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AIR **125** CSE
2023

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

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.

Reg. No. -

Name Meinalika Rathore

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature _____

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Various version of Neo-realism
- (b) Hans Morgenthau's Realist Principles
- (c) Explain the forms and method of National power
- (d) Features of political parties of third world countries
- (e) Problems with a state-centric approach in IR

① Various versions of Neo-realism

Neo realism, also called as structural realism, emerged in the works of Kenneth Waltz.

In his book 'Theory of international politics', he has tried to make realism scientific and hence relevant.

Kenneth goes for structural level analysis unlike Morgenthau's unit level analysis. He argued that since human nature is unpredictable, any analysis based on it can't be scientific. He calls structure of international politics anarchical unlike domestic hierarchical polities. Since, war is always a possibility in anarchy, states go for

Remarks

arms race. He further argues that states at international stage differ in their capabilities and not functions performed by them. Therefore, there is higher role of power politics as compared to personality of leader.

~~Joseph Grieco is a modern realist who integrates ideas of Waltz and Morgenstern. He has identified two barriers to international cooperation, fear of those who may not follow rules and relative gains of others.~~

~~Third version of neo-realism includes offensive and defensive neo-realism. Mearsheimer belongs to Offensive realism tradition. He warned US against expansionist China and said no power is enough. Defensive neo-realism is closer to neo-liberal~~

~~institutionalists. Argue, cooperation is successful in friendly states. Kenneth & Grieco belong to this.~~

Remarks

⑤ Hans Morgenthau's realist principles

Morgenthau is the first person to give systematic view of international politics. Influenced by Machiavelli, he gave six scientific principles to warn American foreign policy makers:

- ① Human Nature is Annis Dominandi i.e. humans are power seeking animal. Since states are ~~not~~ ruled by humans, states are also power seeking.
- ② National Interest guides nations, as self interest guides humans. Survival is the fundamental national interest and true power is the only way to secure it.
- ③ Nature of National Interest is highly dynamic. It keeps on changing as per global order. Countries should consistently revise it.
- ④ On the role of ethics he doesn't see any role of ethics in international politics like Machiavelli.

Remarks

Universal moral principles don't apply to States. Pragmatism is ethics of politics.

- (1) On role of Ideology, Morgenthau argues that it is a mask to hide real intentions
- (2) on Nature of International Politics (IP), it is autonomous. It is neither ethics, nor economics, nor law. It is what it is, an uninspiring field.

Morgenthau has been criticised by liberals for taking pessimistic view of nature, from feminists and even from realists like ~~and~~ Waltz.

C forms and Method of National Power

Politics is considered as the study of shaping and shaking of power. Though Power is a central concept in politics but it is a highly contested concept.

There are two forms of power - Hard power and Soft power. Realists have given more weightage to hard power. Hard Power is more Materialistic,

Remarks

concrete and visible. It can be acquired in a very short time. Soft power on the other hand is invisible, relies on consent & takes long time to build. USA hegemony is due to its hard power and India has strong soft power.

~~Joseph Nye gave concept of Smart Power which is a combination of hard and soft power. A requirement of 21st century states. He was also concerned with emerging form of Sherpa power which is rise of authoritarian states & propaganda.~~

~~Measurement of National power militarily is not easy as states don't disclose their capabilities. However, power of states can be also estimated through economic indicators such as GPP, HDI etc.~~

~~Socio-cultural factors such as homogeneity, diaspora (India largest diaspora). Technology factor example South Korea, Israel, China, etc.~~

Remarks

(d) features of political parties of third world countries

Political parties are organised group of people with the aim to gain political power.

~~Third world countries have varying political system (ex: Communism for China, Democracy for India), heterogeneity in caste, religion, language etc. which influences their political party structure. Some of the features are:~~

- ① Lack of intra party democracy.
- ② Control of dynasties like Congress ~~or~~ in India, Kim Jong in North Korea.
- ③ High influence of authoritarian leader ex Xi Jinping, China.
- ④ Duverger's Law can be used for classification into :-
 - 4.1) one party system - South Africa, China.
 - 4.2) Two party system - Sri Lanka, Bangladesh
 - 4.3) Multiparty system - India, Pakistan.

Remarks

⑤ As to Sartori, it's not about number of parties but relevance of parties for example India has more than 1000 registered political parties but only few are relevant.

Therefore, political parties in third world countries show paradoxical features. They are modern and bureaucratic but traditional in functioning.

⑥ Problems with State centric approach in IR

State centric approach in IR is a central feature of realism and liberal institutionalism. Morgenthau called states power seeking (*animus dominandi*) and Kenneth related survival as priority due to anarchical structure of IR. To maintain sovereignty and territorial integrity, states rely on self help (arms race & alliances). Liberal institutionalists while taking positive view of human nature emphasize on creation of institutions to promote cooperation.

Remarks

between states. Such centrality to states and evolution of all concepts like security dilemma, balance of power, national interest etc in this centrality has been criticised by various scholars.

~~Post colonial scholars Bhupinder Bassi have argued that notion of sovereignty in itself is a western concept (Treaty of Westphalia). Feminists like Cynthia Enloe in her book 'Where are the women?' have highlighted the subordinate role given to women in IR like wives of diplomats. Acc. to Marxists, States are the instrument of bourgeoisie class. Marx asked all the workers to unite. Neo-Radical approach to IR consisting of dependency school and centre-periphery approach has further shown the exploitative structure of world capitalist economy.~~

~~Green theory and Human Security paradigm assert the need to build a world where sustainable environment and safe individual is a priority. This can't be done by states alone.~~

Remarks

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) What is meant by the notion of "security dilemma"? Do the Realists suggest any mechanism to escape or mitigate the security dilemma? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss Gender Justice as a global concern. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Define Multi polarity. Multi-polar distributions of power result in a more stable world. Comment. (250 Words) (20)

Ans a. Security Dilemma is a term coined by John

Hertz. It denotes the insecure nature of states at world stage. When one state (especially neighbour) acquires more power, the other gets insecure and try to enhance their power.

This leads to an arms race.

Security Dilemma is a concept under realist school of international politics (IP). Acc. to realists, the nature of IP is anarchical.

Seuring national interest and national survival are fundamental functions of state, everything else is secondary. To ensure their security, states become Security Maximisers (Defensive realism) or Power Maximisers (Offensive realism). former leads

Remarks

to more alliances like NATO, QUAD etc, while later leads to arms race and expansionism like China in South China Sea & Indian border. Neo-realists

call Security Dilemma as perennial condition of IP

Different scholars have suggested Balance

⑤ power, deterrence or diplomacy as measures to mitigate security dilemma. Balance of Power (BOP) in IP is treated as Maxim by realists. Whenever a state tries to gain extra-ordinary power, all states will come together to balance it. It shows there are no permanent friends or enemies in IP. The techniques of BOP include arms race, disarmament, partitioning territory, establishment of buffer states, sanctions (like US on Iran, Turkey, Russia). David Hume called BOP common sense. However, BOP is not a stable condition. It can mitigate worst scenarios of Security Dilemma but not insecurities.

Remarks

of states altogether.

Deterrence is a traditional concept developed by

- game theorists like Niezsche and Schelling.

It means to frighten the enemy and assumes actors are rational. US foreign policy during

Cold war was based on Mutually Assured

Decimation (MAD). It is also called Balance of

Terror. Nuclear Deterrence has overtaken conventional deterrence.

Beyond realists, functionalism provides biggest critiques as well as mitigation measures for security dilemma.

(B)

Gender Justice as a global concern

Gender is a social construct, a manifestation of patriarchy that disadvantageously influences women.

Patriarchy affects the relation between men & women, social groups, communities, state and international relations.

Remarks

It has existed since ancient times, across geographies intersecting nationalism, capitalism, religion etc.

Issues of Gender Justice at global level:

① Representation & Political Participation

- Approx 20% of world parliamentarians are women only.
- Cynthia Enloe has highlighted the subordinate role given to women such as wives of diplomats
- Realist doctrine inherited conception of state where Sovereign Man is central.
- Lack of state support in women empowerment laws, schemes etc. CEDAW is yet not signed by all states.

② Economic empowerment

- Gendered work i.e. role of childrearing, caregiving, domestic duties given to women which add to productivity but not counted.
- Pink collar jobs, glass ceiling,
- women considered as 'docile' workforce, non-aggressive & vulnerable.
- As per Christine Lagarde, India's GDP can increase

Remarks

by 27% with gender equality.

③ Violence Against Women, Peace & Security

- UN coined the term 'Shadow Pandemic' for worldwide rise in domestic violence during COVID.

- Rape as war strategy and conception of crime against women as destroying integrity of nation.
Approx 2 lakh Bangladeshi women were raped by fleeing Pakistan Army in 1971 war.

④ feminisation of poverty - Of all poor 2/3 are women & children.

⑤ Lack of feminist perspective in state institutions, foreign policy and global institution. Sweden is the first country to adopt feminist foreign policy.

⑥ Lack of gender neutral language. Indian constitution language is not gender neutral.

Efforts to bring gender Justice

① Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

Identified 12 areas of importance such as women & health, education, politics etc.

Remarks

- (2) Rape is a war crime since 2000.
- (3) UN Women works at forefront of advancing women rights.
- (4) Ecosoc Commission for Women.
- (5) feminist scholar Ann J Tickner has reformulated Morgenthau's six principles from feminist perspective to be adopted by states.

(2) Multipolarity

A Multi-polar system consists of more than 2 power centres. Polarity of power thesis was given by scholars like Kenneth Waltz & Neustein. Acc. to them, world has seen three kinds of power distribution models:

- (a) Unipolar - unstable world, single hegemon ex USA between 1990 - 2000
- (b) Bipolar - most stable, strategic balance between 2 super powers
- (c) Multi-polar - unstable, great confusion prevails, frequent wars.

Remarks

Joseph Nye while analysing the world power distribution gave 3 D Chess board model

According to him, world is militarily unipolar - USA has highest military strength, Economically multipolar - growing China, Japan, Middle East etc. and Socio-culturally diffused - enhanced globalisation, diaspora etc.

It is somewhat true that multi-polarity can lead to instability. It is difficult to maintain a global rule based order. UN is facing crisis of confidence and there is no global power to enforce rules. New emerging conflict of ethnicity, Majoritarianism have led to disputes among almost all states.

However, it can be argued that multi-polar world is not unstable but looks unstable due to dominance of realist school in international politics. Inherently multi-polarity can lead to stability.

Remarks

① Multi-polarity fosters democracy and equal representation in global governance. This allows for consensus based decision making ex Kyoto protocol signed, ratified and adhered to by all states.

② Multi-polarity doesn't allow dominance or hegemony of a single state - checks & balances

③ Multi-polarity, if interpreted through a lens of development (post modernism), can foster collaboration, collective action between states and communities ex ASEAN.

④ It can help in creation of Security communities.
ex European Union - functionalism.

The outcome of a multi polar power distribution depends on states and its leaders. To fight or to live peacefully is a choice. Choosing peace and stability can never be against national interest.

Remarks

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) What are the vital features of political sociology approach of international relations? Discuss with views of eminent scholars. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Examine the relevance of NAM in contemporary world order. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) In what sense have the political parties of the third world have developed a distinct identity and methodology of their own. Describe with examples. (250 Words) (20)

① Political Sociology approach deals with issues that are in the ~~not~~ interface of politics and society.

Aristotle is considered as father of political sociology. In his theory of revolution, he gave sociological factors such as rising inequalities as cause for revolution. We can consider Marx as father of modern political sociology as he suggested to look at basic structure of society for understanding politics.

Marxian and Weberian are two schools in political sociology. Within Marxism, Instrumentalists and Structuralists school of thought developed.

~~Marxists~~ Marxists school analyses class structure of society, nature of state, revolution etc. Parensi

Remarks

gave concept of integrated state. Max Weber

Criticised Karl Marx for being highly dependent on Economic Structure. He believes in Capitalism and considers it rational.

Political Sociologists deal with issues such as role of caste, class, religion, political parties, electoral behaviour. Anand Beeteille studied role of Caste, Mogendra Yadav studied India's electoral behaviour and Tajfelot studied the role of RSS.

Political Sociology is linkage between sociology and political science, a two-way street giving equal importance to social & political variables. For example, while sociology of politics analyses Casteization of politics; political sociology analyses politicization of caste. It considers political behaviour as a dimension of social behaviour.

Under this approach, state is considered a

Remarks

~~Social organisation. It seeks to analyse qualities and characteristics of people who compose state.~~

~~Indian political system is influenced by family, Caste religion. New-Institutionalists have attempted to understand how institutions are shaped by behavior of people occupying it and how they constrain judgements of individuals.~~

It's too much dependence on sociology has made political scholars skeptical. Theda Skocpol calls for 'Bringing the State back in'. Therefore, political sociology is now studied under Sociology.

(b) Relevance of NAM in contemporary world

Non Aligned Movement (NAM) and its relevance have again become point of discussion amidst Covid Pandemic and PM Modi attending its online summit (after skipping last two).

NAM originated from Bandung principles

Remarks

Such as - respect for human rights, Mutual non-aggression, non-interference and mutual respect. It provided a third alternative to post colonial developing countries in a cold war ridden bi-polar world.

Historical achievements of NAM include ① Third world solidarity ② Stand ~~against~~ ^{for} anti-racism, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism ③ Disarmament ④ New Economic Order ⑤ International Cooperation for peace. ⑥ Reformed United Nations demand.

Contemporary relevance of NAM :

- ① COVID has shown 'the great fracture' of geo-political tensions (UN Sec. General). This can be tackled by pursuing the objective of NAM which are still relevant.
- ② NAM countries constitute 2/3rd of UN General Assembly. They can create consensus on important global issues such as climate change, terrorism and act as collective voice.

Remarks

③ Bolster South-South cooperation

④ More representation to developing countries

at UN e.g. support to India for Judge Bhandari at ICIJ

⑤ Ideas like reformed economic order (esp. funding for climate change, IPR issues) and disarmament can need to be pursued more rigorously.

⑥ NAM can be alternative to RCEP, ASEAN and enhance African + Asia growth (Japan India Africa Corridor)

⑦ Resist the hegemonic rise of China, its policies like debt diplomacy, BRI etc.

However NAM faces dual challenges today.

firstly, from scholars like C. Raja Mohan who calls it a movement in coma and MEA S. Jaishankar

called it a movement of bygone era. Secondly,

it faces challenges as a movement such as lack of vision,

lack of unity, lack of cooperation among members.

further, many of NAM members have

Remarks

integrated & benefitted from liberal (capitalist) regime. Though NAM as a movement may be declining but it has evolved to NAM 2.0 or strategic autonomy. ~~also~~ ~~as~~ from a functionalist perspective too, the need of present global challenges is issue based cooperation.

② Political parties of third world countries show a very mixed bag on characteristics, sometimes paradoxical features. They can be analysed from different perspectives such as on basis of electoral system, on basis of ideology, on basis of internal structures etc.

Fundamentally, political parties are group of people whose aim ~~is~~ to gain political power and regulate the process of state. In third world countries, politics is complex and multi-dimensional.

Remarks

The role of caste, race, language, religion is seen. Various analysis of political parties is as follows:

- (a) Modern & Bureaucratic in organisation but traditional in functioning. Increase in use of social media, data analytics, Marketing tools is modern feature. But there is lack of intra party democracy, control of dynasty and personality ex congress. Lack of transparency & financial accountability - all political parties.

- (b) Duvvuri gave two types of classification:

- (b.1) on basis of ideology

Mass parties - example Liberal parties - BJP, congress
Cadre parties - rightist & leftist parties.

- (b.2) on basis of internal structure

Branch - in liberal parties there is local units at state, districts ex BJP

Cells - feature of communist parties

Council - small group of elites in rightist parties

Militia - parties having armed wing eg Red Army, CPI

Remarks

(c) Weiner & Palambea analysed party system

based on electoral system -

(c.1) Competitive System

- One Party dominant ex South Africa
- Two party dominant ex Bangladesh, Sri Lanka.
- Multi party - India.

(c.2) Non-competitive System → Hegemonic parties like China.

(d) Role of caste - castification of politics and politicization of caste in India.

(e) Religion → Mandir - Masjid politics, Ayodhya temple has been a electoral issue for decades in India.

However, Although, a number of factor play sole in functioning and behaviour of political parties.

Modern technology, spread of ideas and citizen awareness forces parties to adopt a mix policies (pro business + welfareist) while governing the countries,

Remarks

Attempt all questions:

SECTION-B

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Non-Governmental Institutions of Foreign Policy Development
- (b) Role of Indian diaspora in country's Gulf policy.
- (c) NO FIRST USE debate.
- (d) Look West Policy of India.
- (e) China-India-US Triangle and Changing Balance of Power

(a) Non-Governmental Institutions of Foreign Policy include

① Pressure / Business group ② Media ③ Think tank
Universities ④ NGOs

① Business groups had none to minimal role in Indian foreign policy prior to 1990s. Primarily due to closed, socialistic model of development. Post 1990s liberalisation phase, and integration with world economy has increased Indian MNCs abroad & foreign companies in India. Recently, PLI scheme has been modified to bring foreign companies like Apple to India. Private sector (Mistry Group) played role in Indo-US civil nuclear deal. It forms the Track-2 diplomacy of foreign policy.

Remarks

② Media has a direct impact on every aspect of our lives. But it is different for domestic & foreign policy. Media can draw and sustain attention to a foreign policy issue ex India-Pak, China LAC excursion, India-Nepal dispute. India Media has a two way relation with external affairs ministry. While government exercise some pressure on media, it has to actively and adequately conduct media diplomacy or instant diplomacy through special division.

③ Think tanks, Universities and NGOs role in foreign policy development has been limited because:

- o Dominance of bureaucracy and political executive.
- o Lack of dialogue between academia, MEA and external organisations.
- o Unlike US, there is no frequent exchange of people from government to outside and back.
- o NGOs have been more domestically focused barring few like SEWA advocating women work conditions with ILO.

Remarks

(b) Role of Indian Diaspora in country's gulf policy

As per International Migrant Stock, ~30% of Indian diaspora is located in Gulf Cooperation Council countries.

Ancient Indian civilisational ties with the gulf have evolved to Maritime diplomacy. Increasing number of Indian migrants have paved way for political, economic & cultural relations as well.

- (1) India has maintained relations with all gulf countries independently such as Israel, Palestine, Iran, Saudi Arabia.
- (2) Monetary remittances being foreign currency
- (3) Social remittances being Ideas, technology, culture back to migrant families.
- (4) Goodwill created by Indians and withdrawal of American interests have given a space for increased investments and collaboration.
- (5) India is seen as a reliable partner and leader by GCC countries. Palestine has asked India to intervene more in Israel - Palestine issue.

Remarks

GoI has enhanced its engagement with the west over time. It is termed as part of extended Neighbourhood first. P M Modi was first Indian leader to visit Palestine. MoUs have been signed with UAE, SA, Israel, Iran etc for trade, defence and space collaboration.

(c) No first use debate

India's nuclear doctrine has No first use policy. However, the debate has emerged in the background of BJP's 2014 manifesto and Defence Minister Raghav Singh's statement that no first use policy should be revisited.

Proponents of first use policy include Bharat Karnad and B. S. Nagal. Karnad argues that NFU requires efficient crisis management. Hence, it is relevant for country which have extreme confidence in survivability of its nuclear forces. He also

Remarks

doesn't believe Indian bureaucracy capable of crisis ~~management~~ management. B. S. Nagal, former Lt. General, gives a more argument that it is wrong to see population under threat. No need to accept large scale destruction 1st.

~~Arguments in favour of No first Use (NFU) doctrine have been given by Shiv Shankar Menon, Lakshmi Sehgal etc.~~

S. S. Menon argues that FU is provocative and would destabilize security environment in South Asia. A country may attack to defend itself (Machiavelli & Kautilya). Manpreet gives strategic and economic advantages of NFU. FU capability requires heavy R&D investment and expensive nuclear infrastructure. Further, in a NFU scenario, the onus of escalation is on adversary. It remains a matter of debate which stance should be adopted. However, India maintains a no first use doctrine in line with its objective of safe and nuclear weapon free world.

Remarks

(d) Look west policy of India

West Asia is one of the most sensitive and strategically important regions in world. It has been called to suffer from curse of centrality.

- for India, West Asia is a part of its extended Neighbourhood. Different factors that influence India's Policy include -
- ① Large diaspora
 - ② Oil & gas
 - ③ Arc of instability & Arc of trade (Rajiv Singh)
 - ④ Domestic sentiment of Indian Muslims etc.

India's look west policy

- India has engaged with countries bilaterally - issue based : Ind-Israel, Ind-Iran, Ind-Saudi etc.
- Trade with West Asia countries is higher than SE Asia.
- Policy is non-prescriptive and non-alignment.
- Collaboration across space (Ind-UAE), defense (Ind-S-Africa), technology (Ind-Israel), oil & gas (GCC)
- ~~India has~~ Look west has been guided by

Remarks

Culture, commerce and colonialism (Nicholas Blaer)

- M E A Jai Shankar has said India should be a leading power and not balancing power.

Enhance India's relation with middle east can have multiplier effects in boost to economy, control of terrorism and deeper cultural ties. West Asian countries see India as a net security provider, a leader and reliable partner. India needs to more clearly articulate its policies and actions with middle east.

② China - India - US triangle & BoI

Prof. Brahma Chellaney, on how different countries want the world to look like, said, "US wants a unipolar world with multipolar Asia. China seeks a multipolar world but unipolar Asia. India desires a multipolar world, ~~and neither bipolar Asia and unipolar South Asia?~~"

This ~~also~~ helps us to evaluate actions and policies of three countries amidst changing global order.

Remarks

World order is in a flux today. There is a decline of west. Hence, no global policeman. US is focused on American Nationalism and Europe is caught in turmoil of Brexit, radical islam etc. China has completed its peaceful rise and is now asserting its dominance (revisionist power) & it has adopted policies like wolf warrior diplomacy, debt trap and expansionism. India with its soft power, huge diaspora and high market potential is now seen as leader of developing world. And is now claiming its rightful place in global decision making.

This has led to all three countries adopting policies such as increasing arms (Rafale, Indigenisation), alliances (QUAD). All in sync with defensive and offensive realist theory. US wants to stop China. Therefore trade protectionism, decline in diplomatic relation and stronger backing to India. China wants power differential with India. Therefore LAC incursions, trade barriers, string of pearls. India is eyeing its global economic and political rise. Therefore, diversifying trade, push for UN reform, multilateral foreign policy.

Remarks

7. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Elaborate India's Indo-Pacific Strategy (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss COVID19 and the shifting dynamics of labour migration in the Gulf. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Highlight the challenges Posed by China's Rise in Asia. Also discuss few potential strategic options for India. (250 Words) (20)

(a) Indo-Pacific as a hyphenated term is new in International Relations. There is no global consensus on this ~~as of~~ so far. ^{As to} Shyam Saran, Indo-Pacific reflects centrality to India (against China in Asia Pacific). It also shows growing importance of India's economic and security profile extending beyond Indian Ocean to Western Pacific. The growing importance of Indo-Pacific can be seen in US renaming its Pacific Command to Indo-Pacific Command.

India's Indo-Pacific strategy can be analysed through its initiatives in
 (a) Indian Ocean Region
 (b) South East Asia (c) SAARC, BIMSTEC (d) Maritime
 growth and security.

Remarks

- ④ Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is traditionally and geographically India's sphere of influence. There is an increased Chinese expansion and presence in IOR - string pearls, debt trap policy with IOR countries, 9 dash line and South China Sea. To counter these, India has started SAGAR Security and Growth All in the Region - unity and cooperation between littoral states. Increased investment in Naval power - Project 75P, enhanced monitoring & surveillance technology.
- ⑤ Look East policy have evolved to Act East with involvement in far East Russia as well. Increase focus on development of North East India region and connectivity with ~~also~~ ASEAN countries - ONGC Videsh in Vietnam, ~~also~~ Taiwan relations, India-Japan collaboration.
- ⑥ Australia was recently included in Malabar exercises of QUAD countries, QUAD advocates free and open pacific. QUAD's significance as a coalition of major powers (US, India, Australia, Japan) lies in its consideration of China as Asian NATO. However, India continues

Remarks

to engage with Russia & China through forums like BRICS and SCO for consensus building.

(d) Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) has constituted a special division called Indo-Pacific division which signifies its importance & focus.

S. Jaishankar has called for more realism in India's foreign policy including Indo Pacific strategy. Strategic Autonomy remains crucial for India and as Asia (esp. India) becomes focus of world politics we need to invest and engage more to carry out our Indo-Pacific strategy.

7(b) Large scale development, employment and migration wave began in Gulf countries in 1970s after oil boom. As per UN, there are approx. 35 Million international migrants in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. This constitutes 50-80% of their population for ex Kuwait, Qatar has 70% migrant population.

Remarks

COVID 19 pandemic and induced lockdown have exposed the vulnerabilities of this system:

- ① ~~the~~ Decline in tourism, aviation and oil industry
- primary economy
- ② Lack of health care, and overcrowded ~~congested~~ living
- ③ Unemployment, unpaid wages and unilateral pay cuts due to Kafala system.
- ④ Stranded people - travel ban & unaffordable tickets
- ⑤ Hardship for families back home due to decline in remittances.
- ⑥ Reduced international support ex Sanctions on Iran & Turkey.

This has renewed the calls for reforms in GCC countries by international organisation like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, ~~& ILO etc.~~ Government's of GCC countries as well have started taking initiatives in this direction. Some of the shifting dynamics include:

- a) Nationalisation of workforce to address
- high unemployment among locals

Remarks

- high dependence on foreign workforce
- rising xenophobic discourse and perception that virus is brought by migrants and spread by them

(b) Calls for reform to Kafala system in which

leaving or changing job without employer's consent is not allowed.

(c) Countries like Kuwait are planning legislation to reduce migrant population phase wise. Concerns

of social unrest, burden on social, economic infrastructure.

(d) Decline of high skilled workforce will lead to reduce demand for high end products, Knowledge and technology transfer.

(e) Increased application and requests by migrants to return to home countries.

While global economy is expected to decline by average 5% (IMF), any measures taken by GCC countries should focus on balancing interests of migrants and citizens.

Remarks

7(c) China is an expansionist and revisionist power, for last 3 decades, it has silently focused on the growth of its technology, economic, military and diplomatic capacity.

~~Export led growth and strict economic policies such as use of access to its market in exchange for technology & knowledge have aided in its rise. China's potential can be realised from its ability to set up a 1000 bedded hospital within 72 hours or as the only country showing positive economic growth (as per IMF).~~

~~True to the ~~saying~~ saying, 'Never let a crisis be wasted', China has ~~wasted~~ used it to assert its dominance across globe. challenges posed by China's rise include :~~

a) Geo-strategic challenges - Wolf warrior diplomacy

- LAC excursion along India border & death of 20 soldiers ~~in~~ Galwan valley clash
- Encroaching India via string of pearls and Border Road Initiatives

Remarks

Initiatives

- Expansion in South China Sea and 9 dash line conflict with Taiwan, Vietnam, Phillipines etc
- Issues with major powers such as Australia, Japan etc.

(b) Economic Challenges

- Debt trap diplomacy; Hambantota lease for 100 yrs, Maldives have more than 80% of GDP as Chinese debt.
- India has high trade deficit with China. Hence, dependence ex 70% of Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients (API)

(c) Global decision making/ leadership challenges

- China eyeing its dominance in RCEP, APEC, WHO etc.
- China's support of Pakistan to counter India.

(d) China's rise leading to QUAD, Hong Kong protests,

(e) Palm and five finger strategy - leading to border disputes, border construction.

(f) Hydro-hegemony - New dams on Brahmaputra, water data sharing conflict.

Strategic options for India :-

(1) Project Malabar - Ancient Maritime trade routes counter for string of pearls.

Remarks

② Multivector foreign policy - alignment with all major powers such as Russia, USA, etc.

③ Use of India's soft power in developing world to use for consensus and collaboration at international forums.

④ SAGAR - India as a security provider in Indian Ocean.

⑤ Leadership role of initiatives - UNSC, WTO executive committee, Indo-Pacific International Solar Alliance be used to guide world on Multilateralism.

'Hunras Myrdal' in his book 'Asian Drama'

talks about two Asias. One, that uses the economic superhouse of world. Second, one whose time is ripe to ~~be~~ be centre of world. However, for Asia to provide direction to entire world, it is really important for a consensus, collaboration and peaceful growth. Two giants, India & China will have to overcome their challenges first & foremost for this.

Remarks