



# PSIR

# BULLETIN

**A Monthly Compilation of Current Events for  
Political Science and International Relations**

**OCTOBER 2022**





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## Challenges to foundation ideas of major political system in today's world

Pratap Bhanu Mehta

**Syllabus-** Politics of Representation and Participation: Political parties, pressure groups and social movements in advanced industrial and developing societies.

### PYQ's-

- Critically examine the decline of USA as a hegemon and its implications for the changing international political order. [2021]
- Critically examine the notion of 'Asian values' in the context of the on-going debates on human rights. [2018]

### Context-

**Major example of changes** going on in world political system-

- The extraordinary protests by women in **Iran**.
- The growing repression needed to sustain the Communist Party Congress in **China**.
- Anxieties over the quality of **liberal democracy**.
- The looming political crisis in **South Africa**.

Although, these events seem like disparate, unconnected anxieties. But in a larger historical arc, they suggest that we might be amid a **global legitimation crisis**.

### Major foundational shifts in various countries-

- **Western world-** In the Western world and other countries like India, the horizon was broadly some version of **liberal, representative constitutional democracy**.
- **Islamic countries-** In a large part of the world, from Pakistan to Egypt, there was a quest for some version of **modern Islamic constitutionalism**, reconciling the sovereignty of God with the requirements of the modern world.
- **African countries-** In Africa, the political and moral aspiration of politics was shaped by trying to think of a political form that could be an **effective bulwark against the creation of the color line and imperialism** in the organization of the world system.
- **China-** China has been shaped by the idea of the **party-state** as a distinctive political form.

### Liberal democracy-

It is the combination of a **liberal political ideology** that operates under an **indirect democratic form** of government.

They often draw upon a **constitution**, either **codified** (such as in the United States) or **uncodified** (such as in the United Kingdom), to delineate the powers of government and enshrine the social contract.

So, different regions have a “foundational” question within which politics is conducted. These horizons are fleshed out in a variety of ways, some better and worse than others. **They are often challenged**. They all **must be embedded in different national traditions**. But they are

foundational in the sense that any plausible answer to the question of political legitimation in those societies must refer to or flesh out the meaning of this starting point.

- **Islamic nations**- Countries like Pakistan, Iran and Egypt, **must take “Islamic” as a starting point**, even if they interpret its meaning differently.
- **Western nations**- Liberal democracies **work within the entrenched “liberal” principles**; however, they might be interpreted.
- **China**- Most varieties of Chinese political thought, including many forms of **neo-Confucianism**, take the **Party-State as an institutional form** with which to work.

### Changing ideas around “Party-State”-

- **Mao’s perspective**- The Party-State as a distinctive 20th-century political form involved the thought that the **Party would be a vanguard political formation** that overcame the principal contradictions of society and catapult it to the next stage of development. All social mediation was to be carried out within the Party.
- **Case in China**- In the Chinese case, the Party was also a stand-in for national identity. In China the Party-State has a remarkable history, unleashing both **immense violence but also creating unprecedented development success**.
- It can be said that the party-system faces legitimation crisis in **2 aspects**-
  1. Its ability to manage the **principal economic contradictions** will be open to question.
  2. It will require **more control and repression** to retain its grip on power.
- **Will the Party system survive in today’s era**- These challenges do not mean the party will collapse. It still has the **nationalism engine** to shore it up. But it will increasingly face legitimation crises.

#### One-Party system-

It is a type of sovereign state in which **only one political party has the right to form the government**, usually based on the existing constitution.

All other parties are **either outlawed or allowed to take only a limited and controlled participation** in elections.

**First one-party state**- 1714 to 1783- "**age of the Whig oligarchy**" in **Great Britain**- rule of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) over the Ottoman Empire following the 1913 coup d’état

### Rise of Theo-democracy-

- **Theo-democracy**- The concept of Theo-democracy was shaped by **Abul A’la al-Maududi**, one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century.
- **What is it about**- This was the project of reconciling an acknowledgement of the **formal sovereignty of God, with modern democracy**, and a theological role for clerics.
- **Examples of this project**- Iran, Pakistan, Qutub in Egypt.

- **Challenges for this project-** This model has been under strain in two respects-
  1. Even in Maududi, its **insistence on politically**, not just socially, sanctifying patriarchy was bound to **evoke resistance** of the kind we are now seeing in Iran.
  2. Its **inability to handle the contradictions** that come from an allegiance to notions of heresy and blasphemy in turn produces conflict.
- **Is Theo-democracy stable in today's world order?-** This framework has never stabilized enough to bring peace or prosperity. But it has enduring power in that it is proving hard to jettison.

### Theo democracy-

It is a **theocratic political system** proposed by **Joseph Smith**.

Smith described it as a system under which **God and the people held the power to rule in righteousness**.

Smith believed that this would be the form of government **that would rule the world upon the Second Coming of Christ**. This polity would constitute the "**Kingdom of God**".

### Changing ideas of political system in African nations-

- **What has been the history-** **Mandela** might be the iconic figure in the battle against Apartheid. But so much of African political thought in the 20th century — from Fanon to Cesaire — was haunted by the deep organizing principle of power in international politics: The **colour line as a deeply oppressive basis of subordination**.
- **Need of the hour-** African socialists and pan-Africanists were in search of a **political form that could give Africa effective political agency**.
- **What is the status of revolution in ideas in today's era-** This project has been floundering for a while. But the South African experiment was meant not just to give ballast to the continent because of its power, but as an example. But South Africa is **struggling** to become the flag bearer of this project.

### Conclusion-

- **Which prominent thinkers are being most followed in today's era-** The foundational frameworks represented by **Madison, Mao, Maududi and Mandela** are floundering today. (Mahatma Gandhi was killed in 1948).
- **Asymmetrical crisis is developing-** To be sure, the crisis is not symmetrical.
  - ✓ **Liberal democracies** have great regenerative power.
  - ✓ The **Party-State** has proved to be more resilient than its critics suggested.
- **Foundational ideas vs global concerns-** The politics internal to these horizons might be overshadowed by global problems, climate change and strategic competition.
- **What can be the solution-** **Nationalism** might be used as more of an answer to this crisis. But it is unclear, as we grow weary of old horizons, what else will come in their wake.

### Practice questions by OnlyIAS

- Q. Various political theories are seen as lenses to understand political science. Elucidate. (10M)
- Q. The pluralist theory is marked by a shift in focus from the legal to the sociological character of the state. Discuss 10M

## US sanctions targeting China's semiconductor industry- gamble to maintain American hegemony

Pratap Bhanu Mehta

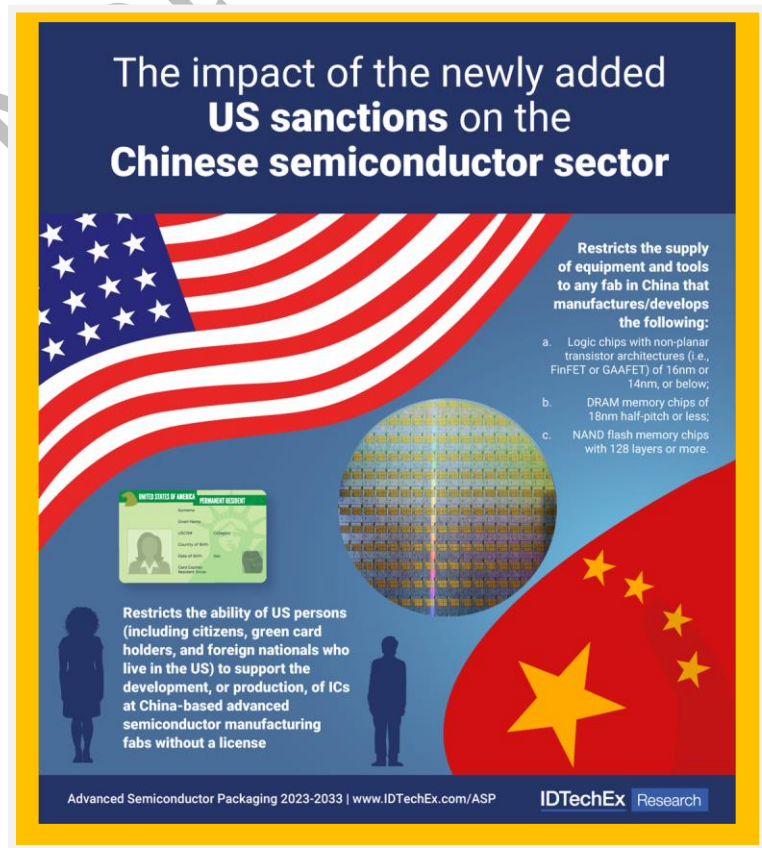
**Syllabus-** India and the Global Centers of Power: USA, EU, Japan, China and Russia

### PYQ's-

- Identify the challenges to American hegemony in the post-Soviet world. [2013]
- Discuss the consequences of Trump's 'America first' and Xi's 'Chinese dream' on world politics. [2018]

### Context-

- **Decline of Neo-liberal global order-** It is widely believed that the neoliberal global order based on open economies, reciprocal gains from trade, free flows of finance, elite mobility, and faith in interdependence **is now ending**. One can pick any moment as marking its end.
- **USA targeting China's semiconductor industry-** The Biden administration's slew of **tough export regulations targeting China's semiconductor industry** is as good a marker as any.
- **What can be the fallout of this-** But what will replace that neoliberal world is not a social-democratic fantasy reorienting politics towards global public goods or justice. It is an **even**





more militarized world, now less capable of trade and diplomacy, hurtling towards a conflict all the principal actors think they can calibrate and control.

### Rise of China and response towards it-

- **Rise of China as a threat**- The rise of China was always going to be a challenge; an authoritarian, opaque militarised China, relying on strident nationalism for legitimacy even more so.
- **How can the world contain China**- There is no way of confidently knowing what strategy would work. But the ideological framing of the American sanctions is striking.
- **Jake Sullivan**- “We previously maintained a sliding scale approach that said we need to stay only a couple of generations ahead. This is not the strategic environment in which we are today. Given the foundational nature of certain technologies, such as advanced logic and memory chips, we must maintain as large of a lead as possible.”

### Decoding Sullivan’s statement-

On one hand, this statement expresses the unexceptional desire to be competitive. But in the context in which it was uttered, it has huge ramifications.

- **Pretext of increasing sanctions**- It has now expanded the pretext on which sanctions can be imposed. The justification is maintaining American hegemony.
- **Using other nations to counter China**- There are gestures towards working with allies, and some countries might harbor the hopes of opportunistically benefitting from these sanctions.
- **Impact of sanctions on global trade**- The far-reaching nature of these sanctions will have implications for the reliability of the global trading and financial order. They express the crudest kind of mercantile reordering of the world system possible.



**Food for thought**- The US is now fusing corporate and state power in ways that will resemble China.

### Timing of the sanctions- Mind games-

- **When were they imposed**- Announcing these sanctions just before the Party Congress was a gesture that was designed to humiliate the Chinese. It is tempting to send a strong signal to the Chinese regime.
- **Neo-colonial angle**- By looking at it from the point of view of the rest of the world, the framing is nothing but neo-colonial. It is saying something like “our objective is to ensure

that one-fifth of humanity (and the rest of the world) always stays at least a **couple of generations behind**".

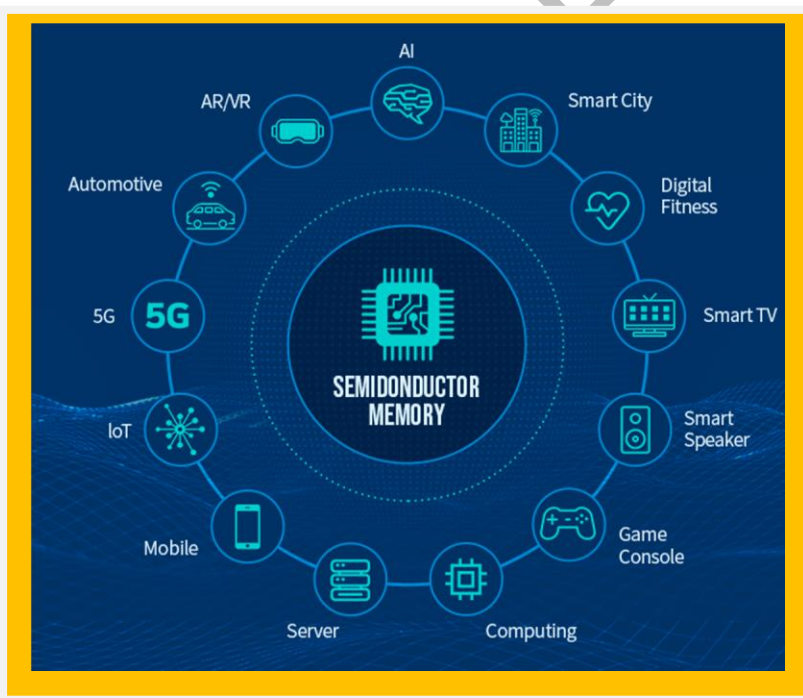
- **Diplomacy vs Supremacy**- By openly declaring a war of supremacy, the options for diplomacy or subtle backing down are foreclosed. There is no attempt even to frame a non-zero-sum game solution here.

### **How will this decision impact relations among various nations-**

- **Western nations & Europe**- The West **overestimates** the support it has outside of Europe.
- **Comparing China's rise to USA & Russian revolution**- China may be a threat to Taiwan and aspire to pre-eminence in Asia, but it is hard for the rest of the world to forget the litany of global violence and racial hierarchy that has taken place under the aegis of the American and Russian empires.
- **Mercantilism vs Welfarism**- The legitimacy of the order that the Americans seek to maintain will **not be enhanced by mercantilist rather than global public good justifications**.

### **How will these sanctions impact global supply chain-**

- **Uncertainty at global level**- At the very least these sanctions are a recipe for creating immense uncertainty in global supply chains.
- **Beneficial moment for nations like India**- Some countries, like India, may be salivating at the prospect of **opportunistically gaining from this moment**. But it is likely that these **gains can be hugely diminished** by the cumulative uncertainties in the world trading system.



**Food for Thought**- China is too important to isolate.

### **Impact of trade war on common global concerns-**

- **Climate change**- The principal arena where global cooperation is required, climate change, is on the back burner. It is difficult to imagine concerted global action on climate change **while the superpowers are in a mercantilist war**.
- **Intentions behind steps taken by USA for climate change**- The US has domestically taken massive steps to invest in tech solutions to climate change. But as is the case with US pharma and vaccines, the jury is out on **whether these investments are entirely in the service of technological supremacy** or will also be converted into global public goods.

### Strategic consequences of these sanctions in the long term-

- **Vague consequences**- The strategic consequences of these sanctions are **not clear**.
- **Can China attack on Taiwan after this**- The Chinese calculus on invading Taiwan will be determined by **military assessments of the prospects of success**. This is because Taiwan is one of the important players in semiconductor industry.

### Why are these sanctions not the right choice?

These sanctions are a big gamble, and the jury is out on their consequences. But something about their framing does not bode well for the world.

- **A war without arms**- These sanctions are as close as you can come to a declaration of war without actual fighting.
- **Strengthening Chinese claims of west**- They also confirm every Chinese claim about the West.
- ✓ The West **may have aided China's rise** (initially for opportunistic reasons during the Cold War), but it will **try and put a ceiling on their growth**.
- **What is the major issue**- Both these countries now seem to be locked into an **over-determined ideological construct, realist hegemonism on the one hand, and strident nationalist revisionism on the other**. This construct has no room for politics, diplomacy or trade.

### Conclusion-

- **"Eye for an eye" is not the right approach**- If the Chinese are going nationalist, surely the world will not be safer by a doubling down on American nationalism.
- **The future needs new solutions**- If the world is facing an economic and ecological crisis, surely the **answer cannot be a late-19th century striving for national supremacy**.
- **Way forward for rest of the world**- The rest of the world's interest will lie **notin** opportunistically exploiting this rivalry but in banding together to change the self-defeating terms in which it is being conducted. The world is in a very dangerous place.

### Practice questions by OnlyIAS

- Q. As both India and China are rising, they are also competing for same geo-strategic space, which has led to conflicts and competition among them in Indo-Pacific. In this view, discuss the implications of India-China dispute on global balance of power. 20M
- Q. Russia and India's divergence towards the two global centers of power- China and USA- is gradually burning the bridges of Indo-Russian friendship. Critically Analyse. 15M

## India, America and the China challenge

C Raja Mohan

**Syllabus-** India and the Global Centers of Power: USA, EU, Japan, China and Russia

### PYQ's-

- Examine the geo-strategic points of contention in the bilateral relationship between India and China. [2021]
- Explain the defence and foreign policy options of India to address the challenges emerging out of the current India-China standoff at the Line of Actual Control [(LAC). [2020]

### Context-

**America's national security strategy** issued by the Joe Biden Administration last week and the **Chinese Communist Party's 20th Congress** this week promise to reshape the geopolitics of Asia and the Indo-Pacific.

The **US NSS has affirmed that China remains its greatest threat**. The CCP this week is likely to double down on Xi Jinping's muscular quest to replace the US as the dominant power in Asia. As prospects for **limiting the Sino-US conflict recede**, India and the rest of Asia **must adapt to the systemic changes** that it is likely to produce.

### Phases in US-China relationship-

Asia has seen multiple phases in the US-China relationship-

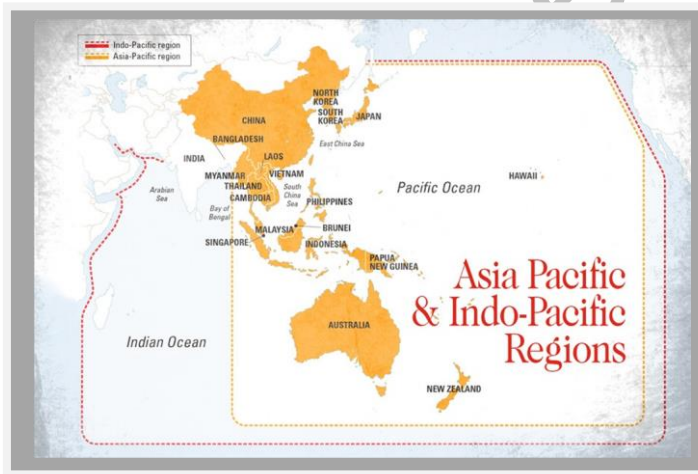
- **2<sup>nd</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup> century- American missionaries began to arrive in China** and began to generate empathy for the nation.
- **During World War II- Washington backed Chinese nationalists** in their fight against Japanese occupation.



- **After beginning of communism in China-** The **US tried to isolate China** from 1949 when the communists prevailed over the nationalists.
- **Cold war period-** The 1970s saw **the US and communist China come together** to counter the Soviet Union.
- **1980s-1990s-** The 1980s saw the **beginning of an economic engagement** that turned into a huge commercial and technological partnership from the 1990s.
- **21<sup>st</sup> century-** At the turn of the 21st century, some in the US began to **see China as a potential threat**. But the US establishment dismissed the idea and bet that Beijing could become a **“responsible stakeholder”** in the world order.

### **Economy leading to democratization-**

America also believed that China's growing economic prosperity would inevitably lead to **greater democratization of its society**. China, however, has **steadily moved in the other direction**, especially under Xi, who has convinced himself that the West is in terminal decline.



### **Change in approach by China-**

- **Working for Chinese interest-** Chinese president Xi is determined to **seize this moment to reshape the Asian as well as the global order to suit Chinese interests**.
- **Increasing repression inside China-** At the same time, China has become increasingly **repressive** at home. There has been no attempt from the Chinese leadership to hide **China's new geopolitical ambition** nor has he been defensive about his authoritarian rule.
- **Trump & Biden's approach to deal with China-** The traditional soft attitude to China yielded to a **more confrontational approach** during the Donald Trump presidency. Joe Biden has developed that into a **more structured policy** of competing with China.
- **Trump's NSS-** The National Security Strategy of the Trump administration postulated the **return of great power rivalry** and the need to respond to the challenges presented by Russia and China.
- **Biden's NSS-** It **builds on that proposition and identifies China as the more demanding challenge than Russia**, despite Moscow's aggression against Ukraine.

**Focus shifting to Indo-Pacific-** While the European challenge is real, the Biden Administration now sees the **Indo-Pacific as the principal strategic theatre**. In the second half of the 20th century, Asia was secondary to the Cold War in Europe. **Today, it is the primary focus** for the US in its confrontation with China.

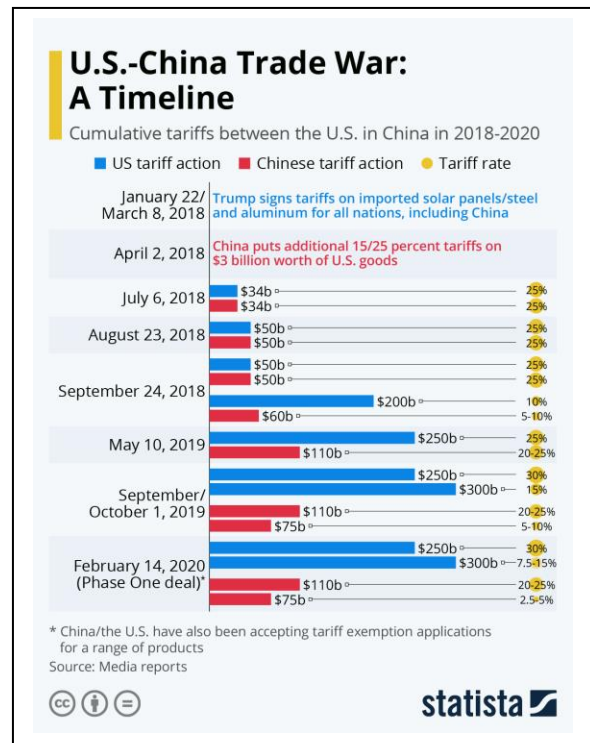
### **How will US-China rivalry shape international politics?**

Seen from the regional perspective, the unfolding contest between the US and China will now be the **principal factor shaping international relations of Asia and the Indo-Pacific**. India and the rest of Asia must now engage with at least **three dimensions** of the Sino-US conflict.

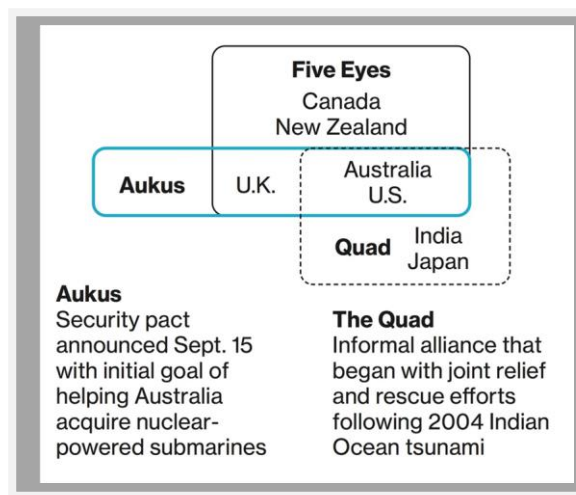
- 1. Ideological-** The US has sought to locate the conflict with China (and Russia) as a fundamental **struggle between “democracies and autocracies”**.

  - ✓ **Coalition against China enlarging-** Recognizing the limited enthusiasm for the framing in Asia, the NSS now talks of **broadening the coalition to include countries that may not be democratic**.
  - ✓ **China trying to change the narrative-** Beijing, on the other hand, argues that recent history points to the **superiority of the Chinese system over the Western one**. And it offers its **own versions of a global order** – economic, political and social.
  - ✓ **Ideological warfare has re-emerged-** Since the end of the Cold War, ideological arguments had **receded** into the background but **are now back** in significant play.
- 2. Trade and technological front-** China continues to sing praises of the model of economic globalization that has facilitated Beijing’s rise over the last four decades. But under Xi, China has emphasized the **importance of self-reliance**— in the name of a **“dual circulation strategy”**.

  - ✓ **China’s effort to reduce dependence on others-** In the past, China’s focus was on the **globalization of its economy**. Now, there is a greater emphasis on **internal economic dynamism** and **reducing the reliance on foreign technologies**.
  - ✓ **China trying to make others dependent on it-** At the same time, Beijing has sought to **enhance the world’s dependence on its economy** and leverage it for strategic benefit. The profound political backlash against trade and economic cooperation with China in the US led to the questioning of economic globalisation in the Trump years.
  - ✓ **Recent decisions by USA-** As part of its effort to outcompete China, the US has imposed a **series of technology sanctions against China** and has turned to the once taboo “industrial policy” to strengthen internal innovation.



3. **The future of alliances in Asia**- As China became a richer country, it also focused on building a **powerful army**. Using both the instruments of hard power, China under Xi has actively sought to **undermine US alliances in Asia** and mount pressure on American forward military presence in Asia. The US is now pushing back.
- ✓ **Rebuilding alliances against China**- The principal instrument in the US response has been **rebuilding the traditional bilateral alliances with Japan and Australia** as well as constructing **new partnerships with countries like India** and developing new regional coalitions.
  - ✓ **India's angle in the past**- India's engagement with the US-China dynamic has not been an uncomfortable one in the past. When the **US sought to isolate China in the 1950s, India tried to befriend it** and promote its international acceptance.
  - ✓ **Power game & alliances of past**- When the **US and China joined to limit Soviet power in the 1970s, Delhi deepened its alliance with Moscow**. India watched with envy as the US helped the rapid modernization of the Chinese economy.



## Conclusion

Today, **Indian and American policies are converging**. For both Delhi and Washington, **Beijing presents the main national challenges**.

- **Economy & Technology**- On the economic and technological front, both India and the US are trying to **reduce their exposure to China**.
- **Geopolitical front**- On the geopolitical front, a **US plan to look beyond formal alliances** suits Delhi, which is wedded to an independent foreign policy.

It is never easy to translate abstract convergence into concrete policies. The current churn in Asia **provides Delhi and Washington with a historic opportunity to build on the new convergences** in the areas of trade, technology, and geopolitics.

### Practice questions by OnlyIAS

Q. India and USA have come a long way from being estranged democracies to engaged democracies. Discuss. 10M

Q. Indian and pacific oceans can no longer be handled as distinct spheres and thus it is important to treat them as a single geo-strategic unit. In this view, analyse the shifting of global power center from the pacific to the Indo-Pacific. 20M

## With reverses in Ukraine, Putin's options are shrinking

**C Raja Mohan**

**Syllabus-** Contemporary Global Concerns: Democracy, human rights, environment, gender justice terrorism, nuclear proliferation.

### **PYQ's-**

- The recent differences between India and Russia are the result of misconceptions than facts. Elucidate. [2017]
- Analyse the drivers of Indo-Russian relations in the post-Cold war era. [2014]

### **Context-**

The war in Ukraine has entered a more dangerous phase after last week's formal annexation of four districts of eastern Ukraine — **Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson** — by Russia. Vladimir Putin's decision presents new challenges for Russia, Ukraine, Europe, the US and the non-Western world, including India.

### **What does the current scenario in war means for Russia-**

- **What is the future of war from here?** - As the gap between Putin's political claims and the military reality on the ground widens, his choices become narrower and will necessarily involve **further escalation**.
- **Response by his countrymen**- His decision to mobilize new troops through conscription was an important step in that direction. But the resistance to the draft is real and many men of fighting age are fleeing the country.
- **Decision in haste**- Putin's claim to incorporate the four districts was strained by the fact that Russia did not have full military control over these territories.



### **Number v/s performance of Russian army-**

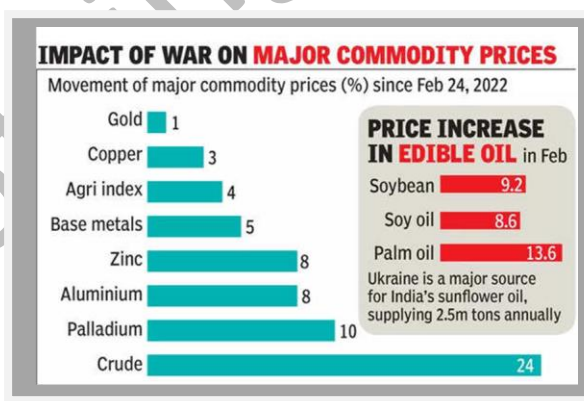
- **Increasing number of war personnel's**- Russia will eventually throw thousands of new troops into the battle. Greater fighting mass could help build a **credible Russian line of defense in eastern Ukraine** and provide a better military basis for Putin's diplomatic strategy.



- **Performance below par-** But the **performance** of the Russian armed forces so far **does not necessarily inspire optimism** about the country's prospects in eastern Ukraine. If Kyiv's counteroffensive notches up new victories, the military and political pressure on Putin can only mount.

### What options does Russia has to get its claims-

- **Use of nuclear weapon-** While global attention is focused on the potential use of nuclear weapons by Russia, it is **unlikely** that Putin would immediately turn to nuclear weapons.
- ✓ The Biden administration has said it has seen **no signs of preparation to use nuclear weapons**. Washington has **warned Russia of catastrophic consequences** if Moscow resorts to nuclear weapons.
- **Conventional attacks-** Putin might want to **raise the scale and scope of the conventional attacks on civilian infrastructure** in Ukraine that he has already begun.
- **Cyber-attacks-** Russia could also turn to **cyber-attacks** as well as **physically target the Ukrainian military and political leadership**.
- **Vertical v/s Horizontal escalation-** "Vertical escalation" — or intensification of the current military effort — is not the only option for Putin. He could try his hand at **"horizontal escalation" that involves widening the war theatre**.
- ✓ He could launch **missile attacks on military supply lines from Poland** and other East European countries. The prospect of a general European war could significantly raise the stakes in the Ukraine war.



If Putin continues to escalate, the divisions within the West could become more significant. There are at least **two current Western approaches to Ukraine**.

1. **Those who want defeat for Russia-** One is the radical line from Central Europe and the UK that demands inflicting a **decisive defeat on Putin's Russia**.
  2. **Those who want peace and no further war-** Some sections of Western Europe, however, underline the importance of an early end to the war and the **accommodation of at least some of Moscow's concerns**.
- ✓ Such a peace could be at the **expense of Ukraine's territorial integrity**. Kyiv is not interested in trading land for peace at this moment.
  - ✓ But the weight of those in Europe **who put "peace" above "justice" might gain ground** if the costs of the war become more manifest in winter.

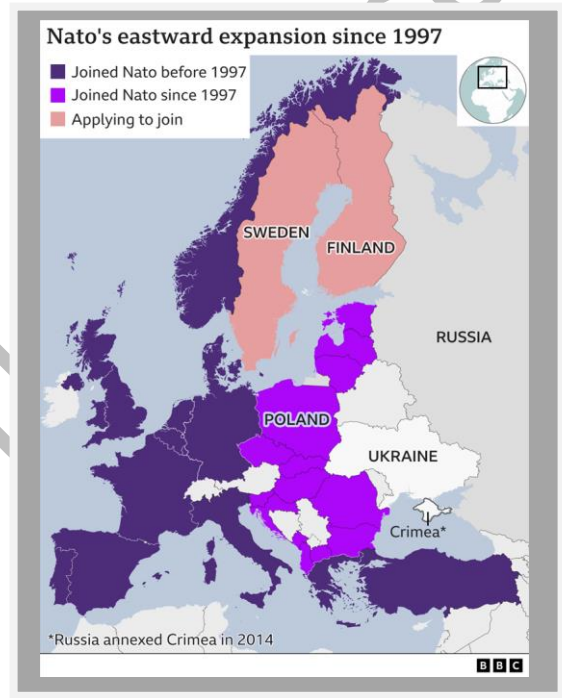
### Russia's larger goals and US's counter strategy-

The US has so far been able to **keep the anti-Russia coalition together**. It has also sought to limit the nature of support for Ukraine to prevent the use of Western weapons against Russian soil. But **if the war widens** and the danger of a nuclear war seems real, there are bound to be **pressures on the US** to rethink its policy.

- **Division among the western powers**- Dividing the West is at the very heart of Putin's Ukraine strategy but it is yet to produce a major success.
- **Attempt to revive "Russkiy Mir"**- Putin's political justification of the annexation of eastern Ukraine based on the **traditional "Russkiy Mir" — or Russian World or sphere of influence** — does not generate support in the former Soviet republics. **Barring Belarus, few in Putin's "near abroad" want to see the restoration of Putin's "Great Historic Russia"**.

### **Conclusion-**

Putin's spectacular claim that his **battle for Ukraine is part of an "emancipatory, anti-colonial movement against unipolar hegemony"** that will reshape the world is **unlikely to bestir the chancelleries of the Global South** into a new crusade against Western "neocolonialism". **Escalation — vertical and horizontal — seems his only option amidst the growing military setbacks**. That, in turn, will severely test both his adversaries in the West and his friends among the rest.



### **Practice questions by OnlyIAS**

Q. Do you think that today's democracy is facing a state of crisis especially in context of rising public resentment and the inherent issues with the global democratic architecture that has been unable to prevent the Russian-Ukrainian Crisis? Critically Comment 20M

## India-UK- New chapter under PM Sunak

**HARSH V. PANT**

**Syllabus-** India and the Global Centers of Power: USA, EU, Japan, China and Russia [consider UK as part of 'EU' in the syllabus till it is updated]

**PYQ's-**

- "EU-India relations have a long way to go before they can purposely be termed strategic." Discuss. [2014]
- Identify the elements of change in India's foreign policy. [2013]

### Context-

Promising **economic stability and political unity**, Rishi Sunak assumed office as the new Prime Minister (PM) of the United Kingdom (UK). He has made all the right noises so far. In his first public speech, **Sunak spoke of a "profound economic crisis"** with Covid-19 and the war in Ukraine contributing to the situation.

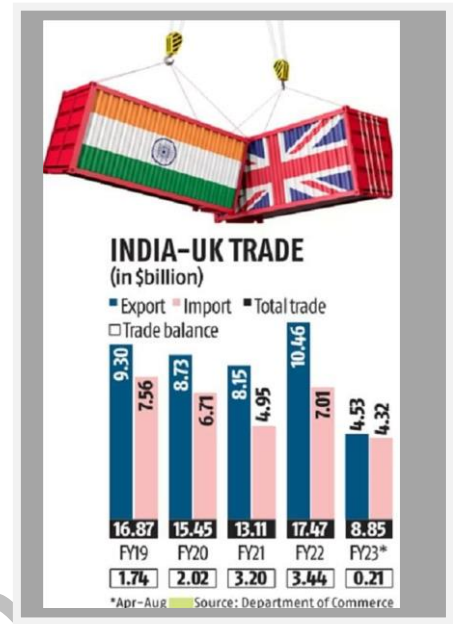
### Immediate challenges for Rishi Sunak-

- **Restoring trust in government-** Sunak's entry stabilized the situation, but the political and economic uncertainty of the past few months has **damaged British credibility hugely**. Sunak's priority will be to **restore the trust** in the ability of the British government to manage a delicate situation, both politically and economically.
- **Reversing the political instability-** The underlying **political instability is, in more ways than one, a consequence of the Brexit referendum**. The Conservative Party has been struggling to come to terms with it and is yet to find a way out.
- **Managing economy in times of crisis-** Sunak will hope that **by managing the economy effectively**, he will be able to give a **new sense of purpose** to the Tories, who are struggling politically against a resurgent Labour.



### Opportunities for India-UK relations under Sunak-

- **Ideological learning**- His vision for India-U.K. bilateral ties has gone beyond the opportunity for the U.K. to sell things in India, wanting **Britain to also "learn from India"**.
- **India-UK free trade agreement**- Sunak seeks the conclusion of the much-vaunted India-UK free trade agreement (FTA). Calling India an **"economic superpower"** and arguing that an FTA would improve access to its "dynamic market,"
- **To achieve 2030 goals**- It is an opportunity for India and the U.K **to work closely together on global issues and implement the roadmap 2030 for bilateral relations** with the elevation of a person of Indian origin as prime minister of the U.K

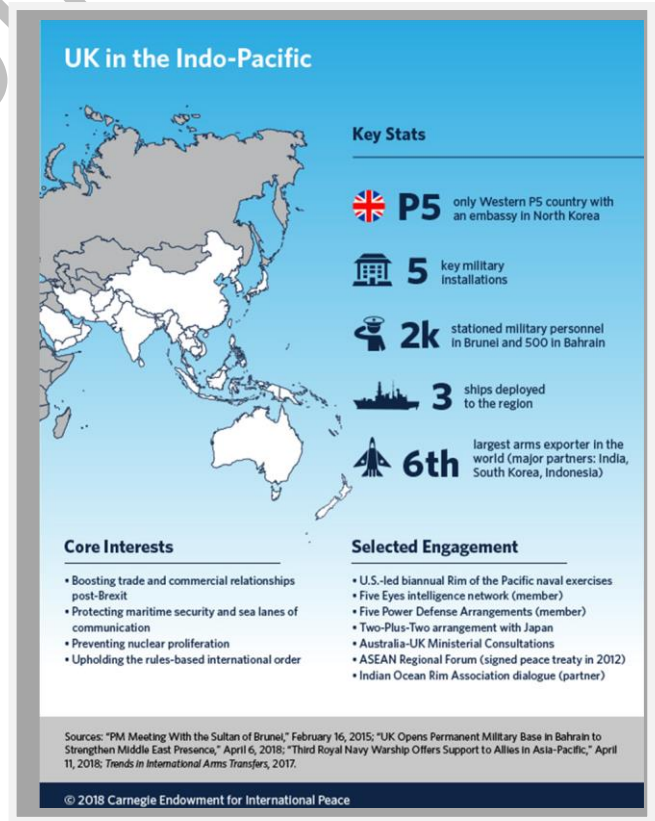


### What is India's importance for UK-

- **Large market**- India is a key strategic partner for the UK in the Indo-Pacific both in terms of **market share and defence**, as was underscored by the signing of the **Defence and International Security Partnership** between India and the UK in 2015.
- **Global Britain ambitions**- For Britain, a successful conclusion of an FTA with India would provide a boost to its 'Global Britain' ambitions as the **UK has sought to expand its markets beyond Europe since Brexit**.
- **To enter the Indo-Pacific arena**- Britain has been trying to seize opportunities in the growing economies of the Indo-Pacific to cement its place on the global stage as a serious global actor. The British would be **better able to achieve this goal with good bilateral relations with India**.

### Why is UK important for India?

- **UK is a naval power**- The **UK is a regional power in the Indo-Pacific** as it possesses **naval facilities** in Oman, Singapore, Bahrain, Kenya, and British Indian Ocean Territory.
- **Britain as an investment partner**- The UK has also confirmed **USD 70 millions of British International Investment funding to**



support the usage of renewable energy in India, which will help in building renewable energy infrastructure and developing solar power in the region.

- **Market access for some products**- India has sought easy market access for Indian **fisheries, pharma, and agricultural products** besides duty concession for labor-intensive exports.

### **Conclusion-**

- The **profound ties of culture, history and language** already give the UK a potentially strong foundation upon which to further deepen its relationship with India.
- With a whole new set of circumstances, India and Britain should recognize that they **both need each other** to achieve their larger goals.

### **Practice questions by OnlyIAS-**

- Q. Analyse the Post BREXIT pathway for EU in the present geo-political world order. 10M
- Q. What role could the recently established India-EU Trade and Technology Council play on the India-EU relations which still lack a strong cooperation on the bilateral trade level due to unsuccessful conclusion of BTIA. 15 M

## The old but relevant script of the Cuban Missile crisis

**RAKESH SOOD**

**Syllabus-** Contemporary Global Concerns: Democracy, human rights, environment, gender justice terrorism, **nuclear proliferation**

### **PYQ's-**

- Discuss the utility of nuclear deterrence theory in the context of recent standoff between India & Pakistan. [2019]
- “The development of advanced missile technology and nuclear threat by North Korea has challenged the American hegemony in South-East Asia.” Evaluate the above statement in the context of recent developments in the region. [2017]

### **Context- [Russia-Ukraine war]**

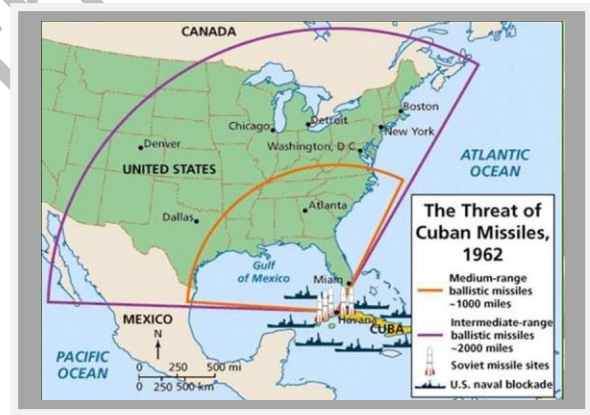
**Russia's attack on Ukraine was supposed to be short-** Earlier assumptions have been upended — Russia's short 'special military operation' to '**de-Nazify and de-militarize**' Ukraine is already a nine-month-war, and likely to extend into 2023.

- **Did NATO collapse?** - Trans-Atlantic North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) unity under U.S. leadership despite visible internal differences has not collapsed
- **Performance-** Mr. Zelensky's emergence as a wartime leader is surprising; and, poor Russian military planning and performance, a shock.
- **Is the end of war in sight?** - For the present, **Russia is too strong to lose** and Ukraine, despite NATO support, too weak to win; so, the war grinds on with no ceasefire in sight.

**Biggest cause of worry-** A breakdown of nuclear deterrence.

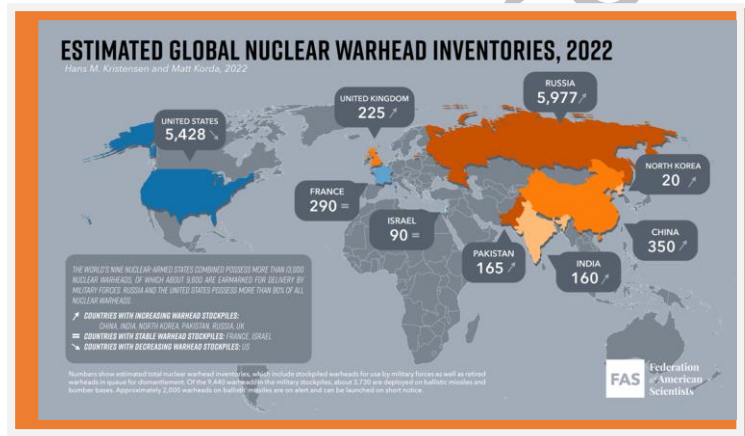
- **Nuclear taboo-** Nuclear weapons have **not been used since 1945** and a global conscience has sustained the nuclear taboo for over 75 years.
- **Escalation-** None of the three principals in Ukraine would want the taboo breached. However, escalation creates its own dynamic.

### **Cuban missile crisis [Oct 1962]**



It brought the world to the **edge of nuclear Armageddon**, as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. engaged in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation. The timeline of the crisis-

- **Beginning of the conflict**- On **October 16, 1962**, U.S. President John F. Kennedy was informed that the U.S.S.R. was preparing to deploy **medium and intermediate range nuclear missiles** in Cuba.
- **Response of USA**- After deliberating with his core group of advisers, he **rejected the idea of an invasion or a nuclear threat** against Moscow, and on October 22, declared a **naval 'quarantine'** of Cuba.
- **Backchannel talks**- Simultaneously, he authorized his brother Robert Kennedy to open a **backchannel** with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.
- **Diffusion of crisis**- The crisis **was defused on October 28**; based on assurances conveyed through the backchannel. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev announced that **Soviet nuclear missiles and aircraft would be withdrawn** in view of U.S. assurances to respect Cuba's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Simultaneously, the **U.S. also agreed to withdraw the Jupiter nuclear missiles** from Turkey.



### Lessons learnt from Cuban crisis-

- **Avoid direct confrontation**- The key lesson learnt was that the **two nuclear superpowers should steer clear of any direct confrontation** even as their rivalry played out in other regions, thereby keeping it below the nuclear threshold.
- **Availability of second-strike capability**- Deterrence theorists called it '**the stability-instability-paradox**'. With their **assured-second strike-capability** guaranteeing mutually-assured-destruction, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were **obliged to limit the instability to proxy wars**.
- **Difficult to stop once started**- Nuclear war games over decades remained **unable** to address the challenge of keeping a **nuclear war limited** once a nuclear weapon was introduced in battle.



## Russia's nuclear signaling

The Ukraine war is testing the old lessons of nuclear deterrence. **Russia sees itself at war, not with non-nuclear Ukraine, but with a nuclear armed NATO.**

- **Putin's actions**- Russia has therefore engaged in repeated nuclear signaling — from **Putin being personally present** in mid-February at large-scale exercises involving **'strategic forces'**, to placing nuclear forces on **'special combat alert'** on February 27.
- **Other steps taken in context of nuclear war**- Putin raised the stakes again when he ordered a **'partial mobilization'**, announced **referendums in the four regions** of Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia, accused the West of engaging in nuclear blackmail and warned that **Russia has 'more modern weapons'** and **'will certainly make use of all weapon systems available; this is not a bluff'**.
- **Using USA's actions as example**- He cited U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 as a precedent.

## Will nuclear attack be beneficial for Russia?

However, Russian nuclear use makes **little** operational sense.

- **Japan was non-nuclear state**- In 1945, **Japan was on the verge of surrender** and **only the U.S. possessed nuclear weapons.**
- **Consequences of nuclear attack on Ukraine**- Use of a tactical nuclear weapon will only **strengthen Ukrainian national resolve**; NATO response is unlikely to be nuclear but will be sharp.
- **Isolation of Russia**- International political backlash would be significant, and Mr. Putin may find himself **increasingly isolated**. Many countries in East and Central Asia could reconsider nuclear weapons as a **security necessity**.

## Role for global diplomacy

- **Role of climate in Ukraine war**- During the next few weeks, the fighting in Ukraine will **intensify**, before winter sets in and the weather freezes military operations till spring. This raises the risks for escalation and miscalculations.
- **Need for global efforts**- The **United Nations appears paralyzed** given the involvement of permanent members of the Security Council. Therefore, it is for other global leaders who have access and influence, **to convince Mr. Putin** that nuclear escalation would be a disastrous move.

## Opportunities in the coming times-



- **India and Indonesia- Indonesia** is the G20 chair and President Joko Widodo will be hosting the summit meeting next month. **India is the incoming chair**; Prime Minister Narendra Modi will be attending the summit. Both **Indonesia and India have refrained** from condemning Russia, keeping communication channels open.
- **Modi on Russia war**- In a bilateral meeting with Mr. Putin in Samarkand last month, Mr. Modi emphasized that “**now is not the era of war**”.
- **Way forward**- There is a need to emphasize on the **deterrent role of nuclear weapons** and not expanding it; to reiterating Russia’s official declaratory position that restricts nuclear use for “an existential threat”.

#### **G-20 Troika-**

It refers to the top grouping within the G20 that consists of the **current, previous and the incoming presidencies** — **Indonesia, Italy and India**.

**India** will assume the G20 presidency on **1st December 2022** from Indonesia, and will convene the G20 Leaders’ Summit for the **first time in India in 2023**.

Next year’s summit will be organised along the overall theme of “**Recover Together, Recover Stronger**”.

### **Conclusion**

There is a need to help **reduce growing fears of escalation** and provide a **channel for communication**. The door for a dialogue must be kept open between all the stakeholders. The lessons of the Cuban Missile crisis remain valid 60 years later.

#### **Practice questions by OnlyIAS**

Q. After Ukraine crisis, do you still believe that Deterrence as a tool of International Politics remains relevant in safeguarding one country's national interest? Discuss. 15M

Q. The present status of collective defence and security in Europe as seen in the form of NATO expansion and emergence of Russia-Ukraine crisis shows that International Politics is still about alliance building like it was in the mid 20th century. In this regard, critically analyze the status of collective security in the modern world. 20M

## COP27: India can't be expected to pay for climate sins of the West

**SAMIR SARAN**

**Syllabus-** Contemporary Global Concerns: Democracy, human rights, **environment**, gender justice terrorism, nuclear proliferation.

### **PYQ's-**

- Discuss the five proposals made by India in the recent COP-26 conference held in Glasgow. [2021]
- Examine the role of UNFCCC and other major efforts by the UN to address the global environmental crisis. [2020]

### **Context-**

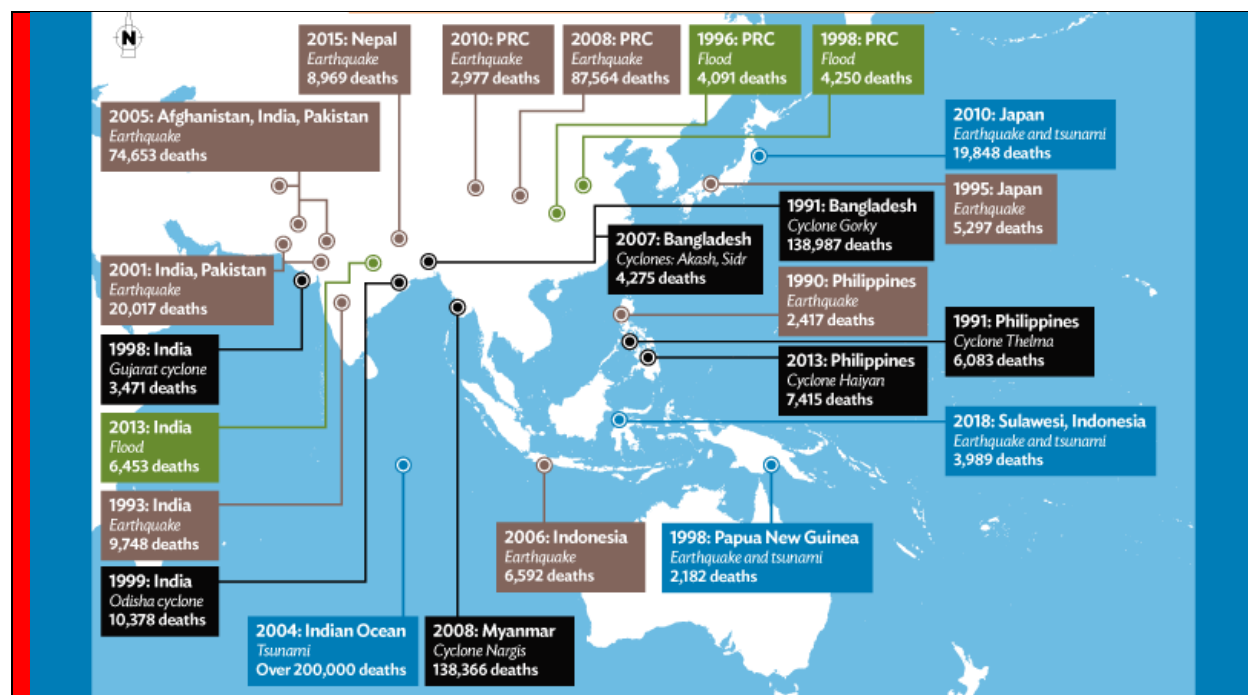
The 27th Conference of Parties — COP27 — is once again the subject of **enormous expectations**. There is a need for the meeting in Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt to be able to go beyond talk. Climate disasters are reaching unprecedented levels. And the impact has disproportionately **fallen on low and middle-income countries like India**.

### **Data supporting climate change-**

- **Report findings-** According to a **UNDRR report**, the proportion of **climate-related natural disasters** between **2000-2019** almost **doubled** from the previous two decades.
- **Human and property loss-** Such disasters claimed **1.23 million lives** and levied an economic cost of **\$2.97 trillion**.
- **Impact on Asia-** **Eight of the top 10 countries** hit by these disaster events were developing countries from Asia.

**Mitigation vs. Adaptation-** Most global action revolves around **efforts to “mitigate” climate change** by **reducing the volume of carbon emissions**. Too little attention is paid to the developing countries’ **need for “adaptation” to the effects of the carbon** that is already in the atmosphere.





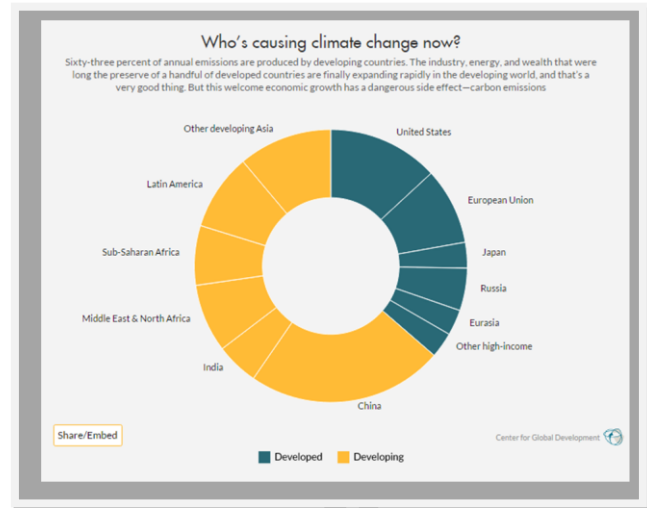
### The hidden problems of climate change that need to be discussed-

As with much else in the climate debate, this is deeply revealing of **western hypocrisy**.

- **Need to solve climate related problems of present, before future-** It is argued that climate change is so real and urgent that **difficult, expensive action must be taken on mitigation**, to cut emissions. But it **does not talk about** the real and urgent problems that people and economies are **suffering due to emissions** that have already happened.
- **Need to focus on adaptation strategy-** These emissions cannot be prevented or mitigated. Communities **need support in adapting to them**. Adaptation — including **'loss and damage'** accounting for the overall effects of climate change — must be at the center of all climate negotiations.

### Relationship between development and carbon emission-

- **Direct relation**- It is a truth that all accept but few wish to acknowledge there is a direct relationship between overall well-being and carbon emissions. The **growth trajectories of advanced economies have been achieved by exploiting the world's carbon budgets**.
- **Impact of development strategies by developed nations**- The developed world's depletion of global atmospheric commons has led to **extreme climatic events** across the planet. Climate change is **already upon us** due to industrialization in Europe and North America in the past, and in China more recently.
- **Dilemma of development vs. Climate for developing nations**- Countries that have contributed the least towards historical global emissions — countries that are still developing and poor — are **left to fend for themselves**. Global poverty has underwritten the riches of the developed world.



### Climate finance-

- **Present status of climate finance**- Climate finance contributions from the Global North has been **insignificant and incommensurate** with the transition costs for emerging economies.
- **Need**- Developing countries will require **at least \$1 trillion in energy infrastructure alone** by 2030 and up to **\$6 trillion across all sectors annually by 2050** to mitigate climate change.
- **The cost is increasing because of not taking action**- In addition, annual climate adaptation costs in these economies **could reach \$300 billion by 2030** and as much as **\$500 billion by 2050**.
- **Residual damage cost**- Further, developing countries are likely to face **\$290-580 billion in annual "residual damages" by 2030** and **over \$1 trillion in damages by 2050** from the impact of climate change that cannot be



prevented by adaptation measures. There is hardly any acknowledgement, let alone support, for this crisis.

### Loss and damage-

- **COP19 contribution-** The debate on Loss and Damage (L&D) is mired in ambiguity. It was only in **2013**, at COP19, that Loss and Damage became officially recognized. It was later included as distinct **Article 8 of the Paris Agreement at COP21**, with no reference, however, to finance or equity.
- **Made a political debate-** The segregation of L&D and adaptation was viewed as a geopolitical gambit to separate the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) from other emerging economies. This deprived large developing countries of climate finance and technology by conflating them with developed nations.
- **Dilemma between L&D and adaptation fund-** Since global climate funds are constrained, it has been argued that opening a window for L&D would impact finance for adaptation and mitigation and reduce the ability of larger emerging economies like India to tackle climate change.

**What is the need of the hour-** L&D financing must emerge as an independent stream in climate negotiations. Instituting special arrangements for strengthening L&D finance, independent from mitigation and adaptation, is particularly vital.

### India's path on climate action-

India's climate action will be constrained by its development imperatives.

- **Importance of capital in climate commitments-** Despite ambitious Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) commitments, the realization of India's climate goals is strongly linked to the availability and quality of capital at its disposal.
- **India's need-** India needs about \$2.5 trillion till 2030 for NDCs. Currently, the tracked green finance in India represents approximately 25% of the total required across sectors for mitigation alone.
- **Will adaptation fund be enough for India-** Adaptation flows are even more pitiful. Given India is among the most vulnerable to climate change, adaptation clearly needs more resources. But these demands are unlikely to be met by global adaptation funds, which are limited and expected to prioritize small and fragile island states.

#### **INDIA'S CLIMATE TARGETS: EXISTING AND NEW**

Target (for 2030)	Existing: First NDC (2015)	New: Updated NDC (2022)	Progress
Emission intensity reduction	33-35 per cent from 2005 levels	45 per cent from 2005 levels	24 per cent reduction achieved in 2016 itself. Estimated to have reached 30 per cent
Share of non-fossil fuels in installed electricity capacity	40 per cent	50 per cent	41.5 per cent achieved by the end of June this year
Carbon sink	Creation of 2.5 to 3 billion tonnes of additional sink through afforestation	Same as earlier	Not clear.

- **Solution of funding crisis for India**- Therefore, it stands to reason that India privileges adaptation to support its communities and people from its **own domestic budgets**. Mitigation actions must, then, be **backed by international finance flows**. India — and indeed no developing country — can do both. It **cannot be expected to pay for its future as well as pay for Europe and America's past**.

### **Conclusion-**

COP27 is an **opportunity to voice the Global South's collective demands** and reconcile various channels of climate financing. The international community must respond. Else the developing world will find itself preaching to the parish of the prejudiced.

#### **Practice questions by OnlyIAS**

Q. "Environment is now a key component of international relations that has now a high priority in diplomatic circles." Examine in context to various COP summits and the recent COP26 summit where India brought its Panchamitra ideals. 20M

Q. The world has faced a pandemic of human rights abuses in the wake of COVID-19. Discuss. 10M

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## Great power politics- between USA and China

### [Understanding NSS]

**HARSH V. PANT**

**Syllabus-** India and the Global Centers of Power: USA, EU, Japan, China and Russia

#### PYQ's-

- Illustrate the main causes of tensions between India and China. Suggest the possibilities of improving the relationship. [2016]
- Comment on India's growing relationship with USA in the background of constrained relations between India and China. [2016]

#### Context-

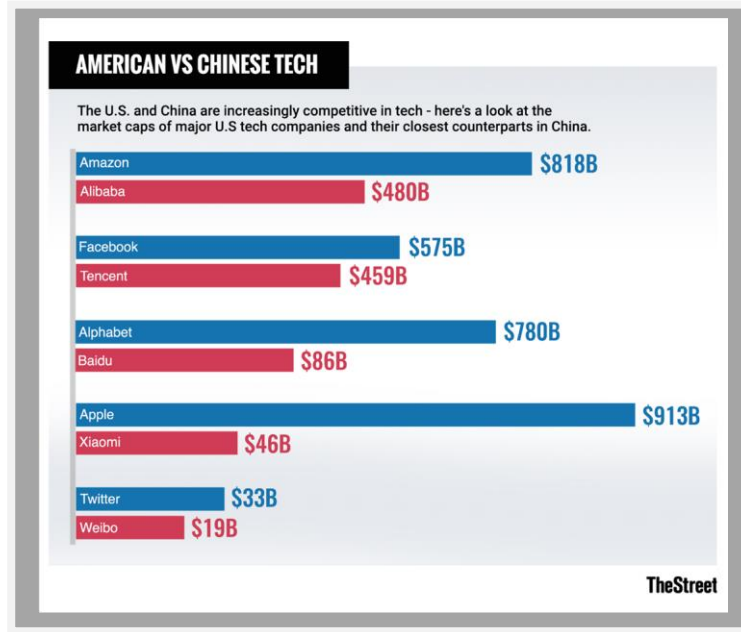
The **two main protagonists in the drama of Great Power Politics** are getting ready, and in the past few days have declared their intent openly and unambiguously. There is no hiding behind caveats, no hedging and no denial. What there is, is **an acceptance of the changing realities** that are beginning to impose their own constraints on the way leaders think and operate. The **'post-Cold War' phase of the past three decades seems to have come to an end**, as nations around the world restructure their own ways of looking at and engaging the world.

#### Factors affecting today's realities-

- **Rise of China & decline of USA-** Given that today's geopolitical and geo-economic realities are being shaped by **the rise of China and relative decline of the US** from the heyday of its "unipolar moment," it is natural that their actions and reactions would be closely watched and absorbed by everyone else.
- **NSS of USA-** Joe Biden has released the **National security strategy for USA** in which it admitted that the USA is in a "decisive decade". It is the time for USA where it must not only **take on major powers like China** that threaten to reshape the global order, but **also international challenges** such as pandemics, climate change, inflation and economic well-being, which are impacting human and societal security.
- **Special focus on containing Russia-** This report was **delayed by the Russia-Ukraine war**. So, not surprisingly, the **need to constrain Russia is highlighted as a major aim** of US strategy, as it poses an "immediate and persistent threat to international peace and stability" through its policies that "culminated" in the invasion of Ukraine.

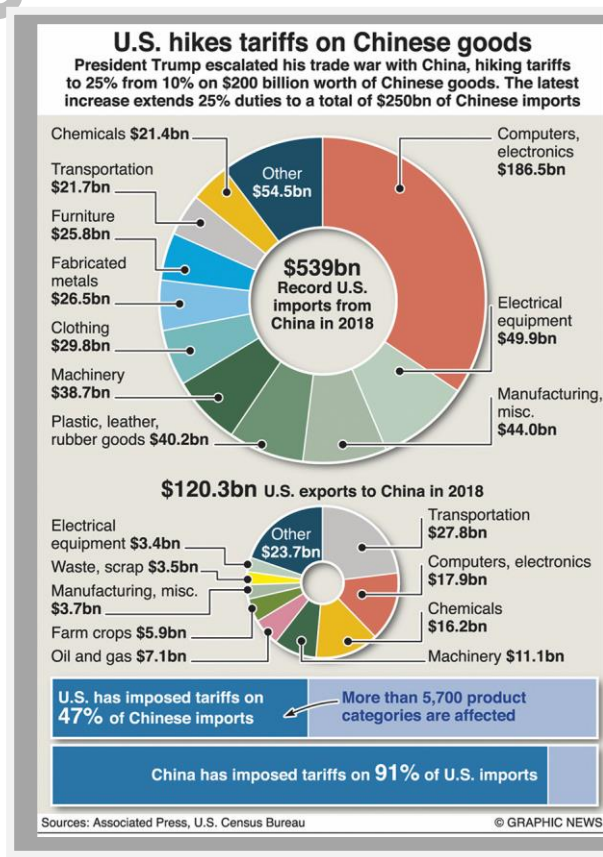
#### How big of a competitor is China for USA? -

- **Changing nature of NSS**- What was once seen as **provocative under the Donald Trump administration** is now widely accepted as consensus, with the **Biden administration acknowledging China as the “most consequential geopolitical challenge”**.
- **Rising competition**- It also argued that the **US is “in the middle of a strategic competition** to shape the future of the international order.”
- **Acknowledging the power of China**- The US security strategy underscores that “the [People’s Republic of China] is the **only competitor with both the intent to reshape the international order** and, increasingly, the **economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power** to do it.”
- **Efforts by USA**- To take on this challenge, Washington is hoping to work on **two tracks**:
  - ✓ **Strengthening “innovation” at home** with targeted investment in infrastructure, education, training, cybersecurity and green energy, while working with allies
  - ✓ **Partners in “common cause” to compete “responsibly”** with China.



**Analyzing the NSS document-**

- **Focus on competition**- This strategy is laden with an **emphasis on “competition”** that is likely to shape global outcomes in unprecedented ways.
- **Focus on technology**- What is striking is its focus on technology, with the suggestion that “competition to develop and deploy foundational technologies that will transform our security and economy is **intensifying.**”
- **What approaches have been mentioned**- This is linked to the idea that **economic and technological interdependence** should be **revaluated** in the era of a new global economic





order. **Reducing dependence on disruptive actors**, creating greater economic and technological resilience, and **working together with allies and partners** to pool “technical expertise and complementary industrial capacity” is as important as protecting territory.

### Response of China-

- **Xi Jinping's response- China is not waiting** and this has been proved by Xi Jinping’s speech at the 20th Party Congress last week where **he not only highlighted China’s growing power and global influence** under his first decade in power, but also made it clear that **he has no intention of reversing any of his policies**, be they on **Taiwan and Hong Kong or socioeconomic**.
- **Rationale of China to take these steps-** He acknowledged the “**rapid changes in the international situation**,” and asserted that China has “taken a **clear-cut stance against hegemonism and power politics**” and “never wavered” in opposition to unilateralism and “bullying.”
- **China’s main role-** He was making it clear that China’s role in world politics will continue to be **centered around challenging the US-led global order**. For this, China will not only **speed up efforts to build the People’s Liberation Army into a “world-class military”** but also focus on “**high quality education**” and **innovation to “renew growth”** and “speed up efforts to achieve greater self-reliance in science and technology.”

### Conclusion-

So, as a **new era commences in great power contestation**, both sides are getting ready with their own policies. The rest of the world, including India, should be prepared to engage with the externalities—both positive and negative—that this is likely to generate.

#### Practice questions by OnlyIAS

Q. "Rise of China at the international sphere is signaling the renewal of so-called lost bipolarity". Parallely, globalization is also playing a major role in this phenomenon. Examine. 15M

## Why the UN must evolve to fight modern-day terror

KABIR TANEJA

**Syllabus-** United Nations: Envisaged role and actual record; Specialized UN agencies—aims and functioning; the need for UN reforms

### PYQ's-

- Discuss the relevance of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the security of women in conflict zones. [2018]
- Do you agree that the UN has failed to contain transnational terrorism? Elaborate your answer with examples. [2014]

### Context-

- **Terrorism** remains **one of the most critical issues for India's national security**, and the global security architecture in general, **despite setbacks** both on the tactical and diplomatic fronts in recent times.
- **China's ill move**- China's move **to block the blacklisting of members** of Pakistan-backed terror groups such as **Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed**, shows the glaring limitations of the United Nations (UN) to build a broad consensus on such issues, with **countries using these gaps to achieve personal goals**.
- **Antonio Guterres on Terrorism**- Coincidentally, this move by Beijing came on the same day as **UN secretary-general Antonio Guterres** said in India that **no reason or pretext could justify an act of terrorism**.

### Evolving terrorism-

- **Fast evolving-** The threat of terrorism itself has been **fast evolving and far surpasses some of the fundamental challenges** that the UN, UN Security Council, agencies and members are continuing to try and navigate — such as **defining the term terrorism and developing further mechanisms to list terror entities**.
- **Ease of terrorist organizations-** Beyond this, the **ease with which Islamic State (IS) attracted recruits** from around the world and the **ease with which they travelled across borders** to join the so-called caliphate in Syria and Iraq showed just how far behind a global consensus against international terrorism is.

### What does UN need to do to combat terrorism?

Going into 2023, with the **global order in flux**, there are **three critical issues** on the counterterrorism front that **systems such as the UN need to navigate internally**, when it comes to diplomacy, and externally, when it comes to quantifiable action in targeting terror groups and individuals involved.

1. **Technology-** Recent advancements ranging **from drones to online platforms, cryptocurrencies** to remotely inspired terror attacks using the security of **end-to-end encryption and VPNs** are new security challenges.
  - ✓ All these platforms **are for civilian use and purposes** but are **being co-opted by militant groups**.
  - ✓ Whether it is the **Taliban using Twitter to trend a hashtag in tribute to its suicide bombers**, pro-is channels **on Telegram distributing sophisticatedly produced ideological publications in video, audio, and text**, or the **online privacy** and end-to-end encryption debate also giving safe space to militant groups remain issues that demand a realistic discussion between tech companies, States, and citizens.

**HITTING HURDLES**

Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism is a draft proposed by India in 1996, that has yet to be adopted by the UN General assembly

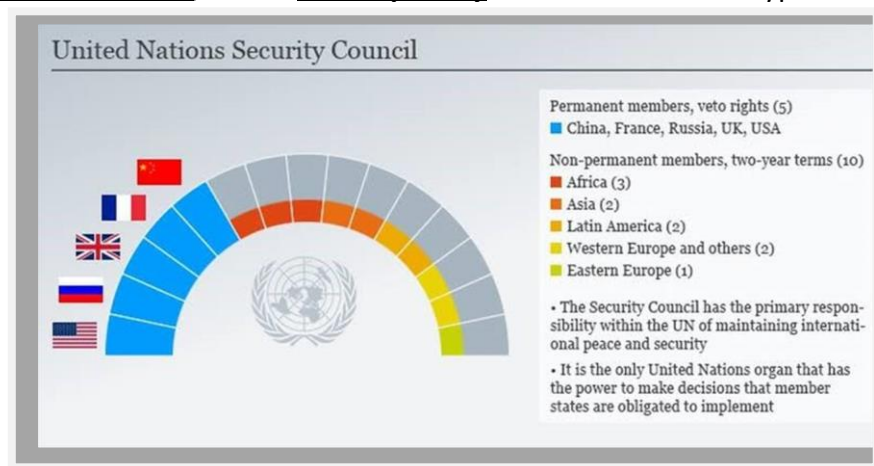
**What does it call for?**

- ❗ **Universal definition of terrorism:** No good terrorist or bad terrorist
- ❗ Ban on all groups regardless of country of operation, cut off access to fund and safe havens
- ❗ Prosecution of all groups, including cross-border groups
- ❗ Amending domestic laws to make cross-border terror an extraditable offence

**Why has CCIT been blocked?**

- ❗ **US+allies:** Concerns over definitions of terrorism, including acts by US soldiers in international interventions without UN mandate
- ❗ **Latin American countries:** Concerns over international humanitarian laws and HR being ignored
- ❗ **OIC:** Concerns that convention will be used to target Pakistan, and restrict rights of self-determination groups in Palestine, Kashmir etc

Terror striking every day now -Turkey, Somalia, Afghanistan, Kenya & Bangladesh. Mere condemnation & commiseration @un won't do. Need CCIT  
— Syed Akbaruddin, India's ambassador to UN, on Twitter



2. **The brewing big power competition between the United States (US) and China-** It is now exacerbated due to the **Ukraine war**.
  - ✓ **China has a history of blocking any blacklisting of Pakistan-based terror groups** at the UN, but these tactics undermine any pan-global understanding against terrorism for narrower strategic and tactical gains based on regional requirements.
  - ✓ And **this is not exclusive to China's strategic decisions** on using multilateral groupings such as the UN to protect its interests.
  - ✓ The **removal of the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM)**, a Uyghur-led militant group known to have attacked targets in China's restive Xinjiang province, from US anti-terror listing in 2020 was an equally problematic decision.
  - ✓ Such moves ultimately **find their way to the UN, where power competitions gain a public face** and pedestal.
3. **The worrying precedence set on countering terrorism and extremism-** It is seen through the **Us-Taliban deal on Afghanistan** signed in Qatar in 2020. The deal's **compromising nature**, giving the Taliban political agency after fighting against it has long-term repercussions for the politics of countering terror.



## Conclusion

These three issues also **showcase how terrorism has evolved out of larger UN agendas**. The body may find it hard to keep up to speed with the nature of modern terrorism **unless it evolves its own structures** to reflect the world of today and tomorrow.

### Practice questions by OnlyIAS-

Q. "The United Nations in its current form does not represent the geo-political realities of the 21st century". Analyse the statement bringing out India's objectives and aim of seeking reforms in the UN. 15M

Q. Among various countries contending to get permanent membership in the expanded UNSC, India is the strongest contender. Evaluate. 15M

# Relation between India and New Zealand

## Improving

**RAJESWARI PILLAI RAJAGOPALAN**

**Syllabus-** Indian Foreign Policy: Determinants of foreign policy; the institutions of policymaking; continuity and change

**PYQ's-**

- Examine the increasing significance of maritime security in India's foreign policy. [2019]
- Comment on the essential elements of India's foreign policy that are required to secure energy and security in the Indian ocean region. [2012]

**Context-**

- **India's External Affairs Minister Dr. S Jaishankar visited New Zealand**, where he met with his counterpart **Nanaia Mahuta** as well as Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern.
- There is clearly a **broader political context** to Jaishankar's visit to New Zealand, but the trip was also about **strengthening the bilateral relationship** between the two countries.

**Traditional relationship between the two nations-**

- **Friendly relations-** Traditionally, **India has had a friendly** if not particularly warm relationship with New Zealand.
- **Impact of nuclear test by India-** India's development of **nuclear weapons and the 1998 Pokhran tests negatively** affected the relationship because of **New Zealand's aversion to nuclear weapons**.
- **NZ is a nuclear-free country-** In fact, **despite being a party to the ANZUS security alliance** along with the United States and Australia, the presence of U.S. nuclear warships resulted in major disputes leading to legislation that **declared all New Zealand a nuclear-free zone**, effectively prohibiting U.S. nuclear-powered ships from entering any of New Zealand's ports.

### ON THE NUCLEAR PATH

#### WHEN THE TESTS HAPPENED

**May 18, 1974**

India's first nuclear test took place in Pokhran, in the desert state of Rajasthan

**May 11 & 13, 1998**

Second test. 17 days later, Pak retaliated with its own tests in Chagai Hills of Balochistan

**May 1998**

Then PM AB Vajpayee declared a voluntary moratorium on tests

#### HISTORY OF INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAMME

After gaining independence in 1947, then PM Jawaharlal Nehru entrusted the development of the programme to Homi Bhabha. The Atomic Energy Act of 1948 stressed on peaceful development of nuclear energy.

The framework for a US-India nuclear deal forms part of the 2005 statement between former PM Manmohan Singh and former US president George Bush

**Aug 1, 2008** Board of Governors of IAEA adopts India-specific safeguards agreement

**Sept 6, 2008** India gets waiver from guidelines of Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)

**Sept 27, 2008** US House of Representatives approves the Indo-US nuclear deal

**Oct 1, 2008** Senate approves the deal with 86 votes for and 13 against

**Oct 4, 2008** The White House announces that President Bush will sign the legislation on the deal into a law on October 8

**Oct 8, 2008** President Bush signs legislation to enact the landmark US-India civilian nuclear agreement

**Oct 10, 2008** The deal is signed between then external affairs minister Pranab Mukherjee and his counterpart, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, in Washington DC.

- **Biggest point of contention between India and NZ- Public opinion on the issue was also clear in support of the government policy** that came up with the legislation. Given this antipathy toward nuclear weapons, New Zealand issued statements **criticizing India's nuclear tests in 1998**.

### Opportunity for reviving relationship-

- **Opportunity-** The **changing geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific and beyond** offer India and New Zealand a fresh opportunity to revive the relationship, both on the **bilateral level** and in the **broader context**.



- **Strategic document by NZ-** In fact, New Zealand formulated a new forward-looking strategy document, "**India-New Zealand 2025: Investing in the Relationship**" during then-New Zealand Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Winston Peters' visit to India in February 2020.
- **Aim of the strategic document-** The strategy document built on earlier policy papers and looked at **forging "a more 'enduring strategic relationship' with India** over the next five years."
- **Hurdle in relation improving-** While the visit was a successful one, the strategy hit the wall with the **COVID-19 pandemic** and ensuing severe lockdowns in both countries.

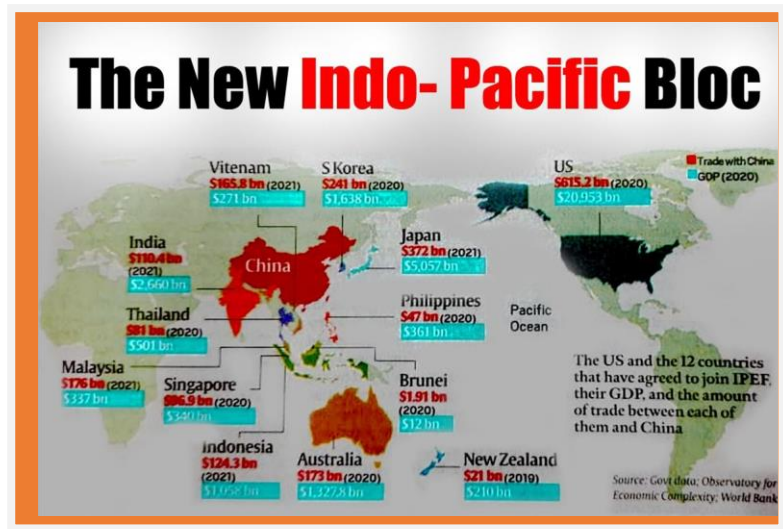
## Areas of opportunity for both nations to work together on-

- **Student's issues-** S. Jaishankar raised issue of **difficulties faced by Indian students in New Zealand following the pandemic**. According to him, students took a bigger hit than other sections of society.
- **Visa related issues-** He also raised the **issue of hastening the visa issuing process for those Indian students who are waiting to go to New Zealand for their studies**. He also spoke about the **need to build better and direct air connectivity** between the two countries.
- **Climate related agendas- Climate action and climate justice** as well as **maritime security** and the **international solar alliance** also figured prominently in their discussions.
- **NZ wants to join ISA-** New Zealand has expressed its interest in joining the International Solar Alliance that was established by India and France in 2015.

## Importance of India-NZ relationship in Indo-Pacific-

- **Importance in Indo-Pacific-** India's relationship with New Zealand and Australia is particularly important in the context of the **Pacific Island region**, which is becoming another center of geopolitics given the **growing Chinese footprint in the islands**.
- **Impact of growing Chinese footprint in the region-** While Australia and New Zealand have traditionally played a dominant role in the region, China appears intent at upsetting the apple cart. That **China has been expanding its presence in the region with various funding options** for the island countries has made Beijing an attractive partner to these countries. **This has pushed the two regional powers as well as India** and other big players explore options to strengthen their own stakes in the region.
- **Increasing geo-political co-operation-** The **intensifying geopolitical competition** in the Pacific Islands is becoming an important driver for all the major powers to **re-energize their engagements**.

- ✓ But the Pacific Island nations are **also careful not to get sucked into the rapidly changing geopolitics**.
- ✓ The region has so far **pushed back on China's efforts at establishing a "China-Pacific Island" bloc**, but these countries are also keen to see what others might be offering and what the bargain may be.



**Conclusion-**

**India has steadily improved relations with many U.S. allies in the Indo-Pacific** as New Delhi's relationship with Washington has improved. This is helped by the common concern about China's rise that worries all in the region. Thus, the visit was important both in terms of the broader context as well as in terms of the bilateral ties. Overall, **both the ministers expressed positive sentiments** on their meetings and the opportunities to forge ahead in their relationship.

**Practice questions by OnlyIAS-**

Q. "If the world is different, we need to think, talk and engage accordingly. Falling back on the past is unlikely to help with the future". Examine this statement with reference to the realist turn in foreign policy of India. 15M



## What a third Xi term could mean for India

**MANOJ JOSHI**

**Syllabus-** India and the Global Centers of Power: USA, EU, Japan, China and Russia

### **PYQ's-**

- Describe briefly China's 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) Initiative and analyzing India's major concerns. [2019]
- Critically assess the evolving convergence of India and China in the areas of trade and environment. [2018]

### **Context-**

- **20<sup>th</sup> session of CCP-** The **20th five-yearly Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)** is underway. Its most important outcome is likely to be an **unprecedented third term for general secretary Xi Jinping**.
- **Chairman of party-** It could also elevate him to the coveted status of **chairman of the party**, a post that was abolished in 1982 because of Mao Zedong's excesses.

### **Impact on India-**

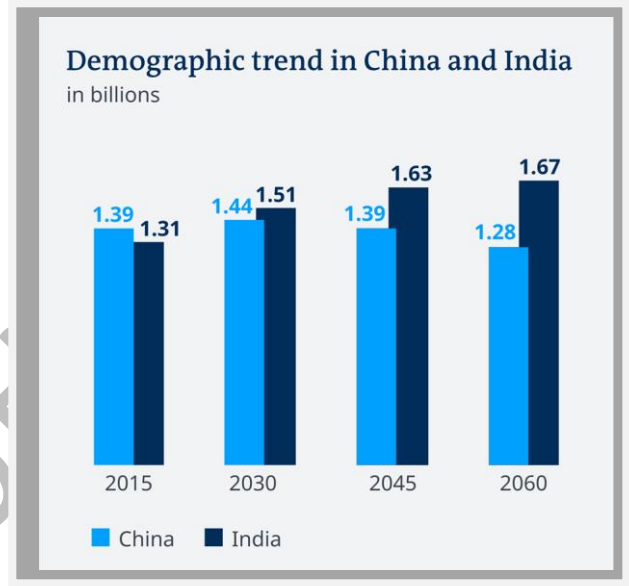
- **Impact on India & world-** All this is **not particularly good news for India or the world**. In the Xi era, which began in 2012, China has accumulated **vast economic and military power**, and has not hesitated to assert it.
- **Turbulence in India-China relation-** This has also marked a **period of turbulence in India-China relations**, especially along the 4,000km-long disputed border.

### **Rising power of Xi Jinping-**

- **Using nationalism-** Xi has **harnessed Chinese nationalism to drive his policies**, promising the fulfilment of the China dream of national rejuvenation.
- **Focused on military power-** He made no bones about the fact that **an essential element of the dream is creating a military that wins wars**.
- **Growing defence force of China-** Under Xi's leadership, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) **transformed from a home defence force into one with fast evolving intervention capacity** in the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR).
- ✓ Benchmarking themselves against the United States (US), the **Chinese are creating a military that they say will be "world-class" by 2049**, the 100th anniversary of the People's Republic of China.
- **Sticking to his policy despite setbacks-** A feature of Xi's rule has been **to persist with policies regardless of the blowback**, whether it is concerning its economy, Taiwan, the South China Sea, zero-Covid, or the Indian border.

## Challenges for India-

- **Comparatively smaller economy and military-** Given our adversarial relations, this has implications for us, considering that our economy is much smaller than that of China, and the PLA is already much more powerful than its Indian counterpart.
- **Global level challenge-** The challenge is not just about the Himalayan border, but South Asia and IOR, where Chinese diplomacy and resources are being liberally used to undermine India.
- **Using Pakistan and border issues-** The Chinese have long used Pakistan to offset India's clout in South Asia. In the past decade, they used the disputed Sino-Indian border in the same way.
- **India is restricted to land and not focusing on ocean-** The unsettled border is of value to Beijing since periodic flareups with China and Pakistan help pin down the Indian military to a continental orientation, rather than embrace its oceanic future.



## Chinese policy in Tibet-

- **Focus on Tibet-** A feature of Chinese policy is the personal attention that Xi has paid to Tibet and Tibetan affairs. Since the Doklam crisis of 2017, the Chinese have begun a major build-up of forces in Tibet, concentrating on new heliports, troop billets, air defence facilities and air bases.
- But the most significant action was the 2020 Chinese military mobilization in Tibet and their move to blockade Indian forces at select points on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in eastern Ladakh.

## Steps by India to solve problems with China-

- **Agreements-** Beginning in 1993, India signed a series of confidence building agreements with China to maintain peace and tranquility along LAC. They were centered around ironing out differences over the contested points along the line.
- **1996 agreement-** It committed the two countries to notify each other in the event of an exercise involving 5,000 personnel.



- **Border Defence Cooperation Agreement**- It was signed in 2013 and doubts about any part of LAC were to be clarified through various mechanisms such as **flag meetings and senior officials' meetings**.

### Understanding China's point of view-

- **Chinese strategy towards India**- The Chinese have a **long-term view of India**, the **only country in Asia with the heft and history to match China**.
- **No obligation to follow the agreements**- Having **outstripped us in economic and military power**, China no longer feels obliged to maintain the confidence building measures (CBMs) of the 1990s.
- **Only USA is the adversary**- Today, in their hierarchical worldview, **only the US is a peer**, all the others, including India, are subordinate powers. Also, **New Delhi, which is coying up to the US, needed to be shown its place**. Raising temperatures on the disputed border was a good way to do that.

### Conclusion-

Beijing has given **no indication that it is ready to resolve the vexed border problem**. There have been **22 rounds of talks** between our special representatives since 2003 to work out a border settlement, but as of now, **there is no end in sight**.

A **third Xi term is only likely to reinforce the trends** associated with his tenure — **assertiveness abroad, no compromises on issues** relating to China's boundaries, and a willingness to use the military as an instrument of policy.



#### **Practice questions by OnlyIAS-**

Q. Is India changing directions of its engagement with major powers from non-alignment to multi-alignment? Analyse. 10M

Q. Analyse the significance of India's "Neighborhood First Policy" in the light of rising Chinese footprint in the Indo-Pacific region. 20M

## At IAEA, India Supports AUKUS

**RAJESWARI PILLAI RAJAGOPALAN**

**Syllabus-** Indian Foreign Policy: Determinants of foreign policy; the institutions of policymaking; continuity and change

**PYQ's-**

- Discuss the evolution of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the post-cold war period. [2016]
- Which determinant factors play an important role in making India's foreign policy? Illustrate with examples. [2016]

**Context-**

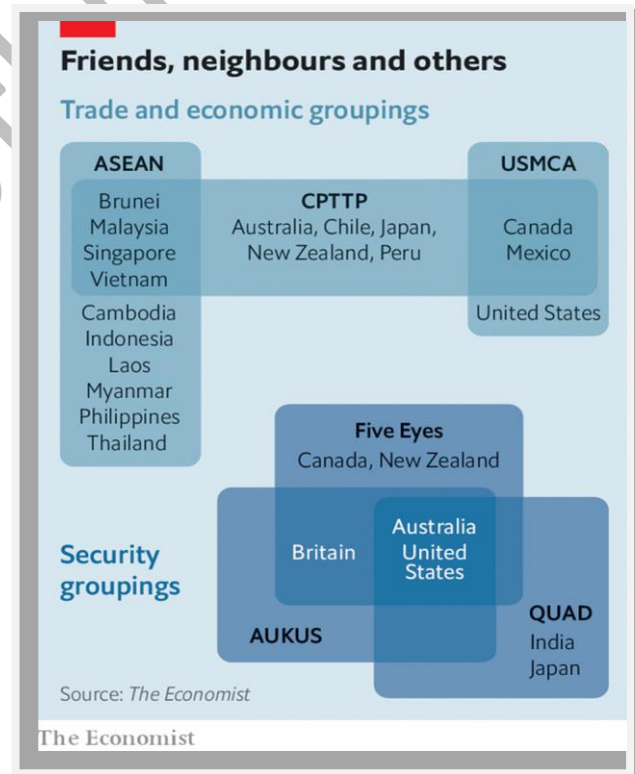
- **IAEA Vienna conference- AUKUS**, and specifically the **plan to transfer nuclear-powered submarines to Australia**, was **under intense debate** at the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) held in Vienna.
- **Opposing powers- Russia and China** tried hard but **unsuccessfully** to get the IAEA to oppose the planned transfer. At the IAEA General Conference, Russia said that **AUKUS posed unprecedented challenges to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) regime** with two nuclear weapons states supplying a non-nuclear weapons state with **2 tons of highly enriched uranium**.

**What does IAEA say about AUKUS nuclear transfer-**

- The IAEA stated that it was- **satisfied with the engagement** shown so far by the **United States, Britain and Australia** on their AUKUS alliance's plan to supply Australia with nuclear submarines.

**What is AUKUS agreement-**

- **Nuclear submarines-** Under the AUKUS agreement, **Australia is set to receive eight conventionally armed but nuclear-powered submarines**. The capability build-up by the three parties – **Australia, the U.K. and the U.S.** – is primarily aimed at the increasingly aggressive and muscular behavior of China in the Indo-Pacific and beyond.

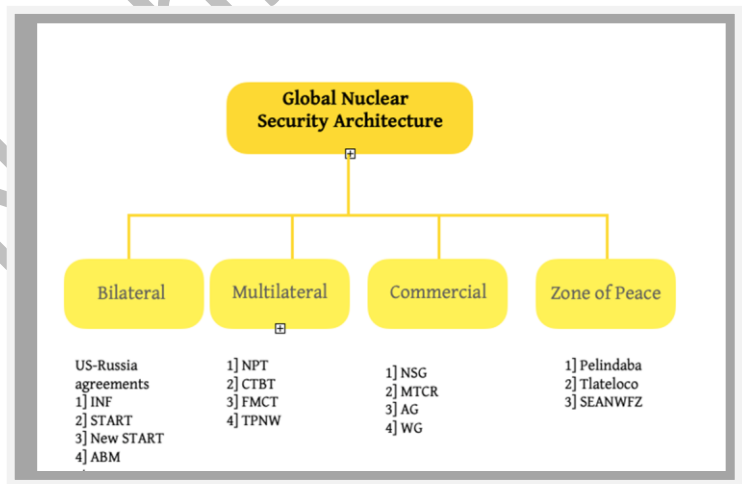


- **Commitment of Australia-** For AUKUS to take effect and for the U.K. and the U.S. to transfer nuclear-powered submarines, Australia “has voluntarily committed to not domestically enrich or reprocess nuclear material” in support of the nuclear-powered submarine program.”

**Response of India and China-** India stood with its new security partners even as China vehemently campaigned against the proposed transfer. China even pushed for a resolution at the IAEA against AUKUS for providing Australia with nuclear submarines.

- **Against responsibility-** China made a case that AUKUS was in violation of responsibilities (by the partner countries) under the NPT. The resolution was also critical of the IAEA’s role.
- **Illegal transfer-** China also claimed that “The AUKUS partnership involves the illegal transfer of nuclear weapon materials, making it essentially an act of nuclear proliferation.”
- **What does NPT rulebook say-** The AUKUS partners and the IAEA noted that the NPT permits nuclear propulsion technology provided the member states make the necessary arrangements with the IAEA such as the Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement and Additional Protocol with the IAEA.
- **Threat to regional peace-** AUKUS is a threat to regional peace and stability, by invoking the South Pacific Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty and ASEAN efforts to establish the Southeast Asian-Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone.

AUKUS is getting worldwide support-

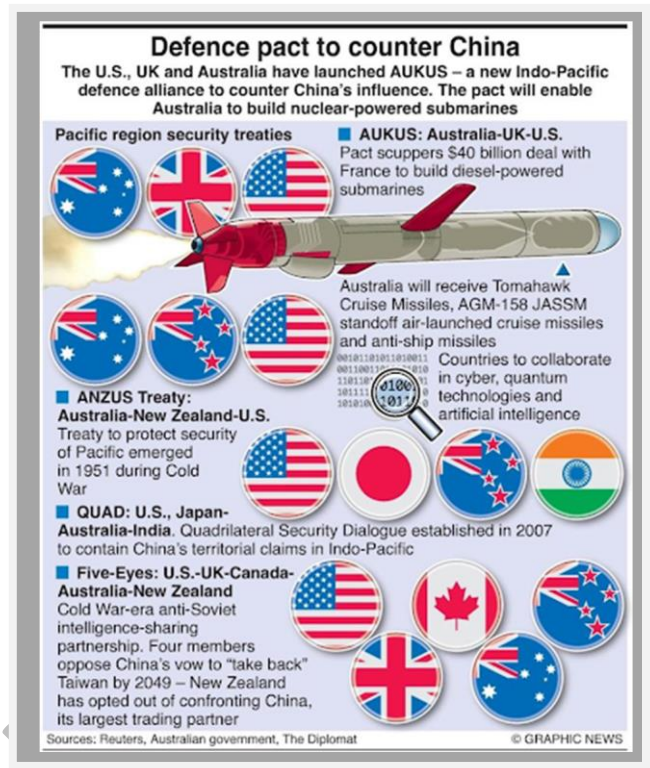


- **Impact on China-** China has been rattled by the support the AUKUS countries have managed to get on this issue at the IAEA. The steadfast support for AUKUS came not merely from their traditional Western allies but even the new security partners of the global South such as India.
- **India working against China-** India reportedly worked with many IAEA member states to ensure that China’s resolution “did not get majority support.” The Indian Mission to the IAEA worked to recognize the merits of the AUKUS.

## Why is India's stance on AUKUS important?

India's proactive engagement at the IAEA on the AUKUS issue is important for a couple of reasons.

- **Understanding the pros-** It **recognizes the merit of the proposal** and the importance of having a **more capable Australian Navy**.
- **Supporting new partners is important-** Even though India has not been able to wean itself away from its Russian partnership entirely, such proactive Indian engagement is a testament to the fact that New Delhi's **strategic partnerships with its new security partners are important** in its overall strategic calculus.
- **Returning the Favour-** India's position on the AUKUS at the IAEA is also **in recognition and appreciation of the support extended to India by Australia, U.K. and the United States** on India's Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) membership as well as on counter-terrorism issues.



### Practice questions by OnlyIAS

- Q. The U.S.-India partnership is founded on a shared commitment to freedom, democratic principles, equal treatment of all citizens, human rights, and the rule of law. Explicate. 10 Marks.
- Q. The recently held democracy summit by the USA showcases that the policymakers are using various policy visions for advancing their ideas and world views to increase their soft power. In this context, analyze whether India should promote its ideal of democracy through its foreign policy. How successful would it be? 20M

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# India-France-UAE Trilateral - What's Next for the?

**RAJESWARI PILLAI RAJAGOPALAN**

**Syllabus-** Recent developments in Indian Foreign Policy

**PYQ's-**

- Write a brief note on India's interest in West Asia. [2019]
- How is the current standoff between the USA and Iran affecting India's energy security. [2019]

## Context-

- **1<sup>st</sup> trilateral meeting-** **India, France and the UAE held their first trilateral ministerial meetings on the sidelines of the 77th U.N. General Assembly session in New York.**
- **Major themes of discussion-** Among the prominent issues of discussion were **deepening cooperation in the Indo-Pacific**, with an **emphasis on maritime security, regional infrastructure and connectivity, energy and food security** as well as supply chain resilience.

## Earlier efforts of engagement-

- **July 2022 meet-** The ministerial meeting comes against the **backdrop of an earlier meeting in New Delhi in July 2022**. On July 28, there was a trilateral meeting of the focal points of India, France and the UAE.
- **Themes-** The three sides discussed **maritime security, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR)**, blue economy, regional connectivity, cooperation in multilateral fora, energy and food security, innovation and startups, and supply chain resilience.



## Significance of the trilateral meet-



- **Focus on minilateral groups-** The latest meeting is significant for **India's growing participation in such minilateral groupings** in addition to the obvious strategic benefits of partnering with France and the UAE.
- **India's comfort zone-** India is more comfortable in this format, as displayed by the number of such small exclusive engagements that India is now part of. On the sidelines of the U.N. session itself, India was **part of several minilateral group meetings** including **Australia-India-Indonesia**, and **India-Australia-France** trilaterals as well as the **Quad** Ministerial Meeting.
- **Other minilateral forums-** In recent years, India is party to other forums including the **I2U2** which involves India, Israel, the United Arab Emirates and the United States as well as India-Japan-U.S. and India-Japan-Italy trilaterals.
- **Significance of minilaterals-** These minilaterals also become significant because **India's bilateral ties with each of these new security partners have been gaining strength**, especially in the context of the rapidly changing Indo-Pacific strategic dynamics.
- **Focus of these forums-** While **China's rise and its strategic consequences** may not be the direct or immediate focus of some of these groupings such as, for instance, the I2U2, bringing a wide variety of countries into the Indo-Pacific Mini laterals appears to be an important aspect of **India's strategy for the Indo-Pacific**.

### **Minilateralism-**

Minilateralism refer to **informal** and more **targeted initiatives** intended to address a "specific threat, contingency or security issue with fewer states (usually three or four) sharing the **same interest** for resolving it **within a finite period** of time.

**Features-** They have a **small number** of participants, they are **ad hoc**, and their outcomes and commitments are **voluntary** in nature

### **What factors have prompted India towards joining more forums-**

- **India's earlier approach-** Traditionally, **India was wary of small exclusive group engagements** but the **intensification of major power politics** and the **worsening ties between India and China** have pushed India to embrace new forms of diplomacy among like-minded strategic partners.
- **India is part of which forums-** India had earlier engaged in small groupings such as the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA), Russia-India-China (RIC), Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), South Asian Association for

### **Definitions**

Notion	Definition
Multilateralism	Systematic use of international institutions to promote US interests
Unilateralism	Aversion to international institutions to promote US interests
Minilateralism	Establishment of privileged relations with specific and limited actors on a case by case basis within or outside existing institutions (selective partnership)

Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and BIMSTEC, though some of these groupings were regional groupings sharing common geography.

- **Strategic nature of groups-** But many of the newer groupings are **more strategic in nature involving like-minded partners** irrespective of geographical proximities of the countries involved. **Diplomacy is now changing** and there are countries which are not neighbors or next to each other in a region, but which have certain common interests and are working with each other.

### Importance of France in the trilateral-

- **Long term partner-** France is among **India's closest strategic partners** and an **invested partner in the Indo-Pacific** goes a long way in building up this trilateral.
- **Good friend in crisis-** In recent years, **France has often been spoken of in the same terms as Russia**, standing shoulder to shoulder with India just as the Soviet Union, later Russia, did in the past.
- **Common factors-** Both countries are **maritime powers**, with **vast exclusive economic zones** in the Indo-Pacific waters. The two also have **growing interests in the maritime economy** such as the blue economy, marine technology, fisheries, port and shipping, making their interests in ensuring a **free and secure maritime order** in the Indo-Pacific significant.
- **Promoting free Indo-Pacific-** Both have also articulated that these waters should remain a global common, with **free flow of trade**, with respect for international rules of the road.
- **Multi-sectoral partnership-** France-India relations are also one of the more comprehensive partnerships, **spanning across strategic sectors** including defense, space and nuclear domains.



### Importance of UAE in the trilateral-

- **Evolving relation-** Relations between India and the UAE have also **evolved** over the years. The number of **high-level visits** between the two countries is a testament to the deepening ties between the two countries.
- **Focus on UAE-** Since taking office, Prime Minister **Modi has traveled to UAE four times**, including this summer, on his way back from the G-7 meeting in Germany. Previously, Modi traveled to the UAE in **August 2015, February 2018 and August 2019**.

### Conclusion-

Given the **commonality of strategic interests and the strong bilateral ties**, the India-France-UAE trilateral is likely to emerge as a **strong pillar shaping the strategic dynamics** in the Indo-Pacific. Last year, for the first time, the **UAE joined India and France in their annual Varuna maritime exercise**. The emerging partnership is likely to be a **multifaceted** one, with focus on defense and security including maritime security, and infrastructure and connectivity.

**Practice questions by OnlyIAS**

Q. Amidst the Ukraine-Russia war, Indian foreign policy is undergoing a new test of choices and partners in the international system. Critically analyze. 15M

Q. The Indian foreign policy in the post-COVID world provides new opportunities as well as new vulnerabilities. Discuss these factors, keeping in mind India's vision of a new world order. 15M