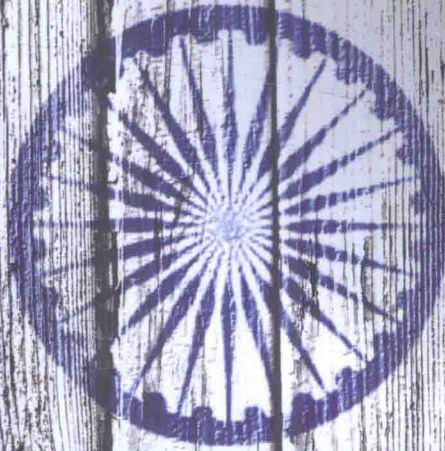


EDITED BY

DAVID M.
MALONE

C. RAJA
MOHAN

SRINATH
RAGHAVAN



≡ The Oxford Handbook *of*
INDIAN FOREIGN
POLICY

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

INDIAN
FOREIGN
POLICY

Edited by

DAVID M. MALONE, C. RAJA MOHAN,

and

SRINATH



OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2015

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2015

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015937039

ISBN 978-0-19-874353-8

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

INDIAN
FOREIGN
POLICY



The Centre for International Governance Innovation is an independent, non-partisan think tank on international governance; for more information, visit www.cigionline.org.



The Centre for Policy Research (CPR) has been one of India's leading public policy think tanks since 1973. The Centre is a nonprofit, independent institution dedicated to conducting research that contributes to a more robust public discourse about the structures and processes that shape life in India.



IDRC | CRDI

International Development Research Centre

Centre de recherches pour le développement international

Canada

Knowledge, innovation, and solutions to improve the lives of people in the developing world.



Observer Research Foundation, headquartered in Delhi, is a not-for-profit, multidisciplinary think tank that has actively contributed to public policy debates in India since its founding in 1990.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE Editors would like to thank Dominic Byatt, Commissioning Editor for Humanities and Social Sciences at Oxford University Press whose idea this volume was and who has been unfailingly supportive of it and of them. We are also very grateful to his associates Olivia Wells, Sudhakar Sandacoumar, Jo North, and Joy Mellor all of whom managed challenging aspects of production superbly.

This project would never have been possible without the active encouragement and generous funding of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada and the Centre on Global Governance Innovation (CIGI), both with deep links to India. In particular, we would like to thank Bruce Currie Alder and Anindya Chatterjee of IDRC and Rohinton Medhora, the President of CIGI, for taking such a strong interest in the project.

We are very grateful to the Centre for Policy Research (CPR) in New Delhi, its President, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, and its Board, for agreeing to host this project, no small undertaking. The Observer Research Foundation (ORF), also of New Delhi, was also consistently supportive. Within CPR, Dr Pallavi Raghavan (also an author in the volume) with great dedication took on the task of project coordination. She was ably assisted at various times by Sandeep Bhardwaj (CPR), Swetha Murali (CPR), Kalathmika Natarajan (CPR), Saawani Raje (CPR), Rishika Chauhan (ORF), and Ritika Passi (ORF).

We thank the ORF for hosting a very pleasant and productive interaction over dinner between the authors who attended the project workshop in January 2014 and the leading lights of the foreign policy community in the capital. We are especially grateful to the then National Security Adviser, Shivshankar Menon, who joined the dinner conversation on India's foreign policy with remarks and an extended response to a wide range of questions and comments.

David Malone is very grateful to the Council of the United Nations University (UNU) and, in particular, to its Chairman, Dr Mohamed Hassan, for encouraging and supporting him to pursue independent research and writing during his tenure at UNU. He is also much indebted to Alexandra Ivanovic, Nancy Roberts, Lee Schrader, and Anthony Yazaki for their assistance with proofs and copy edits of the volume under considerable time pressures.

Above all, we are grateful to our generally very busy authors who humoured us through several drafts of their excellent contributions.

D.M.M., C.R.M., S.R.
January 2015

LIST OF FIGURES

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 13.1 | Aid budget of India's Ministry of External Affairs, 1966–2010 | 175 |
| 13.2 | Development Assistance Committee (DAC) aid to India, 1960–2012 | 176 |
| 13.3 | World Bank aid to India, 1972–2012 | 176 |
| 22.1 | US public favorability ratings on India, 1999–2012 | 308 |
| 37.1 | India imports from Russia | 519 |
| 37.2 | India exports to Russia | 519 |
| 46.1 | Foreign trade, 1950–2012 | 645 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 2.1 | Publications on Indian foreign policy in <i>India Quarterly</i> , <i>International Studies</i> , and <i>Strategic Analysis</i> | 22 |
| 37.1 | India's arms imports, 2000–2012 | 517 |
| 37.2 | India's top ten sources for imports | 518 |
| 37.3 | India's top ten exports markets | 519 |

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Alka Acharya is Professor of Chinese Studies at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Since 2012, she has taken charge as Director, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, for a five-year period.

Amitav Acharya is Professor of International Relations and the UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance at the School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC.

Talmiz Ahmad is the former Indian ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Oman and the UAE. His latest book, *The Islamist Challenge in West Asia*, was published in September 2013.

Kanti Bajpai is the Wilmar Professor of Asian Studies, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore.

Sanjaya Baru is Director for Geo-economics and Strategy, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London; and Honorary Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

Rajesh Basrur is Professor of International Relations at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His work focuses on South Asian security, global nuclear politics, and international relations theory.

Manu Bhagavan is Professor of History at Hunter College and the Graduate Center, The City University of New York, and Chair of the Human Rights Program at the Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute.

Bipul Chatterjee is Deputy Executive Director of CUTS International, a non-governmental think-tank working in India, regionally and at the international level on Trade, Regulations, and Governance. He has more than 20 years of experience of working on economic and political economic aspects of trade liberalization and economic diplomacy. He has a Master's degree in Economics from Delhi School of Economics.

Rudra Chaudhuri is Senior Lecturer in Strategic Studies and South Asian Security at the Department of War Studies and the India Institute, King's College London.

Poorvi Chitalkar is a Program Officer with the Global Centre for Pluralism, Canada. She is a lawyer, with a keen interest in international law and global governance. She has

published on themes related to India's foreign policy and law and development issues including socio-economic rights in India. Poorvi holds an LLM from the University of Toronto.

Stephen P. Cohen, the author of many books on India, Pakistan, and their security conundrum, is Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Program at Brookings, and part of Brookings India Project. He was an academic for many years, and served in the US government, with various foundations, and with the National Academy of Science.

Sreeradha Datta is Director at the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute for Asian Studies. She is a regular participant in Indo-Bangladesh Track II dialogues and also has been working on climate change and water security issues in South Asia.

Navroz K. Dubash is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, where he works on the multi-level governance of climate change, energy, and water politics and policy, and the politics of regulation.

Sumit Ganguly is Professor of Political Science, holds the Rabindranath Tagore Chair in Indian Cultures and Civilizations, and directs the Center on American and Global Security at Indiana University Bloomington.

Manoj Joshi is Distinguished Fellow at the ORF. He has been a journalist specializing on national and international politics and is a commentator and columnist on these issues. As a reporter, he has written extensively on issues relating to Siachen, Pakistan, China, Sri Lanka, and terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab.

Devesh Kapur is Madan Lal Sobti Associate Professor of Contemporary India and Director, Center for Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania.

Emilian Kavalski is Associate Professor of Global Studies at the Institute for Social Justice, Australian Catholic University (Sydney). His research has focused on International Relations, Complexity Theory, Security Studies, and Asian Affairs. Emilian is the author of three books and editor/co-editor of eight volumes on these topics.

Andrew B. Kennedy is Senior Lecturer at the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University. He is the author of *The International Ambitions of Mao and Nehru: National Efficacy Beliefs and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2012) and has published widely on the foreign relations of India and China.

Sunil Khilnani is Avantha Professor of Politics and Director, King's India Institute. He is completing a book on India's global role and prospects, while he continues to research studies of Jawaharlal Nehru and the history of democracy in India.

Jason A. Kirk is Associate Professor of Political Science at Elon University, North Carolina (US). He is the author of *India and the World Bank: The Politics of Aid and Influence* (Anthem Press, 2010).

Rajiv Kumar is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi; the Founder Director of Pahle India Foundation, Delhi; and Chancellor of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune. He has a DPhil in Economics from Oxford University and a PhD from Lucknow University.

P. R. Kumaraswamy is Professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. His works include *India's Israel Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2010) and *A to Z of Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Scarecrow, 2009).

Tanvi Madan is Fellow in the Foreign Policy Program and Director of The India Project at The Brookings Institution. She is currently working on a book on India's relations with China and the United States.

Sneh Mahajan was Associate Professor at Indraprastha College, Delhi University. She was also the Senior Academic Fellow at the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. She has written extensively on Imperial history, British foreign policy and strategy, and modern Indian history.

Siddharth Mallavarapu is currently Associate Professor and Chairperson, Department of International Relations at the South Asian University (on deputation from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi). Prior to this he has co-edited two volumes on International Relations in India (with Kanti Bajpai) and a volume (with B. S. Chimni) titled *International Relations: Perspectives for the Global South* besides other publications.

David M. Malone, a former Canadian ambassador to the UN and High Commissioner to India, now Rector of the UN University in Tokyo and Under-Secretary-General of the UN, is the author of *Does the Elephant Dance: Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Surjit Mansingh presently teaches at the School of International Service at American University. Her research interests include the comparative study of India and China, especially the relations of each with the United States, as well as Indian foreign policy, recently facilitated by declassification of archives and private papers.

Amitabh Mattoo is currently Professor of Disarmament Studies at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament (CIPOD), School of International Studies. His teaching and research interests include issues of international security, India's foreign policy, and arms control and disarmament.

Rory Medcalf is Professor and Head of the National Security College at Australian National University and a Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at The Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. His professional background spans diplomacy, journalism, and intelligence analysis.

Pradeep S. Mehta, a student of law, economics and political science, is the head of a 30-year-old NGO: CUTS International with centres in Jaipur, Geneva, Nairobi, Lusaka,

Accra, and Hanoi. He has also served as adviser to the Trade & Industries Minister of India, and with two Director Generals of the WTO.

Rajan Menon holds the Anne and Bernard Spitzer Chair in Political Science at the City College of New York/City University of New York and is a Senior Research Scholar at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University. His latest book, co-authored with Eugene B. Rumer, is *Ukraine in Conflict: The Unwinding of the Post-Cold War Order* (MIT Press, 2015).

Rohan Mukherjee is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Politics at Princeton University, and Visiting Fellow at the United Nations University in Tokyo. His writings on Indian security and foreign policy have appeared in journals such as *International Affairs*, *Global Governance*, *Survival*, and *International Journal*, in addition to various edited volumes.

Rani D. Mullen is Associate Professor of Government at the College of William and Mary. Her research and teaching focus is on democratization and development in South Asia, and democracy and state building in India and Afghanistan in particular.

S. D. Muni is presently based in the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, as Distinguished Fellow. He has also served as India's Special Envoy on UNSC Reforms (2005) and Ambassador in Lao People's Democratic Republic (1997–9).

Vipin Narang is Associate Professor of Political Science at MIT and member of MIT's Security Studies Program. He is the author of *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

Ligia Noronha is Director, Division of Technology, Industry and Economics (DTIE), at the United Nations Environment Programme. She has published widely on issues relating to energy and resource security, climate change, India's environmental and coastal policy, responsible mining, and resource federalism. This paper was written when she was at the Energy and Resources Institute, New Delhi.

Jaideep A. Prabhu is a doctoral student in History at Vanderbilt University, where he is writing his dissertation on India's nuclear policy, titled, *Nuclear Dharma: India's Wandering after the Atom*.

Pallavi Raghavan is a Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. She completed her doctoral dissertation on the history of relations between India and Pakistan from the University of Cambridge, and is now working on a book on the same subject.

Srinath Raghavan is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. He is the author of *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), and *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Harvard, 2013).

C. Raja Mohan is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation and a contributing editor for the *Indian Express*. His books include *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy* (2004) and his most recent book is *Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific* (2013).

Rajesh Rajagopalan is Professor of International Politics at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Lavanya Rajamani is a Professor at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, where she writes, teaches, and advises on international environmental law, in particular international climate change law and policy.

Rahul Sagar is Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale-NUS College and Associate Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. Previously he was Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics at Princeton University.

Varun Sahni is Professor in International Politics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. A Latin America area specialist by training, he teaches International Relations theory and writes on international security issues.

Samir Saran is Senior Research Fellow and also Vice President responsible for Development and Outreach at the Observer Research Foundation. His ongoing research projects include: representation of Islam and mediation of radicalism; climate change; economic crisis; regulation; and the emergence of BRICS.

David Scott has delivered international relations modules at Brunel University (UK), specializing in the rise of India, its foreign policy, and its wider role in the Asia-Pacific. A prolific researcher, Scott has published varied India-related articles; and has developed various case studies on maritime geopolitics in play in the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and the 'Indo-Pacific'.

E. Sridharan is a political scientist who works on international relations, Indian politics and political economy, and is Academic Director of the University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India in New Delhi. He is Editor of the journal *India Review*.

Krishnan Srinivasan was High Commissioner to Bangladesh and Foreign Secretary of India. He has published several books and journal articles on international relations.

Paul Staniland is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Cornell University Press, 2014) and articles on conflict and security in South Asia.

V. Suryanarayan is presently Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Asia Studies. He has taught and lectured widely, and his research interests include India's relations with its neighbourhood and with Asia as a whole.

Ashley J. Tellis is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace specializing in international security, defense, and Asian strategic issues.

Latha Varadarajan is Associate Professor of Political Science at San Diego State, and the author of *The Domestic Abroad: Diasporas in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Kudrat Virk is Senior Researcher at the Center for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town. She is the author of *Developing Countries and Humanitarian Intervention in International Society after the Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Christian Wagner is Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Politics in Berlin.

Constantino Xavier is a Fulbright-sponsored PhD candidate in South Asian Studies at The Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Relations, Washington, DC.

CONTENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| <i>List of Figures</i> | xiii |
| <i>List of Tables</i> | xv |
| <i>List of Contributors</i> | xvii |

PART I INTRODUCTION

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. India and the World | 3 |
| DAVID M. MALONE, C. RAJA MOHAN, AND SRINATH RAGHAVAN | |
| 2. Five Approaches to the Study of Indian Foreign Policy | 21 |
| KANTI BAJPAI | |
| 3. Theorizing India's Foreign Relations | 35 |
| SIDDHARTH MALLAVARAPU | |

PART II EVOLUTION OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4. The Foreign Policy of the Raj and Its Legacy | 51 |
| SNEH MAHAJAN | |
| 5. Before Midnight: Views on International Relations, 1857–1947 | 65 |
| RAHUL SAGAR | |
| 6. Establishing the Ministry of External Affairs | 80 |
| PALLAVI RAGHAVAN | |
| 7. Nehru's Foreign Policy: Realism and Idealism Conjoined | 92 |
| ANDREW B. KENNEDY | |
| 8. Indira Gandhi's Foreign Policy: Hard Realism? | 104 |
| SURJIT MANSINGH | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 9. At the Cusp of Transformation: The Rajiv Gandhi Years, 1984–1989 | 117 |
| SRINATH RAGHAVAN | |
| 10. Foreign Policy after 1990: Transformation through Incremental Adaptation | 131 |
| C. RAJA MOHAN | |
| 11. India's National Security | 145 |
| SUMIT GANGULY | |
| 12. Resources | 160 |
| LIGIA NORONHA | |
| 13. India's International Development Program | 173 |
| ROHAN MUKHERJEE | |
| 14. India's Soft Power | 188 |
| RANI D. MULLEN | |

PART III INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS

| | |
|--|-----|
| 15. State and Politics | 205 |
| PAUL STANILAND AND VIPIN NARANG | |
| 16. The Parliament | 219 |
| RUDRA CHAUDHURI | |
| 17. Officialdom: South Block and Beyond | 232 |
| TANVI MADAN | |
| 18. The Private Sector | 247 |
| RAJIV KUMAR | |
| 19. The Media in the Making of Indian Foreign Policy | 259 |
| MANOJ JOSHI | |
| 20. Think-Tanks and Universities | 271 |
| AMITABH MATTOO AND RORY MEDCALF | |
| 21. Mother India and Her Children Abroad: The Role of the Diaspora in India's Foreign Policy | 285 |
| LATHA VARADARAJAN | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 22. Public Opinion | 298 |
| DEVESH KAPUR | |
| 23. Indian Scientists in Defence and Foreign Policy | 312 |
| JAIDEEP A. PRABHU | |
| 24. The Economic Imperatives Shaping Indian Foreign Policy | 326 |
| SANJAYA BARU | |

PART IV GEOGRAPHY

| | |
|---|-----|
| 25. India and the Region | 341 |
| STEPHEN P. COHEN | |
| 26. China | 356 |
| ALKA ACHARYA | |
| 27. India's Policy Toward Pakistan | 370 |
| RAJESH BASRUR | |
| 28. Bangladesh | 384 |
| SREERADHA DATTA AND KRISHNAN SRINIVASAN | |
| 29. India's Nepal Policy | 398 |
| S. D. MUNI | |
| 30. India-Sri Lanka Equation: Geography as Opportunity | 412 |
| V. SURYANARAYAN | |
| 31. India's Bifurcated Look to 'Central Eurasia': The Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan | 424 |
| EMILIAN KAVALSKI | |
| 32. The Gulf Region | 437 |
| TALMIZ AHMAD | |
| 33. India's 'Look East' Policy | 452 |
| AMITAV ACHARYA | |
| 34. The Indian Ocean as India's Ocean | 466 |
| DAVID SCOTT | |