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UPDATED

ANSWER WRITING WORKBOOK

International Relations

GS PAPER 2

Complete International Relations
Revision through **100+ Questions**

- ✓ Preparation Approach
- ✓ Micro Detailing of UPSC Syllabus
- ✓ 11 Practice Sets & Model Hints
- ✓ Previous Year Questions & Solutions

Edited by:
Manoj K. Jha

PREFACE

While current affairs changes every year there are some parts in syllabus which do not change and a candidate requires conceptual understanding and a good grip over these topics. The purpose of this workbook is to serve as one stop destination for students. It will help in building a base of knowledge and conceptual clarity

GS answer writing workbook aims to function as a standalone product that will promote self-learning habits in students and help in maximum syllabus coverage of the static portion.

Features of Workbook

The workbook has following features that aim to resolve various issues faced by students in an efficient and holistic manner.

Feature	Issue resolved
Static Topics from syllabus	Conceptual clarity
Topic wise sets	Syllabus coverage
Question & Answer format	Answer writing practice & Time management
Approach before each answer	Structuring of answers
Previous Year questions	Analysis
Blank Page at the end of each set	Self-note making

● How to optimally make use of workbook

In order to gain maximum out of it, a student must first attempt each of the set by himself and then compare his answers with model hint given. This exercise will help them to gain confidence in answer writing, in enrichment of their answers and in better management of time.

The approach given at the beginning of each answer is also aimed to give him an idea about how to approach an answer. Before going into the answer, he must first build his own answer around the approach and then compare with the given answer.

Any extra point to be remembered, revised or any other extra additions can be made at the Blank Page given at the end of each set.

● About GS score International Relations Workbook

It consists of total 11 sets that are divided as per broad topics of IR. It is intended to guide you and serve as a reliable source of information, ideas, concepts and facts. This will help you to approach the subject with much more clarity and confidence. It is essential that you must aim to utilize the workbook optimally as per steps given above, to gain maximum out of it

APPROACH TO PREPARE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR UPSC

International relations occupy a crucial place under GS paper 2. Every year 3-4 questions are asked under UPSC civil services mains examination. This makes it obvious that it cannot be ignored and must be studied with certain amount of depth and analysis, so that you can write legible and lucid answers.

International relations is a vast subject with various perspectives and dimensions. To cater the needs of the examination a student must keep a check on the syllabus and past year papers. Along with this it is mandatory to keep a tab on current happenings that are important from the point of view of India and the world.

Preparation of International relations is based on following 3 pillars

- ▶ Focus on syllabus
- ▶ Study of past year papers
- ▶ Current affairs & note making

● Focus on syllabus

It is important to stick to the syllabus while preparing as vastness of the subject can lead you astray. Firstly you can make a list of micro topics under broad topics given under UPSC mains syllabus. These topics must be studied with their background understanding and supplementing them with current affairs.

● Study of past year papers

Past year papers are the basis on which you can rest and test your preparation. They help in giving a direction in which your preparation must go. The depth of analysis, topics, areas and approach that must be taken, all becomes clear, once you have dealt with previous year questions properly. It will also help you in understanding a pattern.

● Current Affairs & Note making

International relations is a very dynamic subject. It requires constant staying in touch with current affairs and updating yourself. In this case self-made notes are important to be abreast of recent happenings and their impact on national and international dynamics. You can make your own notes under different headings like India Central Asia, India-USA, Israel-Palestine issue etc and keep on updating it in case of any development in the area.

This will help you keep a track of yearlong development on the issue and thus you will be better armed to write holistic answers for UPSC examination.

Studies must be supplemented with frequent revisions and answer writing practice, giving mocks and solving previous year papers. This will go a long way in ensuring that you are able to answers within a strict time frame as in an examination hall.

Your preparation of International relations revolves around following 3 areas

- ▶ Events where India is directly engaged like international summits, meetings etc.
- ▶ Events impacting India's national interest, though India is not directly involved
- ▶ Global issues like climate change negotiations, oil prices, human rights etc.



SYLLABUS
MICRO DETAILING

SUB TOPIC LISTING (International Relations)

UPSC Syllabus

- India and its Neighborhood- Relations.
- Bilateral, Regional and Global Groupings and Agreements involving India and/or affecting India's interests.
- Effect of Policies and Politics of Developed and Developing Countries on India's interests, Indian Diaspora.
- Important International Institutions, agencies and fora - their Structure, Mandate

1. India's foreign policy

- Soft power diplomacy
- Non-aligned Movement (NAM)
- Nuclear Doctrine
- Gujral Doctrine
- Look East to Act East
- Think West etc.
- Economic diplomacy
- Vaccine diplomacy

2. India and its Neighbours

- India's Neighbourhood Policy
- China
- Water Diplomacy through Dams
- Why China is Winning over India's Neighbors?
- India, China ink first-ever Internal Security Cooperation Agreement
- Nepal
- Pakistan
- Afghanistan
- Sri Lanka
- Bangladesh
- Myanmar
- Maldives
- Bhutan

3. India and the world

- Act East Policy
- Australia
- Indonesia
- Singapore
- South Korea
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Philippines
- Iran
- Saudi Arabia
- U AE
- Slowdown in West Asia
- Central Asia
- Kazakshtan
- Mongolia
- Island Nations
- Africa
- Indian diaspora

4. International Organizations and Agreements

- IMF
- World Bank
- WTO
- G-20

- ASEAN
 - BIMSTEC
 - Indian Ocean region and world affairs
 - BRICS
 - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
 - Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and India
 - Multilateral Negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Ban
 - Wassenaar Arrangement and India
 - India Admitted to Australia Group
 - IAEA
 - Nuclear Security Summit
 - Non-Alignment Movement (NAM)
 - UNSC Reform
 - Global Currency War
 - Syrian Crisis
 - UN Reforms
 - Israel Palestine Issue
 - South China sea dispute
 - US-Iran relations
 - COVID 19 pandemic
 - WTO Reforms
 - Brexit
 - International Terrorism
 - Migration Crisis in Europe
 - Iran Nuclear Deal
 - US Sanctions on Iran
 - Global Initiative Launched to Fight Fake News
 - YEMEN WAR and Implications
 - Rohingya Crisis
- 5. Global issues**
- Global Trade War

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

SET: 1 - 11

SET-1: QUESTION

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

- Q1. Trace the evolution of India's Foreign Policy since independence. Do you see a paradigm shift in this evolution?
- Q2. Vision of new world order has emerged as the major objective of India's foreign policy. What are the challenges faced in this regard and what are the recent steps India have taken to achieve this?
- Q3. The remarkable positive change in India's foreign policy towards neighbourhood is fraught with problems such as lack of trust and conflict between local political parties of the neighbouring countries on the one hand and geopolitics of regional and global powers on the other, which would delay the efforts to bear fruits. Elaborate.
- Q4. Indian defence diplomacy will have to play an increasingly important role as it tries to emerge as a credible strategic partner of the regional states. In this context critically examine India's defence diplomacy. Also bring out contrast with Chinese defence diplomacy.
- Q5. "India's foreign policy over the last several decade represents a more of Continuity and less Change, however the rise of Realpolitik in India's foreign policy in recent times indicating a pragmatic shift. Critically examine the statement.
- Q6. India must revise its nuclear policy and keep its strategy opaque. Critically discuss the statement.
- Q7. Strategic partnership in combination with economic partnerships have become important part of India's "Act West Asia" policy in recent. What are the reasons behind India's active strategic engagements with West Asian countries without participating in West Asian turmoil?
- Q8. "Federal units are critical in the making of India's foreign policy." In light of statement analyse the India's foreign policy challenges. Also discuss the determinants of India's foreign policy.
- Q9. India's cultural richness and the wide expanse of its spiritual knowledge and icons are important pillars of soft power diplomacy". Comment.
- Q10. To promote its development interests, India must overhaul its approach to economic diplomacy. Critically evaluate the statement with regards to India's economic diplomacy in South Asia.

SET-1: ANSWERS

1. Trace the evolution of India's Foreign Policy since independence. Do you see a paradigm shift in this evolution?

(250 words)

Approach

1. Overview of broad objectives of foreign policy (40 words)
2. Discuss in details various phases of our foreign policy (150 words)
3. Conclude by highlighting fundamental objective of policy (60 words)

Hints

Jawaharlal Nehru is considered as the architect of India's foreign policy. While shaping this policy, he was largely influenced by the international developments after the Second World War, the weakening of the forces of imperialism and growth of the forces of democracy and progress.

For assessment purpose, India's foreign policy can be divided into following distinct historical sections:

Period I: 1947 till 1962- Nehruvian Era

- Considered as the initial benchmark for India's Foreign Policy approach.
- This period was the most idealistic phase of India's foreign policy.
- The key characteristic of this period was Nehru's emphasis on 'Nuclear Disarmament' in order to transform the global order.
- The five principles of peaceful coexistence or Panchsheel doctrine was formulated to set vision for India's bilateral engagements, especially with China.
- This was followed by Nehru's binding interest in 'multilateral institutions' in promoting global peace and delegitimizing colonial enterprise through his policy of Non-Alignment (NAM). Nehru played a critical role in ideationally challenging the notion of colonialism and the norms of imperialism.
- Nehru emphasized on low military expenditure during this period.
- Above discourse is blamed for the disaster of 1962 i.e. India-China War. This led to first major shifts in Indian foreign policy since Independence.

Period II: 1962 till 1991- The Cold War period

- This began with disastrous defeat in 1962 at hands of China and ends with end of Cold War in 1991.
- India gradually shifted from early idealism to more realistic approach.
- There was strategic dependence on the Soviet Union, particularly after 1971.
- In general, it was a favourable time in Indian foreign policy arena, as India emerged as regional leader in South Asia.
- However, this period retained the Nehruvian rhetoric in terms of its objectives.

Period III: 1991 till 2013- Post Cold War era

- This phase began with the end of the Cold War. Following which many structural shifts could be observed in India's foreign policy approach.
- The era is marked by a pragmatic foreign policy with close to principles of Realism.
- These were characterized by the attempts to improve relations with the United States and much of the advanced industrial world.
- 1990's onwards, there was a steady acceptance of the role 'material power' in international affairs and India finally embraced the significance of the same.

Period IV: Post 2014- Modi Era

Important changes of foreign policy under NDA government are:

- **Overcoming Historic Hesitations:** The Modi government has strengthened India's partnership with competing powers. For example, fast growing and deepening relationship with countries like USA, Israel and Japan etc.
- **Intensified focus on neighbourhood first:** PM Modi dreams of a 'thriving well-connected and integrated neighbourhood. For example, the latest SAGAR Approach in Indian Ocean region is in line with this theme.
- **From Rule-taker to Rule-maker:** The government is willing to share responsibilities on important global issues.
- **Fast growing importance of Indian Diaspora:** The government has qualitatively and quantitatively enriched engagement with the Indian Diaspora now. For example, the extensive focus on Diasporas in different countries during PM's visits or Rescue missions like in Yemen etc.
- **Strengthening Cultural Ties:** PM Modi has talked extensively on shared values, traditions and heritage and strengthened ancient ties. For example, Project MAUSAM which will focus on the ancient trade and cultural linkages and emphasize on future maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean region stretching from Southeast Asia to East Africa with the central location of India.

Stressed on the need for an "Act East Policy" that should replace India's over two decade-old "Look East Policy" emphasizing a more proactive role for India in this region.

However, the fundamental theme of "Continuity with Change" is still maintained under current regime too. For example, India recently voted in support of UN Resolution against USA regarding condemning its recent decision of recognizing Jerusalem as Israeli Capital. This is strictly in line with India's historical stand of "Two-State solution" on the issue despite its clearly growing ties with both USA as well as Israeli.

Thus, despite all Pragmatic shift in Indian foreign policy, the fundamental objective of "Enlightened Self Interest" remains the paramount concern for New Delhi.

2. **Vision of new world order has emerged as the major objective of India's foreign policy. What are the challenges faced in this regard and what are the recent steps India have taken to achieve this?**

(250 words)

Approach

1. **Briefly introduce new world order** *(40 words)*
2. **Discuss the major objective of India's foreign policy** *(50 words)*
3. **Discuss the emerging challenges in achieving rightful place in New World Order** *(60 words)*
4. **Suggest some measures to overcome these challenges & to establish itself as a major global power in the New World Order** *(60 words)*
5. **Conclusion** *(40 words)*

Hints

New world order has been used to refer to any new period of history evidencing a dramatic change in world political thought and the balance of power. First, it was used after 1st World War in connection with Woodrow Wilson's effort to establish the League of Nations.

The term again used to highlight the bipolar world after 2nd world war & unipolarity with hegemony of USA after disintegration of USSR. Apart from many interpretations of New World Order, it primarily focuses on ideological notion of global governance only in the sense of new collective efforts to identify, understand, or address worldwide problems that go beyond the capacity of individual nation-states to solve.

New World code (Global Governance) as a major objective of India's F. Policy.

- The democratic, representation of ground realities in world institutions like UN especially Security Council which is dominated by west, World Bank & IMF & consensus based solution of global issues.
- Prioritizing an integrated neighbourhood; "Neighbourhood First."
- To leverage international partnerships to advance India's domestic development.

As the balance of power is shifting with rise of Asia, still there are challenges in achieving rightful place in New World Order which include:

- USA & Russia doesn't want major changes in the UN reforms, especially when it comes to Veto Power to new members.
- China, because of strategic purposes has not cleared its position regarding India's inclusion in Security Council.
- USA's Congress has resisted even nominal decrease in quota of USA in IMF in spite of the fact India has not yet got its rightful share.
- The strategically & financially important world institutions are dominated by the countries like USA, UK, Japan, Germany & France in which there is far less share of Asian, South American & African countries.

- Old order don't want to devolve more power in these institutions to emerging powers as it might hurt their already stagnant economies & strategic interests.
- Countries like Italy & Pakistan are against more powers to India in UN & other institutions.
- India's non agreement to NPT & CTBT is hurting its cause of being considered as a responsible global power.
- India has financial & technological challenges to enhance its pace of development. It has to look toward developed countries for its need in these sectors.
- India's limitations in material power have proven the primary obstacle to establishing political hegemony among its smaller neighbours.

In order to overcome these challenges & to establish itself as a major global power in the New World Order, India has taken following initiatives.

- India has promoted the UNSC reforms leading the G4 group including the countries Japan, Germany, and Brazil along with itself. UN general assembly has formally accepted the proposal on UN reforms.
- Due to India continuous effort, voting rights of India has been increased from 2.3% to 2.6%, however it is far less compared to increase in china's voting rights to 6% yet it reflect the rise of India at world level.
- India is focusing the BRICS platform, New Development Bank (BRICS Bank) is established as alternative to IMF & World Bank to support the developing countries & to avoid the CAD crisis.
- India is leading the Group of developing & least developed countries to protect their rights for development in UNFCCC.
- India is using its soft power & field of expertise for mutual benefits in African, Latin American & central Asian countries & establishing close relations in field of security, economy, & cultural relations.
- India has moved forward with "Act East Policy" from just "Look East Policy".

Conclusion:

Despite the Challenges from the old order India has to push forward its agenda of reforms, a more representative & multi polar world where global issues are not just decided in the interest of financial & military muscles. To achieve its objective of New World Order first India has to establish itself as a regional powerhouse by improving its relations with neighbours, acting as a engine of world economy with successful implementation of programme like "Make in India" when China has lest the place and by sharpening its diplomacy in multilateral & regional forum.

- 3. The remarkable positive change in India's foreign policy towards neighbourhood is fraught with problems such as lack of trust and conflict between local political parties of the neighbouring countries on the one hand and geopolitics of regional and global powers on the other, which would delay the efforts to bear fruits. Elaborate.**

(250 words)

Approach

1. **Briefly introduce the foreign policy of a country** *(50 words)*
2. **Explain what is India's Neighbourhood first Policy** *(80 words)*
3. **Discuss Major Challenges of neighbourhood integration in front of India** *(70 words)*
4. **Conclusion** *(50 words)*

Hints

The foreign policy of a country is the product of the complex interplay of history, geography, past experience, present requirements, perception of ruling elites of national interest and ideological consensus. It is also shaped & moulded by domestic balance of forces; and the regional & international balance of forces.

South Asia is a unique case of global integration without regional integration and the largest economic power of south Asia i.e. India till recent past was more focused on the global powers than its immediate neighbours. India changed its position towards its neighbour's since Gujral doctrine (i.e. continuous engagement even without reciprocity from smaller neighbour), was accepted as a part of Indian foreign policy.

Neighbourhood first Policy:

- Government has given the primary importance to its neighbours & has taken the proactive steps to improve the relations with them along with aligning the "Look East Policy" to "Act east Policy".
- Media has termed it as a neighbourhood first policy. This will have far reaching consequences favouring India's position in the region if implemented successfully. This will also pave way for the regional integration as India is the focal point to integrate the multi diversity region. However, the current incidents show that path is not smooth to trade.

Major Challenges of neighbourhood integration include:

- Trust Deficit: there has been lack of trust especially when it comes to relations with Pakistan & China. Past experiences of breach of trust by china through 1962 war & its incursion in the Indian Territory in Laddakh region are mainly responsible for it. Pakistan supported cross border terrorism and border dispute in J&K are Deeping this trust deficit. Recent issues of blockade of supplies to hilly area of Nepal by Madhesis in Tarai region was also seen as a step supported Indian government which culminated in lowest point in India Nepal relations.
- Local party politics especially in Tamil Nadu toward Tamil Issues in Sri Lanka is hampering the development of relations in the country. Water sharing of Tista River between West Bengal & Bangladesh also has been politicized as a regional issue.
- Many a times, countries like Nepal, Sri Lanka & Bangladesh are playing the China card in negotiations & draw extra benefits. Regional integration is impeded by the swinging relations of India & Pakistan. SAARC failure is a major example of regional geopolitics.
- Superpowers like USA, China to enhance their influence over south Asia region is using the region as their playground. Pivot to Asia policy of USA to contain the rise of China & China's policy of One Belt One Road to extend its influence is the major interplay of these global powers. Continuous instability of Afghanistan & terrorism in the region is adding the vulnerability of the region.
- Weak and delayed execution of undertaken projects such as energy grid project.

Conclusion:

In spite of all these challenges India's efforts to improve relations with neighbours & its policy of continuous engagement even without reciprocation will bear fruit in time to come. India need to brush aside its image as big brother & should cooperate with its small neighbours. India should provide its expertise in field of IT, education, and medical to win the confidence of these neighbours & should refrain from the domestic politics of these countries.

4. **Indian defence diplomacy will have to play an increasingly important role as it tries to emerge as a credible strategic partner of the regional states. In this context critically examine India's defence diplomacy. Also bring out contrast with Chinese defence diplomacy.**

(250 words)

Approach

1. **Briefly introduce the term defence diplomacy and also explain it in Indian context** *(50 words)*
2. **Elaborate, How is it helpful for India in emerging as a credible strategic partner of the regional states** *(70 words)*
3. **Also mention joint military exercises and bilateral defence ties of India with other countries** *(50 words)*
4. **Describe the potential of India in arms sale and also mention problems related with the arms sale** *(60 words)*
5. **Conclusion** *(20 words)*

Hints

Defence diplomacy: In international politics, defence diplomacy refers to the pursuit of foreign policy objectives through the peaceful employment of defence resources and capabilities. India has been traditionally lagged behind in using military diplomacy as an effective tool in its diplomacy. But this has been gradually changing over the last few years. Some of the recent actions of India including the participation in the quadrilateral exercises are steps in the right direction.

India is emerging as a credible strategic partner of the regional states due to its new defence diplomacy as smaller states in the region reach out to it for trade, diplomacy and potentially as a key regional balancer.

- The 'Look east' policy is now the cornerstone of India's engagement with the world's most economically dynamic region. India's proximity to the region and its growing capabilities make it a natural partner of most states in East and Southeast Asia.
- At the broader regional level, India continues to make a strong case for its growing relevance in the East Asian regional security and economic architecture with greater urgency than ever before.

- India has also strengthened its bilateral defence ties with some of the Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and Singapore. It is important to augment this beyond the traditional level of bilateral joint exercises to include multilateral exercises in our neighbourhood and beyond as well as to engage in arms sales.

So far as joint military exercises are concerned, India has not fared too poorly. For example,

Exercise Name	Details
Al-Nagah-II 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India-Oman joint military exercise. Held in Dhauladhar Ranges in Bakloh belt of Himachal Pradesh.
Ajeya Warrior 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India-UK Military Exercise Held in Bikaner
AUSINDEX 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India-Australia Naval Exercise Will be held in Freemantle, Australia
CORPAT (India and Indonesia Coordinated Patrol)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India and Indonesia maritime exercise Held in Andaman and Nicobar
DRUZBA 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint military exercise between special forces of Pakistan and Russia Held in Minralney Vody, Russia
Hand in Hand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India and China joint military exercise Aims to enhance cooperation and maintain peace and tranquillity along border areas of both countries.
Maitree 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India-Thailand Military Exercise Held in Thailand
SIMBEX-2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India and Singapore Joint Naval Exercise Held in South China Sea
Varuna 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> India-France Joint Naval Exercise Held in Reunion Island in Indian Ocean Region

Military diplomacy, conducted as part of India's overall diplomacy, will act as a significant catalyst in strengthening its ties with friendly countries. Keeping in mind larger strategic interests and not just commercial ones, India needs to step up arms transfer relations with important countries. Commercial considerations coupled with strategic interests in all the buyer countries would be significantly beneficial to India.

India's potential for arms sale:

- There are many reasons, including technological and economic, why India should consider foreign arms sales but an important one is to prevent China or Pakistan from gaining an advantage in areas of India's concern.

- India should consider selling items such as the Brahmos cruise missile and the INSAS small arms systems. With reference to Brahmos, since it was jointly developed with Russia, there might be objections from Russia. However, such issues could be sorted out. For instance, Brahmos has generated interest in South Africa, South Korea and Vietnam. Commercial considerations coupled with strategic interests in all of these three countries would be significantly beneficial to India.
- India has instituted '2+2' dialogue mechanism to combine the synergies of foreign and defence teams.
- A good number of bilateral military industrial conferences were held with different partners to explore mutually beneficial opportunities under 'Make in India' and 'Make with India' framework.
- India is also offering Line of Credit (LOC) for the purchase of defence equipment to the neighbours like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, and Nepal.
- For the first time, on the Republic Day Parade 2018, India presented its indigenous defence capabilities before the heads of all 10 ASEAN nations.
- MCGS Barracuda to Mauritius (the Barracuda is India's first ever export of a home built warship), and DRDO developed HMS-X2 Sonar's to Myanmar.
- Similarly, the INSAS small arms systems have evinced interest in some of the smaller western African countries. Other weapon systems that India could potentially do business with include Dhruv – the Advanced Light Helicopters (ALH).
- Among non-lethal weapons, India could possibly sell trucks, other military vehicles and radars. India is already selling trucks to the Malaysian Army; other military vehicles to some African countries and air defence radars – Indra - have been supplied to Sri Lanka. The effectiveness of the Indra radars may be questionable but it could still serve some limited purpose.

Problem Areas in Arms sale

- India's plans to export arms and equipments will be faced with huge problems unless the current export policy is revamped between the DGFT and the MOD.
- India has to finalize on a policy that is attractive enough to sell these weapons systems without much delay and red-tapeism.
- Revamping the export policy would also involve updating the Munitions List and the list of the Waasenaar Arrangement.
- While the Indian armed forces retained a measure of international presence through their participation in the United Nations peacekeeping operations, the People's Liberation Army largely remained in the shadows.
- In the last decade, Beijing has put a special emphasis on military diplomacy as an important element of China's national security strategy. As its interests become global, China's international military footprint is rapidly growing.

Conclusion:

India's defence diplomacy will have to play an increasingly important role as India tries to emerge as a credible strategic partner of the regional states. Neither India nor other regional states have incentive to define their relationship in opposition to China. But they are certainly interested in leveraging their ties with other states to gain benefits from China and bring a semblance of equality in their relationships.

5. **“India’s foreign policy over the last several decade represents a more of Continuity and less Change, however the rise of Realpolitik in India’s foreign policy in recent times indicating a pragmatic shift. Critically examine the statement.**

(250 Words)

Approach

1. **Mention about the Continuity and Changes in India’s Foreign policy.** *(30 words)*
2. **Change from Idealist to Realist foreign policy.** *(70 words)*
3. **Consequences of Realpolitik foreign policy.** *(70 words)*
4. **Criticism of the shift in foreign policy.** *(50 words)*
5. **Conclusion** *(30 words)*

Hints

National Interest is the sole goal of any foreign policy. Foreign policy is determined in such way that the national interest is not compromised. Continuity and Changes are the features of all foreign policies. Foreign policy of a nation reflects continuity because it is based on, and guards, the long term national interests of the nation. Continuity in foreign policy reflects the foresightedness and the vision of the foreign policy makers whereas Change reflects pragmatism of the policy makers holding this responsibility. Change is necessary because the environment, both internal and external, is constantly at flux.

Continuity in India’s foreign policy is seen with respect to:-

- India’s foreign policy since ancient times has had elements of both continuity and change. The elements of continuity include quest for securing peace in the neighbourhood, increasing trade, attracting foreign investments, playing a major role in the global arena.
- Maintained strategic autonomy.
- Foreign policy is based on universal values like freedom, tolerance and peace.
- India has not signed NPT because she considers this as a discriminatory.

Change in India’s foreign policy is seen with respect to:-

- Idealism to pragmatism in which idealism is primarily associated with Nehru’s way of dealing war through international laws and negotiations whereas India’s foreign policy has over time abandoned its hectoring, moralizing quality and embraced a more pragmatic mode of business.
- Its economic diplomacy and this change have significantly contributed to Indian pragmatism in foreign relations.
- Its Domestic politics i.e. bringing changes at federal level and emergence of regional parties.
- Its International order i.e. being a rule maker from a rule breaker.

As per foreign policy analysts like C Raja Mohan, SD Muni, Harsh Pant presently India's foreign policy has become more pragmatic.

- India's stance against the Rohingya refugees reflects a shift from its traditional stance of welcoming refugees though India is not a party to UN convention on refugees
- India is pursuing de-hyphenation approach towards Israel - Palestine. India has stopped looking at Israel from the prism of Palestine.
- India's offensive defensive strategy against Pakistan was visible when it conducted a surgical strike which was a departure from the past.
- India is seen to have left the theatres of Non Alignment and is now considering Multilateralism.
- India's growing relations with USA especially in defence cooperation is seen as a partnership of 21st Century.
- SAARC has hit a roadblock with the recent summit being cancelled after Pakistan's aggression towards India. India has now shifted its focus to sub regional groupings like BIMSTEC
- India also showed diplomatic maturity during the Doklam standoff and prevented it from escalating into a full scale war

Consequences of increasing reliance on Realpolitik

- India would no longer be considered as a "soft state".
- Concerns of a two – front war from China Pakistan alliances
- India would be projected as a country which can take initiative thus helping its case for a permanent seat at UNSC.
- Increasing closeness with countries like USA and Israel is pushing our traditional allies like Russia to realign its relationship with China and Pakistan.

Criticism of rise of Realpolitik in India's Foreign Policy

- India's focus on hard power (military power) for foreign policy outcomes sidelines our rich soft power (ideological power, goodwill) attributes.
- The concerns among the small neighbouring countries like Nepal against India's 'big brother' attitude
- Even though countries like China have the military might to use hard power, there is an increased focus on soft power. The BRI is an important part of China's Soft power. It seeks to make the countries economically dependent on it.
- Basing a foreign policy on immediate practical concerns is not advisable in a dynamic global scenario.
- It would reduce the element of trust in bilateral ties. Example, USA's reversal of many of the commitment's given by the previous government has reduced the trust on US.

Conclusion:

India's foreign policy has evolved in interesting ways as its power has increased in international affairs. While the quest for strategic autonomy has remained a fundamental objective, the content of Indian foreign policy has undergone a pragmatic transformation and is far more oriented

toward economic diplomacy today than ever before. In the changing geopolitical order India must build a strong foundation based on both India's civilization values as well as new considerations. The world order today is based on Complex Interdependence. There is Conflict, Cooperation, and Competition all at the same time. India must continue with its growth story and leave the hesitations of history in its national interest.

6. India must revise its nuclear policy and keep its strategy opaque. Critically discuss the statement.

(250 words)

Approach

1. **Brief introduction on India's nuclear policy** *(70 words)*
2. **Analyse whether the policy needs to be opaque or the current policy is already good enough** *(130 words)*
3. **Conclusion** *(50 words)*

Hints

A national nuclear doctrine represents, the collective set of beliefs or principles held by the nation with regard to the utility of its nuclear weapons.

Post 1998 nuclear test, India came up with a comprehensive nuclear doctrine to clear doubts and misunderstandings prevailing around world regarding India's Nuclear weapon policy. The Cabinet Committee on Security enunciated the details in 2003. By charting out a clear and principled nuclear policy, India has not only clarified its stand (both nationally and internationally) but also has earned valuable global support and credibility by diligently following the restraints.

Arguments against:

- India's current policy has helped India secure crucial international deals, such as the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) waiver as part of the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal in 2008.
 - ▶ More recently, India signed a nuclear cooperation agreement with Japan even though Japan is known for its staunch anti-nuclear stance and India is not a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
 - ▶ India is currently also seeking to join the NSG as a permanent member which is a doctrinal shift and is only going to give China more reason to delay India's entry. This posture would also play into the hands of Pakistan, which has long accused India of duplicity over its no first use policy and called India's expanding arsenal a threat to the region's stability.
- **No First Use policy is efficient:**
 - ▶ It builds stability into deterrence by credibly promising nuclear retaliation in the face of extreme provocation of a nuclear first strike by one's adversary.
- **Change in stance will create issues:**
 - ▶ All the gains enjoyed by India in the international community by the restraint of India nuclear posture would be frittered away if there is change in stance of nuclear doctrine

- ▶ It would enormously complicate and increase the expenditure incurred by us in regard to our command and control mechanisms which would have to be reconfigured to engage in calibrated nuclear war fighting.
- ▶ It would weaken the possibility of our engaging in conventional warfare insulated from the nuclear overhang.
- ▶ It would encourage the use of tactical nuclear weapons against under the illusion of no massive response.
- ▶ It would facilitate the painting of South Asia as a nuclear flashpoint and thereby encourage foreign meddling.

Arguments in support:

- **No first use:**
 - ▶ Such an approach unnecessarily kept India on the back foot and on the defensive and made it axiomatic that India would have to face the consequences of a first strike before being able to respond. Moreover, it prevented India from keeping a potential adversary off balance.
- **Evidence of Pakistan's proclivity to use tactical nuclear weapons against India is already present:**
 - ▶ Pakistan's acquisition of a tactical nuclear weapons such as the Hatf IX missile, with a range of 60 kilometres and capable of carrying a nuclear warhead of an appropriate yield, has attracted widespread attention in various Indian debates on strategic stability.
 - ▶ It has been argued that Pakistan's acquisition of TNWs has lowered the deterrence threshold and thereby affected the overall strategic stability in the region.
 - ▶ Emphasizing this change in India's strategic environment, the proponents of doctrinal review argue that India's existing doctrine is ill-suited to deter Pakistan from using tactical nuclear weapons against India.
- Advocates of a change in India's NFU policy would like its nuclear doctrine mimic those of most of the established Nuclear Weapon States which contemplate the use of nuclear weapons even in sub nuclear conflicts.

Conclusion:

- Periodic statements about the nurturing and upgradation of India's nuclear arsenal and systems including alternate command structure.
- An indication that India's nuclear arsenal will be large enough to take care of all adversaries and will have to be in the mid triple digits.
- Appointment of a Chief of Defence Staff and upgradation of the NTRO as a capable apex technical organization which would in a fool proof manner provide indicators of any attack on us and ensure swift and massive nuclear retaliation inflicting unacceptable damage.
- Nuclear testing:
 - ▶ Two things need to be done to configure and laboratory-test sophisticated thermonuclear weapons designs.
 - ▶ The laser inertial confinement fusion facility at the Centre for Advanced Technology, Indore, needs to be refurbished on a war-footing, and a dual-axis radiographic hydrodynamic test facility constructed.

7. **Strategic partnership in combination with economic partnerships have become important part of India's "Act West Asia" policy in recent. What are the reasons behind India's active strategic engagements with West Asian countries without participating in West Asian turmoil?**

(250 words)

Approach

1. **Introduce India-west asia relations** *(50 words)*
2. **Show recent developments with UAE and saudi arabia** *(50 words)*
3. **Analya reason behind Indias active engagment** *(100 words)*
4. **Conclusion** *(50 words)*

Hints

West Asia has been an important part of Indian energy security and economic co-operation with oil & gas supplies, remittances from West Asian countries and Indian exports of agriculture produce, gems & jewelry being the important component.

However in recent strategic partnership and intent to co-operate on various security issues have been given special emphasis by various West Asian countries like **UAE, Saudi Arabia, Israel** and various actions by these countries are an indicative of this. Focus on agreements covering tackling terrorism, terror financing, countering drug-trafficking and co-operation among the armed forces emerged as major areas.

India- UAE recent relations have showcased the change in the relations of the two countries. Various statements and initiatives indicate this:

- The UAE was the first Islamic country to criticise the Pathankot and Uri terror attacks. It then supported India's surgical strike inside Pakistan.
- Indian PM's August 2015 visit to UAE had already showcased their consensus to "coordinate efforts to counter radicalisation and misuse of religion by groups and countries for inciting hatred, perpetuating and justifying terrorism".
- The two sides alluding to Pakistan in their joint statement after the prime minister's visit when calling upon "all states to reject and abandon the use of terrorism against other countries, dismantle terrorism infrastructures and bring perpetrators of terrorism to justice" and in a reference to the Kashmir dispute, the joint statement called on nations to "fully respect and sincerely implement their commitments to resolve disputes bilaterally and peacefully, without resorting to violence and terrorism" reflect convergence of ideas on issues of vital importance to each other.

With Saudi Arabia also the relations have been on upswing

- Fighting terrorism, energy cooperation and trade and investment were high on the agenda in talks. In the February 2014 visit of the then Crown Prince H.E. Salman to Delhi, both the countries signed MoUs that would allow defence-related information sharing, military training and education as well as cooperation in areas varying from hydrography and security to logistics.
- In the Riyadh Declaration both the countries resolved to combat terrorism and agreed to enhance level of cooperation in exchange of information relating to terrorist activities, money laundering, arms and human trafficking, narcotics as well as signing of the extradition treaty and the Agreement for Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners.

What are the reasons for India’s increased engagement

- West Asia forms India’s extended neighbourhood with whom we have historical linkages, so moving forward on strategic issues required only deft balancing.
- Saudi Arabia and UAE have significant influence in Islamic world, in Pakistan and Afghanistan. So enhanced co-operation with these countries will help India to put pressure on Pakistan.
- In the UN, the OIC frequently tables resolutions against India regarding the situation in Kashmir and the GCC tends to lean in Pakistan’s direction on the matter. Perhaps, another offshoot of this strategic partnership is that the UAE might be a bit more accommodating of India’s concerns about Kashmir.
- These countries can be important source of investments in India, therefore deepening relations makes sense.
- Radicalization, terrorism and ISIS are emerging as new security threats globally. Relations with these countries will help India tackle them through intelligence sharing.
- With threat of US retreating its footprints from West Asia and China increasing its presence in Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and West Asia it is imperative for India to enhance defence engagements with these countries.

Conclusion:

New government in India has invested a lot in this relationship and will be hoping that a deeper and more comprehensive engagement with the UAE will help his government reap the benefits in areas as diverse as the “Make in India” initiative, the “smart cities” project, infrastructure-building, oil, renewable energy as well as security and counterterrorism.

8. **“Federal units are critical in the making of India’s foreign policy.” In light of statement analyse the India’s foreign policy challenges. Also discuss the determinants of India’s foreign policy.**

(250 words)

Approach

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. Merit and Challenges of a federal foreign policy | <i>(100 words)</i> |
| 2. Discuss the determinants of India’s foreign policy. | <i>(100 words)</i> |
| 3. Conclusion | <i>(50 words)</i> |

Hints

Merits of Federal Foreign policy :-

- As globalisation has eroded traditional boundaries, the Central government by itself is not well-equipped to meet the challenges posed by new political, economic and social forces. It is here that the subnational involvement in International affairs can help push forward India’s stand on key issues. In a country as sizeable as India there is a definitive need for decentralisation of foreign policy implementation and key areas of diplomacy.

- States are often better equipped than the Central government to undertake diplomatic measures in areas of trade, commerce, foreign direct investment, education, cultural exchanges and also outsourcing of business. Eg the fishermen issue with Srilanka. Tamils of both sides are sympathetic to each other thus, making it almost compulsory for any relations to be dependent on the Tamil government's involvement and attitude.
- **Difference of ideology between Centre and State** because of which some judgments of New Delhi may not be viewed in the best interest of states and vice versa. Eg Sharing of Teesta river water. West Bengal might be better placed to enhance diplomatic relations with governments in its neighbourhood (Bangladesh and Bhutan) given its geographical and historical ties with the countries.
- Given India's size, provincial governments are often better placed to enhance diplomatic relations with other governments in their neighbourhood because of geographical, cultural, historical and economic reasons. E.g. Kerala has vested interests in engaging in diplomatic relations with the Gulf countries as a large number of the state's residents find jobs in those countries.

Challenges in federal foreign policy.

- New Delhi has to balance its policies so that Colombo doesn't shift towards Islamabad or Beijing.
- Teesta Water sharing agreement on the terms of West Bengal may give rise to human rights violation issue and also disturb the relationship with Bangladesh.
- Since most States share an international boundary, they need to be involved and consulted on external affairs that affect them.

Determinants of a Foreign Policy are based on two factors :-

(A) Geographical

(B) Non Geographical

- Geographic location:
 - ▶ India is located between Middle-east, South-East Asia and far East.
 - ▶ It is present close to one of the busiest trade routes in the world.
 - ▶ It shares most of its land boundaries with hostile neighbours.
 - ▶ The increasing presence of China in the Indian Ocean is a source of major concern.
- Population
 - ▶ India has a huge population who need to be provided with basic amenities and employment opportunities.
 - ▶ India also ensure the well being of its Non Resident Indians abroad.
- Economic Concerns
 - ▶ India is in dire need of foreign investments. Over the years it has liberalised its economy to incentivise foreign investments.
- Political
 - ▶ India aims to become a major global player in the future.
 - ▶ It has been trying to join the UNSC as a permanent member.
- Security and Defence

- ▶ Terrorism from hostile neighbours has been a major concern.
- ▶ Home grown terrorists use neighbouring countries as a hide out.
- ▶ India has signed land boundary agreements to strengthen border defence .
- Ideology
 - ▶ Since ancient times India’s Foreign Policy has been guided by values like peace and non violence.
 - ▶ This was the basis for India’s Non Aligned movement.
- Strategic culture
 - ▶ Shaped by its history (particularly colonial era)
 - ▶ Shaped by its philosophy which emphasizes non aggressive behaviour.
 - ▶ Traditions (Athiti Devo Bhava)
- India’s requirements and goals
 - ▶ Till Cold war, it was in favour of India to go for non alignment but now India itself is evolving as one of the many poles in the global political, security and economic architecture.
- Resources available to any country
 - ▶ In terms of human skills, funds. Early decades India was deficient in terms of funds and skill. But now Indian diaspora forms any important part of any ICT revolution in the globe.

Conclusion:

Thus, the non geographical factors plays more important role than the geographical factors in determining India’s foreign policy. India is no more a BALANCING STATE or a SWING STATE. It has the ambition to be a LEADING POWER.

9. India’s cultural richness and the wide expanse of its spiritual knowledge and icons are important pillars of soft power diplomacy”. Comment.

(250 words)

Approach

1. **Define Soft power. Briefly introduce India’s rich cultural diversity and spiritual traditions.** *(60 words)*
2. **Discuss the various components of our culture and heritage that gain significant attraction in various countries.** *(80 words)*
3. **Describe how India can leverage this soft power further.** *(50words)*
4. **Conclusion** *(60 words)*

Hints

The term ‘soft power’ was coined by neo-liberal academician **Joseph Nye** of Harvard University “to describe the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, use force or give money as a means of persuasion.” This depends on the attractiveness of one’s culture, political values, and

foreign policy. Soft power is part of “cultural diplomacy”, i.e., using culture to create a favorable foreign policy image for a country to expand its associations and its interests. India’s diverse culture, its pulsating democracy, and a non-aligned foreign policy have been traditional pillars of its soft power. It is home to all major religions of the world.

Role of Cultural and Spiritual features in enhancing India’s soft power

- **Buddhism:** India is the birthplace of Buddhism and cultures of East Asian and South-east Asian countries such as Cambodia, Vietnam, Japan, and Sri Lanka are heavily influenced by religion.
 - ▶ Buddhism is part of this historic contact, and there is a constant flow of pilgrims from the Southeast Asian countries to India even today
 - ▶ The introduction of **Buddhist Pilgrimage circuit**, a seven-day tour that covers at least six to seven Buddhist destinations will further cement this relationship
- **Yoga:** The UN Declaration of International Yoga Day on June 21, is a success of India’s diplomatic efforts to spread yoga across the world.
 - ▶ Popularizing yoga in Europe and America is accredited to a few names like Paramhansa Yogananda, B. K. S. Iyengar, K. Pattabhi, and T. K. V. Desikachar.
 - ▶ The overwhelming number of yoga schools in America and Europe and many parts of Asia are a testimony to the popularity of India’s rich cultural traditions.
 - ▶ Yoga is also a part of the curriculum of some educational institutions in Europe and America.
- **Islam and Sufism:** As a country with the second-largest population of Muslims, India could be an example of how Islam coexists with multiple religions, particularly for a battered West Asia.
 - ▶ Indian Muslims are heavily influenced by the syncretic Sufi culture. The dargahs of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti in Ajmer and Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi attracts lakhs of visitors from worldwide.
 - ▶ Sufism reveals the tenets of Islam that need to be embraced to counter, delegitimize, and defeat terrorism.
- **Bollywood:** Recently the success of Bollywood movies like Dangal and ‘Hindi Medium’ in China has enhanced India’s perception among the Chinese audience.
 - ▶ In addition to their popularity among the Indian diaspora from Nigeria and Senegal to Egypt and Russia, generations of non-Indians have grown up with Bollywood.
 - ▶ Indian cinema’s early contacts with other regions made inroads into the Soviet Union, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and China
- **Others:** Dance forms such as Bharatnatyam, Kathak, and Odissi attracts dancers from all over the world

Enhancing our cultural diplomacy

The following steps could be taken to further enhance our cultural diplomacy.

- **Indian Cultural Services:** A cultural cadre which has high-profile career strategists recruited, trained and developed to nurture creativity with a global perspective could boost our cultural relations with other countries
- Documentation and promotion of historical ties in the lines of:

- ▶ **Project Mausam**, which is to document the diversity of cultural, commercial and religious interactions in the Indian Ocean
- Boost **tourism** sector through circuits like the Buddhist circuit, Spiritual Circuit, Pilgrimage circuit, etc.
- **Transnational Cooperation**: The transnational nature of the Buddhist Circuit necessitates a greater level of coordination between India and Nepal.
 - ▶ Embracing the opportunities presented by the North-South Economic Corridor of the countries of the Mekong region is crucial.
 - ▶ This will encourage travel to the north of Myanmar and to Southern China, which may, in turn, lead to more interest in neighbouring areas including India's northeast.
- Promote cultural movies emerging out of Bollywood

Conclusion:

- India's older civilisational contacts with the countries of Southeast Asia form a shared cultural heritage that can aid in promising relations and sustain a common regional identity. At a global level, India's ancient culture of tolerance, diversity, and peace can be a model for creating harmony between competing nations and the different clashing cultures, ancient and modern, of the entire world.
- It is imperative that India expands its soft power and civilisational strength, both for national unity and to gain the proper place in the world for its magnificent heritage that can benefit all humanity. India has the cultural and civilizational depth to lead the world to a new era of peace and higher consciousness but needs further impetus in order to do so.
- Lastly, it must be realized that soft power comes up with its limitations. When it comes to major decisions at a global platform, hard power is the real deal-breaker. Countries like China and the US which wield significant hard power don't face the ire of global institutions even when they are violating global norms. Therefore, India should continue pushing its path to development and emerge as a greater military and economic power. At the same time, it should maintain its preference to wield soft power.

10. To promote its development interests, India must overhaul its approach to economic diplomacy. Critically evaluate the statement with regards to India's economic diplomacy in South Asia.

(250 words)

Approach

1. In the introduction, briefly discuss the foreign policy of India with regard to South Asia. (25 words)
2. Enumerate various successful planned projects of India in neighbouring countries (80 words)
3. Enumerate the projects that have been delayed (80 words)
4. Discuss how India's under-delivery on promises hampers its south Asian diplomacy vis a vis China (25 words)
5. Way Forward and Conclusion (40 words)

Hints

India's relationship with South Asia is governed by its Neighbourhood first policy. Neighbourhood First Policy of India focuses on peaceful relations and collaborative synergetic co-development with its South Asian neighbors of the Indian subcontinent encompassing a diverse range of topics, such as economic, technology, research and education, connectivity space program, defence security, environment and climate challenge.

Successful Projects done by India in neighbouring countries:

- Afghanistan - Salma Dam, Afghanistan' Parliament in Kabul
- Bangladesh - Grant assistance to Bangladesh (1st tranche of \$50 million), Agartala Akhaura Rail link
- Bhutan - Mangdechhu Hydroelectric Project,
- Sri Lanka - Housing project, Jaffna Cultural Centre, Setting up of a hospital at Dickoya
- Myanmar - Kaladan Project (inland waterways component), Upgrade of the Yangon Children Hospital and Sittwe General Hospital

Delayed Projects

- In Nepal, the Police Academy, expected to be complete 32 years ago, is still in limbo
- India's aid projects in neighbouring countries, such as the Terai road projects in Nepal and the hydroelectric dams in Bhutan, have faced numerous delays and problems
- The case is similar in Bangladesh, where many railway projects have suffered delays. This issue creates negative perceptions of India being lazy and indifferent to its commitments.
- As India faced the brunt of second wave in Covid-19 and could not help its neighbours, China stepped up an to take several strategic initiatives vis-à-vis India's neighbours in South Asia

Impact on India's diplomacy due to such delays:

- **Perception of delivery deficit is created:** India's neighbors have often complained of India making big promises but suffering from a delivery deficit.
 - ▶ This is the case with most countries in which India has taken up projects, for instance, road and railway lines, establishing integrated border checkpoints, and hydropower projects.
- **Indian neighbours turning to China :**
 - ▶ Due to delivery delays by India, South Asian countries have no option but to turn to China to reduce their dependence on India.
 - ▶ The Chinese have a proven track record of developing infrastructure abroad on time, and give added incentives by making many projects part of the Belt and Road Initiative.
 - ▶ China has been busy completing the East-West highway that traverses Nepal and is also working on a railway line from Tibet to Lhasa.
 - ▶ It has many projects underway in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan as well.
 - ▶ China has been increasing its investments in South Asia due to India's neglect over the years, with Beijing offering a sustained strategy on development projects and the security concerns that emanate from India's neighbors

- **Discrimination in Aid :**

- ▶ India provided more aid to four countries, Maldives, Nepal, Bhutan and Afghanistan, than the rest of the countries of SAARC, leading to insecurity among other neighbors.

Way Forward

- India should work on removing bureaucratic hurdles for efficient completion of its projects.
- Concepts like 'Small Development Project' programmes, under which India is now engaging with aid partner countries on smaller grassroots projects, can be extended.
- India can eliminate non-tariff barriers and other trade barriers, strings-attached aid, and complete all the existing projects to regain the neighbors' trust.

Conclusion:

The Covid pandemic has had a drastic impact on Indian neighbourhood countries. This crisis provides India an opportunity to co-design a collective roadmap for South Asia. The collective progress can fuel India's own national recovery and be the economic engine of the neighbourhood.



NOTES
