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PSIR Answer Writing Module 2022

Model Answers

Test 14

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1. ***Discuss the contribution of India towards Non Aligned Movement. What have been the major criticisms of NAM?***

"The power of nations assembled here is not military power or economic power, nevertheless it is power. Call it moral force"- Nehru at the first NAM Conference in 1961.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a forum of 120 developing world states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. Contain 55% of the world population. Drawing on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement was established in 1961 in Belgrade.

The purpose of the organization was enumerated by Fidel Castro in his Havana Declaration of 1979 as to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their "struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics."

India was the founder member of NAM . In fact, 'Non-Alignment' itself was a phrase coined by India's Ambassador to the United Nations, V.K Menon. It was through NAM that India gave the newly independent nations a third option to remain non aligned and focus on their development .

India being a founder and largest member in NAM was an active participant in NAM meetings till 1970s but India's inclination towards erstwhile USSR created confusions in smaller members. Further disintegration of USSR led the unipolar world order dominated by US.

India's External Affairs Minister, S. Jaishankar believes that non-alignment was a concept of relevance in a specific era and a particular context, though the independence of action enshrined in it remains a factor of continuity in India's foreign policy. However, he also says that a rejection of non-alignment does not mean a rush to alignment: India will not join an alliance system. For him 'alliance' is as much a Cold War concept as non-alignment.



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According to C. Raja Mohan, NAM is in the state of 'Coma'. It is passing through the crisis of identity and relevance. For him, NAM was irrelevant even before end of Cold War. It didn't have any concrete achievement as it was extremely idealist to harmonize interest of so many countries which have collective interest.

However, according to Prof. Rashid-ud-khan, NAM is a "timeless organization". He argues that the complexities of problems in developing countries mandates a platform like NAM to bring together the developing nations to resolve them.

According to T.P. Sreenivasan, NAM stood for freedom of judgement & action, and hence NAM remains valid whether there are one block or two.

NAM has to adopt and change itself to suit the newly emerging challenges and geopolitics. World has again moved towards bi-polarity, one led by US and other by China-Russia. The war torn Syria is prime example of this, where both US and Russia is asserting power.

In spite of setbacks, the principles and objectives of non-alignment retain their full validity and force at the present international juncture. The primary condition that led to the emergence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that is, non-alignment from antagonistic blocks, has not lost its validity with the end of the Cold War.

The long-standing goals of the Movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-aligned countries.

- 2. Do You think the current state of US China Relations can be considered as Cold War 2.0? Give arguments in support of your point of view.**
Cold war ?

The Cold War was a period of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies, the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc, which began following World War II. Starting and ending points of Cold war, is generally considered to span the 1947 Truman Doctrine to the 1991 Dissolution of the Soviet Union. The term cold war is used because there was no large-scale fighting directly between the two superpowers, but they each supported major regional conflicts known as proxy wars. The conflict was based around the ideological and geopolitical struggle for global influence by these two superpowers.

The term 'new cold war' or 'cold war 2.0' is used to compare the present day conflicts and tensions between USA and China to the bitter ideological rivalry of



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the cold war phase. The rising tensions between the two countries have prompted many experts to warn of a new cold war. The two major powers of the contemporary world order are engaged in conflict across multiple geographic theatres (South Asia, South East Asia, Australia, Europe, Africa and Latin America) and multiple vectors (trade, investment, technology, international institutions, health policy, defence and security).

According to Stanly Johny, covid19 have aggravated the crisis, pushing both countries, already reeling under trade, technology and maritime disputes, to take a more hostile position towards each other. According to him, there are similarities between the current crisis and the cold war. The political elites of both China and the US (like the Soviet Union and the US during the cold war) see each other as their main rivals. This was also evident from USA's National Security Strategy (2017), which called China a 'revisionist power' seeking to erode American security and prosperity and shape a world antithetical to US values and interests. Thus, similar to the cold war phase, the current crisis also carries a subtle element of 'existential threat'.

One of the major similarities between the current conflictual relationship between USA and China and USA and USSR back then is that the antagonism between the two countries has gripped both the political and popular imagination in both the countries. The targeting of ethnic Chinese professionals and others in the US and of American individual and entities in China is a case in point.

However, some analysts and strategic studies still hesitate to employ the cold war concept wary of the analogy with US-USSR conflict and its implications for international relations in the medium and long term. This is so because the differences between the US- China current crisis to that of US-USSR cold war era relations.

Unlike the cold war period, which was characterized as a 'bipolar' world order, today's world order is characterized by existence of multiple powers like USA, European Union, China, Russia, India and Japan. This leads to a very different kind of international order than during the cold war.

Therefore, rather than a replay of "Cold war", the US-China current crisis showcases that a new kind of competition is emerging. It is a classic example of "Thucydides trap", where a rising power (China) challenges an incumbent power (USA).



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3. Discuss the factors behind the collapse USSR. Examine the impacts of the collapse of USSR on Global Politics.

USSR was a socialist state that spanned Eurasia during its existence from 1922 to 1991. It was nominally a federal union of multiple national republics; in practice its government and economy were highly centralized. It was a one-party state governed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Before its dissolution, the USSR had maintained its status as a world superpower, alongside the United States, for four decades after World War II. Sometimes also called "Soviet Empire", it exercised its hegemony primarily in East-Central Europe .

Collapse of USSR happened due to mix of factors like the structural problems in the Soviet system. Some have argued that the collapse of communism was an accident waiting to happen, the inevitable outcome of structural flaws that doomed Soviet-style regimes to inevitable collapse more effectively than the contradictions identified by Marx as the fatal flaw of the capitalist system. The chief long-term problem was economic, though arguably it had political roots, in that economic policies and practices were dictated by political ideology. Centrally planned economies proved to be less effective than capitalist economies in delivering general prosperity and producing modern consumer goods. Eruptions of political discontent in 1980–91 were thus, in significant measure, a manifestation of economic backwardness and expressed a desire for western-style living standards and consumer goods. The impact of the reforms that Mikhail Gorbachev introduced in the Soviet Union from 1985 onwards also played the role. The first of these initiatives was the decision to permit dissemination of knowledge about the realities of Soviet (glasnost or 'openness'), the second and third were political economic restructuring (perestroika). The effect of these economic changes was catastrophic.

There were external factors like Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) by Reagan administration in the USA and the advance of economic and cultural globalization. Moreover, economic globalization helped to widen differential living standards between the East and the West.

Impact on Global Politics was significant as the cold war got virtually ended when the liberalisation and democratisation of Eastern European countries took place, when the Berlin wall got demolished.

Reagan, and George Bush who succeeded Mr. Reagan in 1988 adopted the policy of encouraging liberalisation towards the West. The concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost became instrumental in producing a movement towards liberalisation and democratisation in the Socialist countries of Europe in between 1988-90.



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In November 1991 nine Republics of the USSR, which had declared themselves sovereign independent states, signed a treaty to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The bi-polarity of the 1950s, which had got replaced by bi-multi-polarity or poly-centrism in 1960s, itself got replaced by a unipolarity in international relations of 1990s. However, the final impact of these developments is expected to become clear and settled in the first quarter of the 21st century. The post-U.S.S.R. and post-socialist bloc international system is yet to settle as a stable system of relations among nations. The emerging trend towards multi-polarity is yet to get a definite shape.

4. What are the current issues of trade negotiations at WTO. Examine the prospects of WTO relevance in future.

WTO, formed in 1995 as a replacement of GATT, is one of the three pillars of a liberal international economic order represented by the Bretton woods system. In many ways, the emergence of WTO was a response to the changing patterns of the international trading system linked to the triumph of neoliberalism and globalisation. The fundamental objective of the emergence of WTO was facilitation of 'free and fair' trade. The current issues of trade negotiations at WTO are many. The WTO has failed to conclude the negotiations of the Doha Agenda started in 2001, as bilateralism and protectionism are resurging worldwide, and its dispute settlement system has stalled. Multilateral efforts to address climate change have made symbolic progress at best. The Public stockholding Issue is still not resolved. As an interim measure, the WTO members, at the Bali Ministerial Conference (2013), has agreed to put in place a temporary mechanism called the 'Peace clause'. Under the 'Peace clause', WTO members agreed to refrain from challenging any breach in prescribed ceiling by a developing nation at the dispute settlement forum of the WTO.

There are issue emerging out of North-South divergence like 'WTO Plus' issues - Investment, competition policies, trade related environment, Labour issues etc. IPR issues still stands as U.S. and Europe remain unhappy about fine-tuning of TRIPS in favor of developing countries.

The prospects of WTO relevance in future have roots in its successes in the past. It has been due to efforts of the organization that there has been dramatic growth in cross-border business activity. Since 1995, the value of world trade has nearly quadrupled. This far outstrips the two-fold increase in world GDP over that period. Average tariffs have almost halved, from 10.5% to 6.4%. The past 25 years have seen the fastest poverty reduction in history: 1995, over one in three people living around the world fell below the World Bank's \$1.90 threshold for extreme poverty. Today the extreme poverty rate is less than 10%, the lowest ever. WTO has been able to create predictable market



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conditions combined with improved communications to enable the rise of global value chains.

However, the future outlook of the multilateral trading system is the subject of growing debate. Pessimists view the system as long stagnant and facing a crisis; others remain optimistic that the current state of affairs could spur new momentum toward reform. There is a growing consensus that the status quo is no longer sustainable, and that there is urgent need to improve the system .

As covid 19 has created huge economic challenges ,a modernised and a fully functioning WTO is the need of the hour. It is to be seen how the members are going to address both preexisting challenges and the new ones.

5. Explain the need for the reform of UN Security Council. What are the major obstacles towards the process of reforms?

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization founded in 1945. It is currently made up of 193 Member States. Article 1 of the 1 UN Charter talks about the purposes of the United Nations. They are:

- 1. maintaining international peace and security,*
- 2. developing friendly relations among nations,*
- 3. achieving international cooperation in solving international problems and*
- 4. harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.*

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN), charged with ensuring international peace and security, recommending the admission of new UN members to the General Assembly and approving any changes to the UN Charter. Its powers include establishing peacekeeping operations, enacting international sanctions, and authorizing military action. The UNSC is the only UN body with the authority to issue binding resolutions on member states. If there is a security crisis anywhere in the world, the matter is brought before the UNSC and they try to reach an agreement either through mediation, appointing special envoys, dispatching a UN Mission or requesting the UN Secretary-General to settle the dispute.

The current membership of UNSC reflect post-WWII structure. It doesn't actually reflect the changes that have occurred in the international system after the end of the cold war. Emerging nations like India, Brazil, South Africa etc needs representation in the UNSC as permanent members. The existing membership reflects a regional imbalance, with no representation from Africa or Latin America and Europe being over-represented in the council. In 1965, the membership of the Security Council was expanded from 11 to 15 to include 4 non-permanent members.



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In an interview to The Guardian (2015), former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said that the Security Council must either reform or risk becoming increasingly irrelevant: "If we don't change the council, we risk a situation where the primacy of the council may be challenged by some of the new emerging countries."

Structural Reforms are required. UNGA needs greater role and further powers as UNSC remains paralyzed due to veto power, it has been suggested that UNGA should be given power to override veto by special majority.

UNSC requires reforms to maintain transparency in functioning as well as Veto Reforms

Major obstacles in bringing any reforms is the resistance from the P5 members. Any reform of the veto will be very difficult: Articles 108 and 109 of the United Nations Charter grant the P5 (5 permanent members) veto over any amendments to the Charter, requiring them to approve of any modifications to the UNSC veto power that they themselves hold.

To conclude, one can say that PM Modi was right when he said, "Only reformed multilateralism with a reformed United Nations at its center can meet the aspirations of humanity"

6. Discuss the current challenges existing in front of European Union. Examine the current state of relations between EU & China.

The EU traces its origins to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), established, respectively, by the 1951 Treaty of Paris and 1957 Treaty of Rome. The European Union (EU) is a political and economic union of 27 member states that are located primarily in Europe. EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services and capital within the internal market. The EU has some 5.8 per cent of the world population in 2020, 18 per cent of global nominal GDP

Nevertheless, the European Union finds itself in the most perilous quandary. The risk is a split between the Central European and Eastern European members. The Eurobarometer survey, commissioned by the European Union itself highlights issues like climate change, the COVID pandemic, health care, the economic situation and social inequality.

The vaccination rate is still too low although the goal of ensuring that 70% of adults were vaccinated has been achieved, but this is not enough in view of the highly contagious upcoming variants.

One direct consequence of the pandemic has been an unprecedented slump in the economy. A majority of EU citizens have suffered economic losses as a result of the pandemic. EU wants Europe to become the first climate-neutral continent without



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significant CO2 emissions by 2050. It is still unclear to what extent each member state will have to cut harmful gases and how the targets will be achieved. One of the most pressing challenges is the transition to renewable energy. Divisive forces within the EU are increasing. Democracy and rule-of-law concerns in Poland, Hungary, and other EU members. Other challenges includes Migrants crisis, Terrorism , After-Brexit future relationship between Britain and the EU.

Europe still depends on the United States for its defense as most nations only spend between 1 and 1.5 percent of GDP on defense. Meanwhile China has started playing greater role in EU affairs.

Relations between the European Union (EU) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) or Sino-European relations are bilateral relations that were established in 1975 between the PRC and the European Community. In 1979, European Parliament established the "Delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China" (D-CN). Relations are governed by the 1985 EU-China Trade and Cooperation Agreement.

In 2020, the European Union and China announced that they reached an investment deal that was first launched in 2013, referred to as the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI).

An annual EU-China Summit is held each year to discuss political and economic relations as well as global and regional issues.

The EU is China's largest trading partner, and in 2020, China overtook the US in becoming the EU's largest trade partner. Most of this trade is in industrial and manufactured goods.

China and the EU launched their first science and technology cooperation program in 1983. They also drafted an Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation in 1998. The current cooperation of the EU and China in the area of science and technology has been made available by the Horizon 2020 program initiative by the European Commission addressing : (i) food, agriculture and biotechnology (FAB); (ii) sustainable urbanization; (iii) energy; (iv) aeronautics; (v) and other areas including ICT, water, health, society, polar research etc.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, a number of EU countries bought medical equipment including personal protective equipment and test kits from China. However, a number of which were found to be defective.

7. SARRC is called as "Jammed Vehicle" . Give reasons for such description. Do you think BIMSTEC can replace SARRC?

SAARC is a regional organisation of 8 south Asian states. It is home to 23% of world population, largest number of poor and malnourished children , face numerous



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developmental and security challenges. Despite the imperative for the integration of South Asia, South Asia remains one of the least integrated of all regions with an exception of West Asia. According to C. Rajamohan, "The caravan of SAARC has been set by the slowest camel, Pakistan.

Even after more than three decades, SAARC is considered to be one of the weakest examples of regional integration. In this context, P.V. Rao termed its performance as a case of 'retarded regionalism'. In the case of SAARC, a fragile structure, weak mandate, mistrust and misconceptions and conflict among countries characterizes the state of affairs.

Economically, the region (South Asia) is one of the least integrated in the world, with very low levels of intra-regional trade & investment. According to World Bank's report, 'A Glass Half Full: The promise of Regional trade in South Asia' intraregional trade in South Asia is one third (\$23Bn) of its potential (~\$ 67Bn) and accounts for only 5-6% of South Asia's total trade.

On the political front, SAARC has done little to improve bilateral disagreements & conflicts, which has been one of the major reasons for the stalling of any progress within the grouping.

As a result of the shortcomings of the SAARC and its failure in performing its desired functions, India and other South Asian nations have shown interest in active engagement through bilateral & sub-regional means such as BIMSTEC.

However, According to C. Raja Mohan, a dysfunctional SAARC can hurt the idea of emergence of a cohesive South Asian region. In the same line, S.D. Muni argues that a 'dead SAARC' will only make India's neighborhood policy more difficult and its international image unpalatable. This is evident in failure of India's attempts at influencing its neighbor's vis-à-vis China.

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is a regional organization comprising seven Member States lying in the littoral and adjacent areas of the Bay of Bengal constituting a contiguous regional unity. This sub-regional organization came into being in 1997 through the Bangkok Declaration.

In March 2020, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi seized the Covid-19 crisis and utilised SAARC's seal to convene a video conference of SAARC leaders. They underscored the need for cooperation on a regional basis for fighting the pandemic. If the proceedings had not taken place under the SAARC banner, leaders from the eight countries would not have come together so readily on such short notice. Such capacity to bring member-states together shows the potential power of SAARC.



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In conclusion, It should not be appropriate to replace SAARC with BIMSTEC. As the largest regional cooperation organisation, SAARC's importance in stabilising and effectively transforming the region is becoming increasingly self-evident. Allowing SAARC to become dysfunctional and irrelevant greatly distorts our ability to address the realities and mounting challenges facing SAARC nations. The failure of South Asian nations to act in accord in Afghanistan will plunge South Asia into a perilous theatre of discord and escalating tensions with jihadi militias at the forefront, placing the entire region in turmoil. SAARC is needed as institutional scaffolding to allow for the diplomacy and coordination that is needed between member-states in order to adequately address the numerous threats and challenges the region is facing from the threat of the rise of Taliban 2.0 in Afghanistan.

8. What is the current prospects of ASEAN led security architecture in Indo-Pacific, especially after the formation of Quad and AUKUS?

ASEAN is a political and economic union of 10 member states in Southeast Asia, which promotes intergovernmental cooperation and facilitates economic, political, security, military, educational, and sociocultural integration between its members and other countries in Asia.

ASEAN's objectives include economic growth, social progress and cultural development; to promote regional peace and stability based on the rule of law and the principle of United Nations charter.

The security architecture has been defined as "an overarching, coherent and comprehensive security structure for a geographically-defined area, which facilitates the resolution of that region's policy concerns and achieves its security objectives." Security in the larger Indo-Pacific region was seen as resting on the twin pillars of the US-based bilateral alliance system or the ASEAN-based multilateral institutions. According to those who endorse the "ASEAN Way," or, seen from the Constructivist view point, declarations made by leaders stimulate cooperative behaviour and promote the ASEAN's steady integration.

Karl Deutsch's concept of a "security community" was carried forward by the Indonesians when the goal of "ASEAN community (including a security community) was incorporated in the Bali Concorde II Declaration of 2003." The Realists, however, hesitate to attribute such a central role to the ASEAN and dispute the Constructivist assertion and prefer instead to examine the empirical record of its success or failure.

Regardless of the theoretical debates on the academic plane, real challenges, especially in the post-Cold War period, confront the ASEAN.



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In order for the ASEAN to remain relevant in shaping the emerging security architecture, it would need to fashion suitable responses to the rise of China.

The ASEAN-centric multilateral security architecture has a reasonably full suite of mechanisms to address a range of issues, including the leaders-level ASEAN Summit and East Asia Summit, the foreign ministers-led ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and ASEAN Regional Forum, as well as the defence ministers-led ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) and the ADMM-Plus.

Quadrilateral Security Dialogue or QUAD, is a strategic security dialogue between the United States, India, Japan and Australia, initiated in 2007. The diplomatic and military arrangement was widely viewed as a response to increased Chinese economic and military aggression. Tensions between Quad members and China have led to fears of what was dubbed by some commentators as "a new Cold War" in the region. In a joint statement in March 2021, "The Spirit of the Quad," the Quad members described "a shared vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific," and a "rules-based maritime order in the East and South China Seas," which the Quad members state are needed to counter Chinese maritime claims.

AUKUS is a trilateral security pact between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, for the Indo-Pacific region. The pact includes cooperation on "cyber capabilities, artificial intelligence, quantum technologies and additional undersea capabilities". The pact also aims to focus on military capability.

Quad and AUKUS reflects the priority concerns of its four members that may not necessarily dovetail with ASEAN's. For security and strategic issues, avenues already exist for dialogue and practical cooperation — both at the ASEAN and the wider Asia Pacific levels. The key is to strengthen this ASEAN-centric multilateral security architecture and ensure that it remains the best option for both ASEAN and non-ASEAN countries

Whether ASEAN retains its position as the hub of regional multilateralism largely depends on the extent it can come across as a credible independent actor. Declarations that ASEAN does not wish to choose between China and the United States must be backed up with the capacity that actually allows ASEAN the option of not choosing.