

Contents

Chapter 1 – Evolution of Indian Foreign Policy..... 9

Basic Terms and Concepts for International Relations..... 9

Indian Foreign Policy Evolution..... 10

What is Panchsheel?..... 10

Analysis of Panchsheel..... 10

Relevance of Panchsheel..... 11

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)..... 11

Introduction 11

Characteristics of Non-Alignment..... 11

Objectives..... 12

NAM in Cold War Era 12

India's Position 12

Relevance of NAM..... 12

Conclusion..... 13

Look East Policy 13

Introduction 13

Objectives..... 13

Implications of Look East Policy 14

Significance of Look East Policy..... 14

Gujral Doctrine..... 14

What is the Gujral Doctrine of India? 14

Application of Gujral Doctrine 15

Relevance of Gujral Doctrine 15

Challenges to Gujral Doctrine 15

Big brother syndrome 15

Determinants and challenges of Indian foreign policy 15

Geographical factors 15

Population 16

Government System 16

Economic Development 16

Culture..... 16

Regional Environment..... 16

Global environment 16

Military power 16

Challenges for India's foreign policy 17

Nuclear Doctrine of India 17

What is a Nuclear Doctrine? 17

Advantages of NFU 17

Phases of Indian Foreign Policy 18

The first phase (1947-62): Optimistic Non-Alignment..... 18

The second phase (1962-71): Decade of Realism and Recovery 18

The third phase (1971-91): Greater Indian Regional Assertion 19

The fourth phase (1991-98): Safeguarding Strategic Autonomy 19

The fifth phase (1998-2013): India, a Balancing Power 19

The sixth phase (2013-until now): Energetic Engagement 19

Chapter 2 – Recent Policies..... 21

Neighborhood first policy of India 21

Salient features 21

Challenges to India's Neighborhood First Policy..... 21

Measures adopted by India to tackle Challenges 22

Conclusion..... 23

India's Act East policy 23

Aim 23

Challenges to Act East Policy 24

Link/Look West Policy of India..... 24

Advantages of the 'Look-West' Policy 25

India's Strategy in Indian Ocean 26

Background 26

Importance of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR)... 26

Importance for India 26

Issues in Indian Ocean Region (IOR) 27

Chinese challenge for India..... 27

India's View of IOR..... 27

India's Presence in Indian Ocean Region 27

Soft Power and Hard Power Diplomacy .28

Soft Power.....	28
Examples of soft power.....	28
Hard Power	28

Space diplomacy of India.....29

What is Space Diplomacy?	29
Space As a tool for India's Foreign Policy.....	29
Indian initiatives in Space Diplomacy.....	29

Middle Power Coalition.....30

Political significance	30
Global rise	31
Energy requirements.....	31
Countering China	31
Economic significance	31
Nuclear energy	31
Defence	31

Indian Public Diplomacy and Para diplomacy.....31

Public Diplomacy Division	31
What is Para diplomacy?.....	32
State's influence on foreign policy?.....	32
Recent changes	32
Way Forward.....	32

The Indian Diaspora.....32

Diaspora Diplomacy	33
Role of Diaspora in Indian foreign policy	33
Soft power.....	33
Remittances	34
Challenges Faced by Indian Diaspora.....	34

Chapter 3 – India & Its Neighbours.....35**South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)35**

Areas of Cooperation	35
The Objectives of the SAARC	35
SAARC Achievements.....	35
Significance for India.....	35
Challenges.....	36

Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)..... 36

Areas of BIMSTEC cooperation	36
Associated Challenges.....	37

Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Initiative..... 37

What is it?	37
Objective.....	37
Benefits.....	37
Assistance from ADB.....	37

Chapter 4 – India-China Relations.....38**India-China Border Dispute 38**

Western Border Dispute	38
Middle Sector.....	38
Eastern Border Dispute.....	38
Line of Actual Control (LAC).....	39
Attempts to Resolve the Issue	39
Recent conflict	40

Peaceful Rise of China and India's Response..... 40

Timeline of Diplomatic Relations.....	40
---------------------------------------	----

Belt and Road Initiative of China 42

What is the One Belt One Road initiative?	42
Objectives of the OBOR	42
Why India has not Joined BRI?.....	43
Geo-Political Challenges Posed by BRI to India .	43
Way Ahead for India	43
Steps taken by India.....	43

21st Century Maritime Silk Road..... 44

Objectives	44
Challenges.....	45

String of Pearls strategy of China 45

Impact on India	45
Steps taken by India to counter string of pearls	45

India's trade deficit with China 47

What is Trade Deficit?.....	47
Reasons for Trade Deficit.....	47

What needs to do to reduce trade deficit?.....	48	Reasons for India's Withdrawal	57
Measures Taken to Reduce Import Dependence on China	48	Reasons For India to Review	58
Project Mausam	48	Conclusion.....	58
What is Project 'Mausam'?	49	China's plans for new dams on Brahmaputra River	58
Objective	49	About China's plan for dams.....	59
Scheme.....	49	Reasons for developing dams on the Brahmaputra	59
Benefits	49	Brahmaputra river	59
Comparison with Maritime silk route project....	49	Importance of Brahmaputra to India.....	59
Project Sagarmala	50	Rules or statutes governing Brahmaputra water sharing	60
South China Sea Dispute and India's Stand	50	Impacts of China's Dams on India.....	60
Strategic Importance.....	50	Challenges in bilateral Cooperation on dam construction.....	60
Reasons For Dispute in the South China Sea	50	Suggestions for India.....	61
China's Claim.....	51	Chapter 5 – India-Pakistan Relations	62
Other Issues	51	India-Pakistan border dispute.....	62
India's Stand.....	51	Background	62
US-China Rivalry and Its Impact on India	52	Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan	62
Background	52	Siachen Glacier.....	63
Concerns for India.....	52	Saltoro Ridge.....	63
Way forward	53	Sir Creek	63
India's Necklace of Diamonds Strategy ..	53	Kashmir Issue.....	63
Background	53	History of J&K.....	63
Necklace of Diamonds Strategy	53	Accession of J&K to India	63
Changi Naval base, Singapore.....	54	Delhi Agreement.....	64
Chabahar Port in Iran.....	54	J&K Constitution	64
Assumption Island, Seychelles	54	J&K after Accession.....	64
Sabang Port, Indonesia	54	The Current Stand of India – Regarding Kashmir Question.....	65
Duqm Port, Oman	55	Who are the Kashmir Separatists?	65
India's Strategic Cooperation.....	55	What do Separatists demand?	65
Challenges to India's strategy	55	Demand for intra-state autonomy.....	65
China's Debt Trap Diplomacy.....	55	Article 370: Changes made via Presidential order of 2019	65
How does it work	56	Change of status: Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act, 2019.....	65
What concessions are demanded by China?	56		
Has India been impacted by the debt trap diplomacy?	56		
Salami slicing strategy of China.....	57		
RCEP & India	57		

Conclusion.....	66	Historical Ties.....	77
Indus Water Treaty (IWT).....	66	Treaty of Sugauli (1816).....	77
Indus River System.....	66	India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship (1950).....	77
Indus Water Treaty	67	Criticism of Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty.....	77
Indus Waters Treaty – Provisions.....	67	Turbulent Indo-Nepal Relations (1960-90).....	78
India-Pak Disputes Connecting Indus: Timeline.....	67	Crisis in Nepal in 2001.....	78
Cross-Border Terrorism	68	Importance of Nepal.....	78
What is Cross-Border Terrorism?.....	68	Current Issues in India Nepal Relations	78
Indo-Pakistan Border	68	Trade & Transit Issues.....	78
Recent shift of India’s foreign policy towards Pakistan.....	68	Indo-Nepal Border Disputes	78
Steps Taken by India	69	Human Trafficking and Counterfeit Currency....	79
Gilgit-Baltistan Issue	69	Madhesi Crisis in 2015	79
Background of the Gilgit-Baltistan Issue	70	Future Roadmap for India.....	79
Administration of Gilgit Baltistan.....	70	Future Roadmap for Nepal	79
India’s stance regarding Gilgit Baltistan.....	70	Challenges.....	80
Latest Developments regarding the Gilgit-Baltistan Issue	70	Way Forward.....	80
Balochistan from India’s Perspective	71	Nepal's tilt towards China	80
About Balochistan	71	List of important agreements/MOUs	81
Issue of Balochistan.....	71	Why is Nepal increasing its interests in China? .	81
How is this Issue Connected to India?	72	Why cannot China replace India?	81
Why Balochistan is Important for India?	72	Way Forward.....	81
Chapter 6 – India-Bhutan Relations	73	Nepal-Bharat Maitri	82
India - Bhutan Relations	73	Chapter 8 – India-Afghanistan Relations	83
Introduction	73	India-Afghanistan Relations.....	83
Indo-Bhutan Treaty of Peace and Friendship	73	Afghan – a ‘Graveyard of empires’	83
The New Treaty of Friendship 2007	73	History of India-Afghan relations.....	83
Bhutan’s Significance to India	73	Why Afghanistan is important to India?.....	83
Why Bhutan is special to India.....	74	Challenges.....	84
Areas of Cooperation	74	Dent in India’s Goodwill.....	84
What is bothering China?.....	75	Exclusion of India	85
Challenges.....	75	Joe Biden’s Afghanistan peace plan.....	85
Way Forward.....	76	India’s concerns about the Peace deal	86
Chapter 7 – India-Nepal Relations	77	India’s stand on Afghan peace process	86
India-Nepal Relations	77	Way Forward.....	86
		Moscow Format.....	87
		Background	87

Analysis	87
India's approach.....	88
Way Forward for India	88

Chapter 9 – India-Bangladesh Relations89

India-Bangladesh Relations	89
Introduction	89
Bangladesh since Independence.....	89
Bangladesh Post-Independence.....	89
India-Bangladesh relations so far.....	89
Challenges in India-Bangladesh relations	91
Why India needs Bangladesh?	92
Latest Updates	93
Suggestions to Improve India-Bangladesh relations	93

Chapter 10 – India-Myanmar Relations94

India-Myanmar Relations.....	94
Background	94
Muti-faceted Relationship	94
Geo-Strategic Location of Myanmar	94
India Myanmar Relations Challenges.....	95
Way Forward.....	95
Military Coup in Myanmar	96
Global Reaction	96
India's response	97
Implications of the Coup for India	97
Way Forward.....	97

Chapter 11 – India-Maldives Relations98

India – Maldives Relations	98
Cooperation Between India & Maldives	98
Challenges in Relations	99
Way Forward.....	99

Chapter 12 – India-Sri Lanka Relations 100

India – Sri Lanka Relations	100
--	------------

Historical times	100
Contemporary times.....	100
Cultural and Educational Relations.....	101
Indian Community	101
Trade Relations	102
Defense and Security Cooperation	102
The Fishermen Issue	102
Issues of Tamilians in Sri Lanka.....	103
Concerns for India.....	103
India - Sri Lanka Confidence Building Measures	103

Chapter 13 – Indian Ocean Region & Indo-Pacific Region 105

Importance of Indian Ocean Region (IOR) for Indian security	105
Strategic significance of Indo-Pacific region for India	107
Significance for India.....	107
Chinese threat and increasing presence.....	107
How India should tackle Chinese dominance in Indo-Pacific region?	108

Chapter 14 - India & its extended Neighbourhood..... 109

India-Singapore Relations	109
Defence and Security Cooperation	110
Science & Technology Cooperation	110
Cultural Cooperation	110
India-Indonesia Relations.....	110
Facts about Indonesia	110
Introduction	111
Background	111
Importance of Indonesia.....	111
Economic and cultural relationship	111
Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	112
Bilateral Exercises	112
Concerns / Challenges	112
Way Forward.....	113
India - Thailand Relations.....	113
Introduction	113

Bilateral Institutional Mechanisms	114
Military and security relations	114
Economic & Commercial Partnership	114
Connectivity	114
Culture.....	114
Indian Diaspora	115
Way Forward.....	115
India -Vietnam Relations	115
Defence cooperation.....	116
Economic Cooperation.....	116
Cultural.....	117
Conclusion.....	117
India-ASEAN Relations	117
Why does India need ASEAN?.....	118
Areas of cooperation.....	118
Funds.....	119
Chapter 15 - India & Central and West Asia	120
Connect central Asia policy of India	120
Significance of Central Asia for India	120
Energy security - uranium and oil and gas	120
Challenges for India.....	121
India-Mongolia Relations	121
International Cooperation	121
Economic Cooperation.....	121
Cooperation over Environmental Issues.....	122
Cultural Relations.....	122
Other Possible Areas of Cooperation.....	122
Way Forward.....	122
India-west Asia.....	122
Importance of West Asia.....	122
Challenges	123
India-Iran Relations	123
Background	123
Economic relations.....	124
Why does India need closer ties with Iran?	124
Why Iran is more than just an Oil Supplier to India?.....	125

India-Israel Relations..... 125

Historical Ties.....	125
Prospects for Relationship	125
Economic Cooperation.....	126
Defence Cooperation.....	126
Challenges in India Israel Relationship	126
Way Forward.....	126

India - Saudi Arabia Relations 126

Importance of Saudi Arabia for India.....	127
Areas of cooperation	127
Migrants workers.....	127
Reasons of Migration.....	128
Challenges faced by Indian migrants	128

Chapter 16 - India-Africa Relations 129**India-Africa relations** 129

Trade.....	129
India's other engagements with African nations	129
Latest Challenges in India-Africa relations.....	129
Way forward	129
Indian Diaspora.....	130
India and South Africa.....	130

Chapter 17 - India-Europe Relations 131**India-Europe Relations** 131

What is the European Union?.....	131
Background	131
Natural Partners.....	131
India's economic relationship with the EU	131
Free Trade Agreement.....	132
The nuclear pact	132
First India-Nordic Summit.....	132
European Refugee Crisis	133
Germany's unilateral effort	133
India's position.....	134
Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)	134

Roadblocks to India-EU Free Trade Agreement	134
Suggestions for India	134
Conclusion	135
India-France Relations	135
Background	135
Economic relations	135
Scientific and technical cooperation	135
Climate change	135
Clean- environment friendly technologies	136
Political relations	136
Way Forward	136
India-UK Relations	136
Needing Each Other	136
Post-Brexit Britain	137
Economic Relation	137
Political	137
Challenges	137
New Opportunities	137
Conclusion	138
Chapter 18 – India-US Relations	139
India-U.S. Bilateral Relations	139
Political Relations	139
High-Level Dialogue Mechanisms	139
India – U.S. Economic and Financial Partnership	140
India-U.S. Trade Policy Forum	140
India-U.S. Strategic Energy Partnership	140
India-U.S. Homeland Security Dialogue (HSD)	140
Trade Relations	140
Defence and Security	140
BECA	141
LEMOA	141
COMCASA	141
Energy and Climate Change	141
US left the Paris Agreement	142
Science & Tech: Space Cooperation	142
India out of Developing Countries	143

H-1B and H-4 Visas	143
Diaspora and people to people ties	143
Impact of Biden’s Presidency on India	143
Areas of Contention	144

Chapter 19 – India-Russia Relations

India-Russia Relations	146
Historical relationship	146
Post-Soviet era	146
Importance of Russia for India	146
Importance of India for Russia	146
Challenges	147
Way Forward	147
Conclusion	147
Political relations	147
Economic relations	147
Defence relations	148
Anti-terrorism relations	148
Space relations	148
Other relations	148
Stagnation between India-Russia Relations	148

Chapter 20 – India Australia Relations

India - Australia Relations	150
Transforming relations between India-Australia	150
Growing convergence on issues	150
Bilateral security cooperation	150
Partnership with like-minded countries	150
Issues in deeper economic integration	151
Conclusion	151

Chapter 21 – India-Canada Relations

India-Canada relationship	152
Background	152
Trade and Economy	152
Cooperation in Energy sectors	152
S&T and Space	152

Indian Diaspora	152
Education Sector	153
Challenges	153
Suggestions	153

Chapter 22 – India-Japan Relations 155

Indo-Japan Relations.....	155
Pre-Independence.....	155
Post-Independence	155
1990s onwards	155
Economic and Trade Cooperation.....	155
Investment	156
Security and Defense	156
Cultural.....	156
Energy	156
Challenges	156

Chapter 23 – International Organizations 158

The United Nations	158
The birth of the United Nations	158
Main goals of the UN since its creation	158
Achievements and failures of the UN	158
The main organs of the UN	159
India and UNSC Reforms	160
UNSC Reforms Agenda.....	160
Changes in geopolitical realities since UNSC's formation	160
Arguments for India's permanent membership	160
What will be India's agenda during its Presidency?	161
BRICS.....	161
Significance of BRICS	161
BRICS Priorities	162
Challenges with the BRICS	162
New Development Bank	162
Objectives.....	162

Commonwealth of Nations..... 162

Background	163
Members of Commonwealth.....	163
Latest developments	163
India and Commonwealth.....	163
Issues with the Commonwealth	164
Importance of Commonwealth.....	164

Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) 164

What is SCO?.....	164
Objectives	165
Guiding Principle – Based on Shanghai Spirit ..	165
Structure	165
Strengths of SCO	165
Challenges for SCO.....	165
Importance for India	165
21 st SCO Summit	166
India's Stand.....	166

Bretton Woods Institutions – IMF 166

Objective.....	166
Functions.....	166
IMF and India	166
IMF's Criticism.....	167
IMF Reforms.....	168

The World Trade Organization (WTO) 168

Origin of WTO	168
About	168
Members.....	168
Ministerial Conference	168
General Council.....	168
Objectives	169
Achievements	169
Recent Challenges.....	169
Way Forward.....	169
Doha Declaration	169
Singapore Issues	169

Chapter 1 – Evolution of Indian Foreign Policy

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.

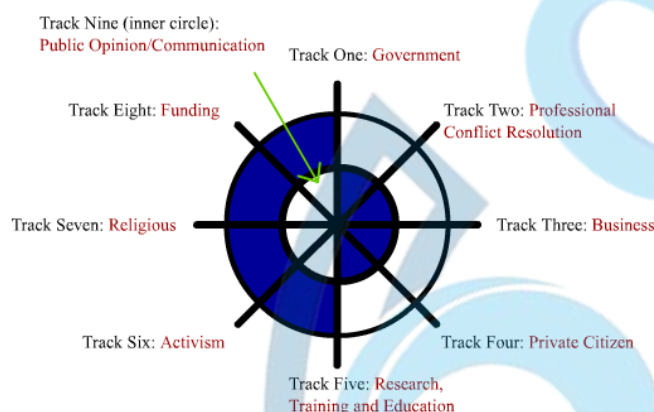
Rogue states: States that operate outside the international frameworks or agreements.

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

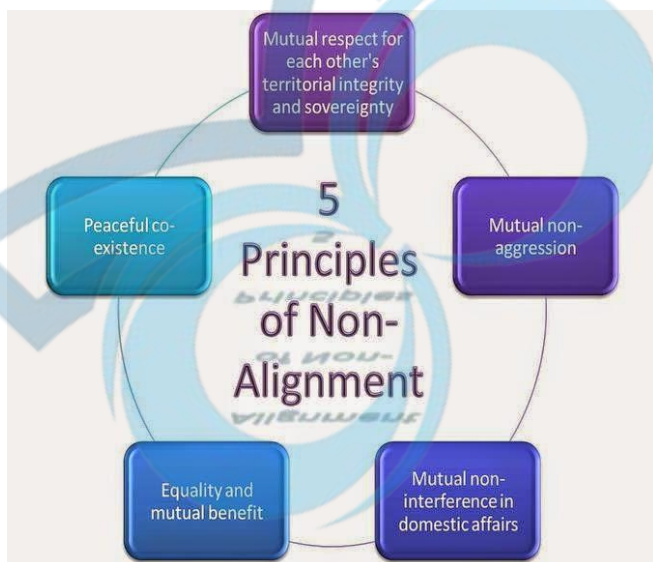
- The non-aligned movement was a reaction against the cold war.
- Non-alignment opposed military alliances of all types like NATO, SEATO, CENTO,

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

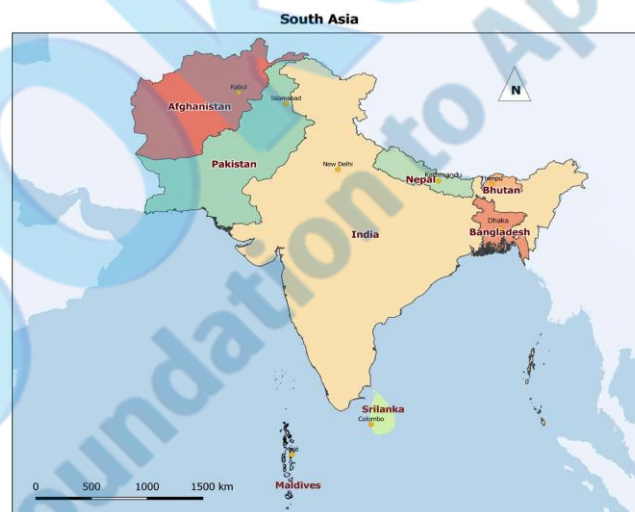
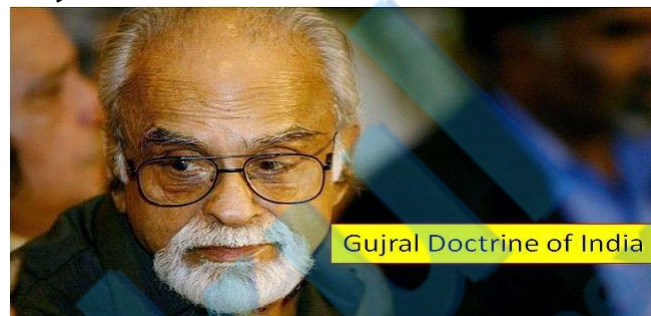
Significance of Look East Policy

- 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

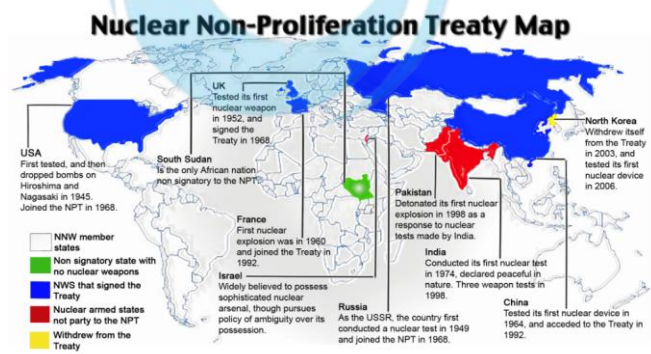
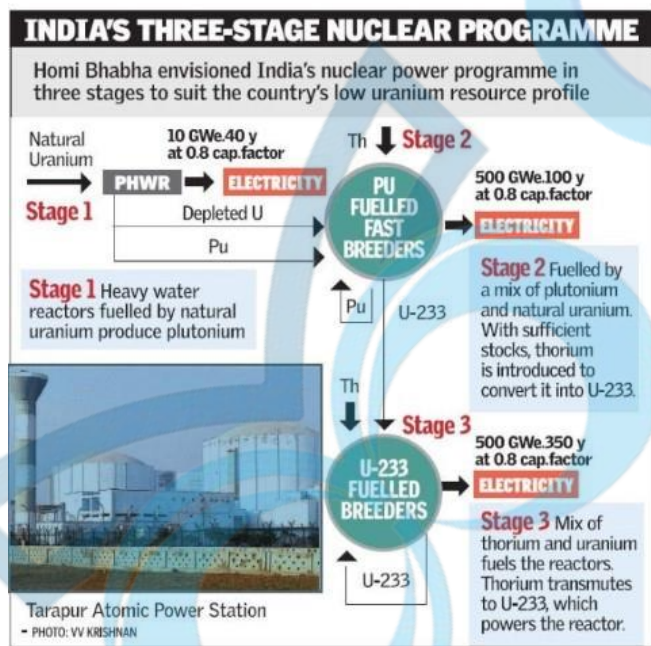
situation, they play an important role in the foreign policymaking of India.

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.

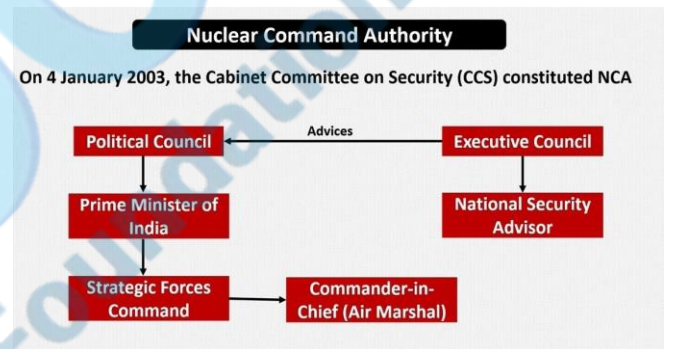
- Managing China
- Russia-Pak Closeness
- India's internal developments
- UNSC Permanent Seat
- NSG Membership

Nuclear Doctrine of India



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.



- 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. It's 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.

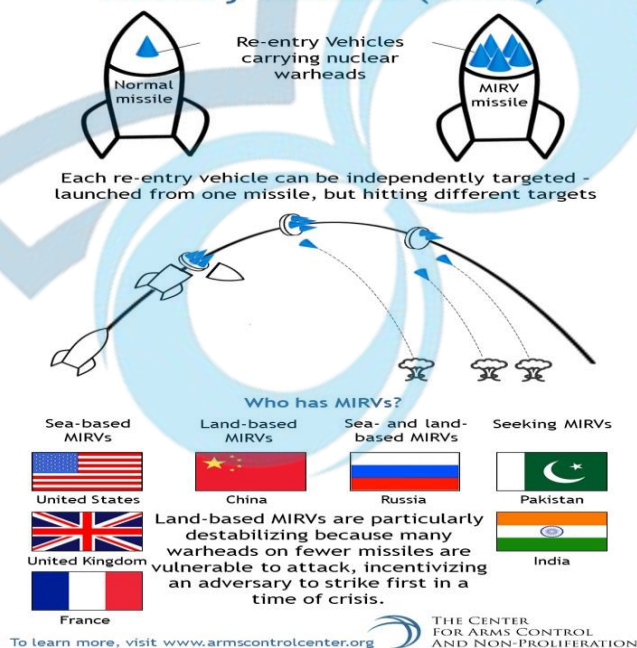
Pokhran witnessed Atalji's firm resolve to make India a nuclear power and yet remain committed to the doctrine of 'no first use'. India has adhered to this. What happens in future depends on the circumstances.
 RAJNATH SINGH, Defence minister



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)



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

Who has MIRVs?

Sea-based MIRVs	Land-based MIRVs	Sea- and land-based MIRVs	Seeking MIRVs
United States	China	Russia	Pakistan
United Kingdom	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.		India
France			

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 its 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 (1990-1991), 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.

The 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)



Chapter 2 – Recent Policies

Neighborhood first policy of India



What is the Neighborhood first policy?

- It is part of India's foreign policy that actively focuses on improving ties with India's immediate neighbors which is being termed as Neighborhood first policy in the media
- It was started well by inviting all heads of state/heads of government of South Asian countries in his inauguration of PM Modi first term and later held bilateral talks with all of them individually which was dubbed as a mini SAARC summit.
- PM Modi made his first foreign visit to Bhutan in his first term.

Salient features

Immediate priority to neighbors: Priority is to improve the relations with immediate neighbors as peace and tranquility in South Asia is essential for realizing the development agenda.

Dialogue: It focuses on vigorous regional diplomacy by engaging with neighboring nations and building political connectivity through dialogue. The first initiative in this direction was extending an invitation to all heads of government of SAARC countries for the oath-taking ceremony of the Prime minister in 2014.

Resolving bilateral issues: The focus is on resolving bilateral issues through mutual agreement. For instance, India and Bangladesh

have signed a pact to operationalize the historic Land Boundary Agreement (LBA).

Connectivity: India has entered into an MoU with members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). These agreements ensure a free flow of resources, energy, goods, labour, and information across borders.

Economic Cooperation: It focuses on enhancing trade ties with neighbors. India has participated and invested in SAARC as a vehicle for development in the region. One such example is the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) grouping for energy development i.e. motor vehicles, waterpower management and inter-grid connectivity.

Technical Cooperation: The policy put emphasis on technical cooperation. Recently a dedicated SAARC satellite was developed to share the fruits of the technology like tele-medicine, e-learning etc. with people across South Asia.

Disaster management: India's offer cooperation on disaster response, resource management, weather forecasting and communication and also capabilities and expertise in disaster management for all South Asian citizens. For example, India provided immense assistance to its neighbor Nepal in the aftermath of the 2016 earthquake.

Military and defense cooperation: India is also focusing on deepening security in the region through military cooperation. Various exercises like Surya Kiran with Nepal, Sampriti with Bangladesh aim to strengthen defense relations. Also, India has committed to play a greater role in the capacity building of the Afghan National Army by providing training to them.

Challenges to India's Neighborhood First Policy

- COVID-19 Challenge

- China doubled down on territorial claims and its transgressions along its borders with South Asia i.e. from Ladakh to Arunachal Pradesh, leading to violent clashes.



- China also laid claim to Bhutan's Sakteng natural reserves and pushed along the boundary lines with Nepal, all of which changed India's strategic calculations along its Himalayan frontiers.



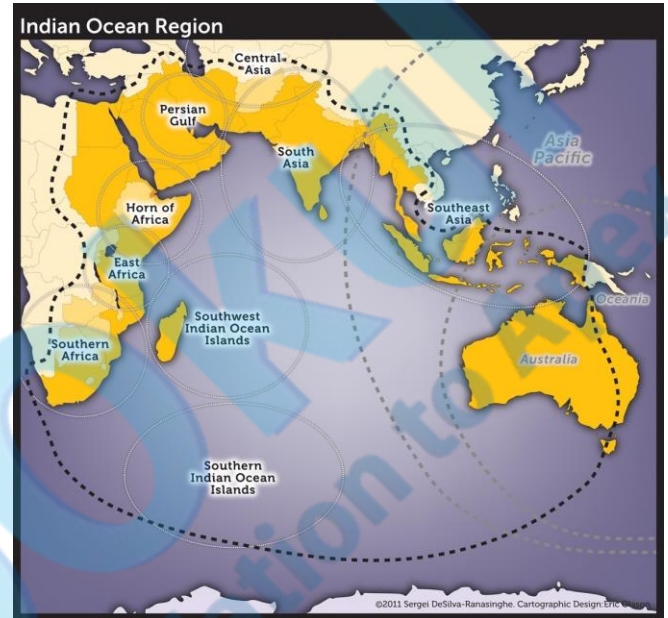
- India and Nepal saw their worst tensions in decades over the construction of a road to Lipulekh, leading to Nepal amending its constitution and map to claim Indian Territory.



- A new defense pact between China and Pakistan vis-à-vis a sharp rise in ceasefire violations along the Line of Control (LoC) with Pakistan to the highest levels since 2003, has made it clear that India must factor in among its military challenges at the LAC.

Measures adopted by India to tackle Challenges

- India's military ran a series of missions to SAARC countries and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) with supplies of food and medicines, and India's 'Vande Bharat' mission flew home nationals from neighboring countries.



- The government's response to the challenges has been to assert its Neighborhood First and **SAGAR** (Security and Growth for All in the Region) strategies as foreign policy priorities.



- India has also upped its game on infrastructure delivery, particularly for regional connectivity in the past year, including completing railway lines to Bangladesh and Nepal, riverine projects, ferry service to the Maldives, identifying other services to Sri Lanka and IOR islands.

Conclusion

India's immediate neighborhood directly impacts it geopolitically, geo-strategically and geo-economically because of its vicinity. Thus, working with them is important for India to rise as a superpower. Emphasis must be on sustainable and inclusive development.

India's Act East policy



Aim

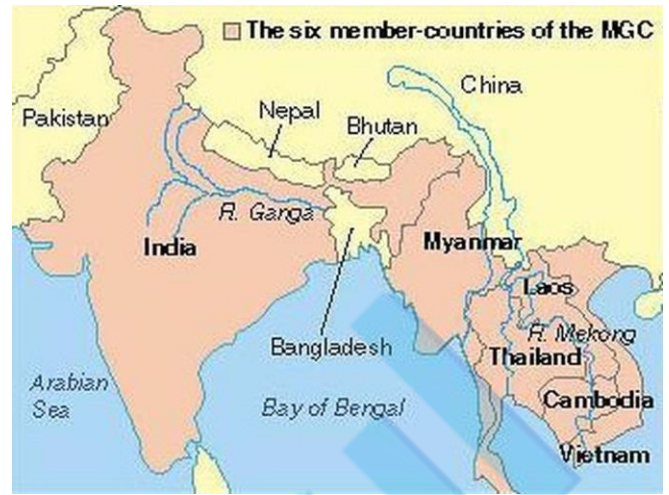
To promote economic cooperation, cultural ties, and developing a strategic relationship with countries in the Indo-pacific region with a proactive and pragmatic approach and thereby improving the economic development of the North Eastern Region (NER) which is a gateway to the South East Asia Region.

Initiatives to Enhance Connectivity:

Agartala-Akhaura Rail Link between India and Bangladesh



- **Ministry for Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER)** will bear the cost of laying **5.46 km** track on the **Indian side** while the cost of laying **10.6 km** track on the **Bangladesh side** is being borne by the **Ministry of External Affairs**.



Challenges to Act East Policy



Link/Look West Policy of India



- After successfully implementing a "Look East" policy to promote trade and investment with its Asian neighbors, India has adopted a similar policy toward West Asia.



- India-Japan Act East Forum was established in 2017 which aims to provide a platform for India-Japan collaboration under the rubric of India's "Act East Policy" and Japan's "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy".
- The Forum will identify specific projects for economic modernization of India's North-East region including those pertaining to connectivity, developmental infrastructure, industrial linkages as well as people-to-people contacts through tourism, culture, and sports-related activities.

Further, apart from ASEAN, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and East Asia Summit (EAS), India has also been actively engaged in regional forum such as the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (**BIMSTEC**), Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) and Mekong Ganga Cooperation (MGC).

The MGC aims at facilitating closer contacts among the people inhabiting these two major river basins and enhancing cooperation in tourism, culture, education, transport and communications.

- The Gulf region has become a major economic partner, is home to over 4 million Indians, and a major source of oil and gas.
- This has resulted in increased interaction, enhanced trade and economic relations, and the launch of negotiations towards FTA with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries.



Geographically, the Gulf is India's extended neighborhood and the only link with the no less vital Central Asia, with Pakistan denying this country transit rights and Afghanistan having sunk into chaos.

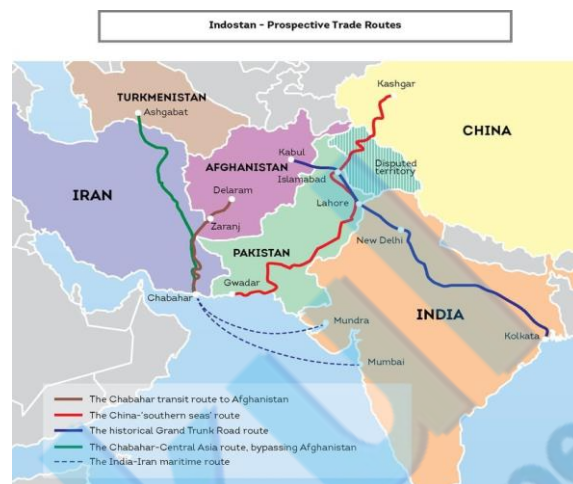
Historically, the relationship between the subcontinent and the Gulf goes back to ancient days. Britain controlled the Gulf littoral tightly because of its overwhelming strategic importance for the defence of India, the brightest jewel in the crown. The region has more to it than just being a centre of Israel-Arab confrontation.

The geographical extent of what was West Asia has greatly expanded since the collapse of the USSR and is now called the "Greater Middle East". This region shares a long historical association with India. It is the source of India's ever-expanding need for energy. It is also a huge market for Indian goods, services and skilled manpower.

Advantages of the 'Look-West' Policy

- A constructive and dauntless "look-west" policy from India would acknowledge the geopolitical significance of Pakistan.
- Rather than being an obstacle, Pakistan could become a link between the Indian subcontinent and the energy-rich region.

- Pakistan could also act as a transit route for the movement of people, goods and energy between India and the West Asian region.



INDIA'S MAJOR PROJECTS

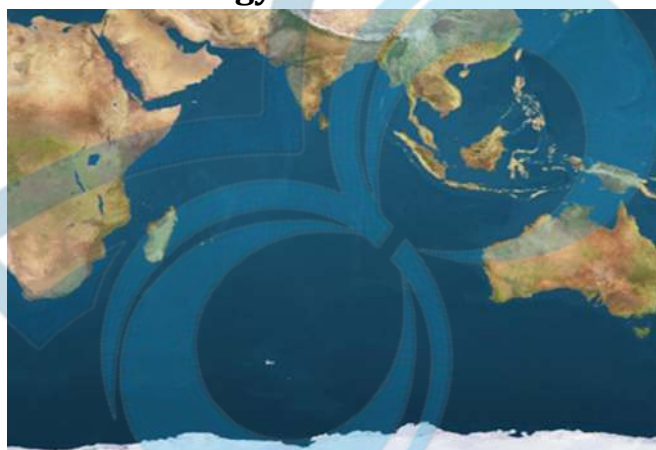
Total aid \$844 million

- Salma Hydel power project, Herat; cost \$109.3m
- A 218 km road linking Delaram to Zaranj; cost \$84m
- New Parliament building; cost \$75m
- 220 KV transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul; 220/110/20 KV substation at Kabul; cost \$111m

- Pakistan has begun to move the self-perception of its location from geopolitics to geo-economics.
- More importantly, Pakistan's 'Look East' Policy had developed considerably as evident from its admission into the security arm of the ASEAN.
- India will gain overland access to Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Currently, India has to circumnavigate Pakistan and get access to Afghanistan through Iran.
- The essence of this policy was that an India-Pakistan reconciliation would be meaningful because it would increase the potential for regional economic integration in the subcontinent and also trans-regional cooperation between countries in Central Asia, South Asia and the Gulf.

- Resolving the Kashmir issue is vital for unleashing the geo-economic potential of the region. Pakistan itself has delinked its Kashmir issue with India and the construction of pipelines overland from Iran and Central Asia to India.
- The building of pipelines across Pakistan's territory would also make it easy to construct highways linking India with Afghanistan and Iran.
- India could offer to negotiate trade and transit treaties involving all the 4 nations.
- India could also suggest cooperation with Pakistan in encouraging free trade between South Asia and the Gulf Cooperation Council. Any permanent resolution of the Kashmir issue would inevitably involve creative political cooperation across the divided state. It would also necessitate the complete normalization of Indo-Pak relations.
- Projects like interconnected electricity grids, natural gas pipelines, and transnational highway roads will realize the new strategic conception of Pakistan as India's gateway to the West. India, in turn, will be Pakistan's gateway to the East.

India's Strategy in Indian Ocean

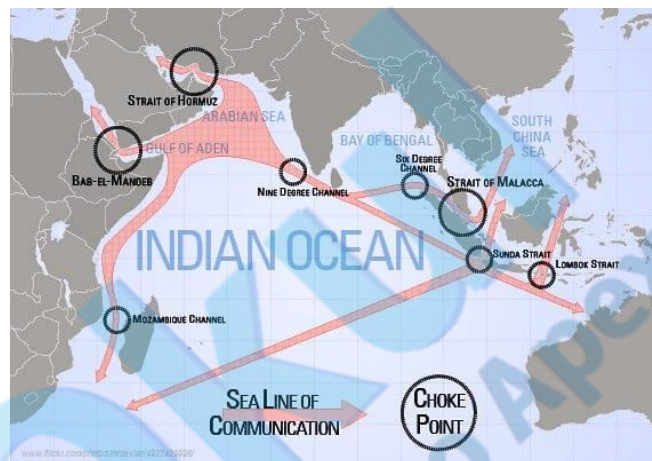


Background

- The Indian Ocean is the third-largest water body of the world that has vital sea lanes of communication crisscrossing it and which feeds Asia's largest economies.
- More than 80 percent of the world's seaborne trade in oil transits through the

Indian Ocean choke points through the Strait of Hormuz, the Strait of Malacca, and the Bab el-Mandab Strait.

- Indian Ocean Region has around 40% of the total world population, with countries having the fastest-growing population.



Importance of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR)

- Around 40% of the world's oil and gas reserves
- 60 percent of uranium, 40 percent of gold, and 98 percent of the world's supply of diamonds.
- marine food potentiality
- The mineral resources, especially those which are vital for the defense-related industries, is an important factor that has made Africa strategically important for the western powers.
- raw materials and agricultural products.
- links the West to the East.

Importance for India

- The poly metallic nodules in the deep sea beds are a rich source of metals containing manganese, nickel, cobalt, copper, and uranium. India is one of very few countries in the world to have developed the technology to extract minerals from the deep sea bed.
- The Indian peninsula lies surrounded by the Indian Ocean in its three sides, a reality that has strategic implications.

- India imports 70 % of its oil requirements, which is met through maritime imports.

Almost 95 % of Indian trade moves by sea, and the living marine resources help in achieving food security.

With India moving towards a Blue Economy-the stability, peace and sustainability is essential for India's growth and development.

Issues in Indian Ocean Region (IOR)

- Piracy – The International Maritime Bureau reports a high risk for piracy and armed robbery against ships, particularly in the Gulf of Aden, along the east coast of Africa and the Strait of Malacca.
- Presence of China
- Traditional challenges– maritime boundary, border issues between the countries surrounding the ocean.
- Non-traditional challenges– the issue of maritime governance – biodiversity threats, climate change, sea-level changes, human trafficking, piracy, maritime terrorism, and unscientific fishing.



Chinese challenge for India

- India-China disputes were largely a land-air contingency. Now, the presence of China in the IOR adds the third dimension (Maritime).
- As China is improving its naval capacity, showcasing its power has seen a shift from Indo-pacific towards IOR.
- Gwadar Port of Pakistan, under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), is considered to be a threat to India's interests in Iran's Chabahar Port.

- China has signed a 10-year contract with Djibouti under which, Djibouti would serve “as a logistics hub for China to be able to extend their reach”.

India's View of IOR

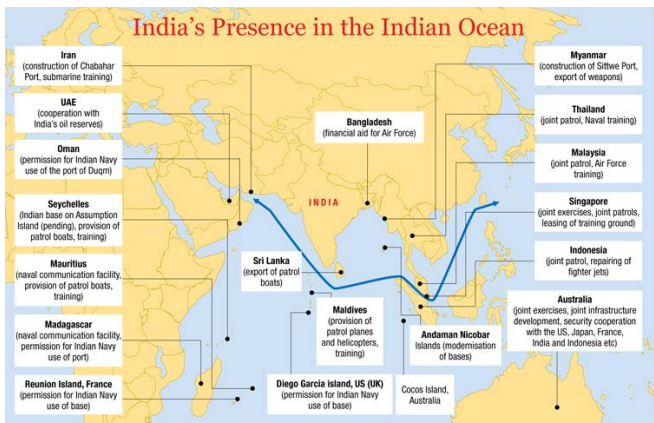
- India is concerned about the growing naval power of China in the Indian Ocean Region. This might affect the peace and stability in the region.



- As the littoral countries (mostly former colonies) are striving to improve their development, 'debt traps by China may affect their economies, which are contagious.
- As the western nations bring broader context to the region by including the Pacific region (Indo-Pacific), India stands for a separate concern towards the Indian Ocean Region.
- Indian Ocean countries want a free and open IOR and India is seen as an important regional player which can take forward the idea.

India's Presence in Indian Ocean Region

- India has started a series of exercises with regional navies and extra-regional navies in the region. For example:
 - AUSINDEX – India and Australia
 - Varuna – India and France
 - Milan – Multilateral naval exercise
 - Malabar – United States, Japan and India
 - Anti-submarine exercise with the U.S. Navy near Diego Garcia.



- The Indian Navy has also played a prominent role in the fight against non-traditional challenges in the Indian Ocean –
- The counter-piracy mission off the coast of Somalia
- Humanitarian assistance
- Disaster relief (relief operations in cyclone-hit Mozambique)
- South Asian navies also have been making their presence felt in the seas of the subcontinent.

Soft Power and Hard Power Diplomacy



Soft Power

Soft power is defined as the ability to attract and co-opt, instead of coercing, shaping the preferences of others through appeal and attraction.

The term Soft Power was first used by Joseph Nye in his book "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power." In the book, he identified three dimensions of power; coercion by military force, influence by offering economic incentives and finally the ability to co-opt other states by the nation's appeal based on its culture and values.

Examples of soft power



- India received a nuclear waiver in 2008 despite not being a member of NSG because of its history of non-alignment and strong political ideals.
- Germany trumps America, claiming the top spot in Brand Finance's Global Soft Power Index 2021.
- The United States is the fastest-falling nation in the ranking, dropping from first place to sixth place.



Hard Power

Hard Power

- Also known as **"command power"**
- "The ability to change what others do through coercion" (Smith-Windsor, 2000)

From J. Nye, Bound to Lead, p. 267.

The return of the US to military action in Iraq, its direct intervention in Syria and Russia's annexation of Crimea, destabilizing eastern Ukraine are examples of hard power usage.

Type	Military	Economic	Soft Power
Behaviors	Coercion; deterrence	Inducement; coercion	Attraction; agenda-setting; co-optation
Resources	Force; threats	Sanctions; payments	Values; culture; policies; institutions
Government policies	Coercive diplomacy; war; alliance	Aid; bribes	Public diplomacy; bilateral and multilateral diplomacy

Space diplomacy of India



What is Space Diplomacy?

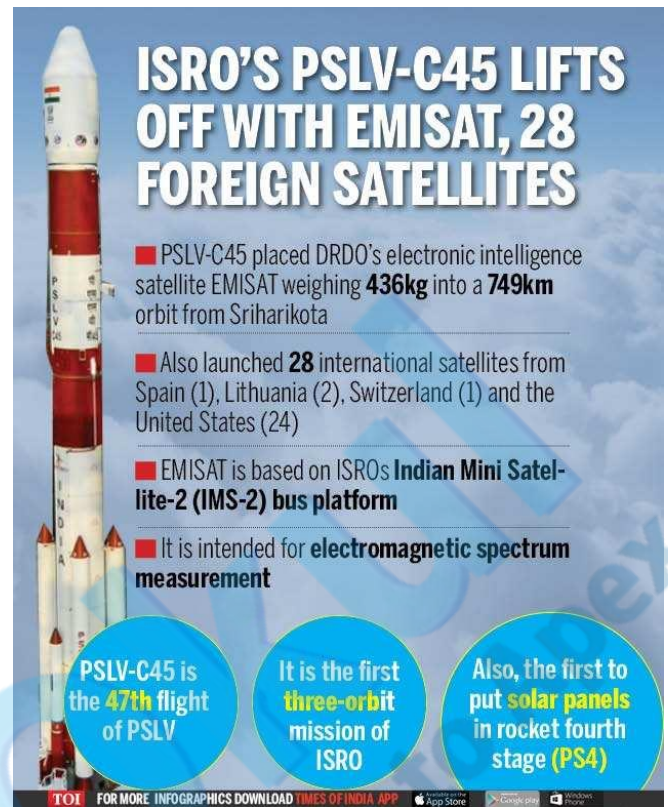
- The art and practice of using space to conduct foreign affairs and advance national interests is Space Diplomacy.
- Space has emerged as a new venue for global powers to compete and create dominance in competition and cooperation.
- The highly complex space technology offers international recognition, status and projects its soft-power.

Space As a tool for India's Foreign Policy

- Furthering Neighborhood First Policy
- Enhancing India's Soft-Power
- Countering China
- New Area of Cooperation

Indian initiatives in Space Diplomacy

- India has also authorized SAARC nations to use its NAVIC regional positioning system.
- India has also partnered with other nations, including NISAR.
- During its Chandrayan Mission, India partnered with NASA, which found water on the moon.
- Indian satellite data is widely exchanged with friendly countries for astronomical research that promotes goodwill and improves relationships.



- Three international stations in Brunei, Indonesia, and Mauritius are served by the ISRO Telemetry, Monitoring and Command Network (ISTRAC).
- The India-Myanmar Friendship Centre for Remote Sensing was also founded in 2001 by the ISRO. South Asia Satellite or GSAT-9 is a geostationary communication satellite launched by the ISRO to provide various South Asian countries with communication applications. Any other applications include telemedicine, emergency management, e-governance, finance, etc.
- "neighborhood first is now being extended beyond the stratosphere"-external affairs ministry spokesperson Gopal Baglay



- The South Asia Satellite (**designated GSAT-9**), formerly known as SAARC Satellite, is geostationary communication and meteorology satellite operated by the Indian Space Research Organization for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) region.
- The satellite was launched on 5 May 2017. During the 18th SAARC summit held in Nepal in 2014.
- Pakistan "offered technical and monetary support" which India rejected saying that it wanted the project to be a "gift" and multi-national collaboration would be time-consuming.

SPACE DIPLOMACY

5 large ground stations, one each in Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Maldives and Sri Lanka. To be equipped with 7.5m antennas

500 VSAT terminals, 100 each in the 5 countries; Bhutan will get 35 ROTs in addition

₹5-6cr

Cost of implementation of the project, at an estimated ₹5 cr in each country

➤ Maldives to get **1 disaster management alert system** in 100 of its 200 islands

Blazing a trail

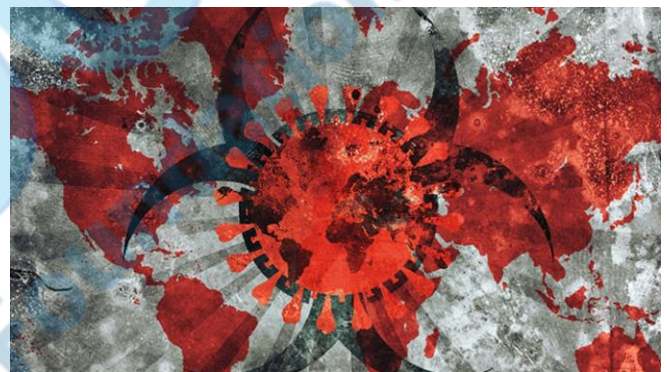
ISRO's first launch of 2021 in numbers

- 19** satellites, including Brazil's earth observation satellite Amazonia-1, were carried by the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle, PSLV-C51
- 13** satellites were from the U.S.
- 5** satellites, including the Satish Dhawan Satellite from the Chennai-based Space Kidz India, were built by students
- 78**th mission from Sriharikota
- 53**rd flight of India's workhorse launch vehicle PSLV
- It was the first dedicated launch by the NewSpace India Limited (NSIL), a PSU set up under the Department of Space in 2019

- ISRO has till date launched 342 foreign satellites from 34 countries
- Amazonia-1, with a mission life of four years, will monitor deforestation in the Amazon region
- The SDSAT has an engraving of Prime Minister Narendra Modi on the top panel to show solidarity and gratitude for the *aatmanirbhar* initiative and space privatisation

Deep impact: PSLV-C51 lifting off from the Satish Dhawan Space Centre in Sriharikota, on Sunday. • PTI

Middle Power Coalition



- In international relations, a middle power is a sovereign state that is not a great power nor a super power, but still has large or moderate influence and international recognition.
- Countries like Australia, Japan, India, Brazil, South Korea are important middle powers that are important for India in changing world order.
- These countries can play an important economic, strategic and political role in India's rise as a major Asian and global power.

Political significance

- At a time when the United States' global influence is declining and the world is moving towards an era of unpredictability, a

new Middle Power coalition is the need of an hour.

- Deeper ties with middle powers like Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, and South Korea are important in changing global order.
- India also has a large Diaspora in these countries that sends home around \$35 billion in remittances annually.

Global rise

- Due to the rapid growth of China and the improving growth trajectories of numerous middle powers, collaborating with these countries can help India progress from being a South Asian power to an Asian and eventually global power.
- The Indian economy's projected growth, along with the improved relationship with the United States, have enhanced India's status with many of these powers.

Energy requirements

Middle power countries are aimed at strengthening partnerships in a changing global scenario. Apart from strategic significance in a region the oil-rich countries like Saudi Arabia are critical for India's massive energy requirements

Countering China

To the east, South Korea, Japan, and Australia, all are middle powers that are deeply connected to China economically, but are treaty allies of the U.S. All are potentially useful economic and strategic partners for India. A partnership with these powers will create more balance in a region increasingly dominated by China. They can be critical to the U.S.-India Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region and to India's own strategic influence in Asia.

Economic significance

The potential economic benefits of India's partnerships with the middle powers are significant. India requires \$1 trillion over the next decade to upgrade its infrastructure, for which it needs foreign direct investment. While

Japan is already invested in the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor project. An infrastructure build-out will also need investment and technology from such countries as South Korea and Canada.

Nuclear energy

In the coming years, Japan will remain crucial to India for nuclear energy. India has concluded with Australia and Canada that will provide the uranium. Additionally, Japan, Australia, and Canada are members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. With deeper ties to these countries, India's support base for membership to these regimes can widen.

Defence

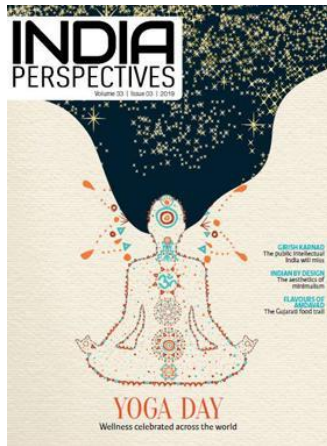
The middle powers will also be critical partners for India's indigenous defence production and to reduce the country's defence import bill. Although major powers Russia and the U.S. have been the biggest sources of defence exports and co-production, deals such with Israel on the Spike missile defence system will help unlock India's defence manufacturing capabilities.

Indian Public Diplomacy and Para diplomacy



Public Diplomacy Division

The Ministry of External Affairs of India set up its Public Diplomacy Division in 2006 to advance India's conversations with the world. The key goal of Indian Public Diplomacy is to explain, on a day-to-day basis, the background of policy decisions in Indian foreign policy, to promote a positive image of India, and to engage scholars, think tanks, and the media through its outreach activities. It was merged with the External Publicity Division of the Ministry of External Affairs of India in January 2014.



What is Para diplomacy?

- Para diplomacy is international relations conducted by sub national on their own
- It outlines a foreign policy role for local and regional governments within a democratic federal system.
- Economic Para diplomacy related to trade and investment in particular has become an institutionalized practice across the world.
- Most of these states are successful at FDI promotion.
- In India, traditionally foreign affairs are in the exclusive domain of the Union government.
- However, in recent times "competitive federalism" is being increasingly stressed, particularly in matters of foreign affairs.

State's influence on foreign policy?

- West Bengal CM stopped then PM Manmohan Singh from signing the Teesta water-sharing agreement with Bangladesh.
- Tamil Nadu had insisted that India should support the U.S. resolution against Sri Lanka in the UNHRC.
- Also TN, for the Tamil minority's cause, stopped the PM from attending the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Sri Lanka.

Recent changes

- The Ministry of External Affairs now has a new States division.

- This keeps in touch with the states and assists them in their ties with countries in which they have a special interest.
- The special linkage could be on account of proximity or the presence of Diaspora from that state.
- Besides, IFS officers have been asked to choose a State each to understand its special requirements and to advise them.
- In this emerging scenario, the diplomats are expected to bring their regional expertise to make the correct decisions on neighbors.

Way Forward

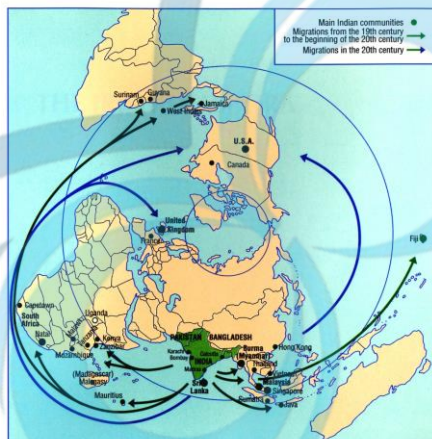
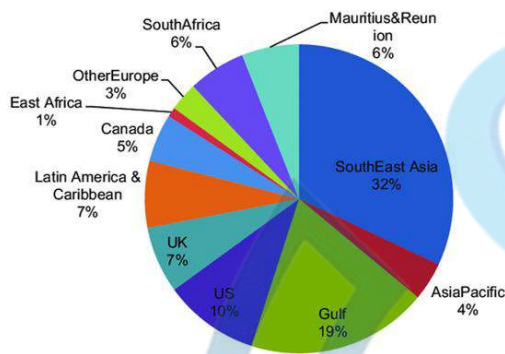
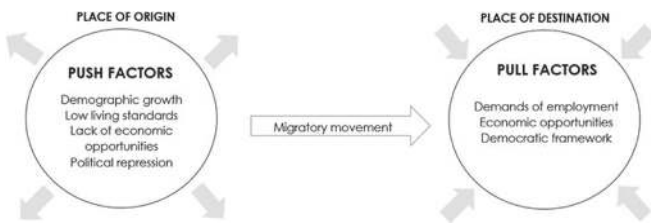
- There is a need for a new structure in MEA in which the states are fully represented.
- Also, the Ministry of External Affairs should have offices in key states.
- Think tanks should be established in states to facilitate policy options and to provide inputs to the states and the Centre.
- States should also be encouraged to secure the best deals for themselves within the overall policy of the Central government.

The Indian Diaspora



- In India, Diaspora is commonly understood to include Non-Resident Indians (NRIs), Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs), and Overseas Citizens of India (OCI), of which PIO and OCI card holders were merged under one category — OCI — in 2015.
- The Indian migration began in large numbers during the British rule as indentured laborers to former colonies like Fiji, Kenya and Malaysia.

- It continued in the post-independence period with Indians from different social strata moving to countries like the United Kingdom, the United States, and Gulf countries.
- According to Global Migration Report 2020, India continues to be the largest country of origin of international migrants with a 17.5 million-strong Diaspora across the world, and it received the highest remittance of \$78.6 billion (this amounts to a whopping 3.4% of India's GDP) from Indians living abroad.



Diaspora Diplomacy

A collective action that is driven by a country's Diaspora, that influences host country's culture, politics, and economics in a manner that is mutually beneficial for the homeland and the new home base.

Role of Diaspora in Indian foreign policy



Soft power



All pictures are taken from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki>

Remittances

TOP COUNTRIES RECEIVING REMITTANCES



Country	2015 (% of total)	2018 (% of total)	Increase over 3 years (in %)
India	68.9 (11.6%)	78.6 (11.4%)	14
China	63.9 (10.7%)	67.4 (9.8%)	5.4
Mexico	26.2 (6%)	35.7 (5.1%)	35.9
Total	595	689	15.8

Notes: All figures are in US \$ (billion); Ranking is based on 2018 statistics (In 2015, Philippines had ranked third with remittances of US \$ 29.8 billion)

Building International Network



Leo Varadkar



Antonio Costa



Challenges Faced by Indian Diaspora

- Heterogeneous Diaspora
- Anti-Globalization
- West Asian Crisis
- Returning Diaspora
- Regulatory Cholesterol
- Negative Fallout
