



UPSC – CSE

Civil Services Examinations

Union Public Service Commission

General Studies

Paper 2 – Volume - 2

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



UPSC CSE - IAS

G.S. PAPER – 2 VOLUME – 2

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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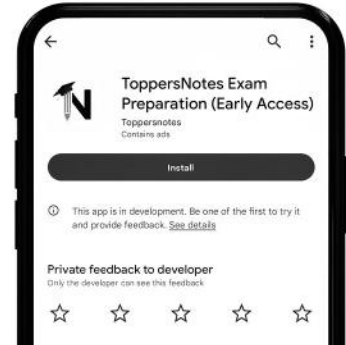
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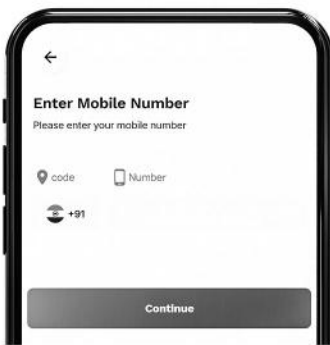
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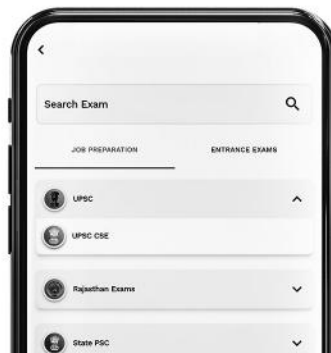
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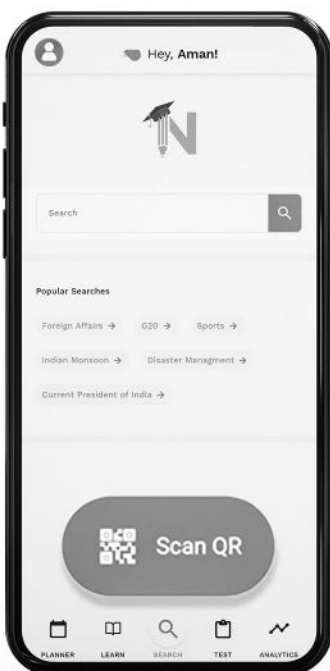
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1 CHAPTER

Basics of Foreign Policy



- **Set of principles, decisions and means, adopted and followed** by a nation for **securing her goals of national interest** in **international relations**.
- **Foreign Policy defines goals of national interest** and then tries to **secure** these **through** exercise of **national power**.

Objectives

- to **secure** its **national interests**
- to create an external **environment conducive for an inclusive domestic development**.
- to **ensure** that **India's voice is heard on global forums** and that India is able to influence world opinion on issues globally important
- to **engage** the **Indian Diaspora** and derive maximum benefits from their presence abroad, while at the same time protecting their interests to the extent possible.

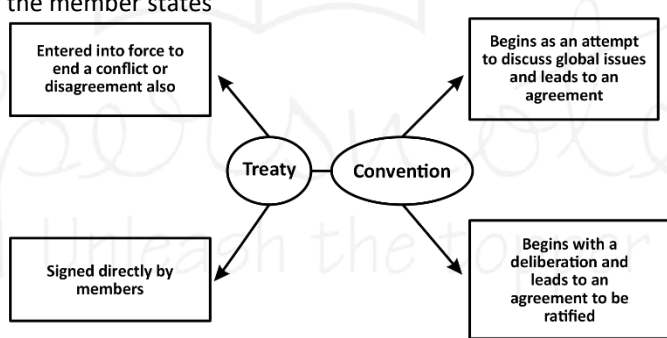
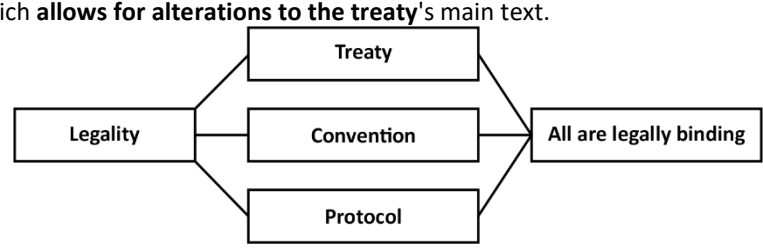
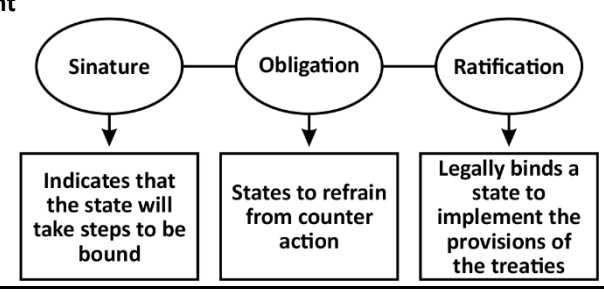
Determinants of Foreign Policy

- **Size of State Territory:** Nations with large human and non-human resources have better chances of becoming big powers. Exceptions like Japan, Middle East Countries, Israel etc.
- **Geography:** The topography of land, its fertility, climate and location.
- **Strategic Culture:** Historical, philosophical and traditional aspects, values and morals like brotherhood, non-violence, etc.
- **Social Structure:** The nature of social groups and the degree of conflict and harmony that characterize their mutual relations.

- **Government Structure:** structure of government i.e. the organisational agencies which handle the foreign policy-making and implementation
- **Internal Situation:** sudden changes, disturbances or disorders that occur within the internal environment of a nation also influence the nature and course of foreign policy.
- **Requirements and Goals:** Country's economic goals along with security and territorial integrity, and a peaceful external environment
- **Level and Nature of Economic Development:** level and nature of economic development, industrialization and modernization are important factors of foreign policy.
- **International Power Structure (Global Strategic Environment):** foreign policy of every nation is influenced by the nature of power structure that prevails at a particular time in the international environment.
- **Diplomacy:** It tries to secure the goals of foreign policy during the course of relations with other nations and it is also an input of foreign policy.
- **Global and Regional Challenges:** Changing global power equations, terrorism, fundamentalism, regional rivalries
- **Technology:** level of technological development and the nature of technical know-how are important elements of foreign policy.
- **Alliances and International Treaties (Bilateral and Multilateral):** international treaties, pacts, trading blocs and alliances are major inputs in foreign policy.

Key Terms in International Relations

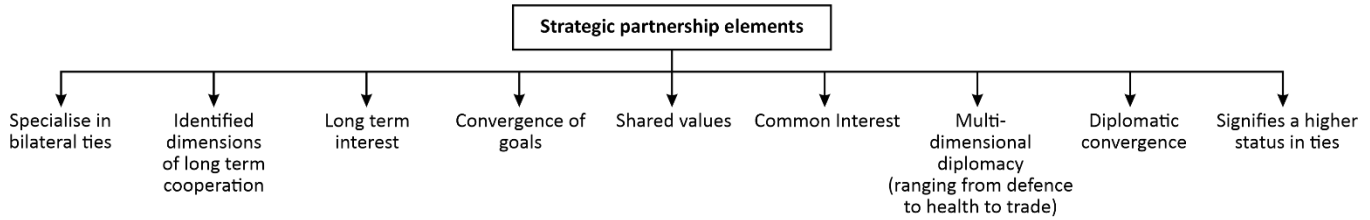
Actor	• entity that is a stakeholder in international relations.
Aid	• exchange of products and services b/w 2 foreign parties on a concessionary basis ; can be conditional or unconditional .
Alliance	• defence pacts signed b/w 2 actors that operate during times of war.
Armistice	• a Bilateral attempt by enemy countries to check hostilities and seek a peaceful solution . Ex: Armistice b/w Arabs and Israel from 1949 to 1978.
Asylum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refers to a safe haven. • Quasi-legal process in which a state provides protection to a national of another state in exchange for sanctuary.

Appeasement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policy to grant all demands of an aggressive state to avoid conflict
Deterrence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> action of discouraging a country through instilling fear of consequences
Disarmament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Process of a state reducing, removing, and eliminating specific armed systems. It's usually used in relation to nuclear weapons.
Extradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a circumstance in which 1 state transfers a fugitive to another.
Free Trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bilateral trading system which allows trading without any constraints.
Geopolitics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A method of foreign policy analysis = explain a state's political conduct via the use of geographical characteristics.
Great Powers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ranking of global states based on economic and military capabilities.
Hegemony	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> state's political, economic, or military domination over others.
Hot Pursuit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> land-based activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an offender outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.
Multipolarity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a global system with several power actors. Ex: US, China, Russia and India
Paradiplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> role of state govt. in enhancing diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries.
Sphere of influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> situation in which an external state has economic or military hegemony over another region.
Tariffs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> import tax for raising money; may be used as a tool of protectionism.
Treaty and Conventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty = written agreement signed by actors, requires signing parties to accept specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract. Convention = special treaty that culminates discussion of a global issue by forming an agreement to be ratified by the member states <div style="text-align: center;">  <pre> graph LR Treaty((Treaty)) --> A[Entered into force to end a conflict or disagreement also] Treaty --> B[Signed directly by members] Convention((Convention)) --> C[Begins as an attempt to discuss global issues and leads to an agreement] Convention --> D[Begins with a deliberation and leads to an agreement to be ratified] </pre> </div>
Protocols	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a treaty which allows for alterations to the treaty's main text. <div style="text-align: center;">  <pre> graph LR Legality[Legality] --> Treaty[Treaty] Legality --> Convention[Convention] Legality --> Protocol[Protocol] Treaty --> Binding[All are legally binding] Convention --> Binding Protocol --> Binding </pre> </div>
Signature and Ratification of Treaties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When a state signs a treaty indicates its interest in following treaty When a state ratifies a treaty expresses its willingness to be bound by it + treaty authorised by its national parliament <div style="text-align: center;">  <pre> graph LR Signature((Signature)) --> A[Indicates that the state will take steps to be bound] Obligation((Obligation)) --> B[States to refrain from counter action] Ratification((Ratification)) --> C[Legally binds a state to implement the provisions of the treaties] </pre> </div>
Veto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ability to unilaterally stop an unwanted event.

Additional Terms/ Concepts in International Relations

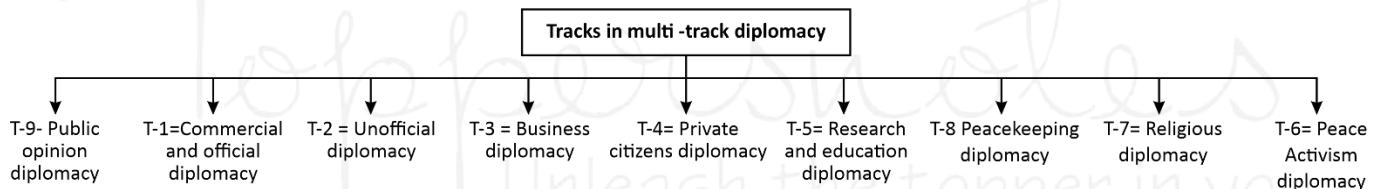
- **Natural Ally and Strategic Partners:**

- **Natural allies:** countries share similar cultural, political, economic, and historical ideals, as the US and UK did during WWII.
- **Strategic Partners:** countries that do not share the same values but **cooperate to ensure regional security**.



- **National Interest:** analytical tool for **determining a country's foreign policy objectives** in an international system.
- **Non-Traditional Security Threats:** Migration, poverty, climate change, terrorism, and the Responsibility to Protect are just a few examples of non-traditional security issues.
- **Overt and Covert:**
 - **Overt operations:** when a country does something **forthright and in the open**. In 1998, India conducted nuclear tests and declared itself a nuclear weapons state.

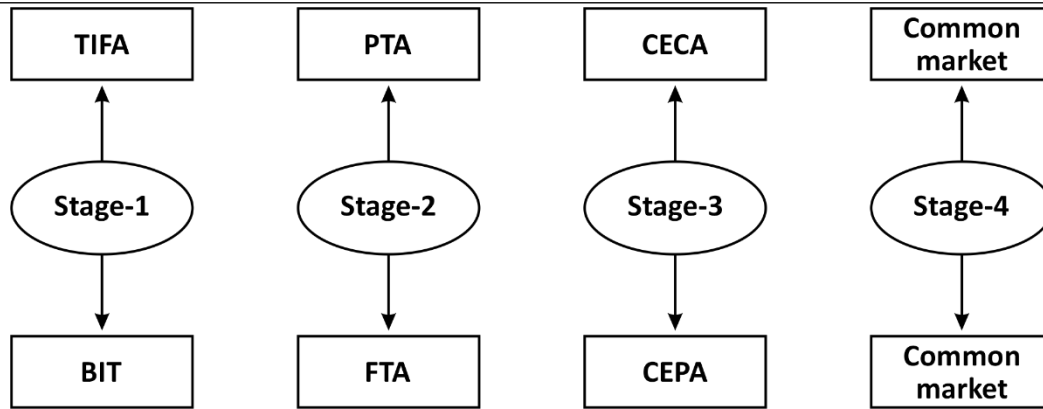
- **Covert operations:** carried out **undercover and in secret**. Ex: RAW uses clandestine operations to keep Pakistan in check.
- **Tracks of Diplomacy:** negotiation channels used by international state order.
 - **Track-I:** Official diplomacy, heads of states, diplomats, etc. interact to resolve issues.
 - **Track-II:** Use of non-official actors like NGOs, civil societies, business houses, media persons and even conflict resolution specialists negotiate to resolve issues.
 - **Multi-track:** Dr Louis Diamond identified 9 different tracks of diplomacy.



- **Net Security Provider:** describe a country, **capable of ensuring a stable, peaceful, and safe neighbourhood**.
- **Backchannel Diplomacy:** When 2 enemies communicate through **secret channels to create a diplomatic breakthrough**. Barack Obama and Hassan Rouhani initiated backchannel diplomatic talks that resulted in the 2015 nuclear deal b/w the US & Iran.
- **Ping-pong Diplomacy:** diplomatic **channels open to communication** b/w 2 countries **Ex: US-China** began **exchanging table tennis players** in early 1970s to **establish communication lines**, which led to Nixon's trip to China.
- **Soft Power Diplomacy:** a type of **diplomacy used by a state to achieve its stated goal without resorting to military force** or offering a financial incentive as a carrot.

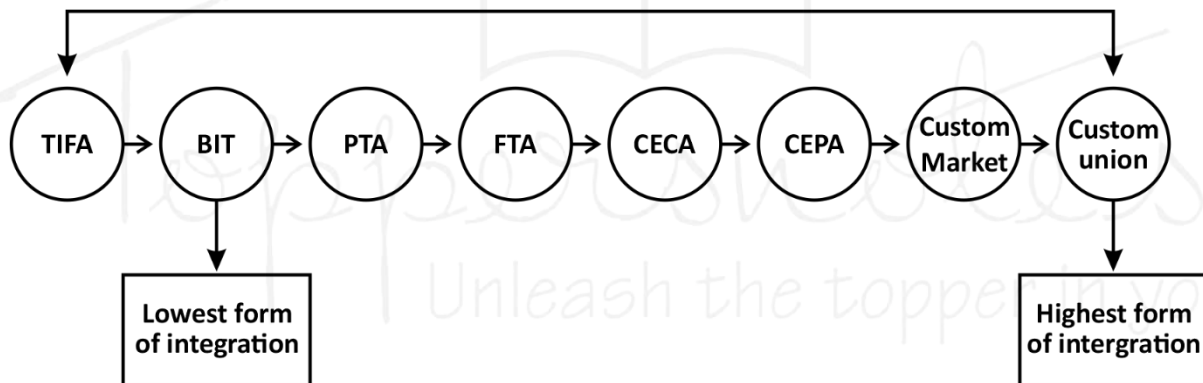
Terms used in Economic Integration

- States may agree to a **Trade Investment Framework Agreement, or TIFA**, in 1st stage.
 - When 2 countries want to expand trade and settle bilateral problems. Signed b/w ASEAN-US in 2009.
- **Bilateral Investment Treaty, or BIT**, might be considered at same level, at 1st stage.
 - encourage FDI and protect investors' investments in each other's territory. In 1940s, Germany-Pakistan signed world's 1st BIT.



- **Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA):** 2nd phase in integration process
 - member states make = non-tariff obstacles small + lower tariff barriers.
 - serve as a stepping stone to a FTA.
- **Free Trade Agreement (FTA)**
 - Tariffs on products and services eliminated.
 - Reduction of trade barriers help businesses gain a competitive edge by increasing specialisation and labour division.

- Beyond FTA, countries sign **Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA)** or **Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA)**.
 - **CECA:** liberalisation of tariffs to boost trade + construct an investment system.
 - **CEPA:** agreements on investments, intellectual property, and fair competition + liberalisation of goods and services trade.



- **Common Market:** Removal of all technological, physical, and fiscal barriers b/w participating states.
 - capital and labour can freely transfer from 1 country to another.
 - Removal of all technological, physical, and fiscal barriers b/w participating states.

- **Customs Union:** Maximum level of economic integration.
 - when states collectively decide to levy a common import duty on all imports while permitting complete free trade inside the group.

2 CHAPTER

Evolution of India's Foreign Policy



Ancient Foreign Policy

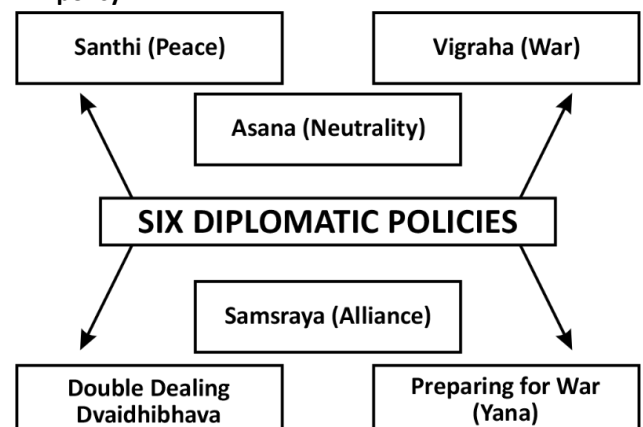
- **Source:** Numerous diplomatic instances from ancient Indian scriptures.
 - **Manu-Smriti** - commenting on different roles of authorities in a State.
 - **Chankya's Arthashastra** - world's first comprehensive treatise on diplomatic practice, narrates Indian diplomacy.
 - **Envoys:** Megasthenes, Deimachos, Dionysius etc
 - **Indus Valley Civilization:** Trade flourished with Oman, Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha, Mesopotamia by sea.
 - **Evidences:** carnelian, lapis lazuli, copper, gold, Jar, Seals etc
 - **Jainism and Buddhism**
 - **Origin :** India
 - **Flourished :** China, Sri-Lanka, Tibet etc.
 - **Ramayana and Indian Foreign policy:**
 - Diplomats are information agents
 - Hanuman is India's first diplomat
-
- ```

graph TD
 A([Core diplomatic practices in Ramayana]) --> B[Power projection]
 A --> C[Diplomatic immunity]
 A --> D([Inference])
 D --> E[Hanuman is India's first diplomat]

```
- **Principles adopted from Ramayana:**
    - **Hanumana as diplomat:** delivered sensitive information b/w Sita & Ram without distorting it
    - **Hanumana acted as a power projector:** projected power of Ram in Ravana's court.
    - **Diplomatic immunity:** Vibheeshana defended Hanuman, on grounds that he had come to Lanka as an emissary from a foreign state and cannot be put to death.
  - **Arthashastra of Kautilya and Indian Foreign Policy**
    - Concerned with statecraft and conduct of foreign policy and diplomacy.
    - **Theory of Mandala** i.e. Rajmandala i.e. Circle of the States:

- **Vijigishu:** world conqueror.
- **Ari:** whose territory is contiguous to Vijigishu, is a natural enemy.
- **Mitra:** an ally of Vijigishu whose territory is immediately beyond the enemy or ari.
- **Arimitra:** enemy's ally, who is immediate beyond ally.
- **Mitra-Mitra:** an ally immediately beyond the enemy's ally.
- **Ari Mitra-Mitra:** an ally of enemy's ally situated immediately beyond Mitra –Mitra.
- **Parshnigraha:** enemy, rear of Vijigishu. Don't attack; Try irritating from behind.
- **Akranda:** Vijigishu's ally in the rear behind that of Parshnigraha.
- **Parshnigrahasara:** enemy's ally, ally of Parshnigraha behind Akranda .
- **Akrandsara:** ally of Akranda behind Parshnigrahasara, ultimately an ally.
- **Madhyama:** Middle king with territory adjoining Vijigishu & Ari & stronger than both.
- **Udasina:** neutral & more powerful than Vijigishu, Ari, and Madhyama.

- **Shadguna Sidhanta** i.e. Six measures of foreign policy



- **Sandhi** (making a treaty when one is relatively weaker than his enemy).
- **Vigraha** (Adoption of Hostility when one is stronger than enemy)
- **Asana** (Remaining quiet and wait for enemy to get weaker/ in calamities/ war)

- **Yana** (**Marching** on an **expedition** when one is surely stronger than his enemy)
- **Sansraya**: (**seeking shelter** with another king during attack by a powerful enemy)

- **Dvaidhibhava**: (**policy of Sandhi** with **1 king** and **Vigraha** with **another** at a time)
- **Saptanga Theory of State**: For efficient governance of state

| Limbs    | Meaning                  | Present Indian state        |
|----------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Swami    | King                     | President                   |
| Amatya   | Ministers                | PM + Cabinet                |
| Janapada | Territory and Population | Territorial boundaries      |
| Durga    | Fort                     | Rashtrapati Bhawan          |
| Kosa     | Treasury                 | Finance Ministry            |
| Bala     | Army                     | Defence Forces              |
| Mitra    | Ally                     | Countries like Russia, etc. |

### Medieval Foreign Policy

- **Kingdoms of South of India on West Coast**, maintained diplomatic relations with States along **Arabian Sea Littoral and Indian Ocean littoral in Africa**.
- Kingdoms on **East-Coast and South**, maintained relations with **Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaya**
- **Afghan and Turkish** rulers based in India, maintained diplomatic relations with **Central Asia, Persia, Arab world, Asia Minor, Greece, Levant, Tibet and China**.
- **Mughals** maintained diplomatic relations with neighbours & Portuguese, French, British, etc.
  - In times of **Akbar, India**: largest economy, was a partner for economic diplomacy.
- **Themes adopted to enhance Indian footprint**:
  - **Hard Diplomacy**: Consolidated and acquired new territory through battles.
    - **Northern India**: Mughals, Arabs, Turks etc invaded India for acquiring wealth and consolidating new kingdoms in India.
    - **Southern India**: Chola, Chera, Pandya etc used strong army and navy for their diplomatic advancement.
  - **Soft Diplomacy**: Ambassadors sent by kings to strengthen the relationship + Trade

### British Era Foreign Policy

- **Industrial Revolution** in England led to discovery of new sea and trade routes.
- **Captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe** sent to court of Emperor Jahangir for trade in India.
- India discovered by a **Portuguese called Vasco da Gama in 1498**.
- **English, French, Portuguese and Dutch** came to India for trade.
- **Fortified factories** in India and made India as its colony.

- **Export of raw material from India to Britain**. Import of Finished goods (Britain to India).
- **East Indian association, Swadesh Sevak Home at Vancouver, United India House in Seattle** made Indian nationalist to strengthen diplomacy against British India.
- Establishment of a provisional govt. of India in Kabul by **Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh**.
- **After 1927, Nehru** had an active role in **drafting 1st foreign policy** issued by Congress.
- **British invasion led to association with International Bodies**
- **SC Bose's diplomatic policy** made Japan to help India against British.
- India participated in **Bretton Woods Conference** in 1944.
- **Interim govt. maintained diplomatic ties** with USA, China, USSR, etc.

### Phases of India's Foreign Policy since Independence by Dr S. Jaishankar

#### 1. Era of Optimistic Non-alignment (1946-1962)

- **Diplomacy** → tool for **cooperative connections** for sustainable development.
- Adopted **policy of Five year plan**.
- **Stressed on socialist pattern** of society along with a **mixed economy**.
  - Preaching **socialisation of essential services** and basic industries within the **framework of parliamentary government** to eliminate poverty & ensuring work for all.
- India became a member of the **British Commonwealth**.
- India's foreign policy was based on **Panchsheel principles**.
- India **backed newly liberated countries** in their fight against imperialism.

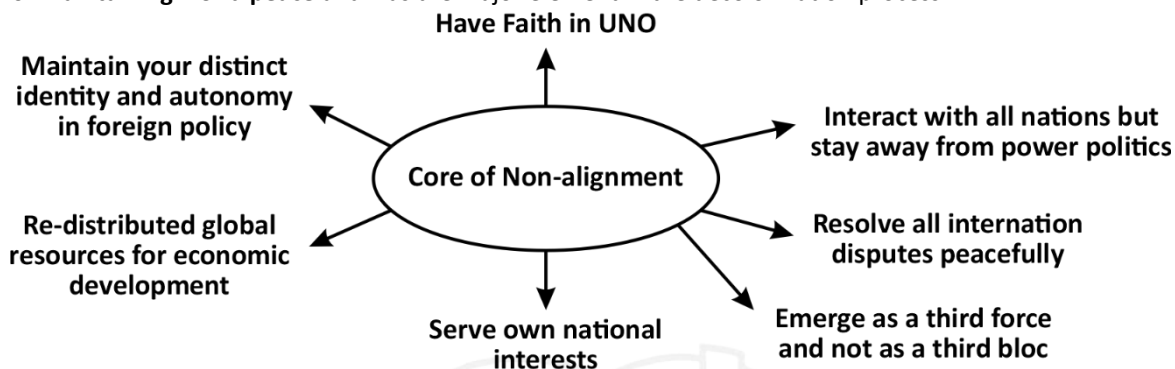


- **Provided leadership** to 3rd world countries by initiatives like **NAM, Panchsheel and Bandung Conference.**

- **India - 1st country** to embrace a **policy of non-alignment.**

#### Non alignment movement (NAM)

- **Founded: 1961, Belgrade** at the height of the Cold War.
- **Leaders:** Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, **J L Nehru of India**, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia.
- **First Conference: Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961.**
- for **maintaining world peace** and was the major element in the decolonization process.



- **Purpose and Objectives:**
  - **National independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries.**
  - **Struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation.**
- **NAM for India:**
  - India's economic progress was **entwined with both the east and the west.**
  - A **solution to the Cold War** era's bipolar divisions.
  - **safeguard of India's strategic autonomy** without jeopardising independence by partnering with either superpower in the Cold War.

#### Bandung conference

- **1st large-scale Afro-Asian Conference** (most newly independent)
- Took place on **18–24 April 1955** in **Bandung, West Java, Indonesia.**
- **Principles:**
  1. Respect for **fundamental human rights.**
  2. Respect for the **sovereignty and territorial integrity** of all nations.
  3. Recognition of the **equality among all races** and of the **equality among all nations**
  4. **Non-intervention or non-interference** into the internal affairs of another -country.
  5. Respect **right of every nation to defend itself** in conformity with UN Charter
  6. **Non-use of collective defence pacts** to benefit interests of any of the great powers and **Non-use of pressures by any country** against other countries.
  7. **Refraining from carrying out aggression**, or from using force **against the territorial integrity** or political independence of any country.
  8. **Peaceful solution of all international conflicts** in conformity with UN Charter
  9. **Promotion of mutual interests** and of cooperation.
  10. **Respect for justice** and of international obligations

#### Panchsheel

- Formally enunciated in **Agreement on Trade and Intercourse b/w Tibet and India.**
- Signed on **April 29, 1954.** Adopted as principal core of NAM.
- **Panchsheel principles : -**
  - **Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty** of each other
  - **Non-aggression**

- **Non interference** in each other's military affairs
- **Mutual benefit and equality**
- **Peaceful coexistence**
- **Burma, China, Laos, Nepal, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, and Cambodia** agreed to it.

- **India - founding member of UN - signed the UN Charter** on 26 June, 1945.
- Visited **Russia in 1955** and **China in 1954** to strengthen foreign policy.
- Believed **rapid industrialisation** → most effective way to **come over mass poverty**.
- **External Aggression:** Successfully contained Pakistan and China with diplomacy at UN.
- India diplomatically supported **Tibet** and gave **asylum** to Dalai Lama.

#### Criticism to foreign policy of the Time:

- **Defeat in Sino-India war-1962** led to criticism of India's stand to **support China for UNSC**.
- The **US-China-Pakistan axis** made India isolated strategically and politically.
- **USSR - an ally** of India but **stayed "Neutral"** in the **Indo-China war, 1962**.
- Taking the **Kashmir issue to the UN** is also been criticised.
- Overall **relations with Pakistan** didn't improve.
- Following **NAM** sometimes **went unfavorable** for both sides. e.g. During **Korean war**.

## **2. Decade of Realism and Recovery (1962-1971)**

- Continued previous policy of non-alignment.
- Re-est.d cordial relationship with Burma.
- **Agreements/ Initiatives:**
  - with **Sri Lanka (Bandaranaike-Shastri Pact)** on **persons of Indian origin**.
  - signed **Tashkent Declaration with Pakistan** under **Soviet moderation**, 10th Jan. 1966.
    - parties agreed to **withdraw all armed forces** to positions held before Aug. 5, 1965;
    - **To restore diplomatic relations with Pakistan;**
    - **To discuss economics, refugees, and other questions.**
    - **To repatriate their prisoners of war**
  - **Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC)**, and **Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme** launched in 1964.
- **Events that shaped India's foreign policy during this period**

- **External Condition**
  - **Indo-China war (1962):** Huge economic implications.
  - **Cuban Missile Crisis** in 1962.
  - Establishment of **Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)** in 1968.
- **Inability to realize situations of 1965**
  - **Indo-Pak war 1965**→Tashkent restored territorial status quo ante bellum.
  - **USSR and US** declared their intentions to **help Pakistan**.
- **Unfavorable circumstances at home**
  - **Drought and near-famine** conditions persisted in country.
  - reliant on **grain imports from US** in exchange for rupee concessions + **Green Rev.**
  - Secured financial help, **World Bank+IMF**, forced to **weaken Indian rupee** in 1966.
- **Rawalpindi-Beijing-Washington nexus**
  - Increasing **US-China coop.** and American backing to Pakistan.
  - **Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation** signed in August 1971. Built closer relations with **Soviet Union**.

## **3. Phase of Regional Assertion (1971-1991)**

### India's Foreign Policy from 1971 to 1984

- **Indo-Pakistan War 1971 and Bangladesh**
  - **liberation of Bangladesh** and Defeated pakistan, also **slapped pakistan's behind curtain friend USA**. Pakistan lost half of its territory with birth of Bangladesh.
  - Started a **new chapter of friendship with USSR**.
- **Shimla Agreement:** Rebuilding peace with Pakistan shortly after 1971 Bangladesh war.
  - **Failed to resolve Kashmir issue.**
- **Changes in South Asia's strategic environment:** **Defeat of Pakistan estd.** India as a **regional force in South Asia**.
  - Emphasised on **cordial relationship** with its immediate neighbours.
  - Signed a **long-term peace and friendship treaty** with Bangladesh.
- **Relations with Sri Lanka:** Ceded island of **Katchatheevu** to Sri Lanka.



- **Assisted Tamilians brethren in hardship in Sri Lanka.**
- **Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord** signed in **Colombo on 29 July 1987.**
- **Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)** dispatched to Sri Lanka..
- **Boundary and sea zone** pacts with **Sri Lanka (1974 & 1976), Indonesia (1974) and Bangladesh (1974** by resolving Berubari union issue);
- Strong **nuclear strategy and nuclear tests** in 1974.
- **Relations with Pakistan under Haq:** Relations remained fragile since partition.
  - Pakistan described **India's nuclear tests in 1974 as an act of intimidation.**
  - 1978, both countries chose to **restore diplomatic relations** but Pakistan was soon placed **under military dictatorship**
- **Attempts made to enhance relations with China.**
- **Indo-Soviet:**
  - Started a **new chapter of friendship with USSR.**
  - **Aided India** in fending off **challenges posed by China, Pakistan, and West.**
  - **Delhi Declaration, 1986:** endorsed **Gandhian philosophy of non-violence.**
  - Collaborated on **nuclear, power, space, and high-temperature physics.**
- Friendship with Iran.
- **Indo-US: Political, economic, cultural, and social relations reoriented.**
  - Agreement for **transfer of high technology** and procurement of **Super Computer** signed.
  - **Strengthen ties** by increasing exchanges and promoting trade.
- **Indo-Africa:**
  - Successful in establishing **AFRICA (Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism, and Apartheid) Fund** at Non-Aligned Summit in Harare in 1986.
  - Extended assistance to **Namibia in form of SWAPO** (South West Africa People's Organisation) recogniti
- **Head of State visit to Myanmar** to develop a working relationship to restrain Chinese-trained and armed insurgents in India's North East.
- Efforts to **develop relations with ASEAN.**
- Played a **key part in negotiating Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia**, representing country's non-alignment policy.

#### **4. Quest for Strategic Autonomy (1991-1998)**

##### **India's foreign policy during this period**

- **Necessary adjustments** allowed India to be recognised as a major power.

- Skillful maintenance of global alliances while taking into account the impact of home variables such as separatist uprisings and economic reforms on our foreign policy.
- **Effects of globalization on global economy** and politics had intensified.
- Paradigm shift = **enhancing ties with Israel** while also **gaining Arab nations' trust.**
- **End of Cold War** resulted in a no. of significant changes in international order.
- **Changing Superpower relationships**
  - **Bipolar nature of world politics ended** - US looked to be sole superpower; and each nation began the process of rebuilding its foreign policy to fit new system.
  - **India** relations with **Soviet Union** strained. Russia is still dealing with post-Cold War challenges. **Its relations with US improved.**
  - When **govt. opted to pursue a market economy**, it drew in **American and other foreign investors.**
  - US-India Commercial Alliance (USICA) founded in 1995.
  - US designated India as a **"Big Emerging Market."**
- **Bringing India into Liberalization Era**
  - To adapt to new global context, **India began reshaping India's foreign policy.**
  - **Reforming and liberalizing India's economy** under constant push of **globalization,**
  - **Most industries delicensed** and rupee devalued by 23%.
  - **Import tariffs reduced, import restrictions lifted.**
  - A **market-determined exchange rate** mechanism was implemented.
  - For 1st time **since independence, FDI expanded dramatically.**
- **Look East Policy**
  - **India concentrated on South-East Asia** as a result of this policy, which had been neglected for a long time during the Cold War.
- **Initiatives in Security**
  - **Initiated ambitious Ballistic Missile Technology Program** in 1992 to **boost India's foreign security programme**, successfully tested ASLV and PSLV.
  - **1st successful tests of Prithvi Missile** conducted in 1994.
  - **US irritated by ballistic missile programme**, but because of economic concerns, relations did not deteriorate significantly.

### Relationships b/w Neighbours

- India's relations with its neighbours also improved.
- Indian PM visited China in 1993, easing some tensions b/w two countries.
- South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA), 1995 = India + SAARC countries.
- Sri Lanka, engaged in economic diplomacy, announced a no. of collaborative ventures.

### Gujral Doctrine

- Collection of 5 principles, designed to guide India's foreign policy toward its immediate neighbours. Recognised importance of friendly, cordial relations with neighbours.
- Principles:
  - India does not demand reciprocity from its neighbours but instead gives and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust.
  - No country in South Asia should allow its territory to be used against another.
  - No country should meddle in another country's domestic affairs.
  - Territorial integrity and sovereignty of each South Asian country must be respected.
  - All of their disagreements should be resolved through peaceful bilateral dialogue.

## **5. Balancing Power (1998-2014)**

### India's Foreign Policy during this period

- Lahore summit and Kargil War took place during PM Vajpayee's tenure.
- Strengthening relations with trade blocs
  - Vajpayee visited Vietnam and Indonesia and negotiated economic and commercial deals as part of his Look East Policy.
  - Vajpayee govt. also created strong trade ties with ASEAN, which had previously had little to do with India.
  - 1st India-EU summit took place in Lisbon in June 2000.
- India conducted nuclear tests in 1998. Unilaterally committed to:
  - Informal moratorium on additional nuclear tests
  - Vow to "No First Use" (NFU) of nuclear weapons. India provided a measure of crisis stability on South Asian subcontinent. Also averting a full-fledged arms race.
  - India and US held their longest-ever diplomatic talks, which lasted 3 years.
- IBSA Dialogue Forum estd in 2003 as a result of the "Brasilia Declaration."

- Agra Summit, 2001: Musharraf visited India to normalise relations b/w two countries.
  - Conference failed to yield a favourable resolution due to Musharraf's adamant stance on Kashmir problem.
- Bangladesh-India-Myanmar Trilateral Agreement, 2005
- Pakistan-Afghanistan-China
  - Took Kinder attitude to Pakistan
  - Recommended a "ten-pronged plan" to enhance relations b/w the two countries.
  - India became the top regional donor in Afghanistan.
- Manmohan Singh Chose not to depart from Vajpayee's agenda of enhanced engagement with US, China, and Pakistan, 3 countries most important in India's foreign relations.
- Indo-US: New beginning of relations. India-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation, 2005
  - With help of Washington, Delhi received a clean waiver from NSG, thereby recognising it as a nuclear state.
- Russia: India's relationship with Russia remained steady.
- China: India's approach - "basis of mutual respect and mutual sensitivity".
- Pakistan: Tried to bring Pakistan on the table with India.
  - Indian PM undertook Bus journey to Pakistan in February 1999, widely appreciated for starting negotiations to resolve long-pending dispute.
- Deepening of relationship with Nepal and Sri-Lanka.

### Manmohan Doctrine

- Argued that India's relations with world's powers + neighbours, defined by its development priorities.
- India will gain from deeper integration with global economy.
- India should collaborate with international community to establish a global economic and security climate that benefits all countries.
- Regional institutional capacity and regional connection should be prioritized.

## **6. Energetic Diplomacy (2014-Present)**

### India's Foreign Policy during this period

- Focus on formulating a long-term foreign policy.
  - development of connections b/w neighbouring nations, improved international economic relations, and pushed modernization to forefront of defence ministry.

- India usually adopted a "non-aligned" foreign policy.
- New Delhi more assertive in international relations, particularly with Pakistan.
- Objectives of foreign policy included:
  - Improved relations with neighbours, as peace and tranquility in South Asia
  - Notion of paradiplomacy estd. in India.
  - With exception of a few major global powers with whom India has a strategic partnership, bilateral trade will dominate relations with vast majority of countries.
- Essential Aims:
  - To restore India's place on global arena.
  - To restore international investor trust in India's economy and political system.

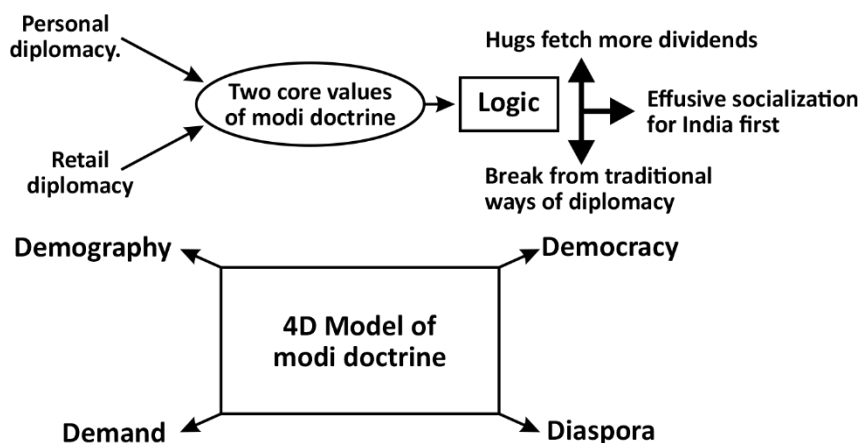
#### Changes in Foreign Policy

- Centrality of economic and technological development
  - India's economic development goal: country's motto since independence.
  - Acknowledgement of role of "technology" in all elements of economic development.
  - Comparison of Indian economy's technological capabilities to global practices and/or global technology frontier.
- Domestic and foreign policy integration: Swachh Bharat, Digital India/Smart Cities.
- Emphasis on national power: Built on basis of economic power, which must be topped by military-strategic force, and further topped by "soft power."
- Soft power and global sociopolitics are being given more attention: An increased emphasis on global socio-politics and "soft power," 3rd dimension of national strength.

- Includes spread of common ground based on India's religious and cultural legacy and history + Indian diaspora worldwide.
- Confident pragmatism: Removing self-imposed, historical, and mental barriers to realising full potential of any country's economic or security ties.
  - India's economic contacts with potential rivals can be pursued independently of its security partnerships, without one restricting or entirely paralleling the other.

#### Policy Initiatives

- Neighborhood first policy
  - Focuses on strengthening ties with India's immediate neighbours.
  - SAARC leaders invited to swearing-in ceremony of Indian PM, South Asian satellite.
- Act East policy: Remodeled with new approach from earlier policy of Look East.
- Link West policy: for middle east to complement Act East policy.
- Indian Ocean Outreach: India began to reach out to its maritime neighbours in IOR.
  - Projected strategic dominance over IOR , particularly in South China Sea.
- India First Policy: Comparative benefit-cost ratio of interacting with different countries
- Fast-track Diplomacy: Focus on with 3 faces, proactive, forceful, and sensitive.
  - Alternative to SAARC: Shift towards BIMSTEC in order to avoid Pakistan
  - Raisina Dialogue: exploring future opportunities for Asian integration with world.

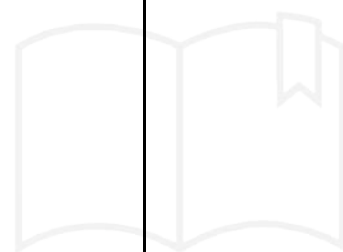


#### Assessment of Foreign Policy during this period

- Outcomes achieved:
  - Boosted confidence of foreign investors. (greater capital inflows into India)

- Improved India-US ties: sealing several trade, defense deals + joint military exercises.
- Enhanced Defence cooperation: broke deadlock over sale of 36 Rafale fighter jets.

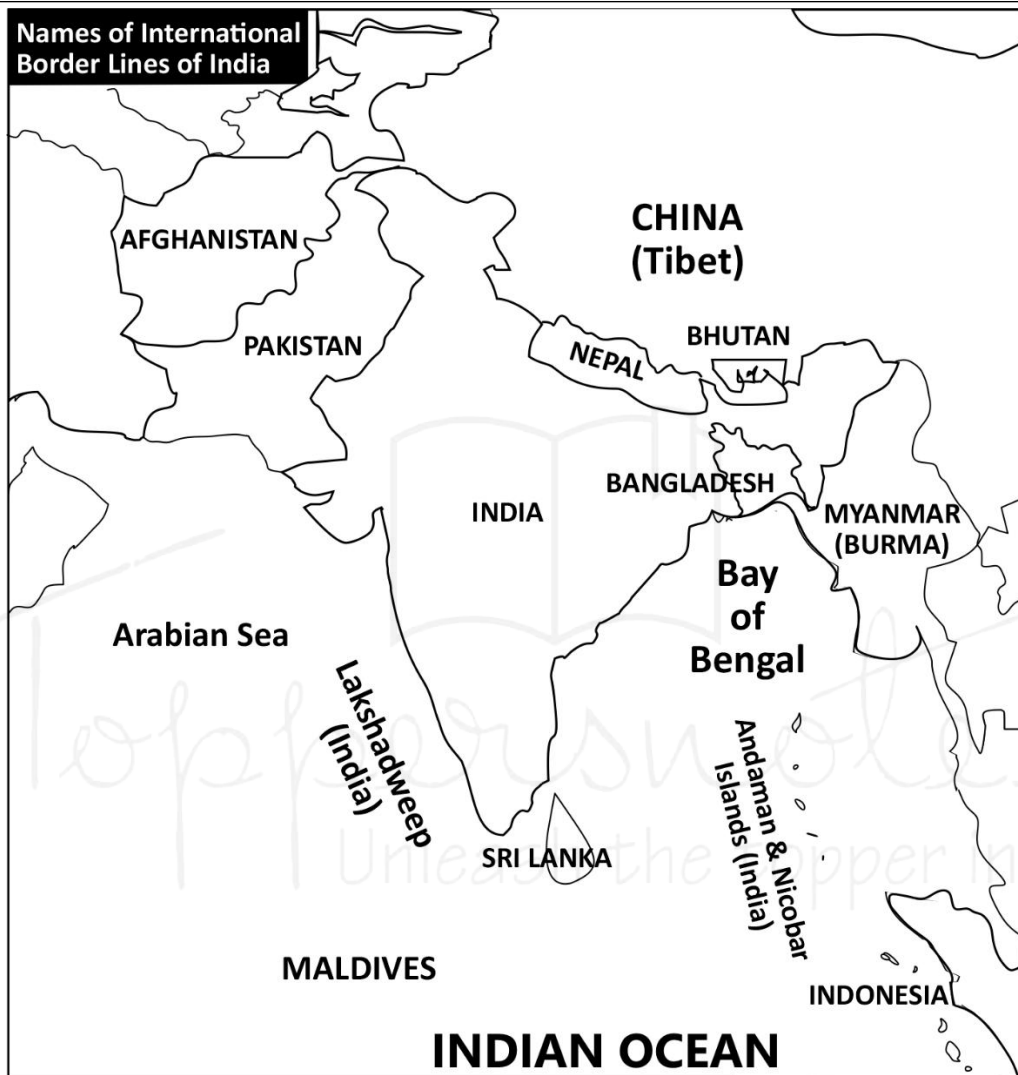
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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ <b>Utilisation of Soft power:</b> International solar alliance and World Yoga, milestones of soft foreign policy.</li><li>○ India's "<b>surgical strike</b>" against militant hideouts in Pakistan received domestic praise.</li><li>● <b>Limitations:</b><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ <b>Modi's China policy failed</b> to succeed in resolving tensions and mistrust.</li><li>○ <b>Self-Imposed Isolation of India: from NAM and SAARC.</b></li></ul></li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ <b>Weakening Ties with Neighbors:</b> more worrying concern for India foreign policy<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>■ <b>China's Cheque Book Diplomacy</b> vis-a-vis Srilanka,</li><li>■ <b>Strain</b> in relation <b>with Bangladesh</b> on <b>NRC</b> issue and</li><li>■ Recent <b>border controversy with Nepal</b> due to release of new map.</li></ul></li></ul> |
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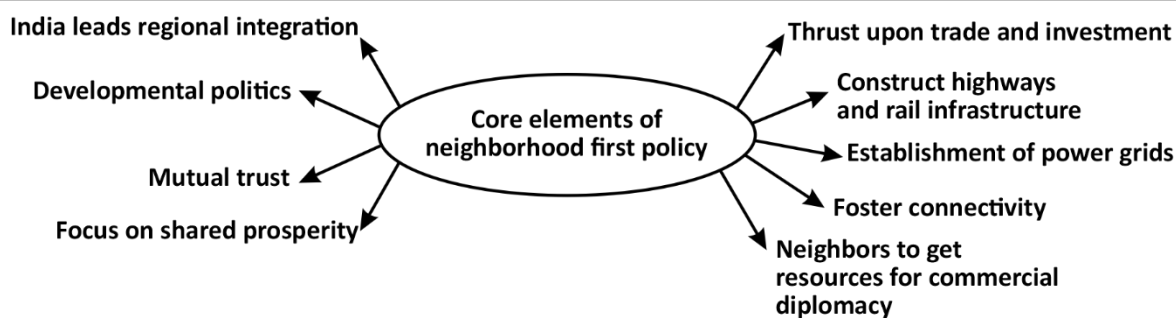
## CHAPTER

# India and its neighbourhood



- **India's Neighbours:** Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar
  - **Maritime Neighbours:** Sri Lanka and Maldives
- **India's Policy Vision:** To promote **South Asian peace and cooperation** with an emphasis on promoting trade, connectivity, and people-to-people contact.

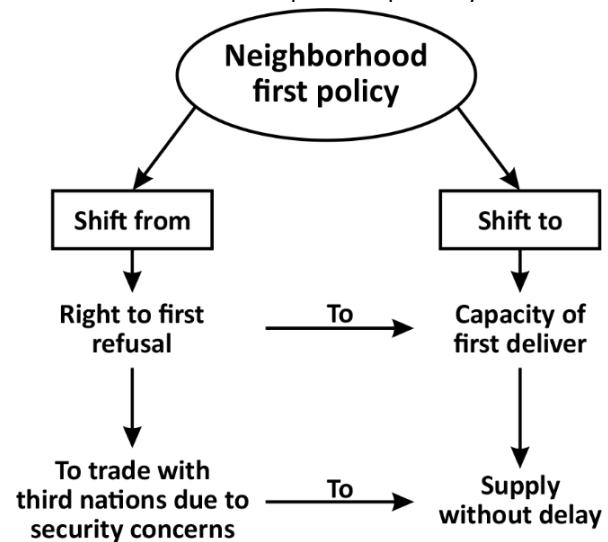
## Neighbourhood First Policy



### Ideology behind Neighbourhood First policy

- India should **shape rather than react** to events in its neighbourhood.
  - **consistent with India's** desire to **play a significant role** in international affairs.
- Take **more responsibility in region** via economic collaboration in mutually beneficial areas.
  - Wishes to follow a **well-defined paradigm for foreign policy**.
- At the heart is **India's economic diplomacy strategy** to put country's neighbours 1st.
- **Salient features:**
  - **Immediate priority to neighbours:** To ensure peace and tranquilly in South Asia for achieving development plan.
  - **Regional diplomacy:** Strong emphasis on engaging with neighbouring countries and forging political ties through conversation.
  - **Resolving bilateral issues:** Finding **mutually acceptable solutions** to bilateral concerns. Eg. India-Bangladesh inked Land Boundary Agreement (LBA).
  - **Connectivity:** India **signed a MoU** with **members of SAARC** to ensure free movt. of resources, energy, goods, labour, and information across national borders.
  - **Economic cooperation:** to **strengthen trade ties**. **SAARC benefited** from **India's participation** and investment as a mechanism for regional development. BBIN grouping for energy development, which includes motor vehicles, waterpower management, and inter-grid connectivity.
  - **Technical coop.:** **SAARC satellite** launched to share benefits of technology, such as **telemedicine and e-learning**, with people all over South Asia.
  - **Disaster management:** India **offers** disaster response, resource management, weather forecasting, and **expertise to all South Asian citizens**. India provided enormous aid in the aftermath of 2016 earthquake in Nepal.
  - **Defence coop.:** India **enhancing regional security** through exercises like **Surya Kiran**, **Nepal** and **Sampriti**, **Bangladesh** aimed at strengthening defence ties.
  - **Aid to Neighbours:** **goodwill gesture** in sync with value of daan or 'charity'.
    - **Technical assistance** to neighbours like **Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bhutan**.

- **Human Resource related training** under non-planned grants.
- **ITEC scholarships and line of credits** as a tool of development diplomacy



### Challenges with Neighbourhood First Policy

- **Nepal:** alleges that
  - **India interfered** in internal affairs.
  - **India publicly stated its dissatisfaction** with Nepal's constitution.
  - **India resorted to a blockade**, Nepal compelled to complain to UN.
  - **India used R&AW** to **topple** the Oli government.
- **Sri Lanka:** allegations that **then-R&AW station chief for Sri Lanka, K Elango**, intended to **topple the Rajapakse govt.**
- **Maldives:** allegations that **India has been overenthusiastic** and displayed inappropriate behaviour when Nasheed arrested.
- **Pakistan:** **Greatest diplomatic and security dilemma**. India's difficulty is to manage ties with a state that openly uses terror as a tool of state policy and has many power centres.
- **Afghanistan:** recent **takeover by Taliban** jeopardizes all developmental efforts undertaken by India in Afghanistan.
- **China:** **expanding its footprint in the Indian subcontinent**. Construction of **Gwadar port**, strings of pearls theory, **OBOR initiative** has sparked scepticism in the relationship. CPEC runs through POK.
- **Bangladesh:** Unresolved issues like **Teesta river water**, **Issue of illegal migration** etc





### Way forward

- **Diplomacy:** India should resort to patient diplomacy rather than displaying arrogance
- **Connectivity:** Should lead in establishing cross-border transportation & communication ties.
- **Capacity development:** by recruiting more foreign diplomats and bureaucrats
- **Soft power:** India's shared culture offer an opportunity to deepen its roots in region
- **Economic Development:** collaborate with neighbours to expand their markets and improve their infrastructure. Emphasis must be on sustainable and inclusive development.

### India-Afghanistan

- Officially the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. Capital: Kabul
- landlocked country located at the crossroads of Central and South Asia.
- Neighbours: Pakistan to east and south (including a short border with Pakistani-controlled Gilgit-Baltistan, a territory claimed by India), Iran to the west, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan to the north, and Tajikistan and China to the northeast.
- Area: 652,864 sq km, predominantly mountainous with plains in north & southwest separated by Hindukush mountain range.



### Historical relations

- **Ancient:** Relations existed since Indus Valley Civilization.
  - One of Alexander's successors, Seleucus Nicator, controlled most of Afghanistan before ceding it to Mauryan Empire in 305 BC as part of an alliance treaty.
- **Medieval:**
  - 10th-mid 18th century: Invasions in northern regions of India by a number of invaders such as Ghaznavids, Ghurids, Khaljis, Suris, Mughals, and Durranis.
  - Mughal period : Afghans came to India due to political instability in their regions.
- **Modern:**
  - Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan - prominent leaders of the Indian independence movement and active supporters of INC.
- **Post independence:** India - only South Asian country to recognize Soviet-backed Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in 1980s, though relations diminished during 1990s Afghan civil war and Taliban govt.
  - Aided overthrow of Taliban
- **Strategic Partnership Agreement:** Signed in October 2011.
  - **Objective:** To rebuild Afghanistan's infrastructure and institutions.
  - Provide Education and technical assistance to rebuild indigenous Afghan capacity
  - Encouraging investment in Afghanistan's natural resources.
  - Providing Afghanistan's exports duty-free access to the Indian market.
- India - 5th largest donor to Afghanistan and largest regional donor.
- India shifted focus from security-centric approach, to regional confidence building.

#### Afghanistan and Taliban

- Taliban emerged in early 1990s after withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.
- Ruled Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001 but gross misgovernance led to US invasion.
- Since US and its allies invaded Afghanistan on the premise of killing Osama Bin Laden, the Taliban has been battling to reclaim control.