

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



SHORT NOTES

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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IR EXPERT



Basic Terms and Concepts for International Relations

Nationalism: Identification with a group based in a sense of a common heritage including some or all of these factors: language, ethnic or racial origins, religion, geographic location, or political base; also, the belief that the nation or nation-state merits political loyalty; often associated with the goals of self-determination and independence.

National interest: those elements constituting a nation's most vital needs and objectives, including such factors of self-preservation, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well-being.

Balance of power: a term used in various ways, but the traditional concept involves creating/maintaining an equilibrium in the international order so that one nation/alliance does not become preponderant over others.



Human rights: rights of all persons, regardless of what state they might inhabit, to be free from abuses such as torture or imprisonment for their political beliefs (political and civil rights), and to enjoy certain minimum economic and social protections (economic and social rights). Specific principles of human rights are set forth in the United Nations' 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Polarity



Soft Power: the ability to attract and co-opt, rather than coerce.

Hard Powers: use of military and economic means to influence the behavior or interests of other Countries.

Sharp power: use of manipulative diplomatic policies by one country to influence and undermine the political system of a target country.

Smart Power: combination of hard power and soft power strategies.

Globalization: the integration of people and countries, through increased contact, communication, and commerce into a larger, informal international system.



Deterrence: strategy of having a credible counter-threat so as to pose unacceptable risks to an opponent considering an attack.

Mutually assured destruction (MAD): is a doctrine of military strategy and national security policy in which a full-scale use of nuclear weapons by two or more opposing sides would cause the complete annihilation of both the attacker and the defender.

Confidence-building measures (CBMs): are planned procedures to prevent hostilities, to avert escalation, to reduce military tension, and to build mutual trust between countries. They have been applied since the dawn of civilization, on all continents.

Interdependence: the increasing interrelationship and mutual dependence among nations, especially in an economic sense.

Supranational institutions: Institutions above the level of the state which is established for the common, rather than state-specific

goals, such as the European Commission in the EU.

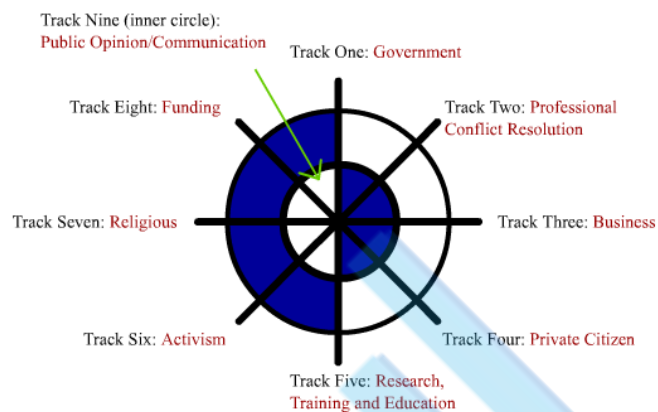
Rogue states: States that operate outside the international frameworks or agreements.

Failed state: A state in which domestic institutions have collapsed or are non-functional.

Diplomacy: the range of actions taken by a nation to represent and pursue its interests.

The Different types of diplomacy
There are a number of different types of diplomacy, including:

• Appeasement,	• Multi-track Diplomacy,
• Citizen Diplomacy,	• Panda Diplomacy,
• Cultural Diplomacy,	• Ping-pong Diplomacy,
• Deference,	• Public Diplomacy,
• Dollar Diplomacy,	• Regional Diplomacy,
• Economic Diplomacy,	• Science Diplomacy,
• Engagement Diplomacy,	• Shuttle Diplomacy,
• Freelance Diplomacy,	• Track II Diplomacy,
• Gunboat Diplomacy,	



Indian Foreign Policy Evolution

Indian Policy makers understood the linkage between peace and development and survival of mankind. In view of the destruction caused by two world wars, they realized that for the progress of a nation a durable world peace was needed. Without global peace, social and economic development is likely to be pushed to the background. Thus, the founder of India's foreign policy, Nehru gave utmost importance to world peace in his policy planning. For him, India desired peaceful and friendly relations with all countries, particularly the big powers and the neighbouring nations.

What is Panchsheel?



A set of principles to govern relations between states.

Evolved during talks between India and the People's Republic of China in 1954.

These principles of Panchsheel were later incorporated in the Bandung Declaration, signed in the Afro-Asian Conference held in 1955 in Indonesia. They are the core principles of Non-alignment and still guide the conduct of India's foreign policy.

The Five Principles are:

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- Mutual non-aggression against anyone
- Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affair
- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful co-existence

Analysis of Panchsheel

The Panchsheel Agreement began to break down when the Dalai Lama and his followers were given asylum in India on humanitarian grounds.

This, as far as China was concerned, was a blatant violation of one of the five principles of the Agreement: Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

- Bhim Rao Ambedkar in a speech at the Rajya Sabha questions how seriously did the Chinese take the principles of the Panchsheel seriously, taking into account that principle of peaceful coexistence was violated when China invaded Tibet.
- While India agreed to the principles, China showed an inconsistent and contradictory attitude by agreeing with many reservations. So five decades of no war is seen as mainly due to the evaluation of the high price of war and not due to love for peace.
- Due to recent clashes in the Dokhlam Valley in 2014 and the Ladakh incursions in 2020, it has been widely speculated by defense analysts in India that the time has come to move beyond the principles of the Panchsheel that would benefit both the countries.
- In contrast to previous confrontations, India has been proactive and aggressive in its posturing in Doklam and Ladakh. This newfound assertiveness of India has left China stumbling for a gambit.

Relevance of Panchsheel

- Today Panchsheel principles hold relevance as it is important for India to preserve her independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity.
- Panchsheel is needed to protect established relations which are diminishing with some countries at equal footing
- It hold relevance to reduce tensions in the region and reduce threat of confrontation and wars.
- It is important to establish India as an equal partner and reliable neighbor to countries like China.
- Panchsheel is a framework of basic tenets of engagement between the two sovereign countries and withstands the test of the time. It is equally relevant for all times.
- It is important to send message to the world that India is a mature democracy and is not an aggressive nation.

- Panchsheel is important for Greater role at the global level for regional cooperation and connectivity.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)



Introduction

The NAM is an international forum of 120 developing countries that believe in the idea of non-alignment with the major power blocs.

It was established in 1961 in Belgrade, former Yugoslavia under the leadership of the then Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser and the President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito.

The criteria of non-alignment determined as early as June 1961 at Cairo were:

- A country should follow an independent policy based on peaceful coexistence and non-alignment or show a trend in favor of such a policy.
- It should consistently have supported movements for national independence.
- It should not be a member of multilateral military alliances concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
- If it has conceded military bases, these concessions should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.
- If it is a member of a bilateral or regional defense arrangement, this should not be in the context of Great Power conflicts.

Characteristics of Non-Alignment

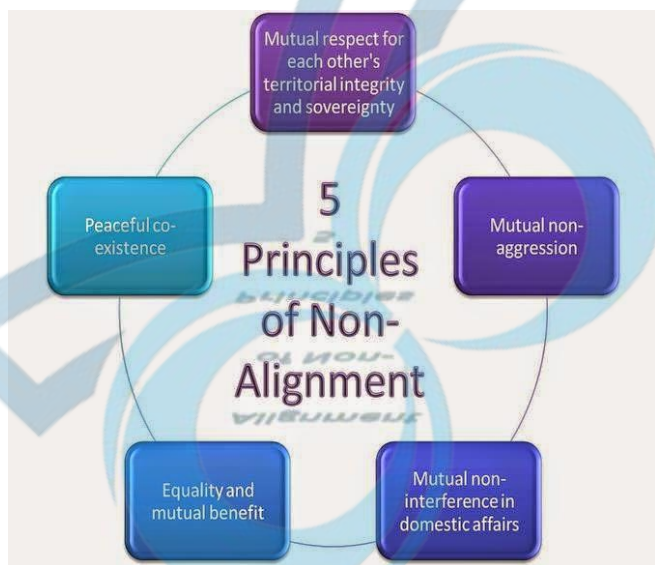
- The non-aligned movement was a reaction against the cold war.
- Non-alignment opposed military alliances of all types like NATO, SEATO, CENTO,

Warsaw Pact, etc., and the rat race armaments.

- Non-alignment always remained averse to the ideological polarization between socialism and capitalism.
- Non-aligned countries refused to accept either bloc's economic, political, and social systems.
- These countries were interested in self-reliance in the economic sphere, they adopted revolutionary methods to achieve fast progress.
- Non-alignment is also concerned with friendly relations among all nation-states on the principle of equality, justice, and reciprocity.
- Alignments within Non-alignment, many groups formed based on regionalism, religion, ideology, security considerations, and economic cooperation have raised their heads within this movement.

Objectives

- NAM has sought to "create an independent path in world politics that would not result in member States becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers."



- It identifies the right of independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers as the three basic elements that have influenced its approach.

- At present, an additional goal is facilitating a restructuring of the international economic order.

NAM in Cold War Era

- Against Apartheid
- Disarmament
- UNSC reforms
- Failed to resolve regional tensions

India's Position

- India being a founder and largest member in NAM was an active participant in NAM meetings till the 1970s
- Following the disintegration of the USSR India's New Economic Policy and inclination towards the US raised questions over India's seriousness over non-alignment
- Prime Minister of India skipped the 17th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit held in Venezuela in 2016
- NAM continued losing relevance for India in a uni-polar world.
- India is a member of the G20 and has declared itself as a nuclear weapons power and has for all practical purposes abandoned the call for global nuclear disarmament.
- India joining the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, a coalition seen by many as a counterforce to China's rise in the Indo-Pacific and Shanghai cooperation organization led by China shown India's balancing approach in the new world order.
- India is striving hard for multi-polar world order and asserting itself as one of the players. Multi-polar world order is very much closed to NAM principles.

Relevance of NAM

- World peace
- Territorial integrity and sovereignty
- Third World nations
- Support of UN
- Equitable world order
- Cultural diversity and human rights
- Sustainable development
- Economic growth

Conclusion

- NAM as a concept can never be irrelevant, principally it provides a strong base to the foreign policy of its members.
- It should be seen as “Strategic Autonomy”, which is the need of the hour of today’s world. The principles of NAM still can guide the nations towards it.
- It should be used as a platform to raise global issues like terrorism, climate change and trade protectionism, and others.
- NAM platform can be used to garner support from South-East Asian countries like Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines against Chinese assertion in the South China Sea and related island and border disputes.
- NAM can provide a platform for Afro-Asian cooperation and a strong position for poor African nations to have healthy negotiations with China and the US for economic development without compromising the sovereignty of their land.

LOOK EAST POLICY



Introduction

- In order to recover from the loss of the strategic partner -USSR, India sought to build up a relationship with the USA and allies of the USA in Southeast Asia.
- It was developed and enacted during the government of Prime Minister Narsimha Rao (1991–1996) and rigorously pursued by the successive administrations of Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998–2004) and Manmohan Singh (2004–2014).
- India’s Look-East Policy has recently been transformed to the Act East policy (AEP)

under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

- He made the announcement at the East Asia Summit in 2014) focusing on further improvement of India’s relations with the ASEAN and the East Asian countries through commerce, culture and connectivity.

Objectives

- The objective of the look east policy is to forge social, economic and cultural relations with the countries of East Asia.



More specifically, Look East Policy envisages a three-pronged approach towards the countries of South-East Asia.

- First, to renew political contacts and understanding with ASEAN member states.
- Second, to achieve enhanced economic interactions including investment and trade, science and technology, tourism, etc. with South-East Asian countries.
- Third to strengthen defense and strategic links with these countries to achieve better understanding.

Implications of Look East Policy

- India has made several multilateral agreements with East Asian nations that have boosted India’s act east policy.
- The significant bilateral relationships:
 - India-China Relations

- India-Myanmar Relations
- India-Sri Lanka Relations
- Forums, regional groupings, or platforms that have supported India's look east policy are mentioned below:
 - BCIM – Bangladesh, China, India, and Myanmar Economic Corridor
 - BIMSTEC – Bay of Bengal Initiative of Multi-sectoral Technical and & Economic Cooperation
 - SAFTA – South Asian Free Trade Area
 - ASEAN – Association of South Eastern Asian Nations
 - EAS – East Asia Summit
 - MGC – Mekong-Ganga Cooperation

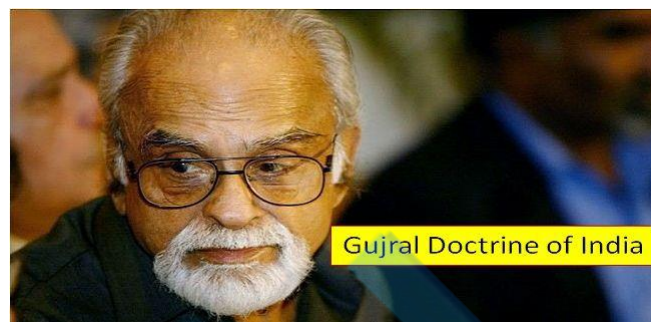
Several governmental initiatives that boosted India's Look East Policy are:

- Trans Asian highway starting from Singapore to Istanbul passing through India
- Trans Asian Railway from Delhi to Hanoi
- 800 km long Trans-National Gas Pipe Line between Myanmar, Bangladesh, and India

Significance of Look East Policy

- The North-Eastern states of India were given a direct role under the Look East Policy.
- Opening the doors for maritime-oriented look east policy by bringing in pictures of the coastal states of East India. This way it will help to build relations with southeastern nations that are dominantly coastal.
- The look east policy was seen as a step towards completing China's presence in East Asia.

GUJRAL DOCTRINE



What is the Gujral Doctrine of India?

- Gujral Doctrine is considered a milestone in India's foreign policy. It was rendered by Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral, the Minister of External Affairs in H. D. Deve Gowda Government in 1996.
- This theory says that India as a bigger country of South Asia should give one-sided concession to her small neighbors and have cordial relations with them.

Set of five principles:

1. With neighbors like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity but gives and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust.
2. No South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region.
3. No country should interfere in the internal affairs of another.
4. All South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

5. They should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations

Application of Gujral Doctrine

- The resolution of the water-sharing dispute with Bangladesh in just three months in 1996-97.
- This almost coincided with the treaty with Nepal for taming the Mahakali river for the generation of hydel power.
- It was followed by agreements with Sri Lanka for expanding development cooperation.

Also, it led to the starting of composite dialogue with Pakistan.

Relevance of Gujral Doctrine

The critics of the "Gujral Doctrine" say that the Gujral doctrine of India is a complete failure because of political instability in India's neighboring countries esp. Nepal, Bangladesh or Maldives, and Sri Lanka, are promoting anti-India forces. As per the expectations, the anti-India forces of these countries are supported by China.

But it would be wrong to say that the Gujral doctrine is a failure because all Prime Ministers of India post-Gujral government had followed the "Gujral Doctrine" without specifying the name of this doctrine.

Agra summit-2001 during the Atal Bihari government and Indian invitation to Pakistan's PM in the swearing-in ceremony of Mr. Modi in 2014; are some solid proof of the same.

Challenges to Gujral Doctrine

- China's footprint in the subcontinent
- India is unable to match the scale of resources China is able to deploy in our neighborhood to win influence.
- India's borders become transmission belts for security threats such as cross-border terrorism, contraband trade or drug trafficking.
- November 2008 Mumbai attacks, reflected the weakness of this doctrine: that 'inherent

goodwill' may not work with openly hostile neighbors.

Big brother syndrome

India has 70% area amongst all SAARC countries. all countries do not share borders with each other except Pakistan and Afghanistan. This creates the trust deficit between the members towards India. And the smaller countries are looking towards China for countering India.

Determinants and challenges of Indian foreign policy



Geographical factors

- Geographical factors are called geopolitics.
- India-a central position in Asia and occupies the largest area in South Asia.
- any big incident in the whole of Asia affects India.
- The Himalayas play an important role in determining relations with other Himalayan countries such as Nepal, Bhutan, and Myanmar.
- The desire of China to maintain its dominance in the region continuously since 1962 has a clear impact on India's foreign policy.
- India has a natural edge in the Indian Ocean.
- India's dominance over the Indian Ocean is necessary to become an important power of the Indian-Pacific region. At present, the Indian Ocean region is an important route of trade and communication for the whole world. Hence, it also plays an important role in determining the foreign policy of India.

Population

- India-second the most populous and youngest country in the world-becoming a consumption-oriented country

- in such a situation, it will fulfill the need for a big market for all the producing nations, which is the determinant of foreign policy.
- But with such a large population, problems like hunger, poverty are evident in India's foreign policy.

Government System

- India has a democratic governance system that inspires many countries of the world to accept Indian ideology, for example, ASEAN countries plagued by China look towards India because India's democracy follows the principle of peaceful coexistence.
- But many times in the parliamentary system, the role of state governments is also important in determining foreign policy, it becomes more important if there is a coalition government at the center.

Economic Development

- Economic sovereignty is of utmost importance in determining foreign policy.
- Like its policy, India had to open its markets in 1991, but after that India has become very strong financially. India's economic growth has attracted many countries.
- Today, India is an important energy consumer, with countries like Turkmenistan, Iran Russia having economic alliances with India.
- But still, the negative trade balance with China remains India's main problem.

Culture

- Kautilya's theory of a powerful kingdom with the ideals of Buddha and Gandhi shows the path of India. India's civil-civilian religious relationship is well established from many countries of the world where there are Hindu, Islam, Christian, Buddhist majorities. The basis of India-Israel relations is somewhere in the policy of all religions of India. Principles like imperialism, colonialism, opposition to armaments have been derived from the history of India which are seen in India's foreign policy today.

Regional Environment

- Regional events are also important in determining foreign policy. For example, in 1971, the alliance of China, the US, and Pakistan brought a crisis situation for India, then India got inclined towards Russia. At present, the increasing dominance of China is also a reason for the intensification of India-US relations. India has increased India's capacity and power with Look East to Act East policies and China's rise in ASEAN.

Global environment

- After globalization, when the whole world connected with each other, global factors also became important in determining foreign policy. India may oppose the move to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on environmental issues, even if there is cooperation between India and America. And this is also an example of India wants a democratic government in Afghanistan for the suppression of terrorism.
- India tries to reform the UN Security Council.

Military power

- Today India is the third most powerful country in the Army, fourth in the Air Force and sixth in the Navy. At the same time, India is rich in nuclear power. Everyone knows India dominance in space. In such a situation, they play an important role in the foreign policymaking of India.

Challenges for India's foreign policy

The global situation is in the gloom, there will be many unforeseen challenges especially in the post-COVID-19 world for India. Recent developments around the periphery of India's foreign policy, like LAC clash with China, Nepal's new map, Iran joining a virtual alliance with China, Russia getting close to China, continuous firing at LOC posed several immediate challenges to India, needs to resolve expeditiously.

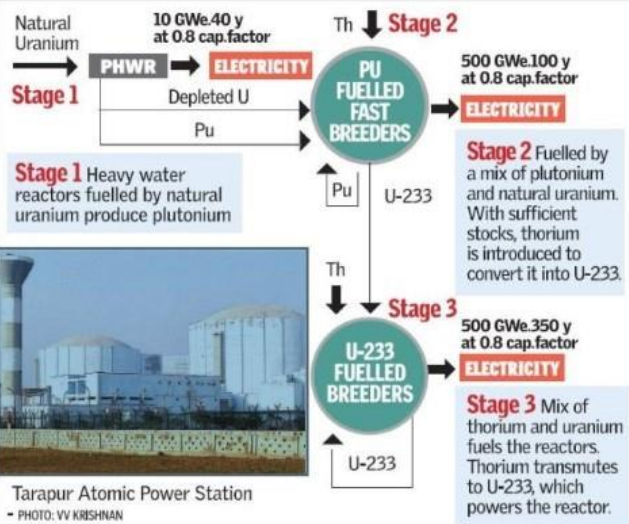
- Managing China
- Russia-Pak Closeness
- India's internal developments

- UNSC Permanent Seat
- NSG Membership

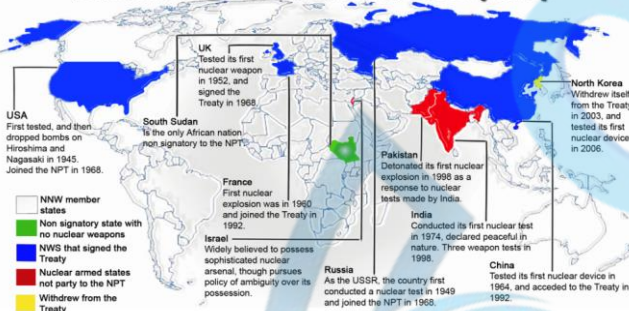
Nuclear Doctrine of India

INDIA'S THREE-STAGE NUCLEAR PROGRAMME

Homi Bhabha envisioned India's nuclear power programme in three stages to suit the country's low uranium resource profile



Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Map



What is a Nuclear Doctrine?

- A nuclear doctrine states how a nuclear weapon state would employ its nuclear weapons both during peace and war.
- The doctrine helps to establish deterrence
- Through the nuclear doctrine, a state can communicate its intention and resolve to the enemy.
- The doctrine also guides the state's response during war.

India's Nuclear Doctrine

1. Credible minimum deterrent
2. No First Use
3. Retaliation attack to inflict unacceptable damage
4. Authorized by Civilian Political Leadership
5. No nuclear attack on non-nuclear state
6. Retaliating with nuclear weapons in case of biological or chemical weapons attack
7. Strict control on export of nuclear materials
8. Commitment to the goal of nuclear weapon free world

Nuclear Command Authority

On 4 January 2003, the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) constituted NCA



Recent Developments and Current Status

- India was recently accepted as a member of three of the four major export control regimes.
- It was admitted as a member into the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in 2016, Wassenaar Arrangement in 2017 and Australia Group in 2018.
- India wanted to become member of NSG but China does not support India entry into NSG without signing the NPT by India



Advantages of NFU

- The NFU policy facilitates a restrained nuclear weapons program
- The doctrine minimizes the probability of nuclear use
- The doctrine also reduces the chances of unnecessary chaos as the onus of taking the decision to escalate a nuclear use lies on the adversary.
- Strict adherence to the doctrine can strengthen India's efforts to gain membership in Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) and United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

MINT GRAPHITI

NUCLEAR REACTION

The Indian position	The Pakistani doctrine	The new nuclear option
NEW DELHI has held that it will not be the first to initiate a nuclear strike, but will retaliate should deterrence fail.	ISLAMABAD does not espouse a no-first use policy. Its doctrine promises 'massive retaliation' to any aggression.	ADDING an element of flexibility to unconditional no first use posture can help underpin deterrence, according to analysts.

Pokhran witnessed Atalji's firm resolve to make India a nuclear power and yet remain committed to the doctrine of 'no first use'. India has adhered to this. What happens in future depends on the circumstances.

RAJNATH SINGH, Defence minister

Implications of Abandoning NFU for India

- can affect India's status as a responsible nuclear power.
- abrogate India's commitment to the universal goal of nuclear disarmament
- upset the regional balance

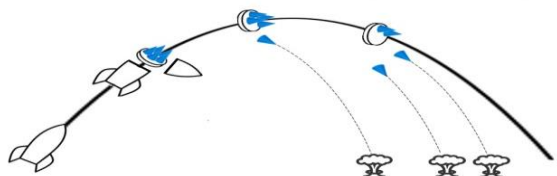
- can send a deliberate signal of provocation to China
- costly policy
- Multiple Reentry Vehicle (MRV) technology

Multiple Independently-targetable Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs)



Re-entry Vehicles carrying nuclear warheads

Each re-entry vehicle can be independently targeted - launched from one missile, but hitting different targets



Who has MIRVs?

<p>Sea-based MIRVs</p> <p>United States</p> <p>United Kingdom</p> <p>France</p>	<p>Land-based MIRVs</p> <p>China</p>	<p>Sea- and land-based MIRVs</p> <p>Russia</p>	<p>Seeking MIRVs</p> <p>Pakistan</p> <p>India</p>
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Land-based MIRVs are particularly destabilizing because many warheads on fewer missiles are vulnerable to attack, incentivizing an adversary to strike first in a time of crisis.

To learn more, visit www.armscontrolcenter.org

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Phases of Indian Foreign Policy



The first phase (1947-62): Optimistic Non-Alignment

- This period is marked with a setting of a bipolar world, with camps led by the United States and the USSR.
- India's objectives in this phase were to resist dilution of its sovereignty, rebuild its economy and consolidate its integrity.
- India was one of the first countries to be decolonized. Thus, it was natural for India to lead Asia and Africa in a quest for more equitable world order.
- In pursuit of this, India played a critical role in the establishment of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) (1961), which marked the peak of Third World solidarity.

- However, the 1962 conflict with China not only brought this period to an end but in a manner that significantly damaged India's standing on NAM.



The second phase (1962-71): Decade of Realism and Recovery

- After the 1962 war, India made pragmatic choices on security and political challenges.
- It looked beyond non-alignment in the interest of national security, concluding a now largely forgotten defence agreement with the US in 1964.
- However, India faced external pressures on Kashmir (Tashkent agreement 1965) from the US and UK.
- Through the Tashkent agreement both India and Pakistan agreed to withdraw all armed forces to pre-war positions, to restore diplomatic relations; and to discuss economic, refugee, and other questions.
- However, the agreement did not contain a no-war pact or any renunciation of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir (as Pakistan was an ally of the US).
- Therefore, India now started tilting towards USSR.

The third phase (1971-91): Greater Indian Regional Assertion

- India showed remarkable use of hard power when it liberated Bangladesh in the India-Pakistan war in 1971.
- However, it was a particularly complex phase as the US-China-Pakistan axis that came into being at this time seriously threatened India's prospects, as a regional power.

- India also faced sanctions from US and it allies after conducting a Peaceful nuclear explosion test in 1974 (Pokhran I).
- Further, the collapse of the USSR, India's close ally, and the economic crisis in 1991 compelled India to look again at the first principles of both domestic and foreign policy.
- The combination of events as diverse as the Gulf War (1991-1992), the break-up of USSR (1991), long-standing economic stagnation and domestic turbulence came together in 1991, creating a balance of payment crisis in India.

The fourth phase (1991-98): Safeguarding Strategic Autonomy

- The emergence of a unipolar world (led by the USA), encouraged India to change its approach to world affairs.
- This quest for strategic autonomy was particularly focused on securing its nuclear weapon option (Pokhran II 1998).
- This is a period where India reached out to engage the US, Israel, and ASEAN countries more intensively.

This fifth phase (1998-2013): India, a Balancing Power

- In this period, India gradually acquired the attributes of a balancing power (against the rise of China).
- It is reflected in the India-US nuclear deal (123 Agreement).

- At the same time, India could also make common cause with China on climate change and trade, and consolidate further ties with Russia while helping to fashion BRICS into a major global forum.

The sixth phase (2013-until now): Energetic Engagement

- In this phase of transitional geopolitics, India's policy of Non-Alignment has turned into Multi Alignment.
- Moreover, India is now more aware of its own capabilities and the expectations that the world has of India.
- That India is among the major economies of the world is one factor.
- The relevance of India's talent in creating and sustaining global technology, is also likely to grow in time.
- India's willingness to shape key global negotiations (such as conference in Paris on climate change) is equally significant.
- India has been able to assert itself beyond South Asia, through its approach towards the Indian Ocean Region (SAGAR initiative) and the extended neighborhood (Act East policy and Think West policy).

"The long-sustained image of India as a leader of the oppressed and marginalized nations has disappeared on account of its newfound role in the emerging global order." Elaborate (2019)

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