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# Political Science & International Relations

**UPSC 2023**

***Paper 2 - B***

**5. (a) Explain the major features of India's Foreign Policy in the 21st century. (PYQs in 2022, 2021, 2018, 2013, 2012, 2011)**

### Continuity and Change in IFP:

- *C. Raja Mohan* in *The Oxford handbook of Indian foreign policy* talks of 'transformation through incremental adaptation' with regard to India's Foreign Policy.
- *Schaffer and Schaffer*- despite change, there is a 'common core' in India's actions and visions.
- *Sumit Ganguli* argues that despite Modi's interest in altering many contours of India's foreign policy, India has a fairly well-institutionalized foreign policy decision-making apparatus, a growing attentive public, and a political culture that has a deep-seated propensity for incremental changes.

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- Continuation of the India Way
  - One of the bedrocks of India's foreign policy, according to Jaishankar, has been the emphasis on civilizational aspects of India.
  - For *Schaffer and Schaffer*, the fulcrum of Indian foreign policy derives from its civilizational and large-country sensibility, as well as ideas of hierarchy and moral superiority.
- Indian Exceptionalism:
  - Another continuing strand pointed out by *Aparna Pande* is that of Indian exceptionalism. It rests on the uniqueness of India, which enabled it to gain independence without violence, revolution or war.
- Respect for International Law and Order:
  - India continues to underline its role as a responsible power deserving a seat on the high table of global politics. Underlined in Article 51 of DPSPs.

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- Leading the Global South
  - While there may be a shift from NAM to multi-alignment, India continues to view itself as a compatriot and leader of the global South be it in the domain of trade and WTO issues, climate change negotiations or as 'pharmacy of the world'.
- Dealing with Neighbourhood
  - The immediate neighbourhood has been especially at the core of IFP since *Indira Gandhi's* attempts at regional assertion which were further added to by the *Gujral doctrine*. Immediately after his election in 2014, *Modi's* focus was 'neighbourhood first'.
- Emphasis on Soft Power
  - *Stephanie Lang*-India's soft power has been a major factor in its interaction with the world even before coined by Joseph Nye. *Harsh Pant* notes that under Modi, India is taking a strategic approach towards using its soft-power resources to enhance the nation's image abroad. *Sanjaya Baru* underlines the use of 'knowledge diplomacy' through ISRO and producer of generic drugs (Vaccine Maitri) as major thrust areas in soft-power diplomacy.

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**Panchamrit**  
Guided three Cs—culture, commerce and connectivity.  
dignity, dialogue, security, shared prosperity, culture.

**From Non-Alignment to Multi-Alignment**  
MEA S. Jaishankar remarked non-alignment to be a concept of a bygone era. On the other hand, he emphasizes the need for strategic autonomy and issue based alignment to push forth India's national interests such as QUAD grouping, signing defence and logistics agreements with USA etc.

**Increased risk taking**  
Jaishankar underlines the need for a more transactional ethos will promote ad hoc groupings of disparate nations who have interests on a particular issue. This would be supported by requirements of India to further and reaching out beyond alliances. From a 'balancing state' to a 'strategic autonomy' has been especially important with India taking a stand on issues like terrorism etc.

**Geo-politics to Geoeconomics**  
Aakriti Tandon underlines the Manmohan doctrine acknowledges the lines of the Manmohan doctrine in shaping a nation's foreign policy. This has been...

**Balancing Power to Great Power:**  
Harsh Pant argues that India's inability to think strategically in the past and its lack of long-term planning, marginalisation of the military, inability to use force effectively, discomfort with power, as well as lack of institutionalisation in foreign policy decision making have together led to the lack of a coherent grand foreign policy strategy for India required to be a great power.

**More realism and assertiveness**  
While recognising the need for regional interconnections, India has become more assertive in its dealing with neighbours. De-hyphenation has also been an instrument for India allowing a deeper engagement with Israel. "This is a time to engage with China, cultivate Europe, reassure Russia, bring Japan into play."

**Dealing with PRC and USA**  
According to Sumit Ganguli, India's choices including modernization of India's military capabilities, diplomatic shifts in dealings with the PRC and pragmatism has led to closer ties with USA, etc.

**Look East to Act East**  
Narsimha Rao's focus on East Asia was further asserted and 'acted upon' by building upon existing commercial ties, but also includes a security component to manage an expansionist PRC.

**Balancing Act in West Asia**  
Sumit Ganguli notes Modi has pursued a very deft balancing act in the region. He has sought to improve India's relationship with the Gulf, managing to improve existing bonds with the critical states in the Gulf, a legacy of past regimes since Narsimha Rao.

**Diaspora diplomacy**  
Latha Vardarajan notes that due to India's colonial past, a large and diverse emigrant community that have continued to connect India to the West especially USA (India-US deal, Haveli...)

**5. (b) What are the reasons for the lack of 'regionness' in South Asia? (PYQs in in 2021, 2017, 2016, 2015)**

*through*

**The route to South Asia regionalism is possible only to greater economic integration. Discuss. (10)**

**Introduction**  
• Perspective towards neighbours and need for high level cooperation

**Body**  
• Reasons for lack of integration?  
• How can economic integration lead to positive spill over effects?

**Conclusion**  
• Way forward to create economic integration to promote regionalism → bilateral → multilateral

*functionalism, neo-functionalism, Security, strategic, defence, compromise, long term gains*

*SA*

According to **Kautilya**, neighbours are our natural enemies. However, in age of complex interdependence, relations with our neighbours have become important for security states' national interests and security concerns. Examples like EU and ASEAN have proven how functional... in various sectors can over a period yield benefits for the entire region.

*South - geographically*

South Asia is among the world's least economically integrated regions, despite the advantages of proximity, structural and cultural familiarities, and shared developmental priorities. The intra-regional trade among South Asian economies is lowest in the world at 6% of their total global trade. According to **Kishore Mahbubani** in his book "The ASEAN miracle: A catalyst for peace", India should learn from ASEAN experience, how complex interdependence has shaped the trajectory of tiger economies towards success leading to regional integration in South East Asia.

• There are several reasons why regional integration in the subcontinent despite efforts remains a dead letter. First, the countries are constrained by disagreements stemming from past history, national territorial disputes, ethnic and religious disturbances, mutual mistrust and cross-border migration.

• According to **Kanwal Sibal**, India has historically neglected the aspirations of its neighbours and given leverage to other large powers including China to utilize the strategic space. The South...



ASEAN experience, how complex interdependence has shaped the trajectory of tiger economies towards success leading to regional integration in South East Asia.

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According to **Kanwal Sibal**, India has historically neglected the aspirations of its neighbours which has given leverage to other large powers including China to utilize the strategic space. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) agreements, the South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement, and the South Asian Free Trade Arrangement, have failed to break down trade barriers.

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*Handwritten notes:* 70. N. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, SAARC, 1980s, SAARC, developmental path, Nuclear Weapon, Cold War, free zone opposing, Communism, US-SE ATO

**5. (c) Why is the compromise reached at WTO regarding the Covid-19 vaccine manufacturing not a Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) waiver?**

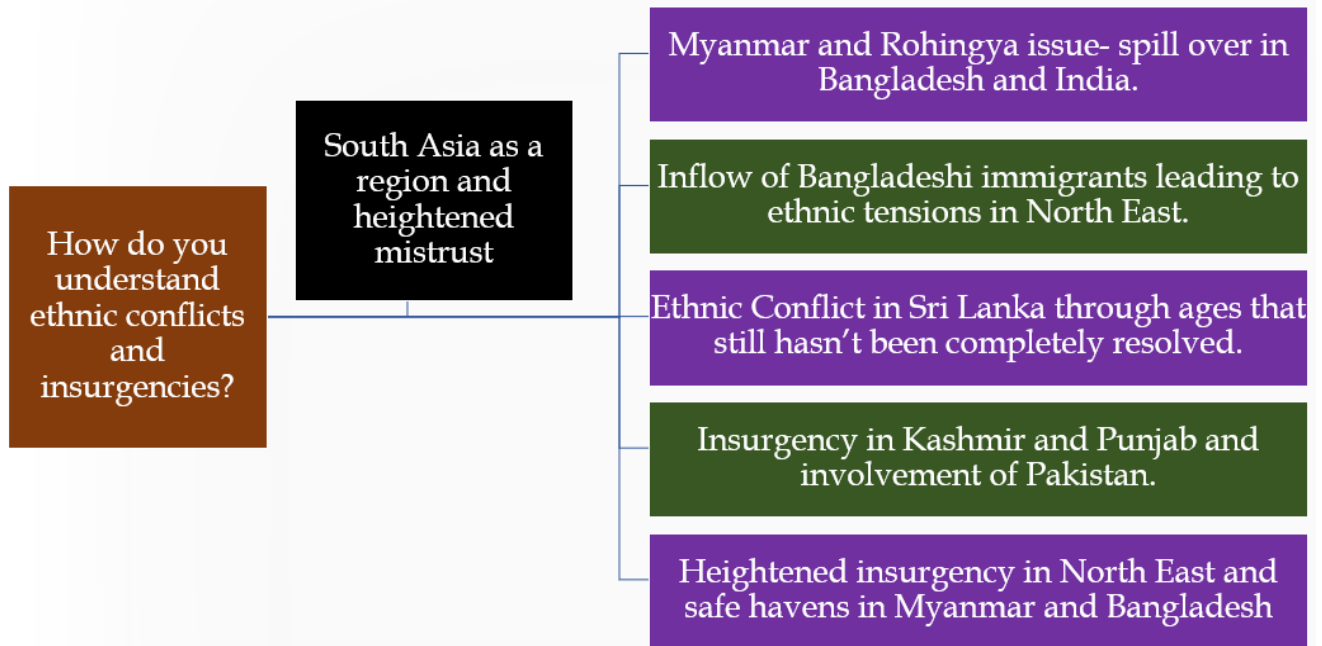
**2022 Paper 2 Section A –WTO Ministerial Conference 2022**

**Response to the COVID-19 pandemic**

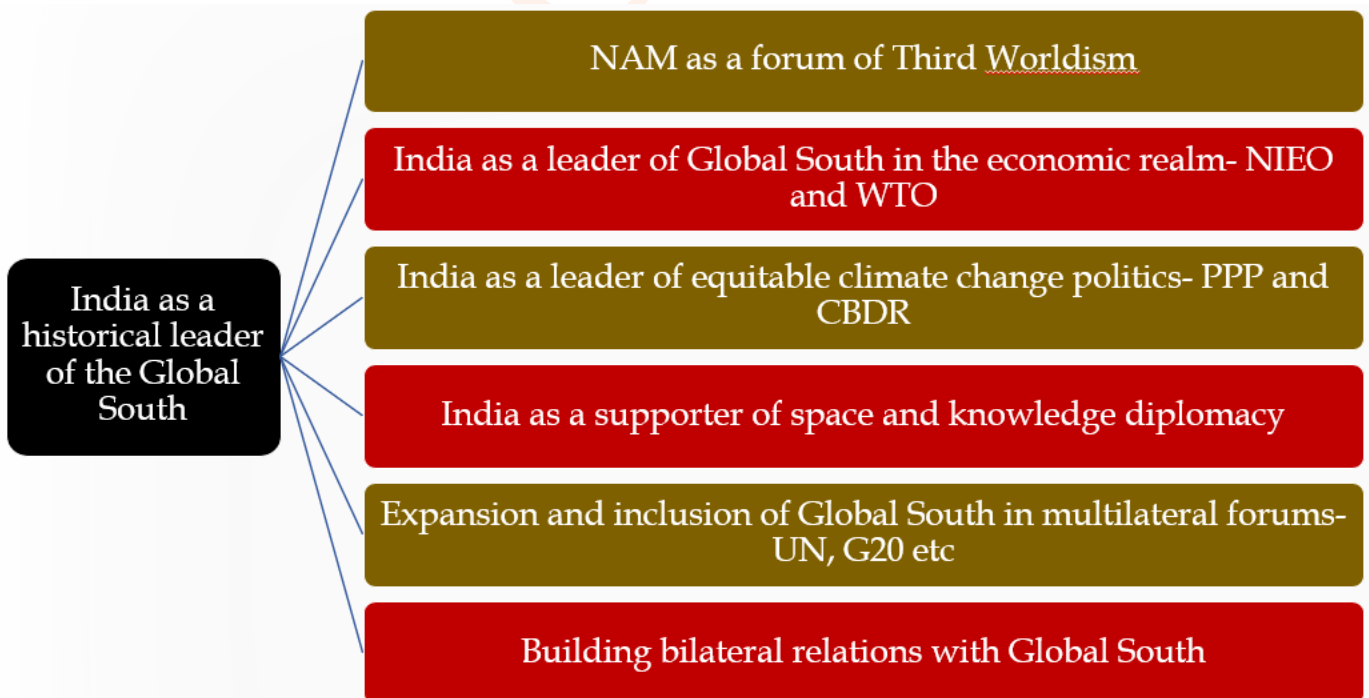
- Declaration on the WTO response to the pandemic and preparedness for future pandemics- which affirms the commitment to transparency, timely and comprehensive information sharing, and restraint on imposing export restrictions.
- Ministers agreed on a waiver of certain procedural obligations under the TRIPS Agreement which allow for the swift manufacture and export of COVID-19 vaccines without the consent of the patent owner for 5 years.
- The current agreement is a watered-down version of the original proposal made by India and South Africa in 2020. They had wanted broader intellectual property waivers on vaccines, treatments and tests.

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**5. (d) Why do ethnic conflicts and insurgencies continue to remain major impediments to regional cooperation in South Asia? (Similar PYQ in 2011 and 2009)**



**5. (e) What diplomatic steps has India taken to articulate the interests of the Global South in international politics?**





# 6. (a) Arms trade, economic ties and congruent geo-political interests are no longer the three pillars of India-Russia relationship in the emerging strategic context. Comment. (20)

## Importance of Russia in contemporary world:

- According to *Ajai Malhotra (India's Foreign Policy: Surviving in a Turbulent World)*, apart from the USA and China, Russia is the third great power whose policies and actions have a global impact.
- Russia's huge territory and rich natural resources are valuable assets. Europe remains heavily dependent on Russian gas.
- Not to be ignored is Russia's control of large sections of the Arctic, a region of growing economic and geopolitical importance.
- Russia's military, nuclear and space capabilities remain formidable, including some unique state-of-the-art military technologies such as the S-400 anti-missile system.

Multiple choice  
↳ States  
↳ India - States



## Convergences between India and Russia:

- India-Russia relationship is characterized as "steady and time-tested relationship". In 2001, PM A. B. Vajpayee the Declaration on Strategic Partnership, making Russia the first strategic partner of India and in 2010 elevated to 'special and privileged strategic partnership'.

**Defence Relations:** India-Russia military technical cooperation has evolved from a simple buyer-seller framework to one involving joint research, development and production of advanced defence technologies and systems. BrahMos Missile System, Joint development of the Fifth-Generation Fighter Aircraft and the Multi Transport Aircraft, as well as the licensed production in India of SU-30 aircraft and T-90 tanks, are some examples.

According to SIPRI, Russia is still largest supplier to Indian defence forces and recent purchase and delivery of S400 triumph despite US pressures under CAATSA is an important example. Both Nations Conduct Joint military exercises - Indira; and participated in multinational military exercises - Zapad.



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## Transforming relations:

- *R. Menon and E. Rumer* (Carnegie Endowment) argue that throughout the Cold War, the relationship rested on three pillars:
  - Soviet arms sales to India;
  - shared public-sector-heavy economic philosophy and extensive Soviet aid; and
  - the Soviet Union-India vs. United States-Pakistan-China geopolitical alignment.
- Of the three pillars of the Moscow-New Delhi relationship, only one remains: the arms trade. However, the relationship is transforming to find more convergences between the two long standing partners.

India - USSR  
Soviet Union - India  
2015 - 2020 → 65%



**Economic cooperation:** Bilateral trade in 2002 stood at \$1.5 billion and increased by over 7 times to \$11 billion in 2012 and \$30 billion in 2022.

Both countries have plans to push bilateral trade to \$50 billion. Russia-India Business Forum: Strategic Partnership for Development and Growth under the St. Petersburg Economic Forum in 2023 targeted expansion of IT sector, cybersecurity, smart cities, transport, healthcare and pharmaceuticals.

The conduct economic relations between the two countries include IRIGC, the Indo-Russian Forum on Trade and Investment, the India-Russia Business Council, the India-Russia Trade, Investment and Technology Promotion Council, the India-Russia CEOs' Council and the India-Russia Chamber of Commerce.

PM Modi announced an 'Act Far East' initiative, which would extend a line of credit of USD 1 billion to fund projects in the Russian Far East.



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**Energy cooperation:** This includes Hydrocarbons such as ONGC Videsh Ltd. has taken stakes in Russian oil fields in Siberia as well as civil nuclear cooperation.

Apart from Sakhalin-1, OVL holds 100 per cent stake in Russia's Imperial Energy Corporation and 26 per cent stake in the Vankorneft field. Also, 23.9 per cent stake in Russia's Vankorneft field and 29.9 per cent stake in the Taas-Yuryakh field, are jointly held by the consortium of Oil India Limited, Indian Oil Corporation and Bharat PetroResource Limited.

In the aftermath of the Ukraine crisis, Russia's offer to supply India with cheaper crude oil (US\$ 35 lesser than the international market price), was criticised by the West. Indian companies though significantly increased their volumes of oil imports from Russia.

Russia has helped India in building Kudankulam nuclear plant and currently expanding its Plant V and VI. India and Russia cooperating to create civil nuclear infrastructure in third country. For example, Rooppur Nuclear plant in Bangladesh.

## THE NUCLEAR ENERGY SPREAD



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**Strategic relations:** Russia and India, both, consider their mutual affinity to be a "special and privileged strategic partnership". In 2022 both countries celebrated 75<sup>th</sup> year of their diplomatic relations.

According to *R. Menon and E. Rumer* like India, Russia has been a promoter of a multipolar world in which a coalition of other major powers, with Russia at the helm, would contain the influence of the United States and its Western allies.

This concept was first articulated in Russian foreign policy doctrine in the 1990s by then foreign minister *Yevgeny Primakov*. This strategy envisions a concert of major powers that includes India and China. Russia has been a long standing supporter of India's membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

Both the countries also promote strengthening the potential and increasing the global role of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South African Republic), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) and the RIC (Russia, India, China).

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**Space and technology cooperation:** India - Russia space cooperation in the past includes the USSR launching India's first few satellites, Rakesh Sharma's inclusion in a manned Soviet mission, and Russia's sale of cryogenic engines for India's Geosynchronous Satellite Launch Vehicles.

Currently, India-Russia space cooperation is largely limited to NavIC/Glonass ground stations and Global Navigation Satellite Systems (GNSS)-Indian Regional Navigation Satellite System (IRNSS) augmentation.

Glavcosmos, a subsidiary of the Russian state space company ROSCOSMOS, is also providing commercial services to India's human space flight mission Gaganyaan.

A number of new initiatives in this sphere include India-Russia Bridge to Innovation, cooperation in telemedicine, creation of a Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL), and the Russia India Network (RIN) of universities.



**Cultural and other relations:** Track 3 diplomacy has been an intrinsic part of relations between the two countries.

Since USSR, India has enjoyed great goodwill and camaraderie with the Russian people, including huge popularity of Bollywood movies and actors.

There is a strong tradition of Indian studies in Russia. Jawaharlal Nehru Cultural Centre (JNCC), Moscow, maintains close cooperation with leading Russian institutions. About 20 Russian institutions, including leading universities and schools, regularly teach Hindi to about 1500 Russian students. Apart from Hindi, languages such as Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Urdu, Sanskrit and Pali are taught in Russian Institutions.

Close cooperation in the fight against Covid-19, including in vaccine trials and production, supply of critical medical supplies and repatriation of each other's citizens. SPUTNIK-V received DCGI approval for emergency use in India in April 2021, making it the first foreign-made vaccine to be permitted for use in India.

In 26 Vande Bharat Mission flights, about 81 tons of cargo comprising of pharmaceutical products were exported from India to Russia, to ensure continuous supply of critical exports to the country.



## 6. (b) Discuss the importance of India's role in UN peacekeeping operations as a ground for its claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. (15)

**Introduction**

- What is Peacekeeping and its main principles for UN?

**Body**

- India's contribution to peacekeeping- evolution and main areas- forces, women safety, skills and training, medical
- Challenges in peacekeeping and issues

**Conclusion**

- Way forward

The UN Peacekeeping, governed by the Department of Peace Operations, assists countries tormented by conflict in their journey towards sustained peace. It follows three fundamental principles: consent of the parties, impartiality and refraining from the use of force, except in self-defence. In 2023, organisation commemorated its 75th anniversary of peacekeeping missions.

India has a long and distinguished history of service in UN peacekeeping, having contributed more personnel than any other country. UN Peacekeeping primarily relies on troops and experts from poor, middle-income, and developing nations. Indian personnel have made significant contributions, with 6,097 currently in service, ranking third after Bangladesh (7,237) and Nepal (6,264). To date, more than 244,500 Indians have served in 49 of the 71 UN peacekeeping missions established around the world since 1948.

Indian involvement in international peacekeeping began with the emergence of first peacekeeping operation itself, and that too in two ways. First was by way of deployment of UN peacekeeping observers in the Indian subcontinent post-Partition in 1948, in the form of United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). The second, but more importantly, was the participation of Indian Army in international peacekeeping operations in Korea in 1950.

India has committed to promoting international peace and security by its 5-S approach- Samman – Respect – Dialogue, Sahyog – Cooperation, Shanti – Peace and Samridhi- Prosperity. India has been committed to responsible & inclusive solutions to international peace & security. India has taken part in UN peacekeeping operations in four continents; its most significant contribution has been to peace and stability in Asia and Africa. Indian Army's action in the Congo, in the 1960s, became the 'first peace enforcement operation' in the history of UN peacekeeping.

*Sexual abuse + violence*

Cambodia, and Laos established by the 1954 Geneva Accords on Indochina. *inclusive + diverse*

- Further, India has a long tradition of sending women on UN peacekeeping missions. In 2007, India became the first country to deploy an all-women contingent for Formed Police Unit to the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia. In addition to their security role, the members of the Indian Formed Police Unit also organised medical camps for Liberians, many of whom have limited access to health care services. *Security - multifaceted*
- Medical care is among the many services Indian Peacekeepers provide to the communities in which they serve on behalf of the Organization. They also perform specialised tasks such as veterinary support and engineering services. Indian veterinarians serving with the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), stepped up to help cattle herders who were losing much of their stock to malnutrition and disease in the war-torn nation. The Indian contingent in South Sudan has provided vocational training and life-saving medical assistance, as well as carrying out significant repair work.
- India not only has a large pool of UN-experienced officers/personnel but also the facilities and expertise to train and fight in all types of terrain. The Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping, established under the Institution of India in September 2000 at New Delhi, imparts excellent peacekeeping related training to Indian peacekeepers and those from friendly foreign countries. UN Peacekeepers are now undertaking a wide

6. (c) Quadrilateral security dialogue (QUAD) performs an important role in India's strategic balancing act to withstand the dominance of China in Asia. Discuss. (15) (PYQ 2021)

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*Complex interdependence*

India needs a strategic and not a reactive approach towards China. Discuss the statement keeping in mind the main issues in the relationship and the need to tackle them. (15)

*areas of divergence*

**Introduction**

**Body**

**Conclusion**

- Growing divergences between India and China leading to antagonistic relations.
- China's adventurism on Indian borders.
- Economic issues between the two.
- China's regional encirclement.
- China's multilateral hinderances to India.
- Need to move from reactive → strategic approach
- Certain strategic measures taken.
- Always a bucket of multi-faceted responses to tackle complex issues

*Security*

*Survival*

*territorial integrity*

*Realist*

*high*



On the side-lines of a G20 meet in March 2023, **Indian Foreign Minister Dr S Jaishankar** relationship as "abnormal". In the past, there was a sense that India and China, despite s divergences, had significant convergences at the global level that could be explored to l

- The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue is a diplomatic partnership between Australia, India, Japan, and the United States with a shared vision to create an **Arc of Freedom and Prosperity** across the region. While the Quad has jumped to prominence in recent years, it developed in two distinct stages.
- The origins of Quad 1.0, as it came to be known, lie in the devastating 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, when the four countries formed the "Tsunami Core Group" to coordinate the emergency response and humanitarian assistance. In the subsequent years, there were efforts to institutionalize the Quad, especially by the former Japanese supremo, the late Shinzo Abe, who laid foundations for his Indo-Pacific concept in his **"Confluence of the Two Seas"** delivered at Indian Parliament. But the efforts enjoyed limited success due to different goals, changes in leadership and lack of agreement.
- Since 2017, the grouping has witnessed a renaissance, thereby being labelled as Quad 2.0. The strategic context has shifted significantly, with member countries finding their interests more aligned than ever before. A major turning point for the Quad came during the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2020 and 2021, India and China engaged in border skirmishes in the Galwan Valley, leading to fatalities on both sides.
- The rising concerns over China's actions in various domains, including security, economic technology, have provided a renewed impetus for these nations to come together. The common interests, coupled with the recognition of the Indo-Pacific's growing importance, has led to a deeper agenda encompassing a wide range of issues, from climate change to technology

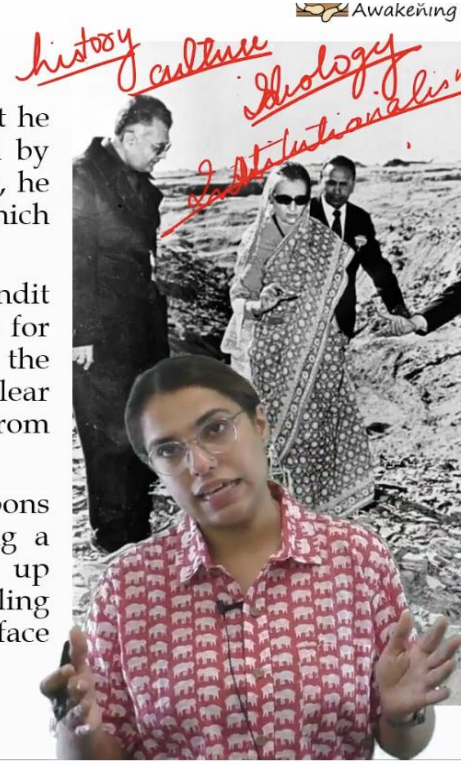




**7. (a) "India's nuclear policy is deeply influenced by its cultural beliefs and its pragmatic approach to foreign policy". Discuss. (20)**

**India's Nuclear Doctrine:**

- Gandhi was opposed to the idea of nuclear weapons that he considered to be evil and diabolical which were echoed by Nehru. However, despite Nehru's stress on disarmament, he encouraged atomic energy programme in India which Stephen Cohen sees as an example of his pragmatism.
- George Perkovich through his research has shown that Pandit Nehru did recognize the importance of nuclear weapons for India's defence. **Andrew Kennedy** argues that between the 1960s and the 1980s, India used both implicit nuclear umbrellas and international institutions to shield it from nuclear threats rather than build nuclear weapons.
- C. Raja Mohan points to India's position on nuclear weapons as a puzzle for international community. Despite being a supporter of multilateral disarmament, it ended up conducting its 1st peaceful nuclear explosion, titled 'Smiling Buddha/ Happy Krishna' in 1974 for which it had to face sanctions.



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**Three primary foreign policy objectives and achievements of India's Foreign Policy after Pokhran II- Harsh Pant and Yogesh Joshi:**

- The Pokhran-II/ Operation Shakti-98 tests were a series of five nuclear bomb test explosions conducted by India at the Indian Army's Pokhran Test Range in May 1998.
- Prof. V Narang questions why India took so long to develop its nuclear might. Raja Mohan believes that Indian elites knew that there will be economic sanctions against India but they could make the calculation that the time has come when international community cannot continue with sanctions for long given the attractiveness of Indian market.
- Dr. S. Jaishankar, rightly identified the 1998 tests as one of the "exercises in strategic retrieval" in India's contemporary history.

The 1998 nuclear weapons tests **unshackled India from the idealism** of its international relations.

Second, the nuclear tests were a **blessing in disguise for India-US relations**, its most critical bilateral relationship, eventually leading to the Indo-US nuclear deal of 2008 that recognised India as a de facto nuclear-weapon state.

India's rise as an economic and military power **raised its stature as an Asian powerhouse**, in league with China.

SIC



## 7. (b) What steps has India taken to regain its foothold in Afghanistan since the Taliban has taken over the country in August 2021? (15) (Similar PYQs in 2021, 2020,)

### India's relationship with Afghanistan

India and Afghanistan have a strong relationship based on historical and cultural links. The relationship has its foundations in the historical contacts and exchanges between the people.

India-Afghanistan relations were further strengthened by the **Strategic Partnership Agreement**, which was signed between the two countries in **October 2011** that provided for:

- assistance to help rebuild Afghanistan's infrastructure and institutions,
- education and technical assistance to re-build indigenous Afghan capacity in different areas,
- encouraging investment in Afghanistan's natural resources,
- providing duty free access to the Indian market for Afghanistan's exports support for an Afghan-led, Afghan-owned, broad-based, and inclusive process of peace and reconciliation, and
- advocating the need for a sustained and long-term commitment to Afghanistan by the international community.



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India's regional security environment could be further undermined if the Taliban let Pakistan use Afghan territory for **gaining strategic depth vis-avis India**.

While after capturing power, Taliban has called Kashmir a **'bilateral and internal' matter**, India needs to be on its toes.

Then there is the **China factor**. Given its close ties with Pakistan, Beijing would like to ensure that the Taliban sever their ties with Uighur extremists in Xinjiang. In exchange, China might emerge as the key economic benefactor of a Taliban-dominated Afghanistan, nudging Pakistan to bring the country into the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

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### Impact on India:

#### Impact on India:

India has considered to be Afghanistan a long-standing partner and instead of a **'boots on ground approach'** took to developmental investments.

According to **Harsh V Pant**, India's primary concern emanates from a perceived Pakistani victory in managing to bring the Taliban back to political power in Kabul, thereby energising Islamist extremists in South Asia to target India.

**M.K. Narayanan** remarks that for India, the virtual retreat of the U.S. from this part of Asia; the growing China-Russia-Pakistan nexus across the region; and an Iran under a hardliner like Ebrahim Raisi, all work to its disadvantage.

Unlike Pakistan, China and Iran, India has no contiguity with Afghanistan.

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### Multilateral NSA dialogue on Afghanistan:

- According to **A. Wani**, National Security Advisers (NSAs) of the region, including **India, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, China, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan**, met in Moscow for the 5th multilateral security dialogue on Afghanistan on 8 February 2023.
- However, internal disagreements and divergences have blunted the efforts of these multilateral groupings to arrive at any consensual intervention to counter the growing security risk posed by a fragile Afghanistan.
- India's NSA Ajit Doval reaffirmed India's policy towards Afghanistan under the **Delhi Declaration (2021)**. He reiterated India's stand for the establishment of a representative and inclusive government and responding to the humanitarian needs of the people of Afghanistan.
- Doval also highlighted the need to evolve a mechanism of intelligence and security cooperation between the dialogue partners to deal with regional terror groups, including the ISKP and **Al-Qaeda**.

*SCD Afghanistan context No group Mo sooo format of consultations*

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### India's option in Afghanistan

**Broader Diplomatic Engagement:** India should consider appointing a special envoy dedicated to Afghanistan. The envoy can ensure that Indian views are expressed at every meeting and broaden engagement with the Taliban.

**Decoupling of Taliban-Pakistan:** Although Pakistan's leverage over the Taliban is real, it may not be absolute.

The Taliban is bound to seek a measure of autonomy from Pakistan. India will have to wait a while before the current issues between India and the Taliban can be overcome.

India needs to begin by rallying the United Nations, to exert its considerable influence in its own interest, and that of the Afghan "republic", which idea that cannot be just abandoned.

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### Humanitarian Assistance

Major humanitarian assistance by India to Afghanistan in recent years include the following:

To combat the global pandemic of COVID-19 and related issues of food security, India is committed to deliver 75,000 MT of Wheat to Afghanistan in 2020. In addition, India has also undertaken supply of 5 lakh tablets of Hydroxy-chloroquinine, 1 Lakh tablets of Paracetamol and 50,000 pairs of surgical gloves to Government of Afghanistan in 2020.

Provision of food assistance of 11 lakh tonnes of wheat, both as grains and biscuits, was distributed to approximately 1.5 million school children

*people to people goodwill*

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**Prevent terrorism from blooming:** As Chairman of the Taliban Sanctions Committee in December 2022, India must use its muscle to ensure terrorists such as Sirajuddin Haqqani and other members of Haqqani network. The Taliban sanctions committee or the 1988 Security Council Committee lists three kinds of sanctions- asset freeze, travel ban and arms embargo.

**Leverage Indian Infrastructural Developments:** Indian USD 3 billion assistance to Afghanistan is in concrete projects that serve its population and have earned it their goodwill that will endure.

The need today is to not stop the development work in Afghanistan and continue the good work to avoid a **'catastrophe of choice'**. Since the opening of its 'technical mission' in June 2022, New Delhi has been at the forefront of providing humanitarian assistance and disaster relief to the country.

Finally, the Government must embrace its greatest strength in Afghanistan – its relations with the Afghan people – and open its doors to those who wish to come here.

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## 7. (c) What are the challenges and limitations in India-Iran relations? (15)

### Irritants in the relationship

Western sanctions due to which India stopped of oil imports from Iran after May 2019. Iran on its end has not taken kindly to India succumbing to international pressure of sanctions on Iran.

India's close relations with Israel, and Iran's ties with China, including signing a 25-year strategic partnership agreement.

There are other sticky issues, too, like Iran-backed Houthis in Yemen launching drone attacks against Saudi Arabia and UAE, both close partners to India, or Iran's statement on the Modi government's abrogation of Article 370 of Indian Constitution, which gave special status to Kashmir.

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### Irritants in the relationship

Second, despite lengthy talks about increasing trade of non-oil commodities, there was no upscaling of trade, although the countries were presented with opportunities. For instance, the crisis in Sri Lanka has left a large void in the market for orthodox tea, which is popular in Iran. India is one of the largest producers of orthodox tea (after Sri Lanka), and therefore, it carries considerable scope to ship this particular variety of tea to Iran.

This links to the broader discussion of diversifying the trade basket; thus far, no mechanisms have been prepared in this regard. The sanctions are frequently miscreant, yet despite numerous talks about developing an alternative mechanism [Rupee-Rial] to trade, nothing has been done.

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### Irritants in the relationship

Prabhat Javala argues that there is a tendency to exaggerate the bilateral ties while failing to follow up on the promises and commitments. Another mistake here is overlooking the limitations of the relationship.

- First, the high-level visits have a limited impact on the actual comportment of relations. Although Amir-Abdollahian's visit was the first major visit by the Iranian side since the Ebrahim Raisi came to power in June 2021, the Indian side has been actively engaging the Raisi administration from day one.
- Yet, nothing substantive has come out of these engagements. Indeed, the Minister's visit carried several expectations, particularly on expanding trade relations, but nothing major came out of the visit except the signing of the Mutual Legal Assistance treaty.

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### Irritants in the relationship

Third, the Indo-Iranian relations are hostage to third parties. From the Iranian side, the US is a persistent factor in its comportment of ties with India. For e.g Indian vote against Iran at the IAEA's Board of Governor meeting.

Neither India has a specific regional policy targeting Iran (since Iran forms part of the PAI (Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran) Division at MEA), nor does Iran distinguish India as part of its "Look East" policy that has mainly included China, and lately, Russia.

The Indian efforts to outmaneuver Beijing's influence in Iran (and Pakistan) are critical determinants in New Delhi's engagement with Iran. Although the fundamental equation has changed, Afghanistan is still a good example to understand India's calculus in Iran.

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### Irritants in the relationship

Western sanctions due to which India stopped of oil imports from Iran after May 2019. Iran on its end has not taken kindly to India succumbing to international pressure of sanctions on Iran.

India's close relations with Israel, and Iran's ties with China, including signing a 25-year strategic partnership agreement.

There are other sticky issues, too, like Iran-backed Houthis in Yemen launching drone attacks against Saudi Arabia and UAE, both close partners to India, or Iran's statement on the Modi government's abrogation of Article 370 of Indian Constitution, which gave special status to Kashmir.

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### Irritants in the relationship

Second, despite lengthy talks about increasing trade of non-oil commodities, there was no upscaling of trade, although the countries were presented with opportunities. For instance, the crisis in Sri Lanka has left a large void in the market for orthodox tea, which is popular in Iran. India is one of the largest producers of orthodox tea (after Sri Lanka), and therefore, it carries considerable scope to ship this particular variety of tea to Iran.

This links to the broader discussion of diversifying the trade basket; thus far, no mechanisms have been prepared in this regard. The sanctions are frequently miscreant, yet despite numerous talks about developing an alternative mechanism [Rupee-Rial] to trade, nothing has been done.

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## 8. (a) What are the external determinants of the Foreign Policy of the state? (20)

### Global and Regional Challenges:

- According to Rajiv Sikri, changing global power equations also lead to change in India's foreign policy.
- The relative weight of the US has diminished and it is less self-assured and more inward looking.
- Europe is grappling with Brexit, the rise of right-wing nationalism, and a flood of immigrants. → *Rise of East, Decline of West*
- China is the new pretender that relentlessly pursues its 'China Dream' of Asian, and eventually global, domination. Russia has regained much of its self-confidence.

*As per Sued Akbaruddin*, Indian diplomacy may seem to have following concerns that have the potential to disrupt the best-made plans.

- Three neighbours will conduct difficult elections with outcomes uncertain.
- Three neighbours are engaged with the IMF to tide over financial distress.
- Afghanistan is an ungoverned space that can sprout unsavory elements.
- Myanmar is beset with domestic turmoil. → *Rohingya crisis*
- China's border forays can never be discounted.

*Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pak, Nepal, Sri Lanka*

The concept of Security is no longer isolated, no more a distinct silo. The weaponization of various aspects of life has become the norm. India has skillfully pursued its national interests as a middle power, expertly navigating the uncertain geopolitics of the current international order. The challenge is to meaningfully shape the emerging new order.

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At the same time, regions of West Asia, North Africa as well as Asia are in upheaval, with rampaging terrorism, fundamentalism, sharp regional rivalries, as well as many so called 'failed' and 'failing' states.

Then there is the rise of pandemic. All these international scenarios impact India's foreign policy.

*As per Harsh V Pant*- It has been rightly said that nations have no permanent friends or enemies, only permanent interests. India's relationships and priorities have changed over time with changes in international trends to ensure both human and material resources to achieve its foreign policy goals.

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## 8. (b) Discuss the significance of "West Asia Quad" in the light of India's 'Look West' policy. (15)

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### Comment on the relevance of I2U2 as a body for India to further increase its footprint in West Asia. (15)

#### Introduction

#### Body

#### Conclusion

- Dehyphenation as strategy to counter zero-sum game
- Historical relations between India- Russia, India- US
- Importance of de-hyphenation of relations with Russia and US for IFP
- Instances of dehyphenation at work
- Challenges in continuing de-hyphenation
- Continued relevance of strategic partnership with both great powers

*g20 econi*

*minilateral →*

*West Asia*

*I2U2*

*projects*

*West Asia*

*India diplom*

- The I2U2 is a quadrilateral partnership and a non-security minilateral mechanism (a cross-regional cooperation) which was formed in 2022, to fulfil mutual socio-economic interests. The body is based on the changing dynamics of West Asia. According to Navdeep Suri, complexities of decision-making and institutional constraints of larger organisations...



complexities of decision-making and institutional constraints of larger organisations, multilaterals offer an edge vis-à-vis flexibility, informality, select membership, and a goal-oriented focus.

*strategic group*

The I2U2 (India-Israel-UAE-USA) Grouping seeks to foster collaborative investments in **six key sectors**: Water, Energy, Transportation, Space, Health, and Food security. Its objective is to leverage private sector resources and expertise to drive the modernization of infrastructure, facilitate low carbon development in industries, enhance public health, and advance critical emerging and green technologies. This partnership reflects a concerted effort to pool resources and knowledge across these nations for sustainable development and technological advancement.

For India, the I2U2 provides a forum to bolster its renewed **strategic engagement** with West Asia. India also has a robust bilateral relationship with each of the three countries and thus there is a strong economic rationale for its participation in I2U2. India's total trade with UAE amounted to US\$ 73 billion in 2022, **making UAE India's third largest trading partner**. UAE is also India's second largest export destination and accounts for 40 percent of India's total trade with the Arab world.

**Israel, meanwhile, is one of India's top suppliers of defence equipment** and a **key technology** in different domains including defence, space, agriculture, and cybersecurity. Furthermore, as a geoeconomics initiative serves as a platform to attract West Asian businesses and invest

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countries traditionally kept at a distance as well as in under-explored sectors. From focusing on energy security by looking towards the west, India's approach has now expanded to not just look at the west, but **also actively engage with it**. Two key global concerns are being prioritised by the grouping – food security and clean energy – which have local, trans-regional and long-term dimensions.

- The **I2U2 Food Corridor project** will use Israeli and American technology to establish integrated food parks in the states of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, with future expansion planned for other states, including Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra. According to **Foreign Sec. Vinay Kwatara**, the project will not only help the Gulf countries achieve food security, but also enable India to increase the value of its food production which can in turn, will help enhance Indian farmers' incomes and support job creation through development of post-harvest activities.
- The second I2U2 project will **establish a 300-megawatt hybrid renewable energy facility** (wind and solar) in Gujarat. The facility will be complemented by an advanced battery storage technology that will be developed with the help of Israeli expertise, and Emirati and American investments.
- I2U2 faces several limitations and challenges, both for India and the grouping itself. For India, participating in I2U2 deviates from its longstanding non-aligned stance, potentially **straining relationships with organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**. This

countries, and accountability mechanisms may be vague. The sherpas of the respective countries should acknowledge these **potential roadblocks and streamline** processes to enforce checks and balances.

- At the same time, **Navdeep Suri and Hargun Sethi (ORF)** underlines that the outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine war in early 2022, along with the impacts of the **COVID-19 pandemic**, are pointing to a new era where realist considerations of **shared threats push geographically divergent countries to come together and find solutions** to pressing global challenges.
- I2U2 could be the platform that India could use to lead the region economically and cement itself as an economic anchor in West Asia. An expanded format would also welcome regional partners Egypt and Saudi Arabia to leverage further collaboration under a multilateral architecture that aligns with the geoeconomic vision that India and the other I2U2 members have consolidated. I2U2 can also be a force multiplier for the **'Make in India' initiative by pushing for manufacturing facilities** to be set up in the country, particularly in the fields of artificial intelligence, fintech, transportation, and space.
- To ensure fruitful cooperation with the other three countries, India could take a cue from the US and designate I2U2 nodal officers in each of its embassies in the three countries. The sherpa, also nodal officers, can form a **Coordinating Committee** that will help streamline official communication and monitor progress. The I2U2 grouping could potentially become a catalyst for India to strengthen its multilateral groupings with its other partners in South Asia and Africa.

20

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**8. (c) Discuss the major drivers of India's interests in Africa. (15) (PYQs in 2021, 2020)**

While continuing with core areas of India-Africa partnership, there is also a need to elevate it to new horizons. Discuss. (20)

*Handwritten notes:* → New Triad → post independence → economic → plantations → CBOMs → water → historical relations → Mau saam → trade routes → cultural + social links → colonial → dark continent! → colonial discriminatory → oppre

**Introduction**

- Peculiarity and importance of Africa and partnership with India.

**Body**

- Core areas of cooperation- historical relations, economic cooperation, South-South collaboration, Defence cooperation.
- New avenues of cooperations- Developmental and business cooperation, Health, Technology and Green collaboration, counter China

**Conclusion**

- Hinderances in relationship.
- Way forward.

• **Amb. Anil Trigunayat** argues that in appreciating and interacting with Africa, it is essential to understand that the continent is not a 'single' entity but a kaleidoscope of intermingling strategic spaces. India has enjoyed civilisational and historical links, political and diasporic goodwill with the region.

**Conclusion**

- Hinderances in relationship
- Way forward.

• **Amb. Anil Trigunayat** argues that in appreciating and interacting with Africa, it is essential to understand that the continent is not a 'single' entity but a kaleidoscope of intermingling strategic spaces. India has enjoyed civilisational and historical links, political and diasporic goodwill with the region, and an embedded feeling of a true 'South-South' collaboration.

*Handwritten notes:* egalitarian partnership

• India's partnership with Africa is based on a model of cooperation which is responsive to the needs of African people, demand-driven and free of conditionalities, unlike China or Western donors. As the Indian Prime Minister has underlined in the **Kampala Principles**, **African priorities are our priorities**. Over the years, India- Africa relations have acquired greater depth and breadth across a range of areas to create sustained strategic interlinkages.

*Handwritten notes:* 10 principles

• India and Africa have a long history of political cooperation, dating back to the days of the Non-Aligned Movement. India has been a vocal supporter of African independence and development, and it has provided significant assistance to African countries in a variety of areas, including defense, education and healthcare. **Prof H.V Pant** rightly argues that "India's political relations with Africa are driven by the desire to secure its own economic and strategic interests on the continent." India has been extremely supportive of inclusive Pan-Africanism built through platforms like AU for greater cooperation and



products to **serve local needs and generate employment**.

- **Dr S Jaishankar** also pointed out that the **triad of health, digital, and green growth** are the sectors where India and Africa are emphasising their partnership for future growth. Public health security is a domestic priority for India and African countries. Various opportunities exist for the Indian private sector to invest in development of secondary and tertiary hospitals and labs. The African pharmaceuticals industry is still at an infant nascent stage, and this provides huge opportunities for the Indian pharmaceuticals industry. Towards this end, the **US\$10 million India-Africa Health Fund**, announced at the third India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) in 2015, needs to be better utilised.
- Africa's digital infrastructure is still lingering where India can be an able partner. The **Pan-African e-Network Project** is an ICT initiative between India and the African Union that aims to connect the 53 member states of the African Union to India and each other **via a satellite and fibre optic network**. This will enable access to and sharing of expertise in fields such as tele-education, telemedicine, resource mapping, meteorological services, voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP), infotainment, and e-governance.
- **Clean & Green** is set to be the new mantra of India-Africa partnership. In this context, the growing India-Africa partnership in solar energy through the International Solar Alliance is a promising area of collaboration which can ensure achievement of SDGs and NDCs in the long run. Blue Economy is another promising area of partnership between India and African countries.
- As Africa witnesses increasing incidents of civil conflict, extremism and coups, India provides



**Network Project** is an ICT initiative between India and the African Union that aims to connect the 53 member states of the African Union to India and each other **via a satellite and fibre optic network**. This will enable access to and sharing of expertise in fields such as tele-education, telemedicine, resource mapping, meteorological services, voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP), infotainment, and e-governance.

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As Africa witnesses increasing incidents of civil conflict, extremism and coups, India provides an example for Africa led democracy building. Unlike countries like China, Russia or Singapore, India is a large federal democracy. It provides a more relatable model to the challenges Africa faces than other Asian counterparts. → **arbitrary drawing of territorial + political boundaries**

- Despite numerous spheres of increased collaboration, India has challenges to counter in Africa. China has been rapidly trying to "outflank" India in Africa and to undermine India's strategic interests on the continent. There is also the problem of lack of trust and political will that hampers an enduring relationship between India and Africa. Further, India has been forced to deviate from its traditional

*Handwritten notes:*  
Sahel region  
great potential solar  
Africa - Sahel region  
great potential solar



associated parties etc. scenarios such as **active security** argue that south-south cooperation is important for developing countries because it allows them to share experiences and resources, and to work together to address common challenges. India has also been an **active participant in peacekeeping missions under UN** and has undertaken 12 such missions in the continent such as in Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia.

India's defense cooperation with Africa is based on several shared interests, including the fight against terrorism, the promotion of maritime security, and the development of sustainable energy sources. By working together, India and Africa can play a more **influential role in global security**. The Indian Navy has conducted joint exercises with the navies of African countries, such as the 2019 Africa-India Field Training Exercise (AFINDEX-19). India has provided training to African naval officers, sailors and donated ships and other maritime equipment to African countries.

India has also assumed the role of **'Net security provider'** in Indian ocean and started new initiatives like Indian Ocean Naval symposium (IONS), SAGAR, Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) to boost cooperation and protect its national interest. India has also played an active role in ensuring health security in Africa. Under the **'Vaccine Maitri'** initiative, India supplied 24.7 million doses of Moderna COVID vaccines as grants, and commercial and COVAX supplies to 42 countries in Africa.

The story of India and Africa's partnership embodies an **equal, consultative, and collaborative** relationship. At the same time, there is also a need to elevate this developmental partnership a step further to new heights and enhance while continuing with core areas of cooperation. The first

*Handwritten notes:*  
South-South Collaboration

*Handwritten notes:*  
Security → multi-dimensional aspects of security  
look into

