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ESSAY COMMENT SHEET

Name of Candidate	Anirudha Pandey				
Medium Hindi/Eng.	English	Registration Number	1	0	8
Test Code	1458	Date	3	4	3

INDEX TABLE				INSTRUCTIONS	
Q. No.	Page No.	Maximum Marks	Marks Obtained	- Do furnish the appropriate details in the answer sheet (viz. Name, Registration Number and Test Code). उत्तर पुस्तिका में सूचनाएं भरना आवश्यक है (नाम, प्रश्न-पत्र कोड, विद्यार्थी क्रमांक आदि)। - All questions are compulsory. सभी प्रश्न अनिवार्य हैं। - The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it. प्रत्येक प्रश्न/भाग के अंक उसके सामने दिए गए हैं। - 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. प्रश्नों के उत्तर उसी माध्यम में लिखे जाने चाहिए जिसका उल्लेख आपके प्रवेश पत्र में किया गया है और उस माध्यम का स्पष्ट उल्लेख प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर (क्यूसीए) पुस्तिका के मुख्य पृष्ठ पर अंकित निर्दिष्ट स्थान पर किया जाना चाहिए। उल्लिखित माध्यम के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी माध्यम में लिए गए उत्तर पर कोई अंक नहीं मिलेंगे। - Word limit in questions, if specified, should be adhered to. प्रश्नों में शब्द सीमा, जहाँ विनिर्दिष्ट है, का अनुसरण किया जाना चाहिए। - Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off. उत्तर पुस्तिका में खाली छोड़ा हुआ पृष्ठ या उसके अंश को स्पष्ट रूप से काटा जाना चाहिए।	
Total Marks Obtained:					
Remarks :					

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EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Contextual Competence
2. Content Competence
3. Language Competence
4. Introduction Competence
5. Structure - Presentation Competence
6. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

All the Best

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Answer Sheet

NAME → ANIRUDHA PANDEY

Roll No → 108343

DATE → 16/11/2020

TEST CODE → 1458

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Answer Sheet

Answer Sheet

ARE WE ENTERING AN ERA OF
DE-GLOBALISATION?

Thomas Friedman
in his ¹⁹⁹⁹ book " The Lexus and
the olive tree " has defined
globalisation as "inexorable
integration of markets, nation
states and technology to
an extent never witnessed
before".

Though there is
no consensus on when exactly
did globalisation begin, but
it is widely believed to
have started after cold war.
This is because globalisation
was backed by the sole super
-power of the day - USA.
However As Arun Maira highlight
there has been trends towards
deglobalisation ever since Financial

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Crisis of 2008. The recent COVID-19 crisis has exacerbated this trend towards de-globalisation.

So what is deglobalisation? Is the world deglobalising? What are the evidences? What is the way forward for the world?

De-globalisation refers to ~~inverse~~ opposite concept of globalisation. If globalisation focuses on ~~to~~ De-territorialisation, Deglobalisation focuses on nation states & localisation. It is about limiting a nation's economic, social, political & cultural exchanges with the world.

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There exists ample evidence to suggest that the world is deglobalising. This is evident if we look at Global Trade. In recent times, Trans Atlantic Partnership which was proposed to be the largest FTA between EU and USA has been shelved. Moreover, USA is engaged in a trade war with China. It has also imposed tariffs on its allies and friends such as EU, South Korea, Japan, India.

Moreover, India recently decided to walk out of RCEP. US, Canada & Mexico replaced a liberal NAFTA with a more protectionist USMCA agreement.

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This trend of de-globalisation is not just limited to Global trade. Even in Agriculture new differences have emerged over issues such as public stockholding by developing countries, misuse of Blue box and Green box by EU & USA respectively and differences over fisheries subsidies. This has led to high levels of protectionism in Agriculture.

Rule based trading

is also threatened. This is evident from deadlock in WTO's appellate body, rising discontent with WTO's performance and resort to unilateral sanctions. For example, US Sanctions on Iran.

Answer Sheet

Even in Health, the world is de-globalising. Shyam Saran has explained it using recent COVID-19 crisis. He highlights how every nation closed national boundaries and evolved national level strategy to counter COVID-19 without attempting to use multi lateral mechanisms. He also highlights how nations rejected common sense of pooling resources and instead resorted to vaccine nationalism.

The trends of de-globalisation are also evident in Climate change negotiations. USA has walked out of Paris Agreement. No country undertook binding commitments and rather resorted to voluntary INDCs. Moreover

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UNFCCC has not been able to ~~reach~~ finalise rule book, accounting procedures and cost Damage.

Even in Cultural sphere, the world is de-globalising. This is evident in backlash against westernisation which has been labelled as cultural Imperialism. Moreover there is a call for reviving cultural relativism in form of "Asian Values".

Even in Defence, the trends of de-globalisation are visible. ~~while~~ Earlier India, China relied on US, Russia, Israel for defence imports. Now SIPRI reports highlight that while china has achieved self-sufficiency, India is on path of doing

Answer Sheet

There are multiple reasons behind this trend towards de-globalisation. This includes resentment in western countries over their falling ^{eastward} share in world GDP and shift of economic centre of gravity. Western nations believe that local jobs, prosperity is threatened due to globalisation.

This lack of trust towards globalisation ~~is~~ also exists in developing countries. This is evident from AG Frank's dependency theory. Here, he has highlighted how globalisation leads to export of raw materials from developing countries and import of finished products. Developing countries also accuse west of maintaining chokehold over technology. Hence almost

Answer Sheet

entire world has complaints with globalisation.

However the emphasis on de-globalisation might be exaggerated. This is because as Jagdish bhagwati has highlighted in "Making globalisation work" (2006) that globalisation is an irreversible process.

This is evident in global trade. Over 60% of Canada's ~~total~~ GDP comes from international trade. ~~and~~ In EU, more than 20 million workers are employed in export oriented jobs. The rise of China, India and East Asian tigers would not have been possible without Globalisation.

Answer Sheet

Even In Agriculture, there are rising trends towards globalisation. This is evident from how India resorted to export of onions from west Asia and export of pulses from Mozambique to tackle a price surge and check inflation.

In Manufacturing, efficiency can only be developed through global value chains not local value chains. Hence the trend is towards globalisation.

Thomas Piketty has highlighted that Global Challenges such as climate change, Terrorism, Organised crime can not be tackled by any nation alone. Hence the trends towards de-globalisation is suboptimal & unsustainable.

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In Cultural sphere also there are greater trends towards globalisation thanks to Internet and social media. Today, western Movies such as Interstellar, and pop stars such as Beyonce enjoy huge fan base in India.

Even in Administration the focus is on globalisation and adoption of global best practices. This is ~~evident~~ helped by indices and rankings such as Ease of doing business, Global Hunger Index, UNHCR. Today, India's focus is on improving its rank in these indices and competing with other countries.

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Hence today, trends of globalisation and de-globalisation co-exist. The world needs to realise that de-globalisation doesn't offer long term solutions to any of the problems faced today.

In such a scenario, lessons can be learned from India's recent Initiative Atmanirbhar Bharat. Through this initiative, India does not seek self sufficiency or even self reliance. Instead it seeks ^{self}resilience & greater integration with world economy at mutually beneficial terms.

Finally, the world needs to remember and implement the ancient Indian wisdom of Varudava Kutumbham.

Answer Sheet

25 YEARS OF WTO :
A PROGRESS REPORT.

Some recent News ~~some~~
~~highlighted~~ clippings include:-

" WTO appellate body now
disfunctional "

" WTO celebrates 25 years :
But an uncertain future lies
ahead "

" Trump indicates USA's intention
to pull out of WTO. "

Such news bring
the focus firmly on performance
of WTO till now and it's
future prospects .

In this essay, we
shall assess the progress made
by WTO, the challenges it faces,
why such challenges arise? and what

Answer Sheet

is the way Ahead for WTO?

WTO was formed in 1995 after Uruguay round of talks (1988-1994) ~~re~~ culminated in formation of Dunkel draft and signing of Marrakech treaty (1995). In 25 years of its functioning, it has focused on various dimensions of global trade such as rules based trading order, Agriculture, IPAs, Manufacturing, dispute settlement etc.

It has made good progress in Agriculture. The Agreement of Agriculture has been signed which includes Export subsidies, Market Access and domestic support. The world countries agreed to abolish export subsidies in Nairobi Ministerial (2015),

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Moreover the countries have agreed to reduce tariff barriers and facilitate greater market access to agri products.

However many sticking points remain. This include debate over public stock holding on which only a peace clause could be agreed. Moreover there have been issue of misuse of Amber box subsidies by developed world. This was highlighted by a Joint India China paper in 2019.

Good progress has also been made in manufacturing. This is evident from Non-Agricultural market Access (NAMA) and adoption of Singapore Issues — Trade facilitation, Investment, Competition & Market Access.

Answer Sheet

How ever this progress is threatened by trade war which completely overlooks WTO norms. Moreover, some countries have resorted to WTO ~~non-compliant~~ measures such as dumping and excessive subsidies. For ex → India had to impose anti-dumping duty on solar PV cells & steel from china.

Another Focus area of WTO has been IPRs. Here progress has been made in the form of TRIPS agreement. Consequently both developing and developed countries have changed their domestic laws. For ex → Patents (Amendment) Act 2005, GI Act 1999, National IPR Policy 2016 in India.

Answer Sheet

However, this progress in IPRs has been threatened by disputes between developed and developing countries over technology transfer. Developing ~~countries~~ ~~secure~~ developed countries and their MNCs of maintaining choke hold over technology and blocking affordable delivery of medicines to poor. For ex. → dispute between India & western MNCs over compulsory licensing.

Moreover, WTO has failed to protect copyright violations and pirated books, movies remain widely available.

WTO has also worked to reduce democratic deficit in institutions of Global economic governance.

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This is evident from 1 country
1 vote system adopted by WTO
 in contrast to weighted, plural
 voting of IMF, WB. Moreover,
Dispute settlement body of WTO
 has worked well for developing
 countries. For ex → India won ~~case~~
 dispute with ~~USA~~ USA over domestic
 content requirement. Moreover,
Generalized system of Preference (GSP)
 has helped developing countries
 boost export.

However, real
 performance has had dubious
 record. Developed countries
 have resorted to manoeuvres
 of 1 country 1 vote system
 through green room diplomacy.
 Moreover, Least developed countries
 find it expensive to maintain
diplomatic presence in Geneva.
 Furthermore there is no way
 to enforce the verdict of
dispute settlement body.

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USA also withdrew GSP privileges from many developing countries including India.

WTO has also made progress in ensuring a rules based International trading system. This is evident from Most favoured Nation (MFN) status to ~~all~~ ^{also} countries. WTO has ^{also} ensured that both tariff and non-tariff barriers remain in check.

~~However~~ But, The progress made by WTO has been undone by various measures. This includes unilateral sanctions such as sanctions over Iran ~~with~~ by USA which overstepped WTO laws. Moreover USA has ensured that Dispute settlement mechanisms becomes

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dysfunctional by creating a
deadlock in ~~dispute settlement~~
Appellate body of WTO.
Moreover there has been cases
of misuse of developing countries
status by some countries.

For eg → Qatar with one of
the highest per capita incomes
claims benefits through developing
country status. Even South
Korea had developing country
status till 2020.

~~Also~~ Also, discussion
in WTO have remained deadlocked
for a long time. C. Rajamohan
has highlighted that developed
countries want Doha Development
Agenda to remain deadlocked
and eventually die. This
is because they believe it
seeks to many concessions.

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As a result, there has been no progress in the recent venezuela ministerial (2017) of WTO.

Moreover, WTO has failed to evolve consensus over emerging issues such as e-commerce, digital taxation, data-localisation. This has led to decreasing significance of WTO and encroachment of its jurisdiction by other organisations. For ex → OECD is framing ~~digital~~ rules of digital taxation instead of WTO.

The question arises that why WTO continues to face so many challenges?

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The primary reason is Protectionism. For ex - Trump's America first policy & UK's Brexit. Countries resort to protectionism because they believe WTO ~~will~~ and free trade will take away local jobs and increase trade deficit.

This has led to emergence of protectionist regional trading blocs such as EU which has been called "Fortress of Europe." This is because it has created a huge wall of tariff and non-tariff barriers which goods from outside EU find hard to breach.

Thus main problem is lack of trust in WTO. The WTO has failed to

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create what Kautilya called "Anvikshiki" that is moral & ethical framework that helps build trust.

Garett Hardin has applied 'tragedy of commons' to explain the problem of WTO. Acc. to him nations want to enjoy benefits of export led growth without themselves opening their economy to foreign goods.

In such a scenario, it is necessary to realise that survival of WTO is necessary for long term gain of all the nations. Hence nations should rise above narrow and short

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term interests and prioritise international trade over populist impulses.

In the end it can be said that no other organisation has so many expectations yet so many frustrations as WTO. For a successful WTO we need to remember the ancient wisdom "Yatra Vismam bhavati Eknidanam" (Where the whole world meets in one net). This will help achieve a multilateral trading system that benefits all.

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