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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Objectives of Indian Foreign Policy:

- Build strategic partnerships with major world powers and neighbours, including the USA, EU, Japan, Russia, China etc.
- Safeguard India's fundamental **national interests** in a changing global environment.
- Intensify **global anti-terrorism** efforts and end cross-border terrorism.
- Enhance **benefits of India's Act East Policy** and advance mutual sectors with ASEAN.
- **Promote economic growth** through assistance to regional organizations like BIMSTEC, IBSA, and IOR-ARC.
- Work towards achieving **nuclear disarmament**.

Principles of Indian Foreign Policy:

- **Non-Alignment:** India follows a non-alignment policy, avoiding military alliances or power blocs.
- **Panchsheel:** Guiding principles include mutual respect, non-aggression, non-interference, equality, and peaceful coexistence.
- **Peaceful Coexistence:** Emphasizes diplomacy, dialogue, and negotiations for conflict resolution.
- **Mutual Respect and Equality:** Values respect and equality in interactions with other nations.

- **Sovereignty and Independence:** Upholds principles of sovereignty and independence in foreign policy.
- **Global Peace and Cooperation:** Actively contributes to global peace, stability, and cooperation.
- **Economic Diplomacy:** Focuses on enhancing trade, investment, and economic ties for mutual benefit.
- **Cultural Diplomacy:** Promotes rich cultural heritage through exchanges and people-to-people contacts.
- **Regional Cooperation:** Actively participates in regional initiatives like SAARC and BIMSTEC.
- **Global Partnerships:** Seeks strategic partnerships globally to address common challenges and promote shared interests.

EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY:

Nehruvian Era:

- Influenced by **Gandhian and socialist ethos**, Nehru shaped India's foreign policy.
- Commitment to the **United Nations** and opposition to power politics.
- **Non-alignment** became a cornerstone, leading India to prominence in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).
- **Panchsheel**, five principles of peaceful coexistence, guided foreign policy.
- India opposed apartheid, supported decolonization, and emphasized peacekeeping and disarmament.
- **Active in the Korean War** and sponsored the Partial Test Ban Treaty.
- Emphasis on inclusive development, Afro-Asian unity, and multilateralism.
- The **Sino-Indian War in 1962** shifted focus on military modernization and strategic alliances.
- **Close relations** with the Soviet Union for political and economic support.
- **Kashmir Issue:**
 - India's defence was heavily influenced by the Kashmir issue.
 - Nehru's approach included a **U.N. referral, faith in world order** realization, and rejection of plebiscite or outside intervention.
- **Indo-China Relations and War (1962):**
 - Hopes for cooperation due to **shared history** of colonial oppression and poverty.
 - **Tibetan crisis** and India's recognition of China's claim over Tibet under the Panchsheel agreement.
 - **1962 war due** to border disputes, China's annexation of Tibet, and McMahon Line rejection.
 - **Misjudgment of China's motives**, leading to the war and subsequent changes in foreign policy.

Shastri's Era:

- Continued with **Non-Alignment**.
- Lal Bahadur Shastri's term (1964-1966) was marked by the **Indo-Pakistan War of 1965**.

- The **Tashkent Declaration** was signed with Pakistan, calling for an end to hostilities and restoration of diplomatic relations.
- The **Soviet Union remained** a key ally, providing aid.
- The Indo-Pak war and U.S. food sanctions prompted **reflection on realism over idealism**.
- Shastri's leadership was marked by challenges and the **beginning of modernizing the military**.

Indira Gandhi's Era:

- Indira Gandhi's dominance was marked by **centralization, authoritarianism, and recognition of power**.
- The **1971 Indo-Pak War** showcased India's military and diplomatic strength.
- India resisted **U.S. pressure** by aligning with the USSR.
- **Nuclear weapons** were tested in 1974; non-alignment eroded, and socialist policies consolidated.
- **Bangladesh Crisis (1971):**
 - **Free elections in Pakistan** led to the Awami Party's victory.
 - Repression in **East Pakistan** resulted in a refugee influx into India.
 - India extended support to the freedom struggle in Bangladesh.
 - **Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation** signed in 1971.
 - The Indian **army surrounded Dhaka**, leading to the surrender of Pakistani forces.
 - The **Shimla Agreement in 1972** formalized peace between India and Pakistan.
 - **Outcomes:**
 - India **regained lost pride** and resolved a severe refugee problem.
 - Emerged as a **regional power** in South Asia.
 - Increased **international prestige**.
 - **Revival of Diplomatic Relations:**
 - Unilateral restoration of ties with **China in 1976**.
 - **Improved trade** and cultural relations with China.
 - Normalization of relations with **Pakistan after the Shimla Agreement**.
 - **Relationship with the Soviet Union:**
 - **Indo-Soviet Treaty (1971)** strengthened ties due to common threats.
 - Soviet Union supported India on various fronts, including the Kashmir issue.
 - **Continued cooperation** in science, technology, and trade.
 - **Relationship with USA:**
 - Initial deterioration due to US support for Pakistan.
 - Cooperation during the second phase, including **IMF loans and fuel for the Tarapur Nuclear Plant**.

Rajiv Gandhi's Era:

- Continued strong relations with the **Soviet Union**.
- **Intervention in Sri Lankan** civil war and facilitation of Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord.
- **Economic liberalization** policies were introduced in the late 1980s.
- Reaffirmation of commitment to NAM in 1985.
- Transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.
- Signing of the **Indo-Sri Lanka Accord** in 1987.
- Deployment of Indian Peacekeeping Forces to address the LTTE menace.
- **IPKF withdrew in 1990** under V. P. Singh's leadership.

Narasimha Rao Period:

- P.V. Narasimha Rao became India's 10th Prime Minister after the 1991 parliamentary elections.
- The end of the Cold War prompted a shift in global politics, **ending the era of bipolar world politics**.
- **Rao focused on economic reforms**, deregulating the economy, opening up to the world, and fostering private enterprise.
- Indian foreign policy under Rao aimed at **building strong relations** with the US, European Union, Russia, China, Japan, Israel, Brazil, South Africa, and economically stable Southeast Asian nations.
- **Improved relations with the US** and efforts to strengthen ties with neighbouring countries and NATO members.
- **Liberalization and Change of Foreign Policy:**
 - The **New Economic Policy of 1991** brought significant changes in both foreign and economic spheres.
 - The policy aimed at **equity, social justice, and sustained** high growth, opening India's economy to the world.
 - **The end of the Cold War** led to challenges and uncertainties, requiring India to adapt to globalization.
 - Transition from a **socialist to a capitalist society**, prioritizing military and economic power in foreign policy.
 - Growing economic power added weight to **India's voice in global affairs**.

NDA-I (1998-2004):

- **Pokhran-II** nuclear tests in 1998.
- **Kargil War** with Pakistan in 1999.
- Improved relations with the United States, marked by **President Clinton's visit in 2000**.

UPA-I and II (2004-2014):

- **Indo-US 123 Agreement** was signed in 2008, ending nuclear isolation.
- Increased **engagement with China** and resolution of boundary disputes.
- Economic and strategic ties strengthened with Southeast Asian countries.
- On the UN Security Council.

NDA-II (2014-Present):

- **“Neighbourhood First” policy and “Act East” policy** to strengthen regional ties.
- **India** and Pakistan were admitted as full members of the SCO
- Advancement of the **India-US strategic partnership**.
- Commitment to **sustainable development** and participation in the Paris Climate Agreement.

Non-Alignment Movement (NAM)

Members of NAM:

- Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) formally established in **1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia**.
- **Founding leaders:** Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Sukarno (Indonesia).
- Initiative rooted in principles from the **Bandung Conference of 1955**.
- **Current membership:** 120 nations.
- **Some member countries:** Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, Afghanistan, China (observer status), African countries (except Western Sahara and South Sudan), Azerbaijan, and Belarus.
- **Observer status** granted to organizations and governments like the United Nations, African Union, Arab League Secretariat, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

Principles of NAM:

- Respect for principles in the **UN Charter** and international law.
- Respect for **sovereignty, sovereign equality**, and territorial integrity of all states.
- **Peaceful settlement** of international conflicts in accordance with the UN Charter.
- **Respect for the political, economic, social**, and cultural diversity of countries and their people.
- **Defense and promotion** of shared interests, justice, and cooperation based on mutual trust and equality.
- Respect for the **inherent rights of individuals** in accordance with the UN Charter.
- **Non-interference** in the internal affairs of states.
- Promotion and defence of **multilateralism and multilateral** organizations.

Objectives of NAM:

- Forge an autonomous route in international politics.
- Create an independent path in world politics.
- Restructure the international economic order.
- Identify the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.
- Use moderation concerning major powers.

Functioning of NAM:

- **No** permanent Secretariat.
- Summit conference of heads of state **every 3 years**.

- **Non-hierarchical** management with rotation among member nations.
- Decisions made through **consensus**.
- Coordinating Bureau in New York City.
- **Current chairperson:** Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni

NAM in The Cold War Era:

- Played a role in issues like **apartheid, disarmament**, and UNSC reforms.
- Faced challenges during the **India-Pakistan and Indo-China wars**.
- India's ties to the **Soviet Union** confused smaller member states.

Failure of NAM:

- Principles created alignments among member countries.
- **Couldn't prevent** regional confrontations.
- Tendency to **ignore human rights** violations.
- **Failed to** establish an international economic order.
- **Did not address** economic, trade, or diplomatic initiatives.
- It **did not** take up issues like child exploitation and gender issues.

Relevance of NAM:

- Continues to hold relevance for **third-world nations** against Western hegemony.
- Upholds principles of **territorial integrity, sovereignty, and world peace**.
- Acts as a **bridge** between political and ideological differences.
- Supports the **interest of developing nations**.
- Promotes **sustainable development**, economic growth, and consensus on global issues.

Panchsheel Agreement

History of the Panchsheel Agreement:

- Panchsheel was **founded in response to a global call** for new international relations principles, reflecting aspirations for peace and harmony.
- It was one of the **Ten Principles of International Peace** and Cooperation enshrined in the **Bandung Declaration** of 1955 by 29 Afro-Asian countries.
- The ideas of Panchsheel were integrated into a resolution on peaceful coexistence presented by India, **Yugoslavia, and Sweden at the United Nations General Assembly in 1957**.
- Panchsheel became the **philosophical core of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961**.

Five Principles of Panchsheel Agreement:

- **Principles guiding the India-China relationship under Panchsheel:**
 - Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.
 - Mutual non-aggression.

- Mutual non-interference.
- Equality and mutual benefit.
- Peaceful co-existence.

Features of the Panchsheel Pact:

- The Panchsheel Pact emphasized **mutual respect for sovereignty** and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.
- It was signed in **April 1954** between India and China.
- Though initially focused on **specific economic and cultural exchanges**, it was expanded to cover the broader relationship between the two nations.

Limitations of the Panchsheel Agreement:

- The agreement had a **duration of six years** and was not renewed after its expiration.
- China invaded India in 1962 after the Panchsheel Agreement had expired and had not been extended.
- Panchsheel was **promoted as an alternative ideology** to empower underdeveloped countries, but its limitations became evident over time.
- The accord proclaimed goals such as **non-interference in each other's affairs and amicable conflict resolution** in its preamble, but its effectiveness waned, and India's development priorities came to determine its global engagements.

India's 'Neighbourhood First' Policy

- Foreign policy initiative introduced in 2014.
- Aims to **strengthen relations** with immediate neighbours.
- Emphasizes **creating a peaceful, prosperous, and stable neighbourhood**.

Principles:

- Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity
- Mutual Respect and Sensitivity
- Non-interference in Internal Affairs
- Shared Prosperity
- Connectivity for Regional Integration
- People-to-people exchanges

Challenges in India's Relations with Neighbours:

- Long-standing disputes with China and Pakistan leading to military conflicts.
- Terrorism emanating from neighbouring states, particularly Pakistan.
- Geopolitical and economic competition with China in the region.
- Tensions over water sharing with countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Nepal.
- Political instability and conflicts in neighbouring states impact regional stability.

Steps to Strengthen Relations:

- Increase trade, investment, and cross-border connectivity.
- Facilitate cultural, educational, and tourism exchanges.
- Strengthen security cooperation to address common challenges.
- Actively participate in regional forums like SAARC, BIMSTEC, and IORA.
- Engage in sustained diplomatic outreach to promote dialogue and build mutual trust.

Gujral Doctrine

The Gujral Doctrine is a foreign policy doctrine formulated by former Indian Prime Minister I. K. Gujral in 1997. The doctrine comprises **five key principles**:

1. With neighbours viz. Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, India must not ask for reciprocity but should give all that it can in good faith and trust.
2. No South Asian country would allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country
3. No country would interfere in the internal affairs of another.
4. South Asian Countries should respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
5. Countries of South Asia must settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

India's Look East Policy & Act East Policy

India's Look East Policy

- Initiated by **P.V. Narasimha Rao** in the **early 1990s** to reduce India's isolation and enhance cooperation with ASEAN.
- Aimed **at countering China's economic** influence in Southeast Asia.
- India sought **new markets** for its workforce and products, leveraging its educated and talented population.
- Addressed concerns about instability and terrorism in West and Central Asia, seeking more reliable and stable economic partners.

Act East Policy

- The **successor of the Look East Policy**, which was enacted in 1992.
- Prime Minister Narendra Modi introduced the Act East Policy **in 2014**.
- To **strengthen India's economic and strategic** ties with Southeast Asian and East Asian countries.
- Focuses on **partnerships with countries** such as Japan, South Korea, and members of ASEAN.
- Aims at **economic integration, security cooperation**, and connectivity enhancement, particularly with Northeastern states.

- Initially economic, now includes **cultural, political, and strategic aspects**.
- Establishes **institutional mechanisms** for dialogue and cooperation.
- Emphasizes **cooperation in infrastructure**, manufacturing, trade, and smart cities with ASEAN nations.

Major Projects:

- India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway Project.
- Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project.
- Rhi-Tiddim Road Project.
- Border Hats.

Importance:

- Responds to **China's increasing influence** in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean regions.
- Aims to **secure freedom of navigation** and rule of law in the Indo-Pacific region.
- **Engagement with QUAD** reflects efforts to enhance security in the Indo-Pacific.
- Addresses changes in **Indo-ASEAN relations post-Cold War** and China's rise.
- Supports the **Northeastern region's** long-term developmental goals.
- **Counters China's** aggression in South Asia.

Initiatives:

- Agartala-Akhaura Rail Link with Bangladesh.
- Intermodal transport links and inland waterways via Bangladesh.
- Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport project in Myanmar.
- Trilateral Highway Project connecting Northeast with Myanmar and Thailand.
- India-Japan Act East Forum initiatives.
- Mahabahu-Brahmaputra inland waterway program.
- Dhubri Phulbari Bridge, India's longest river bridge, connecting Assam and Meghalaya.

Additional Initiatives:

- Support in the form of medicines/medical supplies to ASEAN nations during the pandemic.
- Quick Impact Projects in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam for grassroots development.
- National Bamboo Mission to boost bamboo cultivation and marketing.
- Bru/Reang resettlement deal to resolve a long-standing refugee crisis.
- Digital North East Vision 2022 leveraging digital technologies for transformation.
- NITI Forum for North East focusing on growth and development, premised on the "HIRA" concept (Highways, Inland Waterways, Railways, and Airways).

Look East Policy V/S Act East Policy

Feature	Act East Policy	Look East Policy
Launched	2014	1991
Launched by	Narendra Modi	P. V. Narasimha Rao
Focus	Strengthening strategic and security relations, infrastructure development, economic cooperation	Boosting economic co-operation
Reason for initiation	China's supremacy in the South China Sea and its growing influence in the Indian Ocean region	The fall of the Soviet Union and the need for new economic partners
Partnership	Stronger strategic and political angle with countries like Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Australia	Promotion of business and investment ties with Southeast Asian nations
Cultural relations	Increased emphasis on shared linguistic, historical, and religious traditions	Less emphasis on cultural relations
Development of North East Region	Considerable attention given to the development of the North East Region	Neglected in the plans of forging deeper ties with East Asia
Infrastructure development in other countries	Collaboration with Japan in developing infrastructure in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Bangladesh	No focus on developing infrastructure in other countries
Defense cooperation	Greater focus on defense cooperation	Not much focus on defense cooperation

Look West Policy

Launched in **2005** to strengthen its relations with Arab nations, Iran, and Israel.

9-point Agenda for India's Look-West Policy

- **Independent Approach:**
 - Formulate an independent foreign policy in West Asia.
 - Cooperate with the US based on shared interests while managing divergences.
- **Omnidirectional Engagement:**
 - Engage with all sides, avoiding taking sides in regional conflicts.
 - Shift from past ideological approaches to pragmatic engagement.
- **Sustained Diplomatic Outreach:**
 - Increase bilateral visits and diplomatic efforts.

- Foster greater cooperation through consistent diplomatic engagement.
- **Leveraging the Islamic Link:**
 - Utilize cultural, political, economic, and religious ties.
 - Recognize the role of the Indian Muslim community in shaping policy.
- **Centrality of Pakistan:**
 - Normalize relations with Pakistan for regional success.
 - Emphasize cooperation for overland access, energy security, and counter-terrorism.
- **Enduring Commitment to Stability in Afghanistan:**
 - Prioritize stability in Afghanistan to prevent Taliban destabilization.
 - Promote triangular political and economic cooperation.
- **Accelerate Economic Integration:**
 - Increase economic integration with GCC, Pakistan, etc.
 - Negotiate comprehensive economic agreements with individual GCC countries.
- **Defence Diplomacy:**
 - Strengthen security cooperation with regional armed forces.
 - Consider arms transfers and establish deployment guidelines.
- **Coping with Territorial Changes in the Gulf:**
 - Address challenges related to Gulf territorial changes.
 - Engage in diplomatic efforts to navigate geopolitical shifts and maintain stability.

Significance Of Look West Policy:

- **Geopolitical Significance of Pakistan:** India's Look West Policy recognizes Pakistan's geopolitical importance.
- **Vital Connection with West Asia:** Aims for Pakistan to become a crucial link between India and the energy-rich West Asian region.
- **Conduit for Movement:** Pakistan could facilitate India's ties with West Asia, acting as a conduit for people, goods, and energy.
- **Shift to Geo-economics:** Pakistan shifts focus from geopolitics to geo-economics in its self-perception.
- **Look East Policy's Progress:** Pakistan's Look East Policy led to ASEAN security arm membership, indicating positive developments.
- **Potential for Regional Cooperation:** India-Pakistan reconciliation could lead to regional economic integration spanning Central Asia, South Asia, and the Gulf.
- **Kashmir Resolution Importance:** Resolving Kashmir is seen as pivotal for unlocking the region's geo-economic potential.
- **Enhanced Connectivity through Pipelines:** Pipelines through Pakistan could boost connectivity, supporting trade and transit treaties.
- **Stimulating Free Trade:** India-Pakistan cooperation could stimulate free trade between South Asia and the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Soft Power and Hard Power Diplomacy

Hard Power Diplomacy:

- Hard power diplomacy refers to a **nation's ability to influence others through economic incentives or military strength.**
- Linked to **tangible resources** such as population, territory, natural resources, economic, and military strength.
- Generates **results quickly** as its resources are tangible.
- **Examples:**
 - Trade sanctions by the US on Iran.
 - US military action in Iraq and intervention in Syria.
 - Russia's annexation of Crimea and destabilization of eastern Ukraine.
 - China's assertion of territorial claims in East and South China.
 - India's blockade of supply and fuel during the Nepal Blockade in 2015.
- **Limitations:**
 - Ineffective during deadlocks between nations.
 - Not feasible for weak states lacking resources.
 - Effects are often momentary and can backfire.

Soft Power Diplomacy:

- Soft power is persuasive power derived from attraction and emulation, grounded in intangible resources like tourism, culture, and heritage.
- Achieves goals through attraction rather than coercion.
- Gains importance in a globally connected world, creating a surge in global opinion.
- Effective in achieving difficult outcomes; for instance, India's nuclear waiver in 2008 due to its non-alignment history.
- **Examples:**
 - "Incredible India" tourism campaign showcasing heritage.
 - International Day of Yoga promoted by Prime Minister Modi.
 - Diplomatic efforts by the Prime Minister to connect India and Central Asia through shared ideals.
 - India's humanitarian missions, like rescue efforts in Nepal and Sri Lanka floods.
- **Limitations:**
 - Cultural influence (soft power) may **not directly translate** into political power.
 - Soft power effectiveness **depends on specific circumstances**, limiting its applicability beyond certain regions.
 - Soft power **works slowly** and lacks a clear, rapid strategy, leading to subtle and gradual changes.
 - **Limited Contemporary Usage:** In the face of urgent global challenges like non-state cross-border terrorism, hard power may be more effective than soft power.

Nuclear Diplomacy

Key Features of India's Nuclear Diplomacy:

- **No First Use (NFU):** India won't initiate nuclear conflict but will retaliate if attacked.
- **Credible Minimum Deterrence:** Maintain enough nuclear weapons for deterrence, without matching other nations' arsenals.
- **Non-use Against Non-Nuclear Weapon States:** No nuclear weapons threats or use against non-nuclear states.
- **Retaliation to a Nuclear Attack:** Massive retaliation if India faces a nuclear attack.

Evolution of India's Nuclear Doctrine:

- **Origin:** Formed post-1974 nuclear test, evolved further after the 1998 tests.
- **Draft Nuclear Doctrine (1999):** Emphasized NFU and using nuclear weapons only in retaliation.
- **Official Nuclear Doctrine (2003):** Affirmed NFU, emphasized Credible Minimum Deterrence, and committed to not using nuclear weapons on non-nuclear states.
- **Current Debates:** Ongoing discussions on potential changes due to evolving security threats, with debates on reviewing No First Use (NFU policy) and reinterpreting Credible Minimum Deterrence.

Space Diplomacy

It refers to the integration of the **collaboration of the knowledge, technology, and legislation** involved in science diplomacy as applied to the expanded exploration of space.

India and Space Diplomacy:

- **NASA-ISRO Collaboration:** Co-developing NISAR mission for a dual-frequency aperture radar satellite by 2021.
- **South Asia Satellite (GSAT-9):** Providing vital services like communication, banking, e-governance, and telemedicine to South Asian nations.
- **Technological Independence:** Choosing not to join ISS or APSCO showcases India's technological self-reliance.
- **NAVIC for SAARC Countries:** Allowing SAARC nations to utilize India's regional positioning system, NAVIC.
- **Global Presence with ISTRAC:** Operating international tracking stations in Mauritius, Indonesia, and Brunei through ISTRAC.
- **India-Myanmar Centre for Remote Sensing:** ISRO-established centre in 2001 to enhance cooperation in remote sensing technology.
- **International Data Sharing:** Sharing satellite data globally for collaborative astronomical research.
- **Soft Power Enhancement:** ISRO's cost-effective alternatives make India a favourable partner for developing countries.
- **Strategic Control Stations:** Establishing control stations in neighbouring countries to counterbalance growing Chinese influence.

Phases Of India's Foreign Policy

- **First Phase (1947-62): Optimistic Non-Alignment**
 - Bipolar world, camps led by the USA and USSR.
 - **Objectives:** Resist sovereignty dilution, rebuild the economy, and consolidate integrity.
 - Led the establishment of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) in 1961.
 - 1962 conflict with China damaged India's standing in NAM.
- **Second Phase (1962-71): Decade of Realism and Recovery**
 - Pragmatic choices post-1962 war.
 - Defence agreement with the US in 1964.
 - Tashkent agreement 1965 on Kashmir.
 - Shift towards the USSR due to external pressures.
- **Third Phase (1971-91): Greater Indian Regional Assertion**
 - India's use of hard power in 1971, liberating Bangladesh.
 - The US-China-Pakistan axis threatened India.
 - Sanctions post-Pokhran I in 1974.
 - The USSR's collapse and economic crisis in 1991 prompted policy reevaluation.
- **Fourth Phase (1991-98): Safeguarding Strategic Autonomy**
 - Unipolar world led by the USA.
 - Focus on securing nuclear weapon options (Pokhran II in 1998).
 - Intensive engagement with the US, Israel, and ASEAN countries.
- **Fifth Phase (1998-2013): India, a Balancing Power**
 - Balancing power against the rise of China.
 - India-US nuclear deal (123 Agreement).
 - Cooperation with China on climate change and trade.
 - Strengthened ties with Russia and involvement in BRICS.
- **Sixth Phase (2013-until now): Energetic Engagement**
 - Non-Alignment transformed into Multi Alignment.
 - Increased awareness of India's global capabilities.
 - Key role in global negotiations (e.g., Paris conference on climate change).
 - Assertive policies in the Indian Ocean Region (SAGAR initiative) and extended neighbourhood (Act East policy, Think West policy).

Lessons from Indian Foreign Policy:

- **Greater Realism:**
 - Shift from a reluctant power image.
 - Balance diplomatic visibility with hard security realities.
 - Ensure military consultation.
- **Strong Economy:**
 - Foundation for robust foreign policy.

- Economic strength is crucial for global influence.
- Learn from China's assertiveness.
- **Multi-alignment:**
 - Engage with multiple players.
 - Navigate complex alliances.
 - Strategic hedging in a complex world.
- **Greater Risk:**
 - Low-risk policy yields limited rewards.
 - Assertiveness in humanitarian aid.
 - Embrace more assertive geopolitical participation.
 - Reading into Things Right:
 - Understand global contradictions.
 - Misreading can be costly.
 - Grasp Sino-US contradictions, multi-polarity, and evolving dynamics.
- **Clearer Definition of Interests:**
 - Define India's interests precisely.
 - Learn from historical misjudgments.
 - Understand the evolving global landscape.