

# UPSC - CSE

**Civil Services Examinations** 

# **Union Public Service Commission**

# **General Studies**

Paper 2 – Volume - 2

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



# IAS

# G.S. PAPER - 2 VOLUME - 2

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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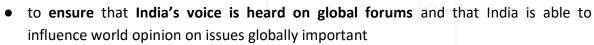
# **Basics of Foreign Policy**



- 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 **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.

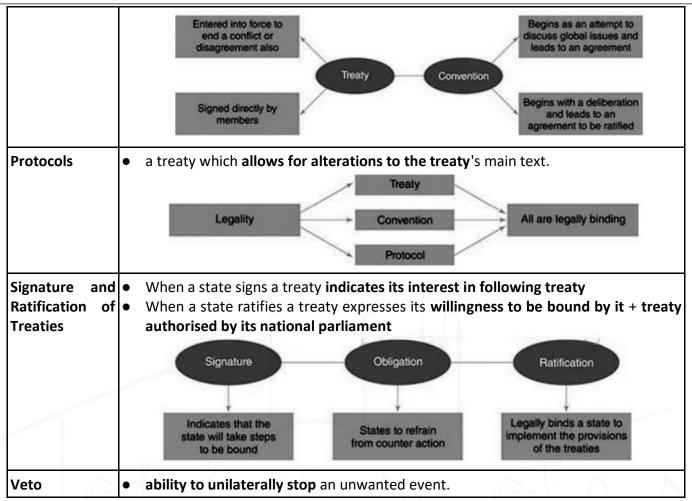


- Global and Regional Challenges: Changing global power equations, terrorism, fundamentalism, regional rivalries
- **Technology:** level of technological development and the nature of technical know-how are important elements of foreign policy.
- Alliances and International Treaties (Bilateral and Multilateral): international treaties, pacts, trading blocs and alliances are major inputs in foreign policy.

# **Key Terms in International Relations**

| basis; can be conditional or unconditional.  Alliance  |   | <u> </u>  |  |  |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| 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 persolution. 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 an state in exchange for sanctuary.  Appeasement Policy to grant all demands of an aggressive state to avoid conflict action of discouraging a country through instilling fear of consequences  Disarmament Process of a state reducing, removing, and eliminating specific armed systit's usually used in relation to nuclear weapons.  Extradition a circumstance in which 1 state transfers a fugitive to another.  Free Trade bilateral trading system which allows trading without any constraints.  Geopolitics A method of foreign policy analysis = explain a state's political conduct voice of geographical characteristics.  Great Powers ranking of global states based on economic and military capabilities.  Hegemony state's political, economic, or military domination over others.  Hot Pursuit Inant-based activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.  Multipolarity allohased activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.  Multipolarity allohased activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.  Multipolarity allohased activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.  Multipolarity allohased activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.  Multipolarity allohased activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest. | Actor   | • entity that <b>is a stakeholder</b> in international relations.                           |  |  |
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| 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 ar state in exchange for sanctuary.  Appeasement Policy to grant all demands of an aggressive state to avoid conflict  Deterrence action of discouraging a country through instilling fear of consequences  Process of a state reducing, removing, and eliminating specific armed systit's usually used in relation to nuclear weapons.  Extradition a circumstance in which 1 state transfers a fugitive to another.  Free Trade bilateral trading system which allows trading without any constraints.  Geopolitics A method of foreign policy analysis = explain a state's political conduct v use of geographical characteristics.  Great Powers ranking of global states based on economic and military capabilities.  Hegemony state's political, economic, or military domination over others.  Hot Pursuit land-based activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.  Multipolarity a global system with several power actors. Ex: US, China, Russia and India  Paradiplomacy role of state govt. in enhancing diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries.  Sphere of situation in which an external state has economic or military hegemony another region.  Treaty and Treaty = written agreement signed by actors, requires signing parties to a specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract.  | Alliance  | • defence pacts signed b/w 2 actors that operate during times of war.                       |  |  |
| <ul> <li>Quasi-legal process in which a state provides protection to a national of ar state in exchange for sanctuary.</li> <li>Appeasement</li> <li>Policy to grant all demands of an aggressive state to avoid conflict</li> <li>Deterrence</li> <li>action of discouraging a country through instilling fear of consequences</li> <li>Disarmament</li> <li>Process of a state reducing, removing, and eliminating specific armed systit's usually used in relation to nuclear weapons.</li> <li>Extradition</li> <li>a circumstance in which 1 state transfers a fugitive to another.</li> <li>Free Trade</li> <li>bilateral trading system which allows trading without any constraints.</li> <li>Geopolitics</li> <li>A method of foreign policy analysis = explain a state's political conduct vuse of geographical characteristics.</li> <li>Great Powers</li> <li>ranking of global states based on economic and military capabilities.</li> <li>Hegemony</li> <li>state's political, economic, or military domination over others.</li> <li>Hot Pursuit</li> <li>land-based activities where a state may reserve the right to pursue an off outside of its own territorial bounds in national interest.</li> <li>Multipolarity</li> <li>a global system with several power actors.</li> <li>Ex: US, China, Russia and India</li> <li>Paradiplomacy</li> <li>role of state govt. in enhancing diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries.</li> <li>Sphere of situation in which an external state has economic or military hegemony another region.</li> <li>Treaty and</li> <li>Treaty = written agreement signed by actors, requires signing parties to a specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract.</li> </ul>   |   |   |  |  |
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| <ul> <li>Ex: US, China, Russia and India</li> <li>Paradiplomacy</li> <li>role of state govt. in enhancing diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries.</li> <li>Sphere of influence</li> <li>situation in which an external state has economic or military hegemony another region.</li> <li>Tariffs</li> <li>import tax for raising money; may be used as a tool of protectionism.</li> <li>Treaty and Conventions</li> <li>Treaty = written agreement signed by actors, requires signing parties to a specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract.</li> </ul>  | ,   |   |  |  |
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| <ul> <li>influence another region.</li> <li>Tariffs import tax for raising money; may be used as a tool of protectionism.</li> <li>Treaty and Conventions Treaty = written agreement signed by actors, requires signing parties to a specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract.</li> </ul>   | Paradiplomacy   | • role of state govt. in enhancing diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries.             |  |  |
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| Conventions specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract.   | Tariffs   | import tax for raising money; may be used as a tool of protectionism.                       |  |  |
| forming an agreement to be ratified by the member states   |   |   |  |  |

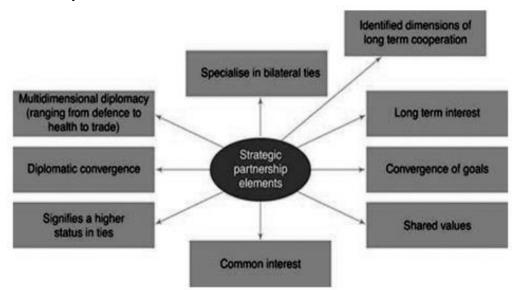




# **Additional Terms/ Concepts in International Relations**

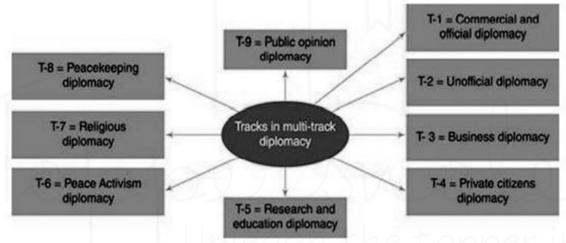


- Natural Ally and Strategic Partners:
  - O **Natural allies:** countries share similar cultural, political, economic, and historical ideals, as the US and UK did during WWII.
  - Strategic Partners: countries that do not share the same values but cooperate to ensure regional security.





- 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.
  - o **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.

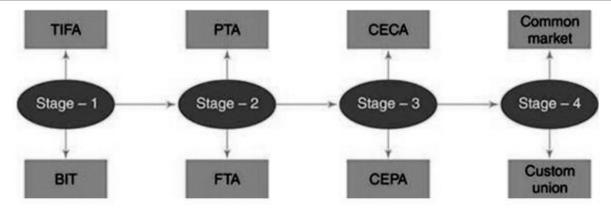
# **Terms used in Economic Integration**

- 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.

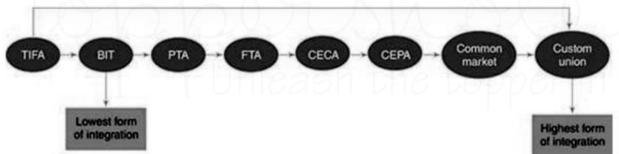


- Bilateral Investment Treaty, or BIT, might be considered at same level, at 1st stage.
  - o encourage FDI and protect investors' investments in each other's territory. In 1940s, Germany-Pakistan signed world's 1st BIT.





- Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA): 2nd phase in integration process
  - o member states make = non-tariff obstacles small + lower tariff barriers.
  - o 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.
  - o 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.

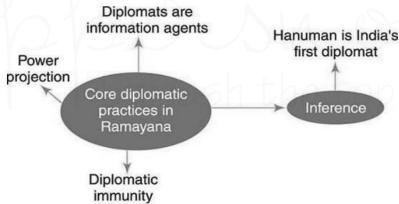


# Evolution of India's Foreign Policy



## **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.
  - o Evidences: carnelian, lapis lazuli, copper, gold, Jar, Seals etc
- Jainism and Buddhism
  - Origin: India
  - o Flourished: China, Sri-Lanka, Tibet etc.
- Ramayana and Indian Foriegn policy:

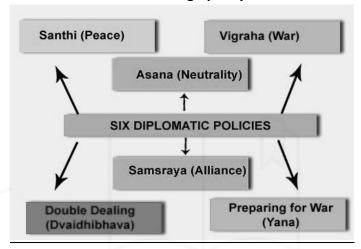


- Principles adopted from Ramayana:
  - Hanumana as diplomat: delivered sensitive information b/w Sita & Ram without distorting it
  - Hanumana acted as a power projector: projected power of Ram inRavana's court.
  - Diplomatic immunity: Vibheeshana defended Hanuman, on grounds that he had come to Lanka 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 contagious 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: Vijugishu's ally in the rear behind that of Parish 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.
- O 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, Franch, British, etc.
  - o 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 britishes.
- 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.
- o **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.
- 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 :
  - o Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other
  - Non-aggression
  - O Non interference in each other's military affairs
  - Mutual benefit and equality
  - o 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:
  - o with Sri Lanka (Bandaranaike-Shastri Pact) on persons of Indian origin.
  - o 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.



- 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.
  - O 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
  - O **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.
  - o **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.
  - O US-India Commercial Alliance (USICA) founded in 1995.
  - US designated India as a "Big Emerging Market."

#### • Bringing India into Liberalization Era

- o 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%.
- o 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.
- o 1st successful tests of Prithvi Missile conducted in 1994.



o 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
  - O 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.
  - o **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.
  - O 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. Energic 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:
  - o 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:
  - o To restore India's place on global arena.
  - To restore international investor trust in India's economy and political system.

#### **Changes in Foreign Policy**

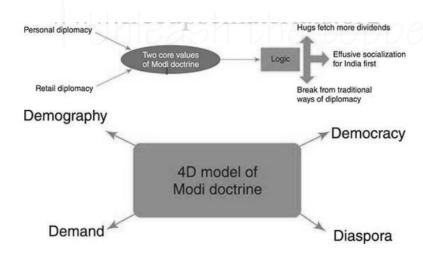
- Centrality of economic and technological development
  - o **India's economic development goal**: country's motto since independence.
  - Acknowledgement of role of "technology" in all elements of economic development.
  - Comparison of Indian economy's technological capabilities to global practices 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.
  - o **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.
  - O 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.
  - O 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)
  - o 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.
  - o India's "surgical strike" against militant hideouts in Pakistan received domestic praise.