India's Foreign Policy Towards Mongolia: Evolving From Bilateral Relations To Strategic Partnership

Santhoshraja V[1], Chandra Sekaran G [2]
Research Scholar, Centre for South East Asian Studies, Nagaland University, Lumami, Nagaland
Assistant Professor, Centre for South East Asian Studies, Nagaland University, Lumami, Nagaland

Abstract: **Mongolia is one of the substantial nations, though geographically located apart, and holds strong spiritual-cultural ties with India. Since 1955, India has stood as the first non-socialist country that has Diplomatic relations with Mongolia. Till 2015, their Diplomatic relations were quite "Comprehensive" which turned out to be a "Strategic partnership" later. Being crammed between Russia and China, its environment remains unfavourable, which limits its ties. Subsequently, Mongolia plays a vital role in India's Act East and Connects Central Asia Policy to counter China's expansionist policies towards India. Ulaanbaatar's Geo-Strategic position, unexplored energy resources, and democratic form of governance have strengthened its ties with India. This paper will trace the historical legacy between India and Mongolia. Besides, it also emphasises various areas of cooperation, such as health, economy, technical, education, energy, and Defence, that shape their Bi-relation and a way forward.**

Keywords: **Foreign Policy, Bilateral relations, India and Mongolia, Strategic Partnership**

INTRODUCTION

Mongolia is one of the significant nations, though geographically located apart, and holds spiritual solid cum cultural ties with India. Since 1955, India has stood as the first non-socialist country to have diplomatic relations with Mongolia. Their diplomatic relations were quite 'comprehensive' till 2015, which turned out to be a 'strategic partnership' later. Being sandwiched between Russia and China, its environment remains unfavourable, which limits its foreign ties. Subsequently, Mongolia plays a vital role in India's Act East and Connect Central Asia Policy to counter China's expansionist policies towards India. Ulaanbaatar's geostrategic position, unexplored energy resources, and democratic governance strengthened its ties with India. This paper will trace the historical legacy between India and Mongolia, analysing the shifts in the course of relations from a bilateral to a comprehensive and strategic partnership. Besides, it also emphasises various areas of cooperation such as health, economics, science and technology, education, energy and defence that shape their bi- relation. As there is a prolonged phase of development of relations between these nations, the elements hindering India and Mongolia's growth are also exposed.

HISTORICAL TIES BETWEEN INDIA AND MONGOLIA:

Mongolia recognises India as one of the spiritual neighbours of its cultural bond. The relationship between Ulaanbaatar and Delhi went through two significant shifts. Formal bilateral relations were initially established with the 1994 Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation. This bilateral relationship was formed into a "comprehensive partnership" in 2009, and by 2015, the comprehensive partnership drastically became "strategic".

THE BILATERAL RELATION:

The formal diplomatic relationship between India and Mongolia was established in 1955. By 1956, Mongolia's embassy was set in New Delhi. Yet, India had a relationship with Mongolia under the Soviet Union's vision. As time passed, the Indian embassy was set in Ulaanbaatar in 1970. This small-scale relation witnessed its further development with the signing of the Joint Indo-Mongol Declaration in the year 1973 (Miliate, 2009). This was signed during Mongolian Prime Minister Tsendenbal's visit to India. Like Panchsheel, this declaration comprised eight guiding principles of their diplomatic relation. It emphasised peaceful coexistence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, mutual consultations, equality and non-interference, renunciation of the use of force, cooperation in UN and other regional organisations and developments in politics, economics, culture, science and technology. India- Mongolia relations prevail based on the principles and at the end of the Cold War, in the spring of the 1990s, Mongolia became democratic. Nonetheless, India became a

diplomatic partner of modern Mongolia under the "Third Neighbour Policy" of the latter. On top of that, Mongolia became an essential player in India's Look East and Look North Policy (Westcott, 2021). Regarding these, the first treaty between democratic Mongolia and India- the *Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation*- was signed in 1994 (Miliate, 2009). This treaty consisted of 12 articles, the revised version of the 1973 declaration, and appropriate changes were made to fit the new global sphere. In the same year, as a course of their bilateral relation, an important agreement was signed between India and Mongolia on the establishment of Joint Committee Cooperation between two nations that encourages long-term engagements. Later, in 2001, the Agreement on Cooperation in Defence matters was signed. By 2004, three agreements concerning animal health and dairy, biotechnology and space science were signed between India and Mongolia (Affairs M. o., 2004). This serves as a symbol of elevation in the bilateral relationship, widening the areas of cooperation, by 2005, a satellite-based e-network for tele-education and telemedicine was agreed upon.

FROM BILATERAL TO COMPREHENSIVE:

The bilateral relation was transformed into a comprehensive partnership with the 2009 Joint Declaration (Affairs M. o., 2009). The upgrade to comprehensive was made through understanding the areas of trade and economy, investment in the mining sector, cooperation in terrorism, agriculture, and training of Mongolian diplomats. The significant agreements focused on health, loan assistance, radioactive and nuclear energy, and cultural exchange. During this declaration, a soft loan of US$ 25 million was provided as economic assistance to Mongolia, and signed uranium deal with India as a means of civil nuclear cooperation. With this, a bilateral relationship becomes comprehensive when it encompasses all areas of mutual interest among the nations, inclusive of its economy. Initially, being a fast-growing economy, under the Look East Policy, India tried to open its window for economic relations. Over time, India took a stand towards promoting comprehensiveness in its bilateral relations with Mongolia to ensure its economic stability.

FROM COMPREHENSIVE TO STRATEGIC:

Being for each other as trusted partners, India decided to further its comprehensive partnership with Mongolia to more of a strategic one aligned with the two nations' shared interests. This shift took place in 2015, with the first-ever visit of the Indian Prime Minister to Mongolia to mark the 60th anniversary of Indo-Mongolian relations. During his visit, PM Narendra Modi signed a 13-Point Agreement with the Government of Mongolia (Affairs M. o., 2015). The key areas are politics, security and defence and cooperation in the fields of economy, health and culture. A relationship is transformed into strategic when its vision relies upon security, defence investment.

Under this, India and Mongolia agreed to reciprocate their support for each other concerning the non-permanent seats in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2021 and 2023. Additionally, extended their understanding to build open, balanced and secure architecture in the Asia-Pacific Region and shared their interests in cyber security and integrated preservation of global commons. The two countries agreed to deepen their cooperation in the field of security by conducting joint military exercises that are held in process, technical cooperation, and capacity building for members of the respective countries armed forces. As a means of this cooperation, a centre for Cyber Security was planned to be set up in Mongolia in future. After the 2009 agreement about civil nuclear cooperation, India extended its interest in investing in the coal and oil mining sectors. Apart from economic and security, India has ties in health, science, and culture. Under health cooperation, India offered profound radioactive technologies to the National Cancer in Mongolia. Based on the scientific enhancements, India boosts the technical education of the students of Mongolia through scholarships and student exchange programs. Moreover, both countries tried simplifying the existing visa process to ease travel. The Act East Policy is a successor of the Look East and Look North Policy. The formulation of India's Act East Policy in 2014, was a significant cause behind the transformation of relations from comprehensive to strategic Indo-Mongolian relationship.

FACTORS THAT SHAPE INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS MONGOLIA:

CULTURAL COOPERATION:

With Ulaanbaatar, India's Soft power plays a larger part which includes elements of art and cultural and religious heritage. Recently, Yoga and Ayurveda have become an essential instrument of soft power diplomacy between India and Mongolia (Babu,

2021). The 3 Ds - Democracy, Dharma, and Development cooperation widely regarded as the fundamental principles that underpin India's diplomatic ties with Mongolia. Cultural cooperation between these nations was ignited in 1961 under the Indo-Mongolian Agreement on Cultural Cooperation. In the history of India, Mongolia serves as the first to have a residential ambassador called Rinpoche Bakula (Dr R Srinivasan, 2021), a Buddhist monk who stayed in Mongolia from 1990 to 2000 to develop the Buddhist ties between the nations. A Pan-Mongolia Indian Dance competition is held every year called Melody Ganga, as a symbol of boosting traditional dance culture. Every year, 4 Mongolian students were provided scholarships to learn Hindi under Kendriya Hindi Sansthan. Starting in 2021, 10 positions have been designated for students to choose Buddhist Studies at the Varanasi and Leh Institute. Recently, Mongolia expressed concern about approving Yoga and Ayurveda under UNESCO's intangible cultural list. As a symbol of acknowledgment, Mongolia has celebrated "Yoga Day" since 2016. In addition to that, Mongolia celebrates "Ayurveda Day" at the India- Mongolia Scientific Conference on Traditional Medicine (Affairs M. o., 2021).

POLITICAL, INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL COOPERATION:

After the Indo-Mongolia statement was released in 1955, the diplomatic connection between Mongolia and India was formalized. The credentials of ambassadors from Mongolia and India were exchanged thereafter in consecutive years. President Dr Radhakrishnan made the first official high-level visit from India to Ulaanbaatar in 1957 (India-Mongolia Relations, 2020). In 1961, India, the pioneer among non-socialist nations to acknowledge Mongolia's admission to the United Nations. Being sandwiched between two communist regimes, Mongolia longed for its vision of being independent. With this motive, in 1991, it extended its hands toward the Non-Alignment Movement, eventually approved by India (Nyamdavaa, 1996). Along with Bhutan and India, Mongolia recognized the newly freed Bangladesh in 1972 after a United Nations decision.

India established a cordial and cooperative relationship with Mongolia, in these spans of 65 years, and only a few levels of meetings on India-Mongolian Joint Committee Cooperation (IMJCC) and Foreign Office Consultations (FOCs) were held. The historic visit of Prime Minister Modi in 2015 marked the watershed period in the diplomatic Indo-Mongolian relations held so far. Notably, out of 7 rounds of IMJCC, four rounds were held after 2015. In the period of 6 and half decades, only 5 levels of FOCs were held (Affairs M. o., 2019). These JCC and FOCs review the phase of bilateral relations between two countries where they identify the issues and try to resolve them, which keeps them in the phase of further enhancements. However, in the last 15 years, the relationship with Ulaanbaatar gained momentum and regular high-level visits by the president, Prime Minister, External Affairs Minister, and, more recently, the Defence Ministers of both countries are taking place. India and Mongolia are the regional partners of ASEAN and multilateral cooperations of Asia Pacific Region 2.0 (Yadav, 2015). Both are active observer states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Regarding the international cooperation between the two nations, Mongolia has majorly expressed its support for India's proposal to recognise "Yoga and Ayurveda" under the list of UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage. Similarly, India supported the "Mongolian worship of mountain and Ovoo" under UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage. Moreover, both countries agreed to support each other regarding the non-permanent seats in the UNSC for the year 2023-24.

DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC COOPERATION:

India-Mongolia Joint Working Group on Defence Cooperation held its first meeting in April 2006 in Mongolia (Defence, 2007). Nevertheless, President Pratibha Patil's 2011 visit to Mongolia was the occasion of the first agreement under the defence cooperation between the governments of the Republic of India and Mongolia (Former President of India, 2011). Like JCC, the Joint Working Committee on Defence Cooperation met regularly from then onwards. Additionally, consecutive consultations of the National Security Councils of India and Mongolia were held, discussing their multilateral interests over terrorism. Since 2003, India has been actively participating in Mongolia's international peacekeeping exercise "Khan Quest". Recently, in the year 2022, the Ladakh Scouts represented the Indian Contingent in the former exercise. An Indo-Mongolian joint military exercise called the "Nomadic Elephant" was initiated in 2004 in Mongolia, followed by the second term held at Vairangte, India (Defence, Annual report 2005-2006, 2006). This exercise is conducted annually, and the

14th was last held in 2019 and is expected to resume after the gap of lockdown in the upcoming years. In this exercise, the soldiers trained in cyber security and counter-terrorism, which is a way to advance peace and stability over a region. Regarding internal defence, in hand with the Ministry of Home Affairs, Border patrolling cooperation was held between the two nations. Under the 13-point agreement, signed in 2015, a Memorandum of Understanding was made to set up a Joint Steering Committee, focusing on exchanging technologies for border guarding, surveillance, and patrolling. As a step forward, a Cyber Security Training School, which was planned to be set up in Mongolia in 2015, was inaugurated by the recent visit of Defence Minister Rajnath Sigh to the National Defence University in Ulaanbaatar (Press Information Bureau, 2022).

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION:

On the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations, in 2005, a joint project on satellite-based e-network for teleeducation was framed. Under this, Rajiv Gandhi Polytechnic College for Production and Art (RGPCPA), Atal Bihari Vajpayee Centre for Excellence in Information, Communication and Technology (ABVCE) and Indo-Mongolian Joint, a higher secondary school were planned. Over a while, RGPCPA gained its reputation, and as a symbol of encouragement, by 2015, US dollars of 2.86 million were granted for further enhancement of vocational training centres. Besides, under the request of the Mongolian Ministry of Education, the ABCVE was planned to be established as a full-fledged centre for excellence under US 20 million dollars as a Line of Credit from the GoI. The foundation for setting up the Mongolian University of Science and Technology under the guidance of India was laid during 2015 Modi's visit (Affairs M. o., 2021). Technical assistance to civilians, armed cadres and diplomats of Mongolia has been offered by the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC). Since 2020, about 200 slots have been offered to engineers, doctors, technicians, and armed forces, and defence and technical courses related to cyber security, terrorism, and oil refineries have been conducted. ITEC even provided training for officers of the National Emergency Management Agency of Mongolia in 2018. This deals with training in disaster reduction and disaster management techniques (Affairs M. o., 2021). The recent visit of Rakshak Mantri Rajnath Singh in September 2022 has laid the foundation for setting up an "India-Mongolia Joint Friendship School" in Mongolia, along with the Minister of Science and Education of Mongolia (Connect, 2022).

ENERGY, TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION:

Mongolia serves as the green zone of investment for India, which can benefit from technical assistance from India in return. Knowing about the Uranium-rich deposits in the land of Ulaanbaatar, in 2009, India signed a Civil nuclear deal to export Uranium from Mongolia. In 2012, India acquired a coal mine in Mongolia and set up its first steel plant in the country. This pact has reduced the dependency of India over the high process cocking coals of Australia (Times, 2012). India is a large energy consumer, and Mongolia, with unexplored energy resources, made perfect ties through energy cum economic cooperation. As a result, under the 'strategic partnership', India offered a Line of Credit of US $ 1.236 billion to set up the country's first oil refinery unit in the Dornogobi province of Mongolia which contributes about 3/4th of the domestic oil requirement. The Mongolian Nuclear Energy Agency and the Indian Department of Atomic Energy formed a Joint Working Group to discuss nuclear energy cooperation. Since 2012, regular consultations with this group have been held. Concerning solar energy, in 2006, a Solar Energy electrification project worth US $ 1,50,000 was inaugurated at Dadal Soum in Mongolia. Further, the Ministry of External Affairs of Mongolia's office was solidified under India's guidance (Affairs M. o., 2019). Apart from oil and gas, other fields of cooperation such as agriculture, animal health and dairy, tourism, innovation, and pharmaceuticals have also been focused on under various bilateral and strategic agreements between India and Mongolia. Till now, both countries have made thirteen Government-to-Government agreements (G2G) and four Business-to-Business agreements (B2B).

HEALTH COOPERATION AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT:

In 2005, the joint project on a satellite network on e-tele medicines connected a speciality hospital in Ulaanbaatar with a speciality hospital in Hyderabad, India, through satellite. Under the strategic partnership 2015, an MoU on the Traditional System of Medicines and Homeopathy has been agreed upon between Ulaanbaatar and New Delhi (Affairs M. o., Ministry of Exernal Affairs, GoI, 2015). Two

successful medical missions have been held between India and Mongolia. In 2017, under the first mission, Indian doctors trained the Mongolian doctors and conducted neurosurgery, microsurgery, plastic surgery, etc. Under the second mission in 2019, Indian doctors conducted about 3000 surgeries and donated medical equipment, Bhabhatron-II and a Radiotherapy Simulator, worth US $ 12000, to the National Cancer Centre of Mongolia (Affairs M. o., 2019). In 2015, when the harsh winter of Zud hit Mongolia, India provided humanitarian assistance to 20,000 US $. Subsequently, in 2018, Delhi helped worth $ 50,000 to the flood-prone provinces of Mongolia. Profoundly, when they were hardly in search of vaccines during the phase of COVID-19, Mongolia received its first vaccines from its spiritual neighbour India. About 1,50,000 Covi-shield Astra Zeneca Vaccines were granted by the Government of India to the Government of Mongolia (Batchimeg, 2020).

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES IN INDIA-MONGOLIA RELATIONS:

Albeit Ulaanbaatar and New Delhi share a spiritual bond, various elements hinder their furthering of relations. Currently, there are two significant contemporary challenges that Indo-Mongolian relations face, which include geographical constraints and the factor of China.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONSTRAINTS:

Mongolia is geographically squeezed between two expansionist Russia and China, with enormous deposits of unexploited natural resources, being landlocked, it needs to rely on its neighbour to export resources. Due to these geographic constraints, there is no direct air service between New Delhi and Mongolia, available flight services are transit through Seoul, Hong Kong. India's steel sector relies upon Mongolian-imported coking coal. The barrier to coal transport from mining is experienced due to the need for rail connectivity between India and Mongolia. Mongolia's major rail networks are connected to its rival neighbours Moscow and Beijing, hindering coal import to India. Despite India having various deals with natural resources such as uranium, copper, and coal, Mongolia's inaccessibility of sea routes affects former trade and energy interests. Even with the four interlinked pillars of India's Connect Central Asia Policy- connectivity, commerce, consular, and community, two factors have become relatively insignificant in the case of Mongolia (Naranzul Bayasgalan, 2021).

THE YELLOW PERIL:

China widely dominates the inner region of Mongolia. Being a close neighbour, China included Mongolia as one of its six economic corridors of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). As a part of this, 90 per cent of Mongolian exports are mainly based in China. However, from 1990 onwards, Mongolia has followed the neutral policy to sustain its sovereignty amidst two rival nations by being non-aligned and having the so-called Third Neighbour Policy. Though Mongolia considers India its third neighbour, its support to counter China in favour of India is grim. Due to massive economic dependency on China, Mongolia's trade and security, despite effective external policy, is restricted. The globe raised its eyebrows at Modi's visit to Ulaanbaatar. When one sphere noted it as a measure to enhance the cultural, economic and political ties, the other measured this as a counter to China's encirclement strategy called String of Pearls. Comparatively, the trade between India and Mongolia has risen for the past decade. However, Mongolia needs China more for its economy than China does for Mongolia (Chatterjee, 2021).

CONCLUSION

The geopolitical significance of Mongolia, connecting Central and Northeast Asia, played a significant role in India's Look East and Look North policy, and this would continue further in the Act East and Connect Central Asia Policies of India. India must consider this landlocked nation as a focal point in its relationship with Central Asia. As a step ahead, India strengthened its ties in culture, economy, trade, defence, science, technology, communications, and energy. Considering this, India also plays a significant role in Mongolia's foreign policy, albeit as a discourse on its relationship with its neighbour China. Consequently, strengthening this relationship is based on the efficiency of Mongolia becoming self-sufficient and independent of its neighbours.

REFERENCES

[1] Affairs, M. o. (2004, January 16). Ministry of External Affairs. Retrieved from India-Mongolia Joint Statement: https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/7411/India__Mongolia_Joint_Statement

[2] Affairs, M. o. (2009, september 8). Ministry of External Affairs. Retrieved from Joint Declaration on the comprehensive partnership between India and Mongolia: https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/4874/Joint_Declaration_on_the_Comprehensive_Partnership_between_India_and_Mongolia

[3] Affairs, M. o. (2015, May 17). Ministry of Exernal Affairs, GoI. Retrieved from List of MoUs exchanged during the visit of Prime Minister to Mongolia: https://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/25252/List_of_AgreementsMoUs_exchanged_during_the_visit_of_Prime_Minister_to_Mongolia_May_17_2015

[4] Affairs, M. o. (2015, May 17). Ministry of External Affairs. Retrieved from Joint statement for India-Mongolia Strategic Partnership: https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/25253/Joint_Statement_for_IndiaMongolia_Strategic_Partnership_May_17_2015

[5] Affairs, M. o. (2019, September). Ministry of External Affairs, GoI. Retrieved from Joint statement on Strengthening Partnership between India and Mongolia: https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/31841/Joint_Statement_on_Strengthening_the_Strategic_Partnership_between_India_and_Mongolia

[6] Affairs, M. o. (2019, September 20). Ministry of External Affairs, GoI. Retrieved from Joint Statement on Strengthening the Strategic Partnership between India and Mongolia: https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/31841/Joint_Statement_on_Strengthening_the_Strategic_Partnership_between_India_and_Mongolia

[7] Affairs, M. o. (2021). Ministry of External Affairs. Retrieved from India- Mongolia Relations: https://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India_Mongolia2021.pdf

[8] Babu, A. (2021). A Fiddle, A Horse and A Bodhi Tree Sapling: The Role of Soft Power Diplomacy in Indo Mongolian Relations. Electronic Journal of Social and Strategic Studies, 11.

[9] Batchimeg. (2020). montsame. Retrieved from Mongolia Received first covid vaccine from India: https://montsame.mn/en/read/254413

[10] Chatterjee, D. S. (2021). Mongolia's assertive and pragmatic role in India's Connect Central Asia Policy: Current trajectory and Future Ahead. journal of political issues, 28-35.

[11] Connect, P. (2022, September). Psuconnect. Retrieved from psuconnect, Ministry of India News: https://www.psuconnect.in/news/rajnath-singh-lays-foundation-stone-of-india-mongolia-friendship-school/34228/

[12] Defence, M. o. (2006). Annual report 2005-2006. Ministry of Defence.

[13] Defence, M. o. (2007). Annual Report 2006-2007. Ministry of Defence. Retrieved from Annual Report 2006-2007.

[14] Dr R Srinivasan, D. S. (2021). India-Monoglia Relations: beyond Greater Central Asia. Electronic Journal of Social and Security Studies. New Vision University.

[15] Former President of India. (2011, July 22). Retrieved from Pratibha Patil: http://pratibhapatil.nic.in/re280711.html

[16] India-Mongolia Relations. (2020). Retrieved from Ministry of External Affairs: https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India_Mongolia_2020.pdf

[17] Miliate, B. J. (2009). India's role in Mongolia's Third Neigbour Policy. SIT digital collections, 14. Retrieved from https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1779&context=isp_collection

[18] Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (1973, march 1). Retrieved from https://commerce.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/mongolio.pdf

[19] Naranzul Bayasgalan, M. J. (2021). Why India and Mongolia Strategic Partners. Mongolian Institute for Innovative Policies, 12. Retrieved from https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/mongolei/17932.pdf

[20] Nyamdavaa, O. (1996). Manglia and India. The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs, 48.

[21] Press Information Bureau. (2022, September 06). Retrieved from Raksha Mantri holds bilateral talks with his Mongolian counterpart in Ulaanbaatar: https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1857131

[22] Times, T. E. (2012). India to acquire coking coal mine in Mongolia. The Economic Times. Retrieved from https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry

/indl-goods/svs/metals-mining/india-to-acquire-coking-coal-mine-in-mongolia/articleshow/13078729.cms?from=mdr

[23] Westcott, S. (2021). Closing the Blindspot between India's Look East and Look North Policies: Recent Developmets in Indo-Mongolian Relations. Electronic Journal of Social and Strategic Studies, 285.

[24] Yadav, M. (2015, July 13). Mainstream Weekly. Retrieved from Dynamics of India-Mongolia Relations: Spiritual Neighbour to Strategic Partner in Post-Cold War Era: https://mainstreamweekly.net/article5844.html