



Sleepy Classes IAS
Awakening Toppers

Political Science & International Relations Crash Course

Lecture - 28

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1.) India is often said to have a rich strategic culture. Discuss. 10m[2018]

Introduce Strategic Culture by defining it

Mention sources of India's strategic culture and substantiate with several examples and incidents.

Conclusion

Introduction

- The concept of strategic culture has been first given by Jack Snyder.
- It has been defined as the 'ability of the people and the society to generate power; and to have the social will and ability for a full and effective use of that power'.
- The sources of the strategic culture of a nation state are its history, geography, national culture, politics etc. Therefore, states may have different strategic cultures pertaining to the differences in these factors.

India's Strategic Culture:

- Ancient source of strategic culture-Kautilya's Arthashastra, an ancient treatise on statecraft, contains provisions of proactive strategic measures to be undertaken by a pragmatic ruler. **Henry Kissinger** in his book **World Order** acknowledged India's strategic culture.
- **Acharya and Buzan** give special importance to the case of **Jawaharlal Nehru**, as he was recognised both within India and in the world, as a thinker in his own right, rather than simply as a political strategist. He organised the Asian Relations Conferences of 1947 and 1949, contributing to the cause of decolonisation and unity of global South.
- More recently **Dr. S. Jaishankar** ("The India Way", chapter "Krishna's choice") : talked about the rich strategic culture of India with reference to Mahabharata. Mahabharat talks about tactical compromises, Balance of Power , diplomacy , alliances which has been practising in managing its relations with other countries.

Several instances that indicate India posses a rich strategic culture are →

- **Shiv Shankar Menon** held that Indian not only has a strategic culture of its own, but has practised it consistently in its bilateral relations and multilateral arena.
 - Opting for non-alignment to preserve strategic autonomy in a bipolar world
 - Entering into Treaty of Friendship with USSR, 1971 to counter emerging US-Pak-China axis
 - Showing the will to use force for clearly defined political ends when the cause is just, once it is clear that diplomacy's potential is exhausted, internally in Goa and Hyderabad and externally in 1971, in Sri Lanka and the Maldives at the request of their governments.
 - Going nuclear capable to restore balance of power with China
- India is also working to counter the Chinese **String of Pearls** in the Indian Ocean by formulating a new maritime doctrine (Ensuring Safe Seas, 2015) and declaring Freedom of Navigation as **National Interest**.
- It is working to build **QUAD as democratic security diamond** as well as relying on **self-help** initiatives like SAGAR, IORA, IONS and Malabar exercises with like-minded countries.
- Adoption of Doval Doctrine-More recently, India has adopted the **Doval Doctrine** based on defensive offence and its working on the vulnerabilities of Pakistan also reflects India's strategic culture.

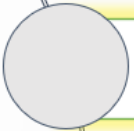
Conclusion

- There are certain core traits of Indian strategic culture that have persisted since independence despite shifts in India's strategic foreign and security policies during and after the Cold War, and not withstanding the gathering momentum of the forces of globalisation.
- It would be wrong to say India doesn't have a strategic culture. Rather it is an orientalist view of international relations and theory of foreign policy that needs correction (Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan).

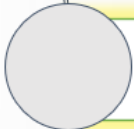
2) How does cross-border terrorism impede the achievement of peace and security in South Asia? 10m [2020]



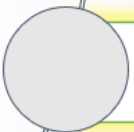
Introduce terrorism and what is meant by cross border terrorism.



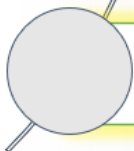
Explain cross border terrorism in S.Asia



Elaborate how it impedes peace and stability (cultural, strategic, economic and political dimension)



Suggest ways to tackle the menace



Conclude

Introduction

- There is no internationally accepted definition of terrorism, however it can be understood as a form of political violence that seeks to obtain its objectives through use of tools that create fear and violence.
- It may involve both state sponsored and non-state perpetrators of violence, often targeting innocent civilians.
- Cross border terrorism is when preparators of violence plan and execute violence from one state on the soil of other state.

Cross Border Terrorism In S. Asia

- India's former PM Dr Manmohan Singh had once remarked his vision for South Asia as
 - *"I have a dream, that while retaining our respective national identities we have breakfast in Amritsar, Lunch in Lahore and dinner in Kabul. This is how our forefathers lived and this is how our grandchildren should live"*
- In fact World Bank (report : Glass Half Full) noted that there is an explosive value to be derived from South Asian Economic Integration.
- Despite the immense potential of the region, South Asia remains the least integrated geographical block in the world with cross border terrorism being one of the important impediments.

- It is unfortunate that South Asia has its own black sheep. The weakest link in the chain continues to be Pakistan, which views security as a zero-sum game, and uses cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy against its neighbours.
- Today, in South Asia groups like the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-eTayyeba (LeT) are active.
- In this regard, **S.Jaishankar** rightly pointed out that *"Ours is not just a story of missed opportunities but also of deliberate obstacles. Cross border terrorism being one of them"*

Impact Of Terrorism On S. Asian Stability

- **Low volume of trade** - Due to cross-border terror attacks, there is an increasing trend of **protectionism** in the region. The average tariff rate for int-regional trade stands at ~35% which is one of the highest in the world.
 - Intra-regional trade of SAARC nations is just 1% of SAARC's GDP. This is significantly less compared to 10% the of ASEAN block.
- **Persistent security dilemma**-Planned terror attacks originating from Pakistani soil such as the Uri Attack and attack on Pathankot airbase have only deepened the security dilemma. Pursuing a zero-sum game has prevented any form of cultural, political or economic integration.
- **Dent track II diplomacy**-South Asia's two major countries i.e. India and Pakistan have made several attempts towards peace and stability. Some of them are
 - Visit of Vajpayee after Kargil and start of Samjhauta Express
 - Ceasefire Agreement signed in 2003
 - Goodwill visit by PM Modi to Nawaz Sharif
 - Opening of Kartarpur Sahib Corridor
- However, most of these initiatives were shelved off due to incidents of cross border terrorism. Thus the Peace process has been nothing but **2 steps forward, 2 steps back**. This has prevented development of people to people ties and also shrunk the space for Track II diplomacy.
- **Ceding space for China's intervention** Cross-border terror incidents have also resulted in India shunning the region in favour of adjacent geographies like BIMSTEC. In this context, **C.R Mohan** pointed out that *'Geographies are not static, they evolve over time. How we construct regions should vary with circumstances.*
- The vacuum left by India is being quickly filled by China. Its presence in the region has added to concerns w.r.t regional peace and stability.
 - It has trapped several small states like Maldives and Sri Lanka in its predatory **'chequebook diplomacy'**. For instance, Hambantota Port was given to China for 99 years, after Sri Lanka was unable to service its debt.

Way Forward

- Prof. S. D. Muni argues that terms like insurgency', 'proxy-wars', 'asymmetric and unequal conflicts' have been subsumed by one word-terrorism.
- He suggests that terrorism should be understood in the wider context of political violence. The root causes of political violence must be factored into crafting strategies to address the issues of terrorism and political violence.
- To overcome the issue of cross border terrorism, Kanti Bajpai suggests a three prong strategy
 - Reopen the dialogue through platforms like SAARC
 - Strengthen strategic relations with the USA to pressurise Pakistan to give up its policy of using state sponsored terrorism
 - Go for détente with China
- Similarly, Shashi Tharoor (Pax Indica) suggests to
 - Use international platforms like UN to take effective counter-terrorism measures.
 - 'Back channel diplomacy' i.e. reaching to the countries which have leverage on Pakistan. e.g. USA, Saudi Arabia, UAE.
 - Strengthening of border infrastructure
- South Asia -1 can also be an option but it cannot be effective in the long run. It will only cede more space and leverage to China in the region and worsen the situation.

Conclusion

- Countries of South Asia must realise that the destiny of South Asia is to either swim together or risk sinking separately in poverty, unemployment and challenges of environment, security and globalisation.

3) Suggest measures so that India's partnership with Africa becomes a true symbol of South-South Cooperation, delivering clear cut economic and political divisions to both sides of the equation. 20m[2017]

- Introduce India-Africa relations
- Elaborate on India-Africa partnership
- Mention areas on contention in relationship
- Suggest measures to overcome the issues so that relations become symbol of S-S cooperation
- Conclude

Introduction

- *As per Dr. Sumit Roy*, India's perception of Africa in the post-cold war era was shaped by five "Mantras" (chants) – economic co-operation, engaging the PIO's (Persons of Indian Origin), preventing and combating terrorism, preserving peace, and assisting African defence forces.
- For Africa it is often said that what was once a 'continent of darkness' is now a 'young and promising continent' which represents 3D and 3T (development, demography and democracy | trade, training and technology).
- Responding to this changing scenario, Indian PM Modi held that → government will accord 'top priority' to Africa India-Africa Partnership

India-Africa Partnership

Areas of cooperation (Spirit of 'developing together as equals')

- **Energy Security**
 - ONGC Videsh became a stakeholder in Sudanese petroleum sector
 - Ties with oil rich countries such as Nigeria and Angola

Cultural and Educational ties

- IT sector: PAENP
- establishing India Africa Institute of Foreign Trade , India Africa Diamond Institute, India Africa Institute of Education, Planning and Development
 - *Each African student arrives as a scholar, stays as a friend and returns as an ambassador of India* ← **Vijay Gokhale**
 - *India's priority is not just Africa; India's priority is Africans* ← **Modi**
- **Security and Defence**
 - Training Africa's military personnel + defence partnerships

- Containing **piracy** on the Somalian coast, combating outfits such as **Al Shaabab and Boko Haram**.
- Complementarities between **Indian Navy's 2015 Maritime Strategy document** and the Australia's 2050 Africa Integrated Maritime Strategy
- African countries have been significant beneficiaries of **Indian Navy's HA/DR missions**, eg '**Cyclone Idai**', **Mozambique**
- **Development Partnership** : Four main pillars
 - Capacity building and training under ITEC, Lines Of Credit, Trade, investments.
 - In 2012, **Development Partnership Administration (DPA)** under MEA, to govern India's outgoing development assistance.

Challenges In India-Africa Cooperation

- Flawed development strategy-Malancha Chakrabarty argues that There are two main flaws in India's development strategy in Africa.
- Firstly, India is not actively pursuing any specific development goals. An assessment of India's development cooperation instruments (LoCs, grants, and capacity building projects like ITEC) reflects the absence of a plan for Africa. Indian LoCs have not been designed to achieve a larger development goal such as food security, health security, clean energy or education for all.
- Secondly, there is no synchronisation between different development instruments. LoCs, grants and capacity building initiatives operate as standalone instruments of development cooperation, with almost no links with each other. As a result, the overall development impact of India's development cooperation is small and difficult to measure.

How To Become Model For S-S Corporation

- Multiple level engagement-According to Rajiv Bhatia, Now that we have a policy what is needed is an action plan and greater engagement at Track I and II levels.
- Clear strategy for African development: As per Malancha Chakrabarty Both India and Africa face major challenges in the next decade. Unlike China and the West, India does not have substantial resources to support Africa.
- Therefore, it should prepare a focused Africa strategy for the next decade and identify a few areas for closer cooperation. Targeting a few important areas like food and health security, climate change adaptation and gender equality will help improve development outcomes and make India's development cooperation programme more effective..
- Continue the current focus on capacity building- a simple focus on building physical infrastructure and economic growth will not contribute to a stable and prosperous Africa. Investment in human capital is the key to development in Africa.

- C.Raja Mohan calls for more attention to Transition Economies and island states such as Seychelles and Mauritius etc.
- Closer trilateral cooperation with other countries (Japan, European countries (like France) and the United States or UN Economic Commission for Africa)
- Energetic soundbite and Cultural diplomacy by engaging Bollywood, Digital apps, and popular web series.

Scholarly Suggestions

Siddhartha Vardharajan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Improve diplomatic presence (From 2018-20, 9 new embassies were opened) ➤ Draw red line for private t sector as instances of resentment against some firms and ensure private sector fulfils CSR norms ➤ Greater engagement with diaspora (Under PM Modi, shift from the policy of 'active-disassociation', to 'proactive association' in recent years.) ➤ SPV to fast track project implementation and look into mismanagement of funds
Mahesh Sachdev (former high commissioner of Nigeria)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Focus on common challenges. [<u>for example revival of multilateral institutions such as WTO, UN etc, Climate change, piracy etc</u>]. ❖ India should not be too worried by Chinese presence ❖ India too is a developing country and cannot afford to give freebies like China

Conclusion

- As Madiba, the great Nelson Mandela, famously said, "*After climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb.*" India and Africa have scaled heights hand in hand, and will scale greater heights, also hand in hand, in the years to come.

4) Illustrate the main causes of tension between India and China. Suggest the possibilities of improving relationships. 10m[2016]

Introduce India-China relations

Explain the issues that cause strain in relations

Suggest diverse measures to deal with china

Conclude

Introduction

- No other relationship of India has as many layers as our relations with China. (PM Modi].
- Relations are multilayered and polygonal characterised by 6Cs i.e. conflict, collaboration, coexistence, convergence, competition and cooperation.
 - Complicated state of relations due to global (changing world order), regional (Chinese inroads in S.Asia), bilateral (water sharing, border issues) and domestic factors (economic strength, diplomatic standing in International Politics). ← **Jagannath Panda**

Areas of Tension

- 6T irritants i.e. territory, Tibet, Tawang, third party (Pak,US), trade and threat perception. Relations are mired by security dilemma and prisoner's dilemma ← Jeff Smith (book : cold peace)
- After Panchsheel failure, both could not evolve a framework to manage relations and as the power differential is growing prospects are increasingly becoming dim.

Border Disputes (traditional and recent Galwan)

- If geography is destiny, then China and India seem fated to clash.
- Chinese appear to be seriously shoring up their military posture along the entire LAC, and so the net result could well be a setback to the maintenance of peace
 - Eastern sector - China alleges India occupies 90,000 sq miles of Chinese territory.
 - Western Sector - China occupied Indian territory of 38,000 sq km in Aksai Chin. Pakistan has gifted Indian claimed territory of 2,170 sq miles (Shaksgam Valley)

- Middle sector - Sikkim was disputed but China accepted Indian sovereignty in 2003.
- Economic growth and prosperity have not liberated China from the '**middle kingdom**' complex. War of 1962 is only notionally over, it continues by other means like incursions.
- **As per SS Menon** "Not sure if territory is the real issue. A boundary is a useful issue to regulate the temperature of the relationship"
- Through frequent border disputes China tries to remind India of **Asia's geopolitical hierarchy**. It is also a message to other neighbours. Also the Indian submission will signal **final rites of Pax Americana**

River water sharing

- Brahmaputra importance for India → accounts for 29% of the total run-off of India's rivers and the basin possess about 44% of India's total hydropower potential
- 2006 pact for sharing hydro data from 15 May-15 Oct every year for Brahmaputra and Satluj

Issue:

- Chinese construction of dams in seismic zone and water diversion projects and China does not agree for treaty on Brahmaputra
- China insists on including Bangladesh in agreement but India prefers bilateral settling of issues.
- China also withheld the hydrological data during Doklam standoff but shared data with Bangladesh for same period (India pays Rs 82 lakh annually to receive this data)

Trade Imbalance

- Bilateral trade of \$77bn (2021)
- Indian trade Deficit has only increased from \$1.1bn (2003-04) to \$45bn (2020)
- There is also flooding of cheap goods, dumping of steel and imposition of Sanitary and Phytosanitary restrictions on Indian agricultural products
- As a countermeasure, India did not allow Huawei and ZTE in 5G spectrum allocation process (**No way Huawei**) and banned over 50 Chinese apps

Emerging China-Pak Axis

- **Andrew Small**, book "**The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's new geopolitics**" argued that **Pakistan is acting like a proxy for China against India**. For China, Pakistan is not just a client state, but a valued instrument to contain India.
- Beijing is not only propping up the Pakistani state financially and militarily, but also has **repeatedly blocked United Nations action against terrorists**. After abrogation of Article 370, China has helped Pakistan to internationalise the Kashmir issue.

- Development of Gwadar Port by China and China's OBOR passing through POK are attempts by China to encircle India with the help of Pakistan as proxy.

How To Deal with China

- Social Constructivist
 - understand its civilisational and cultural particularities. But don't apply it mechanically as China is transforming ← **Shyam Saran**
 - India should not lose the psychological war against China ← **Rajiv Sikri**
- Realist→ After the end of WWII, never **has BoP become so relevant as it is today. Go for**
- External Balancing
 - Tyrants and tyrannies are not w/o their proverbial achilles heel. In China's case it is 'fear of democracy'. Build a great wall of democracies that subscribes to **rules based WO**.
 - Asymmetry in power constrains our ability to exercise strategic autonomy. So go for partnership with the USA to counterbalance. Non Alignment is not an option ← Shiv Shankar Menon (Choices) and Ashley Tellis
 - No point in sticking to anti-west ideology or seek South-South coop in a world where North, East, West, South are fluid geographies.
- Internal Balancing
 - Move away from the idea of parity with China and find ways to cope up with the power differential. GDP of China is 5 times and defence budget 3 times ← CRM
- **S. Jaishankar**
 - Economic front : accept that China will be a major investor but keep in mind National Security. Need to push for mkt access to reduce deficit. Diversify import basket for critical inputs like APIs and rare earth metals;
 - Strategically, leverage the global environment to create a better balance;
 - Manage border by more intensive infrastructure and **deploying asymmetric capabilities**.

Conclusion

Both India and China being civilisational states believe in historic destinies and want to attain great power status. Relations remain complex as economic interdependence has not lowered the undercurrents of mistrust.

India must attain status of Aatmanirbhar Bharat and collaborate with like minded countries to secure its national interest against any form of Chinese adventurism



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