-Myanmar border.

- There is no big industrial or otherwise economic development going on in the region that means the youth are unemployed and are forced to live their life in most difficult manner. The projects like the India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway (IMTTH) will open new avenues of development for them.
- Once the tribal communities will interact as well as connect with the wider world, it will be easier for the Indian Union to bring them to mainstream and many of their differences can be resolved automatically.
- Economic development will also provide an additional reason for different tribes to interact and their differences will reduce as their interactions will increase.

But at the same time, the Indian state has to be vigilant that this new avenue of prosperity is not misused by secessionist powers active in the region.

6. (a) India's coalitional diplomacy within the WTO has earned it wide appreciation. What accounts for the success of India's coalitional diplomacy.

Ans. Coalition diplomacy developed when individual states find themselves incapable of making their perspective understood to the international organisation like UN and GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariff). It predates the WTO. First such grouping was Cairns Group of non-subsidizing agricultural producers that first came together a month before the launch of the Uruguay round.

Under the leadership of India, the LikeMinded Group (LMG) initially brought together countries that opposed the placement of labour standards on the negotiating agenda in the 1996 Singapore Ministerial Conference. The LMG "was attempting to restrike the balance of negotiating power in the WTO in favour of the growing majority of developing countries by bringing the negotiating process more into the open, where the large and rich countries would have to leave their backroom machinations behind.

On many occasions, India has had to subordinate its own national interest in the interest of that solidarity.

Among all the large, developing countries it is India that has consistently worked with the Africans, with the ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific), with these smaller countries all across the world. For example, G20 made side payments to members of LMG at the time of the Uruguay round.

- Leaders offered concessions in the form of preferential market access for LDCs (Least Developed Countries), and also regional trade arrangements (economic and political) with various members, such as the IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) initiative and India's Africa Forum. India many times on its own cost has represented the African members' issues for example during the Doha round India not only helped the AU (African Union) to form a coalition but also helped Tanzania and Uganda on a personal level.

The main reason for the success of India's Coalitional Diplomacy are:

- The earlier record of India: Whether it was against the Anti-apartheid regime of South Africa or the Colonial powers in Trusteeship Council India always took a stance against it and supported the cause of LDCs. India also played a vital role in providing a platform to LDCs through NAM.
- India's trade methodology is based upon People to People partnership and not like taking over the whole project as China has been doing in recent past. This further increases India's standing in the eye of LDCs (mostly in African nations) and they support India for the leadership post in Coalitional Diplomacy.

(b) “ India’s capacity building programmes under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) has earned much goodwill for it in Africa.” Discuss.

Ans. Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC) was started in 1964 and has allowed India to boost people-to-people relations and enhance its ties with developing countries as it followed a strategy of economic and technical cooperation. African countries have greatly benefited from a bilateral capacity-building programme launched by India more than 50 years ago as it helps expand, build and share technical skills among developing countries. It is a demand-driven, response-oriented programme that focuses on addressing the needs of developing countries through innovative technological cooperation between India and the partnering nation.

Along with its corollary the Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Programme, ITEC covers 158 countries across Asia, Africa, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and several Pacific and Caribbean nations. But its main focus has been in Africa where partner countries are Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Congo, Chad etc.

Major reasons for Goodwill connected to ITEC programme:

- There are 47 training institutions in India which run more than 280 training courses in diverse subjects ranging from IT, public administration to election management, SME, entrepreneurship, rural development, parliamentary affairs, renewable energy to name a few.
- African Union (AU), Afro-Asian Rural Development Organization (AARDO), Pan African Parliament are partners in these schemes with ITEC, they make sure that proper facilitation of these programmes as per the needs of the Natives.
- Apart from organizing training courses in India, it also covers deputation of Indian experts abroad, aid for disaster relief, gifting of equipment, study tours and feasibility studies/consultancy services. ITEC is a demand-driven programme, therefore, assistance offered under ITEC is usually in response to requests received from friendly countries and the commitments made by India’s political leadership.
- Through ITEC programme Indian government also helps African countries to provide mid-career training to its bureaucrats in the field of Election Management, Government Performance Management, Parliamentary Studies, Urban Infrastructure Management, WTO related Topics, this further develop goodwill for India among the Bureaucracy which is very helpful at the level of Government to Government relations.

(c) “India’s Research and Information system for Developing Countries” (RIS) is a major initiative in the area of South-South Cooperation. Discuss.

Ans. Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) is a New Delhi-based autonomous policy research institute that specialises in issues related to international economic development, trade, investment and technology. RIS is envisioned as a forum for fostering effective policy dialogue and capacity-building among developing countries on global and regional economic issues.

The focus of the work programme of RIS is to promote South-South Cooperation and collaborate with developing countries in multilateral negotiations in various forums. RIS is engaged across inter-governmental processes of several regional economic cooperation initiatives.

In recent years, the global dialogue on South-South Cooperation (SSC) has become more prominent in discussions on international cooperation, highlighting the importance of SSC in the global arena.

Following are the major initiatives taken by India:

- **Research going on regarding Global Economic Governance:** Research programme of RIS in this area

largely focuses on developments in various multilateral forums, in particular on the World Trade Organization. The outcome of this research helps the developing countries mostly in Africa and South America to handle the complicated issues on the various rounds of talks at WTO.

- **Regional/Bilateral Economic Integration:** India has been actively engaged in deepening and widening its economic engagements with major economies of East and South East Asia to make an Asian Economic Community.
- **Helping LDCs through forums of SSC:** RIS research programme has always given importance to articulating the viewpoints of the developing world in international forums.

A number of specific issues being dealt with are:

- Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP)
- India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Partnership
- The partnership among Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) (Although Russia is not a part of Global South)
- Biotechnology and development
- South-south cooperation regarding the Digital divide
- Intellectual property rights and health issues
- Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC)
- Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD)

The desire of Southern economies to harness the potential of their cooperation has led to the conception and formalisation of several platforms such as India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), BRICS, IBSA, New Development Bank and Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) including many others and India is not only participating on all these forums but also taking a lead to help other member countries.

7. (a) Discuss the role of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) in promoting India's soft power abroad.

Ans. It was founded in 1950 under the leadership of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The primary objective of the Council is to establish, revive and strengthen cultural relations and mutual understanding between India and other countries. In order to promote awareness of India's composite cultural heritage abroad, the Council has 35 Indian Cultural Centres in different parts of the world. The Cultural Centres function under the administrative control of the Council and the respective Indian Missions abroad.

These Centres focus on programmes involving the participation of the local population and on the teaching of various dance forms, vocal and instrumental music, yoga for both beginners and advanced students, etc.

ICCR in the past has opened new avenues for Indian Movie Industry in the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 1970s after which many Indian actors have become household names in Soviet states and even now the Russians, Central Asians and East Europeans find a connect with Indian storytelling.

ICCR is an organisation which maintained a consistent relationship with India's East Asian Neighbours and provided support to the Cultural projects in countries like Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

ICCR also work in cooperation with the Japanese and Chinese government to make the Buddhist pilgrimage a worthy experience for their citizens.

Till now ICCR has tried to provide a forum for NRIs (Non-Residential Indians) to keep in touch with

various Indian cultural activities but now the focus is to further increase the influence and use the various ancient Indian inventions/techniques like Yoga, Ayurveda, Spiritual practices etc among the citizens of other countries.

ICCR is also working with groups like NATA (North America Telugu Association) and FTSNA (Federation of Tamil Sangams of North America) to further propagate the understanding of Indian language not only among the NRI children but also among the North American society.

India always had much to offer to the world especially on the Spiritual side, even Prime Minister Modi has supported the propagation Indian way of Life and consider it one of the tools using which India can become the World leader or what he exactly says "VishwaGuru".

(b) Discuss the role of Indian diaspora in promoting Indo-US relations.

Ans. Any person who immigrates from one country to other becomes a representative of his native society/community to the other. Their actions act as a catalyst for the other society to understand his/her society and forms an outlook towards the country.

Indian diaspora in the U.S. has this responsibility on them whether they want it or not but they are the torchbearer of Indian Culture in the U.S.

Indians have been immigrating to the Western World under the impact of Colonial powers but the latest lot of Indian immigrants who are in many places in decision-making positions are those who immigrated in the 1970s,80s and 1990s.

There are two types of Indian Immigrants and each one play a different role:

- **The Second Generation Immigrants:** Those whose parents immigrated in the 1960s and 70s and worked hard to provide the opportunity to develop and be in a position of decision making, these people being brought up in American society have a far better understanding of their way of life and provide a cultural insight of the American people and government. People like Nikki Haley and Ambassador Richard Rahul Verma are an example of it.
- **The First Generation immigrants:** These are of two type, firstly who go there for livelihood only and opt for a blue-collar job, these are the ones about whom Government needs to care and look that they are not exploited. They are also the foot soldiers propagating Indian culture and therefore should be informed about the importance of their behaviour. All the people who work at gas stations, Mom & Pop Stores etc. Second are those who move to U.S. for a better life and opt for White collar jobs, people like Satya Nadella, Sundar Pichai etc, they understand the Indian culture very well and are in decision making position in U.S. there actions have been helpful in reducing the differences among the U.S. and India relations, for example, it was Sundar Pichai personal involvement as the CEO of Google to resolve propriety issues between India and U.S. Another example of the major role of Indian immigrants playing is of Mr Shalabh Kumar, a Chicago based Indian American who was the point of contact between Government of India and Donald Trump after he won the Presidency in November 2016.

(c) Discuss the various impediments in India's way to a permanent seat in the Security Council.

Ans. The UN needs to be restructured to present the geopolitical realities of the 21st century. India rightly deserves a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, due to being the largest democracy in the world, home to 1/6th of mankind of the world, 4th largest economy.

Major impediments are the following:

- All the decisions of Security have to unanimous i.e. every member country has veto power which it

can use any number of time. While the Western World is supportive of India's claim China doesn't want another Asian country on the big table and therefore is against the entry of both India and Japan to the Security Council.

- Another impediment is the various other countries who also think that they deserve to be in the Security Council, they are Germany, Japan and Brazil. Each one of them has their specific reasoning, for example, Germany is the Centre of trade, manufacturing powerhouse and biggest economy of Europe while Japan is third largest economy GDP wise, Brazil, on the other hand, is a growing power just like India and claims to represent the whole of South America.

India has formed a Group of Four (G4) with these countries combinely they are trying to resolve the issue at hand. Now whether it is good or bad diplomatically is still to be judged because the formation of G4 pushed the individual countries opposing these countries to form another grouping called "Coffee Club" which has countries like France which oppose Germany's membership, South Korea opposing Japan's membership, Uruguay and Argentina who oppose Brazil, Pakistan which opposes Indian membership.

- Another issue is the complete absence of Africa from the Security Council. Kofi Annan being himself from Ghana while at the post of Secretary-General raised the issue for and African representation which is also used as a tool against aspirations of India by China and Coffee Club Members.

India believes that the United Nations (UN), especially the UN Security Council (UNSC), must reflect contemporary global realities.

For this purpose the reform of the UN including the expansion of the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories is essential.

To this end, the Government of India has been actively working along with other like-minded countries for building support among the UN membership for a meaningful restructuring and expansion of the UNSC.

8. (a) Do you think that India's capacity building role in Afghanistan has shrunk the strategic space for Pakistan there? Discuss.

Ans. After the removal of the Taliban in 2001, India started helping the Afghan state in terms of Capital support to redevelop its infrastructure. Till 1992 India had good relations with Afghanistan and it was only between 1996 and 2001 when India totally alienated the Afghan cause on the government to government basis, one reason for that was the absence of stable Union government in New Delhi.

Even in these times, India had good cordial relations with the Northern Alliance headed by Ahmad Shah Massoud who associate Abdullah Abdullah is CEO of government in Kabul in present time.

So, it's not like India is positioning itself out of the blue, we had a relationship which we didn't really build upon for some time.

Pakistan's position with respect to Afghanistan is different, along with the Torkham pass there are tribes with family relations on both sides of Durand line and for 35 years more than 3 million Afghans stayed in Pakistan as refugees so there people to people contact is far better than India had any time in past.

Recently India has taken steps like the building of Road from Delaram to Zaranj, this will connect Afghanistan to the Iranian port of Chabahar providing an alternate way for Afghan trade which till now only had Karachi Port for them. By doing this India has reduced Afghanistan's strategic dependence on Pakistan, similarly, India funded the Afghan India friendship Dam on Hari River which

will reduce the irrigation problem of North Western Afghanistan, Herat Province. India also funded a new Parliament in Kabul. These steps further increase the goodwill for Indians among the Afghans.

While Afghanistan and Pakistan are going through a difficult phase where Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of supporting the Taliban cause and Pakistan accuses them of providing safe heaven to TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan).

The terrorist attacks on the Afghan soil are the main reason for the feeling of disgust among the Afghans towards Pakistan and not India's help to them in their capacity building.

(b) Critically assess the evolving convergence of India and China in the areas of trade and environment.

Ans. India and China both started almost the same time in 1947 and 1949 respectively, while India opted for a system Mixed Economy with overarching control of Government which was forced out by Open Market in 1992 China which went through phase of Cultural Revolution and almost absolute poverty transformed itself into a Manufacturing Superpower under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping 1988 onward and continued on the path for last three and a half decade with double-digit growth rate.

Looking at such transformation of China India too decided to develop itself into a Manufacturing hub, after all, it too has all the essentials which China have like Demographic dividend and Raw material for Manufacturing.

Under these circumstances India and China are converging towards each other, some example of it:

- India started Make in India on the lines of Made in China.
- Indian focus is to increase Export of Manufactured goods as China did since the 1990s.
- India is following the Chinese system of developing SEZs (Special Economic Zones) to give an instant boost to regional economies.
- The 100 smart city plan is also inspired by the Chinese plan of developing New Cities which had not only increased the overall infrastructure of the region but also increased the much-needed liquidity in Market.

Following the Chinese system of radical development in India too faced Environmental degradation as China did. The Air Quality of New Delhi and Beijing are an examples of it. And therefore both the countries were forced to opt for similar methodologies to resolve the Environmental crisis.

Maintaining their commitment towards the Paris Climate Agreement even when the biggest Polluter U.S.A. have backtracked is an example of this. Both the countries are coming up with similar plans to rehabilitate and conserve its Flora and Fauna Diversity. But what is needed for India is to take a bit different approach, India can't copy the Chinese Model of Development because of two main reasons:

- **India is a Democratic state:** Periodic Election and hence the change of Government policies take place, to plan for a much longer term as China does is very difficult. Also in India brute force of administration can't be used against citizens as has been done in China many times to maintain order.
- Indian Economy is much more open to the world and India can't really regulate its currency as China does with Renminbi.

At the same time this two bane can be used by India as boon too, India can always advertise the much better working conditions and Democratic form of government as positive points to Foreign investors and since India's economy is much more connected with the western world it will be easy for investors to have faith in the Indian system.

(c) Do you agree that the growing assertiveness of China is leading to multilayered Indo-Japan relations? Comment.

Ans. India and Japan have an evolving partnership which is based on the cultural and religious relationship which tends back to the Ancient times but surely the newfound assertiveness of China has brought the two countries much closer even at the level of security partnership.

Japan is one such country which imposed harshest of sanctions on India after the Pokhran test (1998) on India and was not ready for a nuclear technology transfer treaty with India even after the Indo-U.S. nuclear treaty of 2005 did a deal with India in 2016, security experts like Uday Bhaskar and C. Raja Mohan gives credit for this to the Chinese hegemonic tendencies regarding the Senkaku islands and in South China Sea. Japan was in need of a strong support in Asia as was the requirement of India because of String of Pearl Port system developed by China.

On the Economic level too, Japan is providing loans and technical know-how for Indian projects through JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) on much easier terms because Chinese firms are also bidding for Indian projects with the financial backing of AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) as was seen in case of the Mumbai-Ahmadabad Bullet train Project.

On Cultural level, both countries are collaborating more and more the Kyoto-Varanasi Partnership Agreement is an example of this.

All in all, both countries serves very important purpose for each other with Japan's ever-ageing population they are needing new immigrants which can be fulfilled by Indian huge young Demographics (Japan just softened its Visa rules in 2018) while India is in need of capital Investment and technological know-how which Japan being the third biggest economy can help with.

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