



UPSC - IAS

Civil Services Examinations

Union Public Service Commission

General Studies

Paper 2 – Volume 2

International Relations



UPSC CSE - IAS

International Relations

Paper – 2 Volume 2

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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.

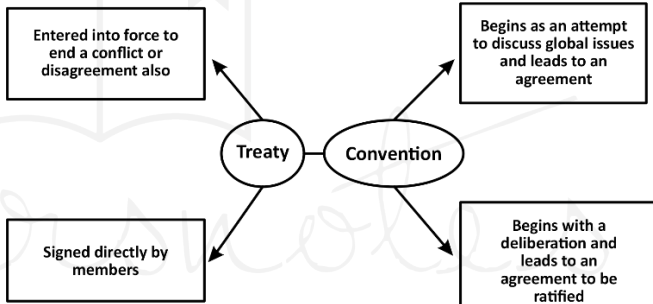
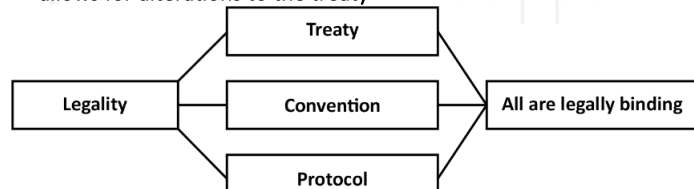
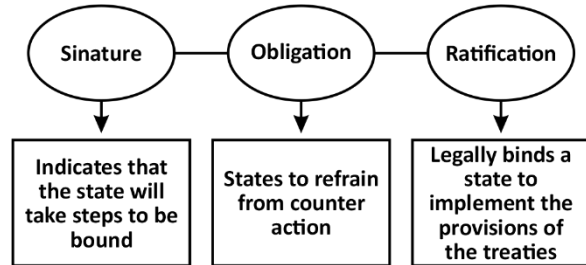
Determinants of Foreign Policy

- **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

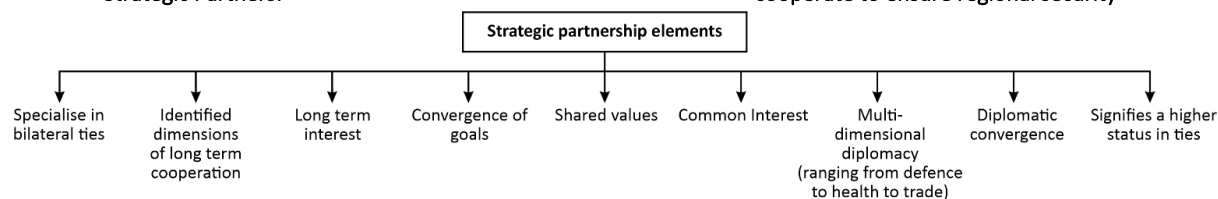
Actor	• entity that is a stakeholder in international relations.
Aid	• exchange of products and services b/w 2 foreign parties on a concessionary basis ; can be conditional or unconditional .
Alliance	• defence pacts signed b/w 2 actors that operate during times of war.
Armistice	• a Bilateral attempt by enemy countries to check hostilities and seek a peaceful solution . Ex: Armistice b/w Arabs and Israel from 1949 to 1978.
Asylum	• 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 
Protocols	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a treaty which allows for alterations to the treaty's main text. 
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 
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.

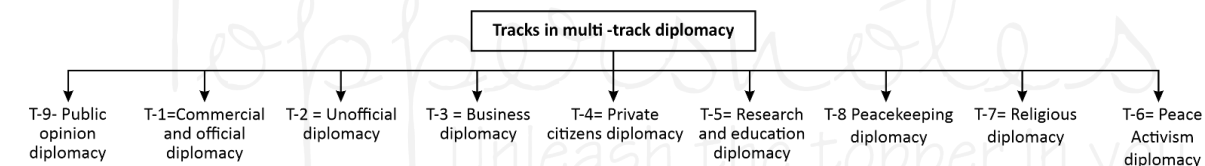
- **Overt and Covert:**

- **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.

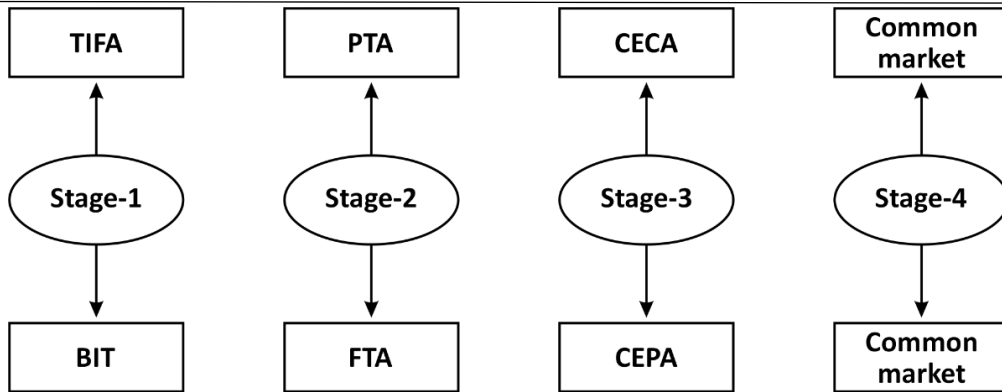
Terms used in Economic Integration

- 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.

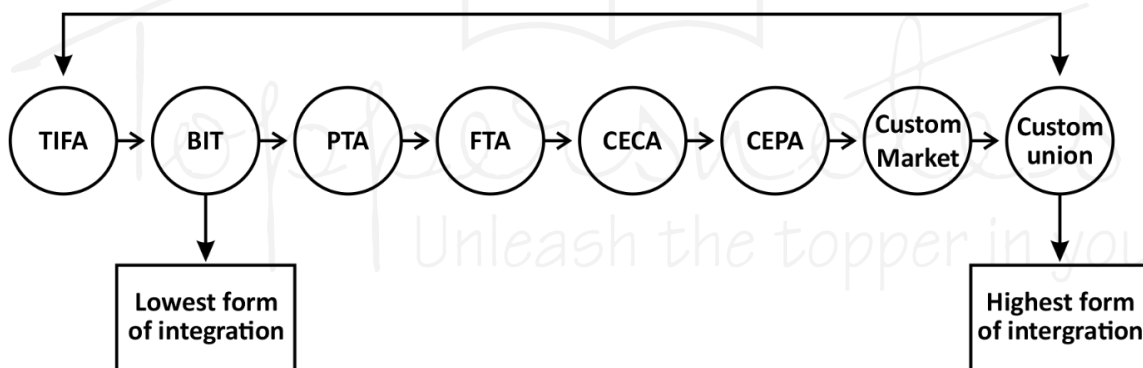
- **Bilateral Investment Treaty, or BIT**, might be considered at same level, at 1st stage.

- 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

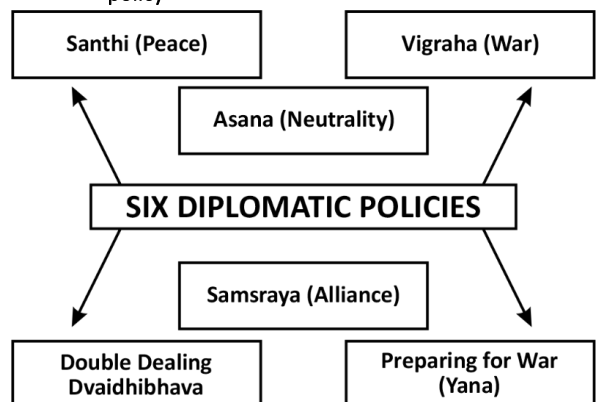
Evolution of India's Foreign Policy



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:**
 - **Core diplomatic practices in Ramayana:**
 - **Diplomats are information agents**
 - **Power projection**
 - **Diplomatic immunity**
 - **Inference** → **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 Parsh Nigraha.
- **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, Pandays 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)

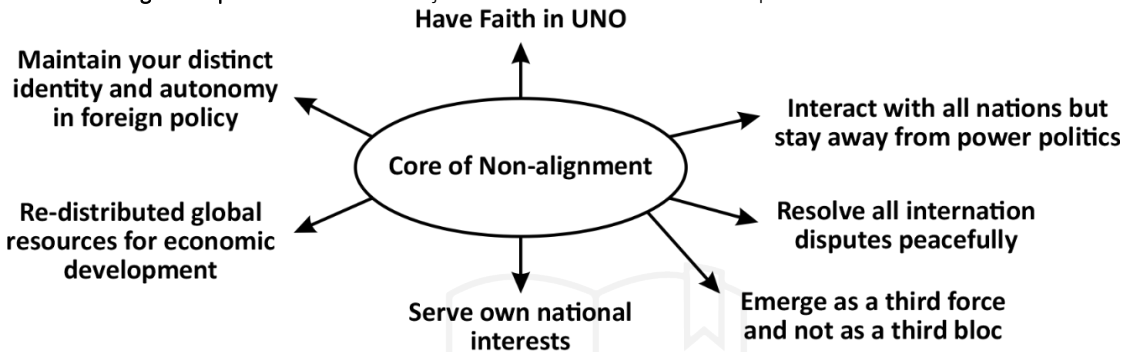
- **Diplomacy** → tool for **cooperative connections** for sustainable development.
- Adopted **policy of Five year plan**.
- **Stressed on socialist pattern** of society along with a **mixed economy**.
 - Preaching **socialisation of essential services** and basic industries within the **framework of 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.

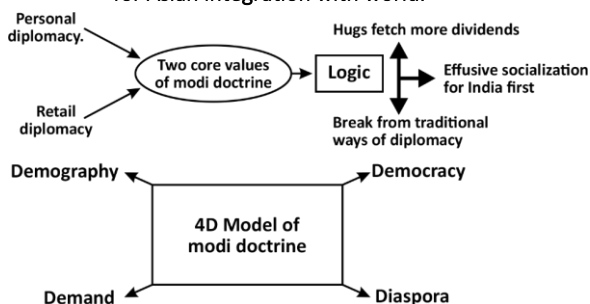
Changes in Foreign Policy

- 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.
 - **Utilisation of Soft power:** International solar alliance and World Yoga, milestones of soft foreign policy.
 - India's "**surgical strike**" against militant hideouts in Pakistan received domestic praise.
 - **Limitations:**
 - **Modi's China policy failed** to succeed in resolving tensions and mistrust.
 - **Self-Imposed Isolation of India:** from NAM and SAARC.
 - **Weakening Ties with Neighbors:** more worrying concern for India foreign policy
 - **China's Cheque Book Diplomacy** vis-a-vis Srilanka,
 - **Strain** in relation **with Bangladesh** on NRC issue and
 - Recent **border controversy with Nepal** due to release of new map.



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

India leads regional integration

Developmental politics

Mutual trust

Focus on shared prosperity

Core elements of neighborhood first policy

Thrust upon trade and investment

Construct highways and rail infrastructure

Establishment of power grids

Foster connectivity

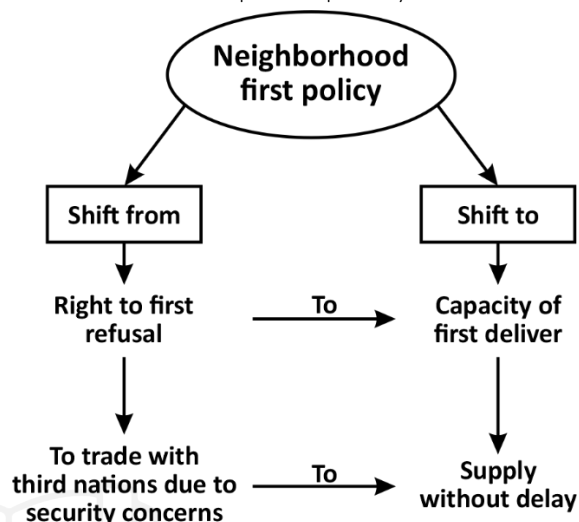
Neighbors to get resources for commercial diplomacy



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.

- **Recently, US-Taliban Peace Deal**, Withdrawal of foreign forces + Release of prisoners + Recognition of Taliban etc.
- After US withdrew, Taliban took control of Afghanistan.

Northern alliance

- **aka** Afghan Northern Alliance/ United Islamic Front.
- A **united military front** formed in **late 1996** after Taliban took over Kabul.
 - **support from Iran, Russia, Turkey, India, USA etc.**
- **US Entry in Afghanistan.** Provided support to Northern Alliance troops on the ground in a 2-month war against Taliban, which they won in December 2001.
- **Taliban forced out from control of country.** later Northern Alliance dissolved as members and parties joined the new establishment of the Karzai administration.

Areas of cooperation India Afghanistan

Cultural Relations

- **Afghanistan = an important trading and craft center** for over 2000 years **connecting civilizations of Persia, Central Asia with India.**
- **Scholarships Programme:** Reconstruction and renovation of Habibia School in Kabul.
 - **India offers 500 ITEC slots** to Afghanistan annually.
 - **Areas of cooperation Special Scholarship Scheme** of 1000 scholarships per annum to Afghan Nationals.

Political Relations

- **2011: Strategic Partnership Agreement** signed strengthening Indo-Afghan relations.
- **New chancery complex in Kabul: New embassy of India.**

Economic Relations

- **Infrastructure:** Constructed with Indian aid
 - **Afghan-India Friendship Dam (Salma Dam)** in Herat region on Harirud river
 - **Afghan Parliament**
 - **Zaranj-Delaram Highway** (218 Km long; constructed by BRO) along **Afghan-Iran border**
 - **Power Infrastructure:** 220kV DC transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to north of Kabul.



Connectivity:

- **Direct Air Freight Corridor.**
- **Chabahar Port:** Sistan-Baluchistan province, Iran. To **enhance sea-land connectivity** with Afghanistan and the **Central Asian Region.**
- **TAPI:** Launched in **2016.** Aimed to **carry 33 billion cubic meters of natural gas** each year. Pipeline moves from **Turkmenistan to India** via Afghanistan and Pakistan.
- **INSTC: trade corridor project** to connect **Russia, Europe & Eurasia** with India via Iran.
 - **India-backed Chabahar Port** with INSTC for connectivity to Central Asia

Wakhan Corridor

- **Corridor of Afghanistan and Xinjiang Province of China, geo-strategically significant for India.**
- Area at the tip of Wakhan Corridor is evolving into a key crossroad for CPEC.
- **India's Concern:**
 - **Presence of China** through CPEC will affect territorial integrity of India.
 - **Terrorism in J&K** will escalate.
 - **China plan to convert corridor into curious case of 'Corridor of Power or Conflict'**
- **India's Proposed Grand Strategy-** with 2 themes
 - **'De-Balkanisation of J&K'**
 - **'Re-Asianisation of Asia'**



The Wakhan Corridor is 12.87 kms at its narrowest. India does not recognise Pakistan-occupied Kashmir that, post 1947, borders the Wakhan, and thus India, in its view, has a frontier with Afghanistan at Wakhan.

Defence and Security Relations

- **Training of Afghan soldiers** as part of a capacity-building programme.

- **500 scholarships for children** of martyrs of Afghan Security Forces.
- **Supply of defence equipment:** Gift of 4 Mi-25 Attack helicopters to Afghan Air Force.
- **Police:**
 - **MoU on Technical Cooperation** on Police Training and Development seeks India to expand its capacity building of Afghan troops.
 - **Strategic Partnership Council included an Indian commitment** to 116 “New Development Projects” + enhanced security cooperation

Challenges in India’s efforts

- **Security concerns:**
 - **Withdrawal of NATO-led Security Assistance Force** personnel from Afghanistan
 - turning into a **springboard for destabilization and terrorism.**
 - Formation of Taliban govt. In Afghanistan.
- **Pakistan’s support for Taliban:** destabilizing India’s development efforts.
- **Sustainability challenge:** Due to **deteriorating security situation** and **insurgent influence** or control of territory, the **sustainability** of Indian projects is **doubtful.**

Implications of Taliban’s takeover in Afghanistan for India

- **Political Implications**
 - **Agreement includes a clause prohibiting Taliban** from **allowing any terrorist action on Afghan land**, particularly against US and its allies.
 - **Unclear whether India**, which isn't a US ally, **will be affected.**
 - **Pakistan may have a sway over Taliban** because it is regarded as a close ally.
 - **Taliban ideology is linked to Pakistan** and is opposed to Indian ideology.

INDIA’S ECONOMIC CONCERNS

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fate of Chabahar Port hangs in balance. Constructed with the aim of bypassing Pakistan. If Taliban emerges. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Vectorious Port’s releasing will be doubt. ● India has helped Afghanistan build infra projects worth \$3 billion. Important ones 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Include Salma Dam shatoot Dam, Afghan Parliament etc. ● Given India’s anti-Taliban stance, these structures face attack threat.
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SECURITY CONCERNS

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Afghan soil may be used by anti-India elements ● Jaish-e-Mohammed and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lashkar-e-Taiba have shifted base to Afghanistan ● Militants from Kashmir could be 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stationed in Afghanistan and trained for anti-India activities.
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- **Strategic Implications**
 - **With Taliban taking control, route to Central Asia might be closed** for India.
 - **Taliban governance may give** countries like **Pakistan and China upper hand**- not in India's strategic interests.

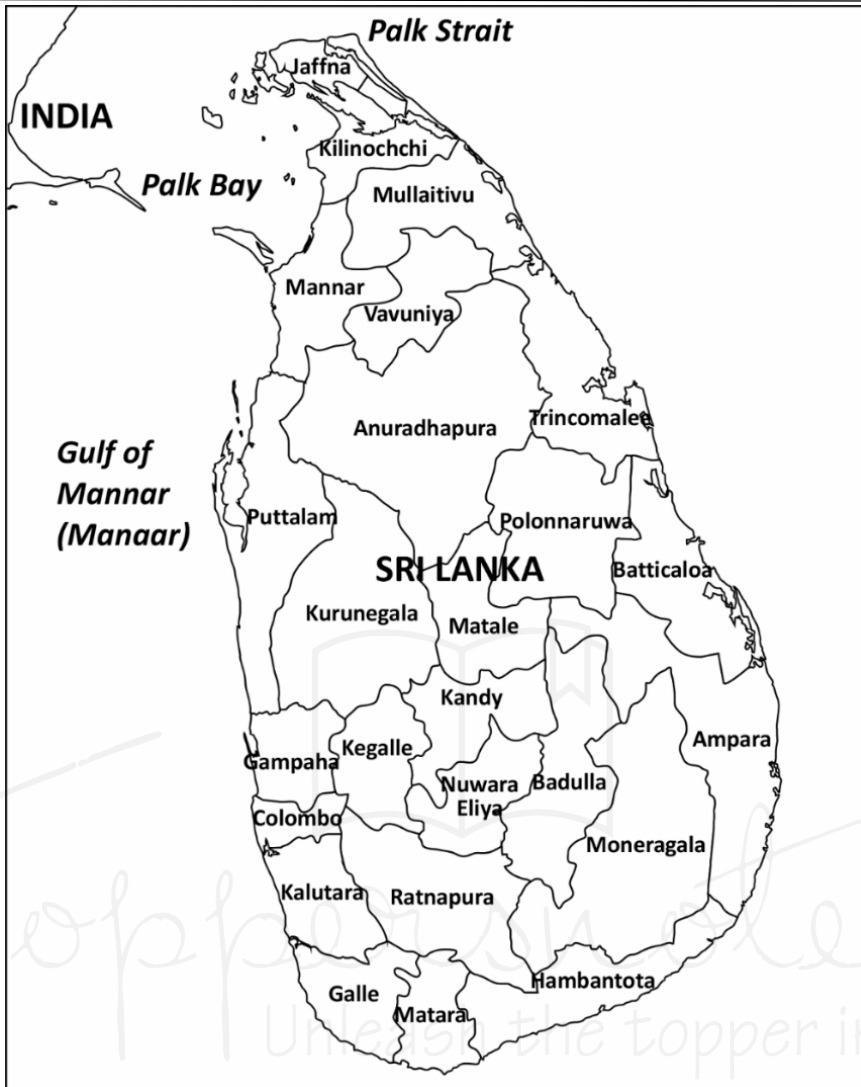
India-Sri Lanka relations

Brief description of Sri Lanka:

- **Official name:** Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
- **Location:** island country in **South Asia** which lies in **Indian Ocean**



- **Southwest:** Bay of Bengal
- **Southeast:** Arabian Sea
- **North:** Palk Strait
- **Maritime border:** India and Maldives.
- **Capital:** Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte, legislative capital



Historical relations

Ancient: Ramayana: earliest mention of Sri Lanka

- **Ravana**, king of Lanka, held Sita captive, rescued by Ram with help of **Hanuman -India's first diplomat**, and built **Adam's Bridge** to help Ram reach Lanka.

Medieval: Buddhism: spread over Sri Lanka some 2000 years ago during Ashoka

Pre independence:

- **British Rule:** Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) colonially under **British**, not a part of British India Empire, being administered separately.
- **1830:** British took indentured labour from India, especially Tamil Nadu, to Ceylon.
- Tamils transported by British settled in northern part of Ceylon.

Post Independence:

- Tamils disenfranchised in 1949.
- **Official Language Act No.33 of 1956** or **Sinhala Only Act** replaced English with Sinhala as sole official language of Ceylon, with exclusion of Tamil.
 - Further institutionalized discrimination with **tamils**.
 - **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)** involved in an **armed conflict** with Sri Lankan armed forces from 1983 to 2009.
- **India-Sri Lanka Agreement, 1987**
 - **Parties:** PM **Rajiv Gandhi** and President **J.R. Jayewardene**
 - **Objective:** to end civil war in Sri Lanka
 - Envisaged creation of **provincial councils** with autonomy enabled by **13th amendment** to Sri Lankan constitution.