



# UPSC – IAS

Civil Services Examinations

Union Public Service Commission

**General Studies**

Paper 2 – Volume - 2

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**



# G.S. PAPER – 2 VOLUME – 2

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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- Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)
- Australia Group (AG)
- Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)
- Wassenaar Arrangement
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
- BRICS
- India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Dialogue Forum
- Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)
- Ashgabat Agreement
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)
- Bangladesh Bhutan India Nepal (BBIN) Initiative
- Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
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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

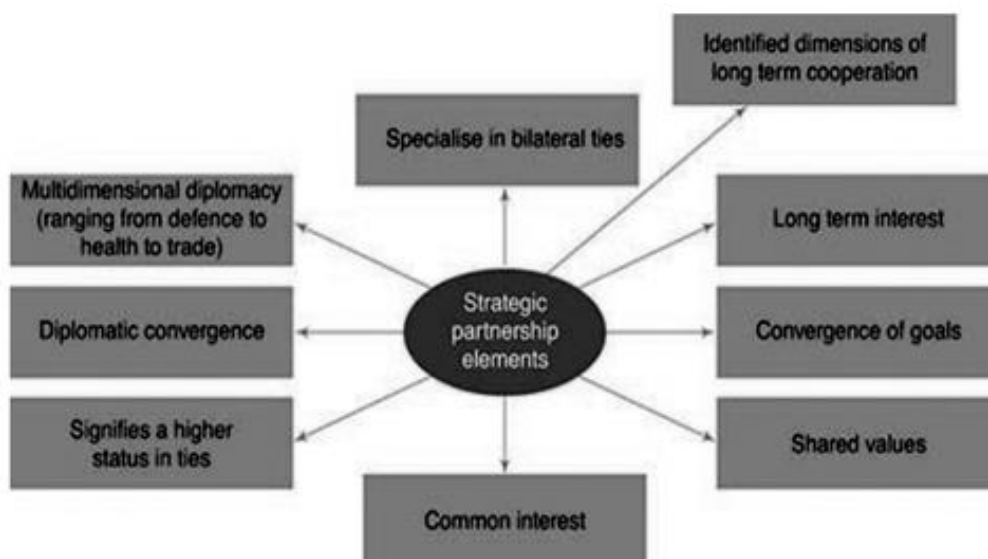
<b>Actor</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● entity that <b>is a stakeholder</b> in international relations.</li> </ul>
<b>Aid</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>exchange of products and services</b> b/w 2 foreign parties <b>on a concessionary basis</b>; can be <b>conditional or unconditional</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Alliance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>defence pacts signed b/w 2 actors</b> that operate during times of war.</li> </ul>
<b>Armistice</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● a <b>Bilateral</b> attempt by <b>enemy countries to check hostilities and seek a peaceful solution</b>. <b>Ex:</b> Armistice b/w Arabs and Israel from 1949 to 1978.</li> </ul>
<b>Asylum</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● refers to a <b>safe haven</b>.</li> <li>● <b>Quasi-legal process</b> in which a <b>state provides protection to a national of another state</b> in exchange for sanctuary.</li> </ul>
<b>Appeasement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Policy to <b>grant all demands of an aggressive state to avoid conflict</b></li> </ul>
<b>Deterrence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>action of discouraging a country</b> through instilling fear of consequences</li> </ul>
<b>Disarmament</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Process of a state <b>reducing, removing, and eliminating specific armed systems</b>. It's usually <b>used in relation to nuclear weapons</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Extradition</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● a circumstance in which <b>1 state transfers a fugitive to another</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Free Trade</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>bilateral trading system</b> which allows <b>trading without any constraints</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Geopolitics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● A method of <b>foreign policy analysis</b> = explain a <b>state's political conduct via the use of geographical characteristics</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Great Powers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>ranking of global states based on economic and military capabilities</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Hegemony</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>state's political, economic, or military domination</b> over others.</li> </ul>
<b>Hot Pursuit</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>land-based activities</b> where a state may reserve the <b>right to pursue an offender outside of its own territorial bounds</b> in national interest.</li> </ul>
<b>Multipolarity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● a <b>global system with several power actors</b>.</li> <li>● <b>Ex:</b> US, China, Russia and India</li> </ul>
<b>Paradiplomacy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>role of state govt. in enhancing diplomatic ties</b> with neighbouring countries.</li> </ul>
<b>Sphere of influence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● situation in which an <b>external state has economic or military hegemony over another region</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Tariffs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>import tax</b> for raising money; may be <b>used as a tool of protectionism</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Treaty and Conventions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <b>Treaty = written agreement</b> signed by actors, requires signing parties to accept specific rules agreed upon consensually in contract.</li> <li>● <b>Convention = special treaty</b> that <b>culminates discussion of a global issue</b> by forming an agreement to be ratified by the member states</li> </ul>

<b>Protocols</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a treaty which <b>allows for alterations to the treaty's</b> main text.</li> </ul>
<b>Signature and Ratification of Treaties</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When a state signs a treaty <b>indicates its interest in following treaty</b></li> <li>• When a state ratifies a treaty expresses its <b>willingness to be bound by it + treaty authorised by its national parliament</b></li> </ul>
<b>Veto</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>ability to unilaterally stop</b> an unwanted event.</li> </ul>

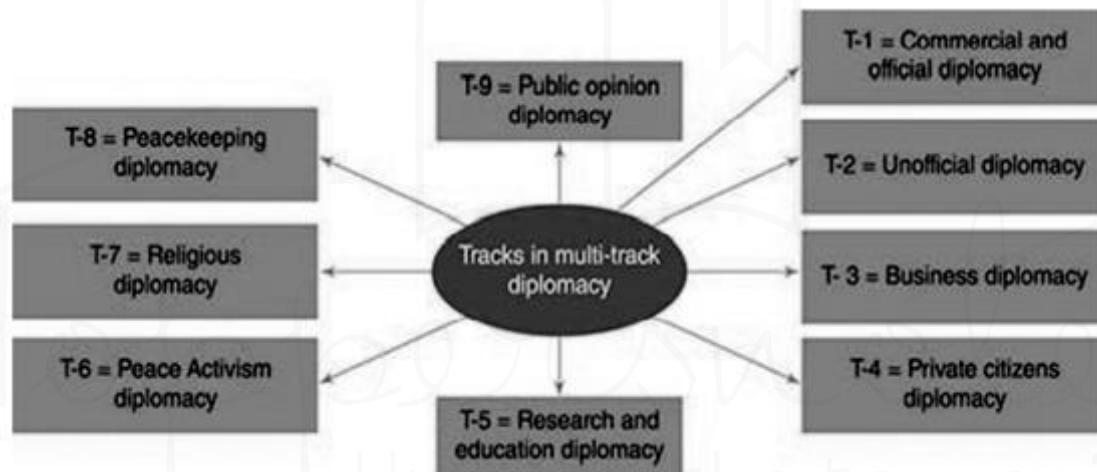
### Additional Terms/ Concepts in International Relations



- **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.

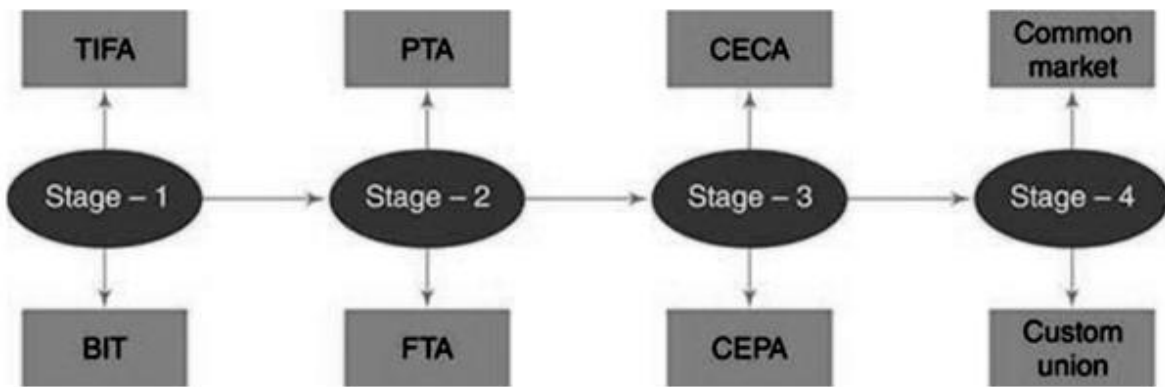


- **Net Security Provider:** describe a country, **capable of ensuring a stable, peaceful, and safe neighbourhood**.
- **Backchannel Diplomacy:** When 2 enemies communicate through **secret channels to create a diplomatic breakthrough**. Barack Obama and Hassan Rouhani initiated backchannel diplomatic 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.

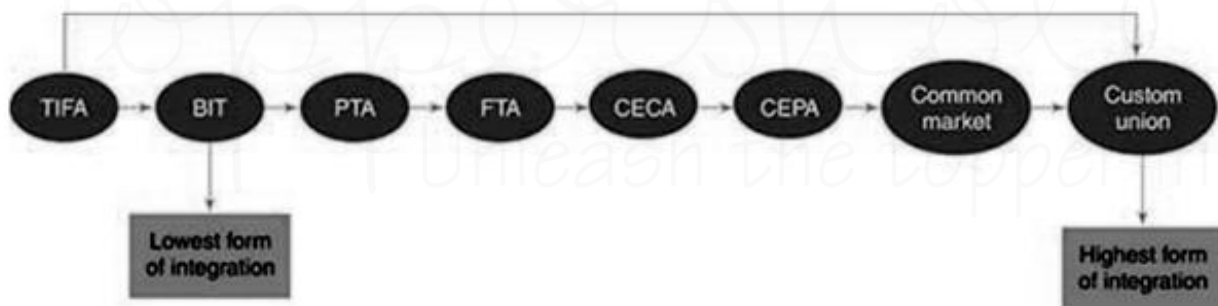
## Terms used in Economic Integration

- 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

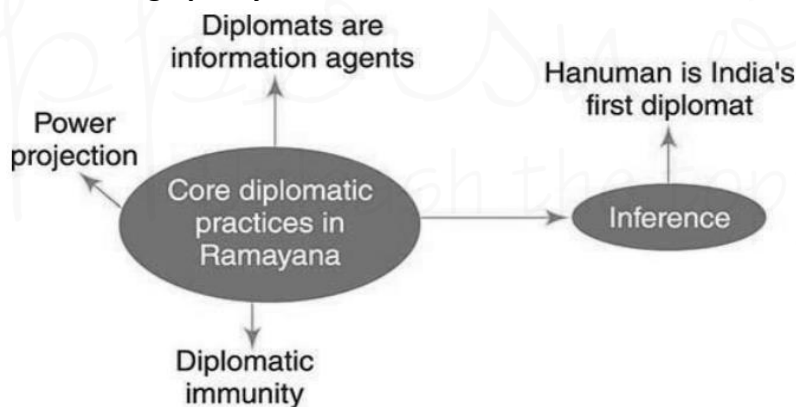
## CHAPTER

# Evolution of India's Foreign Policy



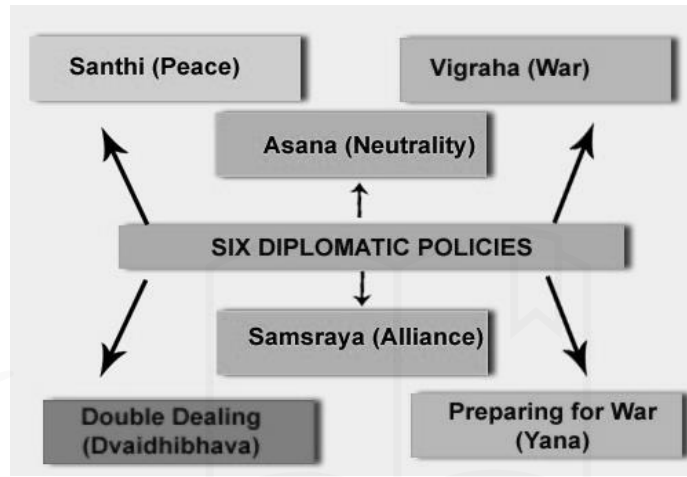
### Ancient Foreign Policy

- **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:**



- **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:** 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.
- **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. *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:**
  - **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.



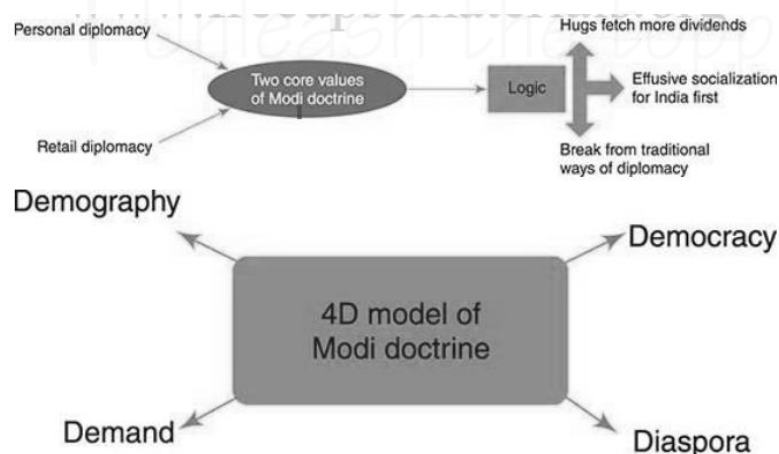
### **Changes in Foreign Policy**

- **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.