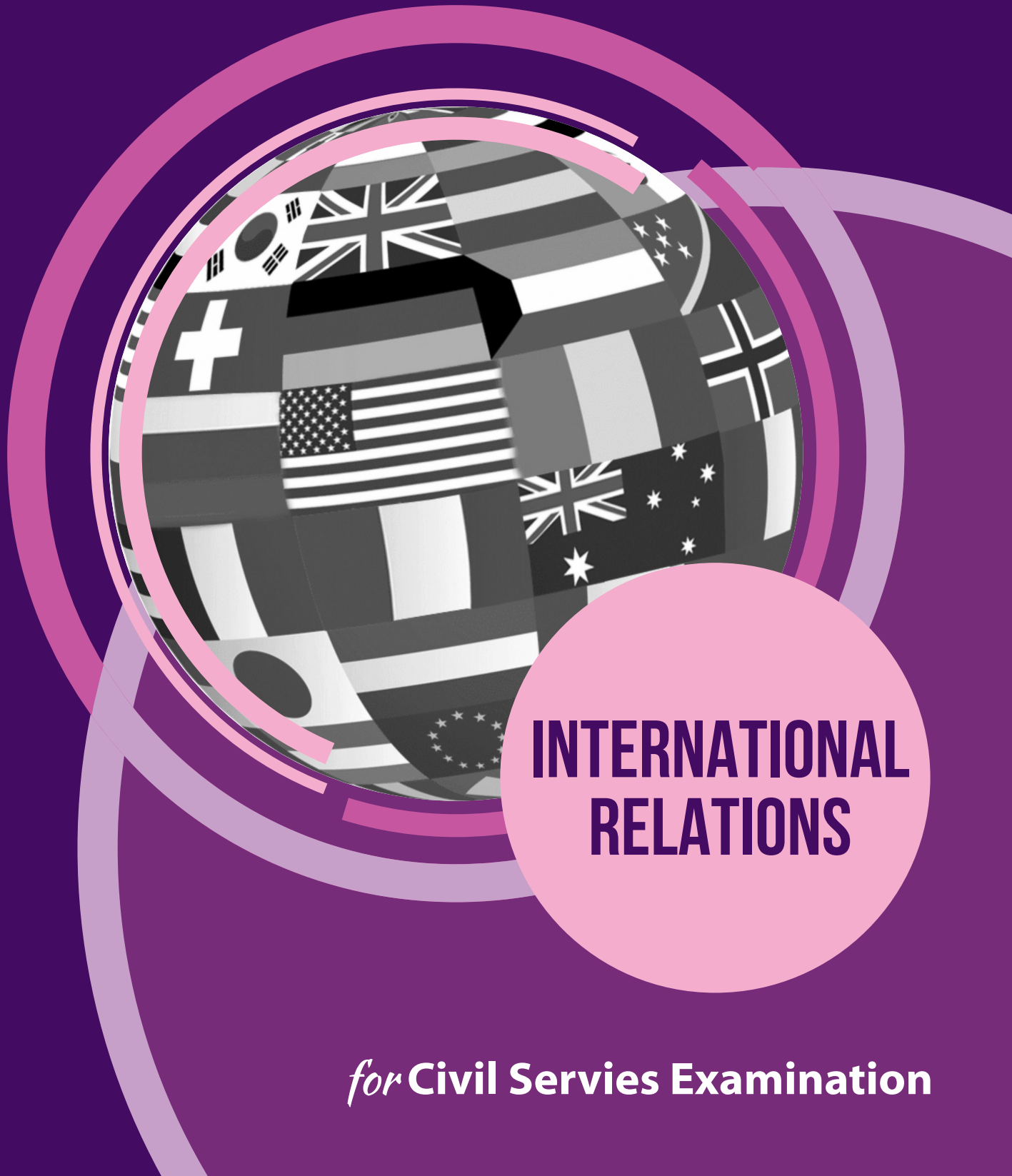


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1.

EVOLUTION & KEY PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

From the time India first attained independence in 1947, its foreign policy during the Cold War period evolved from maintaining non-alignment to a slight tilt towards the USSR to now becoming an important Western strategic partner and providing a counterweight to China in Indo-Pacific. Over the last six- and – half decades India has massively expanded its influence worldwide, primarily through diplomacy and trade, which has seen it emerge as a great power in global politics. Many aspects played important role in determining India's foreign policy over time.

Determinants of India's Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests. Through Foreign Policy, every state decides what course it will pursue in world affairs within the limits of its strength and the realities of the external environment. The foreign policy of a state is determined by several factors. These important determinants come under three categories- (i) General or objective, (ii) Specific or internal, and (iii) External factors. These categories may include the following factors-

- Sovereignty and Integrity of State
- Promotion of National Interest
- Internal and External Conditions
- Inter-dependence of States
- Geography
- History
- Population
- Natural Resources
- Economic Factors
- Development
- National and Military Capacity
- Ideology
- Public Opinion
- Decision Making
- International Organizations
- The reaction of other States, etc.

Broad factors for determining Foreign Policy

India's foreign policy is shaped by five broad factors viz. geography; strategic culture; India's requirements and goals; global and regional challenges; and resources.

Geography

India's geography and position act as one of the key determinants for its foreign policy.

- The unfixed and non-demarcated borders give rise to disputes between neighbors.
- Today's political borders of South Asia are artificial. India has been divided in the past, but never so irrationally as it has been since 1947. India's neighbors want to keep their distance from India to assert and preserve their sovereignty.
- India is boxed in by Pakistan on the west and Bangladesh on the east. Without their cooperation, India cannot meaningfully extend its overland reach and influence.
- The main sea lines of communication in the Indian Ocean pass very close to India. The Persian Gulf, which is the principal source of exportable global oil and gas, is India's neighbor.

Strategic Culture

- India indulged in moralistic posturing, India's foreign policy in the first few decades after Independence was non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, non-violence, disarmament, and peacemaking.
- India's foreign policy today is not hobbled by ideology or sentimentalism. India is seeking friends and partners, though not as a supplicant, or as a weak country that can be manipulated.

Requirements and Goals

- The primary task of India's foreign policy is to ensure the country's security and territorial integrity, and a peaceful external environment for India. This means having good relations with foreign countries.
- It is an integral and critical element of an overall strategy to serve national goals and priorities including social and economic development, and defense preparedness.
- That is why today there is a greater emphasis on the economic component of India's foreign policy.

Global and Regional Challenges

- Some of the global issues that impact multilateral cooperation are: tackling terrorism, combating climate change, economic crisis, neighbor land disputes, the strategic race between the powerful nations, preserving biodiversity, exploitation of deep-sea resources, ensuring that there is a fair global trading system, keeping open the sea lines of communication and air space for civilian aircraft.

Resources

- India needs both human and material resources to achieve its foreign policy goals. Thus, the Government has to take on board multiple stakeholders such as parliamentarians, political parties, businessmen, industrialists, the media, academia, and other sections of the intelligentsia.

Panchsheel

- Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954.
- Agreement based on the following principles:

- ▶ Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- ▶ Mutual non-aggression
- ▶ Mutual non-interference
- ▶ Equality and mutual benefit
- ▶ Peaceful co-existence.”

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

The newly independent India in lieu, to protect its independence was trying to find out like-minded partners and hosted the **Asian Relations Conference** in New Delhi in March–April 1947. A similar conference the **Asia-Africa Bandung conference** held in Indonesia in 1955, gave rise to the core idea of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

- The first conference of the Non-aligned movement was held in 1961 in Belgrade, known as the Belgrade conference.
- It was founded under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia.
- All five leaders believed that developing countries should not help or align with either the Western or Eastern blocs in the Cold War but instead remain non-aligned.
- The major goal of the formation of the non-Alignment movement was to end colonialism and all kinds of imperialism.

Members of NAM

- The Movement recognizes three categories for participation: Full Member, Observer, and Guest.
- Today, NAM comprises 120 member states with 17 states and 10 international organizations as its observers.
- It is the second-largest grouping of states worldwide, after the United Nations.

Achievements of NAM

- A major goal of the Non-aligned Movement was to end colonialism. The conferences of the NAM continuously supported the national liberation movements and the organizations that led those movements were given the status of full members in these conferences.
- It also condemned racial discrimination and injustice and lent full support to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and Namibia.
- NAM made a significant contribution towards the preservation of peace and disarmament. Its espousal of peace, peaceful co-existence, and human brotherhood, opposition to wars of any kind contributed to the lowering of Cold War tensions and expanded areas of peace in the world with fewer states joining military blocs.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

- UNCTAD is a permanent intergovernmental body established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1964.
- It is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland.
- It has 195 countries as members.
- Its first was held in Geneva in 1964.
- The conference was institutionalized to meet every four years, with intergovernmental bodies meeting between sessions.

- It contributed towards economic equality. For this, NAM called for the establishment of a New International

Economic Order (NIEO). To end economic exploitation, termed as neocolonialism, the NAM called for a restructuring of the international economic and monetary systems based on equality, non-discrimination, and cooperation.

New International Economic Order (NIEO)

- The formal idea of the NIEO was put forward in the Algiers Conference of non-aligned countries in 1973.
- In 1975, a declaration for the establishment of NIEO was adopted along with a program of action in the Sixth Special Session of the UNCTAD.
- The movement for the establishment of the NIEO is caused by the existing deficiencies in the current international economic order and the gross failures of the GATT and the UNCTAD in fulfillment of their vowed objectives.

- It has also succeeded in pursuing the IMF to establish a system of compensatory finance which helped the developing states in overcoming their balance of payments difficulties.
- In the early 1960s, growing concerns about the place of developing countries in international trade led to the establishment of UNCTAD, which is a permanent intergovernmental body established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1964.
- In the cultural field, the establishment of the Pool of News Agencies needs to be considered as an achievement.

Relevance of NAM

- The whole purpose of the creation of NAM was to stand together against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation.
- Over the years the focus of NAM shifted from colonialism and imperialism to globalization and development in its member countries, especially in the Global South.
- Many argue that the disintegration of Yugoslavia, one of its founding members, was a major blow to the NAM and it lost its relevance with the end of the Cold War.
- However, some argue that NAM has accomplished its charted goals and it still has relevance in this increasingly complex and globalized world.
- In this current scenario, the COVID-19 crisis presents an excellent opportunity for the NAM to re-organize and develop new goals and objectives in line with the needs of its member states who are struggling in this long tough battle with the virus.
- One of the recent summits of NAM which was held in May 2020, Under the theme of “United Against COVID-19”, led by Azerbaijan focused on the need for global solidarity to fight the novel coronavirus.
- The virtual meeting also initiated a task force to manage a database of member states regarding the impact of the health crisis. This was one of the earliest responses of the Non-Aligned Movement to the pandemic.
- PM Modi could not join the NAM summit since he came into office in 2014 due to some reasons and attended the Virtual Summit (18th NAM Summit) held in May 2020.
- This can be seen as a good sign of re-emergence of the NAM. However, merely a few statements or the formation of a task force should not be the end goal of NAM.

NAM 2.0

- In 2012, a group of foreign policy experts released a report, Non-Alignment 2.0: A foreign and strategic policy for India in the 21st century, which identifies the basic principles and drivers that would make the country a leading player on the world stage while preserving its strategic autonomy and value system.
- Non Alignment 2.0 is an attempt to identify the basic principles that should guide India’s foreign and strategic

policy over the next decade.

- The views it sets out are rooted in the conviction that the success of India's own internal development will depend decisively on how effectively we manage our global opportunities to maximize our choices thereby enlarging our domestic options to the benefit of all Indians.
- The purposes of the present strategy document are three-fold:
 - ▶ to lay out the opportunities that India enjoys in the international sphere
 - ▶ to identify the challenges and threats it is likely to confront
 - ▶ to define the broad perspective and approach that India should adopt as it works to enhance its strategic autonomy in global circumstances that, for some time to come, are likely to remain volatile and uncertain.

India's Nuclear Doctrine

India conducted its first nuclear test in **1974 (Smiling Buddha)** and then **in 1998** and become a de facto nuclear power country. To alleviate the fear of the neighbor and show itself as a responsible nuclear power, New Delhi came out with its **Nuclear Doctrine after Pokharan II, in 2003. The Kargil Review Committee or Subrahmanyam Committee, in 1999**, also suggested for India to have a Nuclear Policy. The key points of India's nuclear doctrine are as follows:

- **"No First Use"** (nuclear weapons will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or Indian forces anywhere)
- Building and maintaining a **credible minimum deterrent**.
- Nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict **unacceptable damage**.
- Nuclear retaliatory attacks can only be authorized by the **civilian political leadership** through the Nuclear Command Authority.
- Non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states;
- However, in the event of a major attack against India, or Indian forces anywhere, by biological or chemical weapons, India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons;
- A continuance of strict controls on the export of nuclear and missile-related materials and technologies, participation in the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty negotiations, and continued observance of the moratorium on nuclear tests.
- Continued commitment to the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world, through global, verifiable, and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament.

Kargil Review Committee or Subrahmanyam Committee

- The **Kargil Review Committee (KRC)** was set up, on 29 July 1999, three days after the end of the Kargil War.
- The committee was set up "to examine the sequence of events and make recommendations for the future".

Committee's Recommendations

- National Security Council
- Intelligence
- Counter-terrorist operations
- Border Management
- Defence Budget and Modernisation
- National Security Management and Apex Decision Making
- India's Nuclear Policy

- Media Relations and Information
- Technology
- Civil-Military Liaison
- Declaratory Policy for LOC

Nuclear Command Authority

This is comprised of a Political Council and an Executive Council:

- **Political Council** – The Political Council is **chaired by the Prime Minister**. It is the sole body that can authorize the use of nuclear weapons.
- **Executive Council** - The Executive Council is chaired by the National Security Advisor. It provides inputs for decision-making by the Nuclear Command Authority and executes the directives given to it by the Political Council.

Relevance of No First Use Policy

- India adopted a No First Use (NFU) nuclear doctrine in 2003, but the counter-intuitive logic of the doctrine was controversial from the very beginning.
- As of today, China and India are the only nuclear-weapon states with the No First Use Policy. On other hand, the US, France, Russia, Pakistan, and Israel have adopted the Nuclear First Use Policy.
- The assumption among critics has been that a policy that relied on retaliation only, in which India will wait until it is attacked before it uses its nuclear weapons, reflected its general strategic passivity and political idealism, and was dictated primarily by India's desire to be a responsible international actor.
- But experts say that It was dictated not by passivity or idealism but a deep realism, an understanding of the limited purpose that nuclear weapons can play in the strategy of any nuclear weapon power, but particularly that of one such as India.
- The central reason behind India's NFU was the recognition that nuclear weapons served only a very limited purpose, that of ensuring national survival. The only real threat to such survival was a nuclear attack.
- Additional benefits also accrue from NFU: tighter political command over nuclear weapons, a much more relaxed command and control regime, and a much safer nuclear arsenal.
- For both Israel and Pakistan, a first-use nuclear doctrine makes sense because of the non-nuclear existential threats they perceive from their neighbors.
- Of the other nuclear powers, the US and Soviet Cold War first use doctrines make some sense. Both worried about a surprise attack, and both kept their nuclear forces primed to launch at the first sign of a nuclear attack from the other side.
- There is no such strategic logic for an Indian nuclear first use doctrine. India perceives neither any existential threats nor fears surprise nuclear attack nor has extended deterrence commitments.
- Any Indian first use of nuclear weapons against another nuclear power means the certainty of nuclear retaliation. Nothing can prevent such retaliation. And the consequences of such retaliation will be devastating.
- This is one reason why nuclear first use makes sense only for countries facing certain death in any case, either from conventional or nuclear threats.
- The logic of counterforce, attacking the adversary's nuclear forces instead of soft targets such as cities, is that destroying the adversary's nuclear forces. But counterforce attacks require perfect intelligence and not even the world's most powerful states have such intelligence, and India will pay a heavy cost if even a few weapons of an adversary survive such an assault.
- The problems of uncertain intelligence, combined with the horrible consequences of a mistake, also limit any attempt to even shave the NFU to adopt options such as Launch-On-Warning or Launch-Under-Attack.
- Considering these factors we may say that NFU policy is uniquely suited to India's circumstances.
