

Russia-Ukraine War and India's Strategic Autonomy

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Abstract: India's Strategic Autonomy is under significant test after the escalation of conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Undermining the India's pursuit of Independent Foreign Policy and its global positioning in the International State system. It is vitally important for India to protect its national interest and avoiding unnecessary knotting. This paper tries to delve into the India-Russia historical relationship keeping the core idea that how the current turmoil has affected the India's economic partnership with the Western powers. The current episode of violent conflict is a litmus test for India to maintain and uphold its policy of Strategic Autonomy.

Introduction:

Following the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, Ukraine and Russia maintained relatively close ties, despite several enduring points of contention. Notably, one of the early challenges was Ukraine's substantial

nuclear arsenal, which it ultimately agreed to abandon in the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances in December 1994. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, Ukraine and Russia were entangled in several gas disputes, reflecting the complex nature of their economic and energy relationship. In 2001, Ukraine along with Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova formed "GUAM" an Organization for Democracy and Economic Development. Russia viewed GUAM as a direct challenge to the Commonwealth of Independent States, a Russian-dominated trade group established after the Soviet Union's collapse and this started escalation of tensions between the Ukraine and Russia. In 2004, the Ukraine elected the pro-European Viktor Yushchenko as president, bypassing the pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich. Ukraine also progressively deepened its cooperation with NATO, deploying a substantial contingent of troops to Iraq and contributing peacekeepers to NATO missions, including the ISAF force in Afghanistan and Kosovo.

The situation worsened following the Euromaidan protests in 2014, which led to the removal of the pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich in February of that year. This resulted in pro-Russia unrest in certain regions of Ukraine and the eventual annexation of Crimea by Russia. In April 2014, demonstrations by pro-Russian groups in Ukraine's Donbas region escalated into a war between the Ukrainian military and Russian-backed separatists, culminating in the self-declared Donetsk and Luhansk republics. The conflict eventually stabilized into a static confrontation, leading to the signing of the Minsk II agreements between Russia and Ukraine.

The tensions, however continued to simmer, as the

Western Nations and Ukraine accused Russia of amassing troops along the border and deploying heavy artillery in Crimea. They further alleged that Russia of providing logistical support, arms, and ammunition to the rebels in Donetsk and Luhansk. The major turning point came, when President Vladimir Putin announced a 'special military operation' to demilitarize and 'denazify' Ukraine, falsely associating Ukraine with Nazism. In essence, the deteriorating relationship between Ukraine and Russia can be attributed to Ukraine's growing proximity to the West and its pursuit of NATO membership, a development viewed with suspicion by Russia.

Russia has historically considered Ukraine as part of its sphere of influence, whereas Ukraine has over the years has aligned itself with Western nations, including the desire to join the NATO alliance much to the chagrin of Russia. The conflict's origins can thus be attributed to the great power rivalry between the US-led NATO and Russia, reminiscent of the Cold War period.

International Ramifications of the War

The changes in the world dynamics post-Cold War era in December 1991, marked by the Balkanisation the Soviet Union and the emergence of the United States of America as the sole undisputed superpower. The USA appeared as a confident hegemon that remained unchallenged in its global dominance, till that image was dramatically altered by the devastating terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

The 9/11 incident created shock waves across the whole world. The devastating terror attack on twin towers put an end to the delusion of invincibility of the most powerful nation. The response of United States to these attacks, including the "War on Terror", had

far-reaching consequences on the credibility of the United States, as it navigated the complexities of a protracted conflict in Afghanistan.

Thereafter, the untimely and sudden withdrawal from the Afghan quagmire further damaged U.S. credibility on the global stage. The scenes of hasty evacuations and the resurgence of the Taliban which the USA can foresee as the immediate effect of its withdrawal cast a shadow over America's image as a resolute and reliable partner.

The abrupt withdrawal of United States from Afghanistan and the freakish foreign policy decisions, trade disputes and contentious international relations witnessed during the presidency of Trump and his 'America First' policies had a ripple effect on the perception of U.S. global leadership. Adding on to the existing situation the COVID-19 pandemic erupted, spreading its impact across the globe. The pandemic apart from worldwide casualties also revealed the vulnerabilities inherent in a globalized society. It underscored the need for international cooperation and the challenges faced by the sole superpower in managing a global crisis of this magnitude.

The current situation of the United States as many thinkers are considering is what to be seen as twin attack. Firstly, decline of its confident hegemon status in world map and secondly, China gaining momentous as future or emerging super power. On the one hand, the history of strained relationship between Russia and the United States on various international issues only increased, while at the same time, the partnership between China and Russia, often referred to as a 'no

limits' relationship kept on increasing which has significant ramifications for the global geopolitical landscape.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine represents a critical juncture in the global politics. The invasion has led to humanitarian crisis with millions of Ukrainians fleeing their homes leading to greatest refugee crisis in Europe since World War-II. The war has led to spiralling food and fuel prices with many countries facing food shortages (Roy, 2023).

The huge war sanctions imposed by the United States and other Western Countries have had a significant impact on the Russian economy, which led to severe disruptions in its export's capacity. These disruptions not affected Russian economy but had caused gas and oil shortages in numerous European as well other countries, exacerbating the energy crisis. However, the consequences of the war and war sanctions are not limited to energy concerns but also extend to the domain of global food security. Ukraine and Russia are major contributors of wheat, corn, barley, sunflower oil, and fertilizer. Collectively, they account for the export of nearly one-third of the world's wheat and barley, over 70% of global sunflower oil supplies, and are significant suppliers of corn.

UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has pointed out that on the account of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is poised to trigger massive food, energy, and economic crises, and the worst sufferers of this war crises will be the economically vulnerable countries mostly Eastern Europe, Asian and African countries. The implications of this global food and energy crisis extend far beyond the immediate conflict zone, underscoring the complex interplay of geopolitical

events, economic dynamics, and their consequences on the world's most vulnerable populations. (Ben Hassen, 2022).

The conflict has grave ramifications on the global food security as many third world countries heavily depend on essential food staples like wheat , corn and sun flower oil from these countries and the invasion has severely impacted the supply of these food staples to countries like Somalia, Libya, Sudan etc and these countries are on the brink of famine and significant portion of population on the cusp of starvation . The gravity of the crisis has been acknowledged by G7 Nations who previously allocated around \$4.5 billion to address the global food crisis exacerbated by the conflict. Further, efforts led by United Nations by involving countries like Turkey were successful to negotiate a deal that facilitated the export of crucial agricultural commodities like Wheat, barley corn through the Black Sea Ports .

Response of Global Community against War

The European Union has earlier endorsed oil sanctions with implementation beginning from December. Once in effect the EU sanctions, will then prohibit the Russian imports of oil into Europe. They will also restrict European Union's owned tanker fleets and marine insurance services from helping out Russia and transporting oil to the global market. These Maritime restrictions are going to pose a significant challenge to Moscow given that approximately 80% of Russia's oil imports are transported via sea routes, primarily using tankers owned by Western entities. This will prove to be a significant shift in international response to Russia's action particularly with the energy sector. The

collective prohibition on oil and gas imports along with maritime sanctions show the combined resolve of nations to hold Russia accountable and try to limit its economic activities in the world. Apart from imposing economic sanctions, countries like the USA, Canada, Australia also provided Ukraine with financial aid along with the latest technology and the weaponry to fight and defend against Russia. The US government has pumped more money and weapons to support the Ukrainian military as compared to what was sent in Afghanistan in 2020, Israel and Egypt combined. Right from the beginning of the war, many US officials have announced a flurry of initiatives aimed at supporting Ukraine's defence efforts. Some analysts estimate the true figure of US commitment to Ukraine is much higher, up to 40 billion dollars in security assistance. Various analysts also estimate that Ukraine, apart from being the largest recipient of US security assistance in Europe right from 2014 is also well on track to become the largest receipt of US security assistance of the century altogether. The European Union has shown unwavering support and has supplied Ukraine with substantial financial assistance amounting to billions of Euros to help the country pave the way through the ongoing crisis and defend itself against the Giant's aggression. In terms of direct military support the United states stand as an outstanding leading contributor and have backed Ukraine more than any other country. Poland and the United Kingdom have stepped up as the second and the third most significant contributors demonstrating their unflinching support for Ukraine during the crisis. Additionally countries such as Australia and Canada, members of NATO have also played a pivotal role by providing Ukraine with finance,

weaponry, military hardware and technology. As of the beginning of July Australia, Canada and the United States have dispatched over 100M777 Howitzers and a staggering 300,000 rounds of 155 mm ammunition to bolster Ukraine's defence. Ukraine has also received more than 5000 shoulder-launched weapons designed to disable tanks with single precisely aimed shots. These weapons played a significant role in defending against the advances by Russian forces on Kyiv during the initial days' following invasion. Poland and the Czech republic have contributed to Ukraine's defence by providing over 230 Warsaw pact designed tanks reinforcing Ukraine's armed capabilities. Turkey has added its support by furnishing Ukraine with Bayraktar TB2 armed drones recently. The drones are highly effective in conducting operations at an altitude of approximately 25,000 ft before descending to target Russian assets with laser guided bombs. They have effectively eliminated helicopters, naval vessels and missile systems while providing precise location data for Ukrainian forces to execute targeted artillery strikes. The United States had further consolidated Ukraine's defence by sending the advanced NASAMS surface to air missile system. Slovakia has also contributed in delivering the S300L defence system to Ukraine. United Kingdom has donated M270 multiple launch rocket systems equipped with m-31 A1 precision ammunitions that enhance Ukraine's defence capabilities. These precise ammunition are believed to have a range of up to 50 miles. Moreover, the UK has generously provided Ukraine with at least 120 armoured vehicles including mastiffs petrol vehicles. The collective financial and military aid from the United States, European Union, Australia, Canada and other

nations have aided Ukraine and enabled it to effectively defend against Russia's attempts to annex and maintain and retain its sovereignty. This concerted international effort underscores global commitment to support Ukraine and its struggles to defend and resist external aggression.

United Nations and the Ukraine Russia War

The United Nations unequivocally condemned the Russian invasion of Ukraine as a flagrant violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty, representing a clear departure from the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The international community has responded to these events with a series of significant actions and resolutions.

Within days of the invasion, the United Nations Secretary-General appointed Amin Awad of Sudan as Assistant Secretary-General to oversee the United Nations' crisis response in Ukraine. The appointment underscored the urgency and seriousness of the crisis, requiring the organization's focussed response. Subsequently, the International Criminal Court's prosecutor initiated an investigation into allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity associated with the ongoing conflict. This step underscores the commitment to accountability for the grave violations committed during the course of the conflict.

In March 2022, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution that unequivocally condemned Russia's actions as "aggression" against Ukraine. The resolution had extensive backing. The overwhelming international consensus demonstrates the global community's commitment to upholding Ukraine's

sovereignty and condemning acts of aggression.

The United Nations Human Rights Council established an international commission of inquiry, to investigate the events that transpired in the wake of Russia's aggression against Ukraine. This commission represents a vital mechanism for scrutinizing alleged human rights abuses and violations during the conflict. In April 2022, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution, which called for the suspension of Russia from the UNHRC. The resolution secured an overwhelming majority in favour.

The United Nations Secretary General, António Guterres in his address to Security Council on 23rd February 2024, condemned the Russia and stated that Russia's attempted illegal annexation of Ukraine's Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the war in Ukraine remains an open wound at the heart of Europe. He further stated in his address that it is high time for peace -a just peace, based on UN Charter, international law and General Assembly resolutions.

Impact of War on India and its Response: Test of India's Strategic Autonomy

Strategic autonomy is a foreign policy approach where a country makes decisions based on its own interests, independent of external pressures. It denotes the ability of a state to pursue its national interests and adopt its preferred foreign policy without being constrained in any manner by other states. It is significant because it enables countries to prioritize their national interests while navigating challenging international situations. India since independence has pursued foreign policy which has been independent of any external pressure.

After independence, India did not join any of the power blocs rather was instrumental in shaping Non-Alignment Policy (NAM). After the end of Cold War, India did not abandon its independent Foreign Policy and continued to maintain excellent relations with Russia while at the same time India developed a strategic relationship with America. However, as Russia and Ukraine got involved in a bloody conflict, India's independent foreign policy based on Strategic Autonomy has come under severe challenge. India has not openly criticized Russia and has avoided getting into aligned with any western Bloc while at the same time India has time and again highlighted need to end the war and resolve issues on table. In July 2024, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's first visit to Russia since invasion of Ukraine drew heavy criticism from West with even US President John Biden voicing his concern for the visit. Prime Minister Narendra Modi in less than two months of his visit to Moscow, visited Kviy becoming the first Indian Prime Minister to Visit modern Ukraine and thereby signalling India's pursuit of independent foreign policy based on strategic autonomy and independent of any pulls and pressure. Russia has a significant impact on India's defence and diplomatic landscape. The historical and diplomatic relationship between India and Russia have been remarkably robust, dating back to USSR era. Russia is the major supplier of weapons and defence equipments to India with India having nearly 50% of India's weaponry and defence equipment of Russian made.

The Soviet Union during the Cold war era and in later years exercised its veto power at the Security Council

to shield India on many critical issues, particularly the Kashmir dispute. The USSR provided invaluable support to India during the Bangladesh War of Independence in 1971, when the United States and China stood behind Pakistan.

However, in the recent years, there has been increasing proximity and geo-political alignment between Russia and China which has raised concerns among policymakers in India. This increasing proximity and warmth in Russia-China relations has made India to think and reevaluate its position. The Russia has of late also shown some sort of warming towards Pakistan, a nation which has been responsible for terrorism in India. In the past, relations between Kremlin and Islamabad have not been good and Pakistan has been on the side of USA during the whole cold war era. However, this seems to have changed as Imran Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan became first Pakistan Prime Minister to Visit Russia in more than two decades. Further, Imran was in Moscow on the day when Russia invaded the Ukraine. Imran continued with his scheduled meetings, including the all important one with President Vladimir Putin, thus sending a clear signal that Russia's strategic calculations in the South Asia have quite evolved.

In response to these changing dynamics, India perceives the need to maintain its strong rapport with Russia. India recognizes that retaining Russia's goodwill is vital, not only to protect its defence needs but also to navigate the complexities of a changing global landscape while keeping its options open for future partnerships and alliances. It is a way to preserve its long-standing diplomatic ties and safeguard its interests in the face of Russia's shifting

allegiances. (Lalwani (et.al.). 15.01.2021).

The ongoing conflict in Ukraine presents India with an additional layer of strategic complexity. Prior to the escalation of the crisis in Ukraine, the United States had appeared to concentrate its attention primarily on countering the global influence of China, with a particular emphasis on the Indo-Pacific region rather than Europe. However, the Ukraine war and Russia's aggressive behaviour have again re-ignited America's concerns of Russia.

This shift in the United States foreign policy could have severe consequences for India's strategic calculations. Historically, the adversarial stance of United States towards Moscow has often led it to have a non-confrontationist approach in its dealing with the China. On the other hand, India and China have locked horns due border dispute across Himalayan region and there have been many instances of China encroaching India's territory along the disputed Himalayan border resulting in skirmishes between soldiers and in year 2020, twenty Indian Jawans lost their life due to the unprovoked aggression by Chinese soldiers

With Russia Ukraine War, the focus of US and west has again shifted toward Russia. This shift of focus away from China towards Russia would have significant security impact on India. China would try to assert itself in the subcontinent. Further, the growing proximity of China and Russia would lead India to re-think on its priorities. Further, the Russia's invasion has presented India with complex geopolitical problems, while New Delhi continues to prioritize its strategic relationship with Moscow, and at the same time it is trying to maintain its hard earned relationship with US and West. India is trying to balance its

relations with both Russia and west by way of its core foreign policy of non-alignment despite the shifting global dynamics over the last few decades. New Delhi was successful in negotiating the much needed Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) waiver with US State Department which was required for procurement of \$5.43 billion Russian Triumph missile defence system.

India's engagement with Russia and its diplomatic manoeuvring in the face of stringent U.S. sanctions illustrate the intricate nature of modern international relations. India's strategic calculus underscores the importance of maintaining multifaceted relationships and safeguarding its defence interests while adhering to a non-alignment policy that adapts to the complexities of the 21st century. (The Hindu 07.03.2022). India has refrained from criticizing Moscow's action in Ukraine. India, has repeatedly urged both countries to return to the path of diplomacy and dialogue. India time and again extended its support for any diplomatic efforts to end the crisis between Russia and Ukraine. This nuanced approach reflects India's diplomatic finesse in navigating the complex web of international relations.

Since the outset of the conflict in Ukraine, India's engagement at the United Nations has showcased this nuanced stance. India has chosen to abstain from various procedural votes related to the Ukraine conflict, including a resolution in early March that censured Russia for its military operations. A pivotal moment occurred on October 1, 2022, when India abstained from voting at the United Nations Security Council on a draft resolution condemning Russia's conduct of referendums and annexation of four regions in Ukraine.

This abstention underscored India's intricate diplomatic balancing act, highlighting its cautious approach in managing its relations with Moscow.

India's continued engagement in oil and defence trade with Russia amid the backdrop of the Ukraine conflict and Western sanctions against Russia exemplifies the challenges it faces. While India is committed to deepening its ties with Western powers, particularly the United States, it also recognizes the significance of its historic defence relationship with Russia. This multifaceted approach underscores India's efforts to safeguard its own strategic interests and pursue its policy of diversification (Chaudhari, 2023).

India's External Affairs Minister (EAM), Shri S. Jaishankar, has consistently and eloquently conveyed India's stance with regard to the ongoing Ukraine conflict. India's position has been unwavering, grounded in principles, and underscores the nation's commitment to maintaining an independent and pragmatic approach in the face of a global crisis that carries profound implications.

Since the conflict between Russia and Ukraine started, India has been a steadfast advocate that dialogue and diplomatic engagement are the best means of resolving the conflict. India, believes in diplomatic resolution over military war and has emerged as a strong voice in a world where tensions and geopolitical rivalries are on the rise. India's long standing commitment to diplomacy and belief in the power of dialogue to address complex international issues are reflected in this moral stance.

A key factor in shaping India's position is its strong commitment in ensuring the nation's food and energy security. This pragmatic perspective underscores the critical role that Ukraine plays in global agricultural

markets and the need to safeguard stable food supplies, as well as the importance of the region in energy production and transit routes.

India's position is thus a reflection of the nation's strategic thinking, where it seeks to balance its global responsibilities with its core interests. India, under the guidance of Shri S. Jaishankar, has maintained a principled, independent, and pragmatic stance throughout the Ukraine conflict. In a world fraught with uncertainty, India's emphasis on diplomacy and its unwavering commitment to its national priorities demonstrates its role as a responsible global actor, contributing to the search for peaceful solutions in the face of complex international challenges (LiveMint. 14.12.2022).

The EAM Shri Jaishankar was asked by various journalists/diplomats as to why India is not condemning Russia for the war in Ukraine and increasing oil imports. To this, EAM answered, "I prefer to do it my way and articulate it my way". Shri S Jaishankar remarked, "if you are looking at energy purchases from Russia, I would suggest your attention should be focused on Europe. We do some energy which is necessary for our energy security but I suspect our total purchases in a month is equal to what Europe does in an afternoon". Clearly defining Indian position on energy imports, EAM Shri Jaishankar said India doesn't send people out there to especially buy Russian oil. "We send people out there and say go buy oil. Now you buy the best oil you can in the market. So, I don't think, I would attach a political messaging to that", he said. Pointing out recent import figures of India which paled in comparison to Europe, Jaishankar emphasized that Europe will make the choices it will make, however, for

the bloc to make choices that prioritize its energy needs and then ask India to do something else, is not fair” (LiveMint. 14.12.2022).

Speaking at the 77th UN General Assembly (UNGA) on September 24, EAM Shri S. Jaishankar said, “We are often asked whose side we are on. And our answer, each time, is straight and honest. India is on the side of peace and will remain firmly there. We are on the side of those struggling to make ends meet, even as they stare at escalating costs of food, fuel and fertilisers” (Mukhopadhyay. 25.09.2022).

In an address to the Rajya Sabha, External Affairs Minister, Shri S. Jaishankar, provided a comprehensive overview of the latest developments in India’s foreign policy. Jaishankar articulated the multifaceted challenges facing the world, including geopolitical crisis, concerns about food and energy security, escalating debt burdens, and the imperative of addressing climate change.

India’s approach centres on championing the causes, particularly those of the Global South, and advocating for equitable solutions to pressing global issues. This underscores India’s role as a responsible global actor that seeks to address the concerns of developing nations within the international community. Shri S. Jaishankar underscored that India’s foreign policy is no longer merely the domain of a Ministry or a governmental function; it has evolved into a dynamic and multifaceted exercise. India’s foreign policy encompasses diplomacy, strategic vision, economic engagements, and a commitment to sustainable development.

Shri S. Jaishankar’s statement to the Rajya Sabha encapsulates India’s proactive and forward-looking

foreign policy. It highlights India's commitment to addressing global challenges while championing the aspirations of the Global South and underscores the transformation of foreign policy into a comprehensive and dynamic endeavour that goes beyond the government's domain. "It has a direct impact on the daily lives of all Indians". The external affairs minister said the government's aim in a difficult global situation is that the welfare of the Indian people is ensured, however challenging the circumstances. "Indian foreign policy is there to serve the Indian people; we will do whatever it takes to discharge that responsibility", he added (Economic Times. 31.08.2023)

Conclusion

Since Vladimir Putin ordered the advance of Russian tanks into Ukraine in February, the situation has taken a series of unexpected turns. Russia's initial blitzkrieg strategy faltered, and the conflict became mired in prolonged stalemate, particularly in the face of Ukraine's successful counter-offensives in the eastern and southern regions. The outcome of this war remains highly uncertain, placing Mr. Putin under considerable pressure.

Putin's declaration of 'partial mobilization' in a desperate bid to bolster Russian military efforts sparked protests across Russia and provoked international condemnation, especially concerning the illegal annexation of four Ukrainian provinces. Tragically, the war has brought misery, death, and widespread destruction, forcing millions of Ukrainians to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. The toll in human lives and suffering is immeasurable, with

thousands killed or wounded. Furthermore, the conflict has had global repercussions, leading to energy and food crises. Western nations, including the United States, have shown support for Ukraine by providing financial aid, arms, and ammunition. However, direct military involvement in the conflict has been avoided.

India, in this complex scenario, has consistently called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and an end to the violence in Ukraine. The Indian government has urged both sides to return to the path of diplomacy and dialogue, supporting all diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully. Notably, India has maintained its oil imports from Russia and has even increased them since the war began, given the reduced prices. Moscow's decision to curtail oil exports to potential Western buyers, while imposing a price cap, is expected to boost Indian imports of Russian crude. While the West has imposed strict restrictions on Russian crude supplies, there remain some residual volumes being imported into Europe through pipelines that could be impacted by Moscow's latest move. Russia may seek to channel these surplus crude oil volumes to India and China, fostering closer energy ties.

India, as a member of the QUAD alliance, must tread carefully to avoid upsetting the balance with the West. The possibility of Western sanctions for procuring more Russian crude could affect both India and China, but the two nations may respond differently. China's supply routes are less vulnerable to sanctions than India's, with most Russian imports flowing through the East Siberian pipeline and Russia's Pacific ports.

Commending the New Delhi declaration, Russia's Foreign Minister, Sergei Lavrov, hailed it as a

significant 'milestone' in the G-20 process. Lavrov emphasized that the G-20 summit hosted by India played a crucial role in diverting the focus away from the Ukraine conflict, which Western countries had been keen on making the centerpiece of their agenda.

Further, the recent visit of India's Prime Minister to Ukraine holds significance as it marks departure from past when India's bias towards Russia prevented it from engaging directly with two important countries in Europe Poland and Ukraine. The visit has been hailed by all Western countries especially United States while Ukraine saw the visit as India's com backing to war torn nation. This visit further demonstrated India's pursuit for strategic autonomy and came at a time when India was seen to have having soft stance to Russia especially after PM hugged President Putin when the NATO session in west was in progress. India has time and again reiterated that war has no place in present century and no country is going to achieve anything with war , rather both countries should sit and resolve all issues peacefully.

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