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(Department of Political Science)

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India's Foreign Policy
Study Material: Unit I-IV

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: MEANING, DETERMINANTS AND EVALUATION

Ashish Kumar Thakur

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Domestic and International Determinants of India's Foreign Policy
- 1.4 Objectives and Principles
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1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- What is Foreign Policy?
- Why Foreign Policy?
- Determining factors of India's Foreign Policy?
- Objectives of India's foreign policy
- Changes and Continuities in India's Foreign Policy?
- What foreign policy strategies should India adopt in the more complex, unpredictable, changing world?
- Can India continue with a realistic foreign policy positioning without abandoning the values, and norms of democracy, peace, and non-violence?



1.2 INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first century has presented an uncertain, complex, and challenging environment to the world. There is growing power asymmetry, disorder, multidimensional security challenges, and a set of complex issues confronting the world in the twenty-first century. With the end of the Cold War and bipolarity, a new order emerged demanding the world to re-establish itself. The emergence of new power blocs—with both ‘horizontal and vertical shifts’ in power—has challenged the status of hegemon or the claims of a unipolar world. The argument that “Western liberal democracy” will become “universal” is challenged. (Fukuyama, 1992) The pandemic has only contributed to this disorder by bringing in more variables that nations have to navigate. It has also shown that while the pandemic needed collaborative efforts, nations looked inwards and engaged in self-preservation. Given the changing nature of international politics, the question is how a state must behave in contemporary times to face these challenges. The basic question is what should be prioritised by the states in the international politics? (Thakur, 2022)

Foreign Policy is a dynamic and broad subject. It lies at the heart of world politics. Foreign Policy determines states' priorities in International Politics. However, the exhaustive nature of the changes taking place in the twenty-first century has made the foreign policy priorities of the states more complex. Furthermore, foreign policy analysis requires innumerable trajectories in contemporary times.

Indian Foreign Policy-making has taken into consideration India's civilizational legacy as well as her desire to be an aspirational power which is reflected through the idea of Bharat as 'Vishwa Guru' (World leader). The idea behind the vision of being a Vishwa Guru is that India wants to lead the world on its terms and strengths i.e. spiritualism, and cultural values rather than the given material dynamism of the major powers of the World. Therefore, India's Foreign Policy is guided by the Indian view of the World- a democratic, spiritual way of life. (A. Appadorai, 1981).

According to Appadorai (1981):

"the essence of a sound foreign policy lies in a proper balance between commitments and power, i.e., the definition of what a country's vital interests are and the development of sufficient power, either alone or in concert with others, to protect those interests."

The chapter outlines the evolution of India's Foreign Policy by taking into account the key variables determining the Foreign Policy of India— geostrategic factors, alternative models



of security (non-traditional security), technology, culture, economy, policy-making and Implementation. (Gupta & Wadhwa, 2020)

Defining Foreign Policy

We can define Foreign Policy in terms of the total of various interests known as National Interests. (Waltz, 1993) Foreign Policies are outlined by the actors through available resources to achieve the core or National interests. In contemporary times, Foreign Policy making has become a complex process.

Challenges to Foreign Policy

Globalization, a Borderless World, Changes in global politics— from bipolarity to multipolarity, Climate change, terrorism, and new means of interdependence have made the foreign policy-making of a country a more complex and challenging task in contemporary times.

Why study Foreign Policy?

States are experiencing challenges and transformation both internally and externally— making Foreign policy analysis critical. However, the pursuit of Foreign Policy has become complex.

Who makes Foreign Policy?

Various actors are influencing foreign policy making for instance States and their governments, IGOs, and NGOs.

1.3 DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of a country depends on both— the factors external to the state (such as Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism) and the Domestic factors. Analyzing Foreign policy or factors influencing foreign policy-making are multiple in numbers. These are defined as the determinants of foreign policy. The basic factors that have shaped India's foreign policy-making are National character, Political tradition, Geography, Economic Development, Domestic Milieu, International Milieu and Military Strength. (J. Bandyopadhyaya, 1970)



Foreign Policy Making in India

The making of foreign policy occupies a significant place in the foreign policy of a country. In a world of increasing competition, complex interdependence, huge uncertainties, growing disorder and asymmetries in global power, foreign policymaking has become a complex and challenging task. The fundamental question is how India's foreign policymaking can contribute to solving the challenges of contemporary times.

The exhaustive nature of the changes taking place in the 21st century demands a relooking into foreign policy-making—engaging states bilaterally, trilaterally or multilaterally.

During the initial years of post-independent India, the study of India's foreign policy was limited to engaging India's relation with a particular country or her response to a particular international event. The study of India's foreign policy did not emphasize much on the making of the foreign policy. Given the gap in the analysis of the foreign policy behaviour of the states, the chapter contextualizes the complex trajectories in India's foreign policy making, its evolution and the shift in India's foreign policy in contemporary times.

Basic determinants, political and administrative institutions, domestic processes and personalities play a critical role in the foreign policy-making of India. (Bandyopadhyaya, 1970)

One cannot ignore India's role in shaping the nature of the economy, security, politics, trade, the creation of international organizations, and international laws and norms (Dasgupta, 2015). For instance the idea of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" or "the whole world is one family"—the idea of a shared destiny has encouraged the incorporation of the development goals (both the MDGs and SDGs) within the United Nations.

India is a parliamentary democracy with a separation of power between legislative, executive and judiciary. The task of foreign policy making and implementation is the responsibility of the executive. Therefore, the Prime Minister, the External Affairs Minister and ministries such as the Ministry of home affairs, the Ministry of Defence, and the Ministry of finance are responsible for making foreign policy. However, the task of foreign policy implementation is the responsibility of the Ministry of external affairs. (Hall, 2019)

Despite being less prominent as the agenda issue and of interest to the Indian people, foreign policy making was a continuous source of conflict amongst the political parties. For instance- Prime Minister Nehru's response to China in particular his management of the



India-China war of 1962, Indira Gandhi's management of the 1971 crisis in East Pakistan, and Manmohan Singh's government handling of the US-India nuclear deal.

Today, both institutional context and actors involved in foreign policy-making have become more complex and diverse. (Hall, 2019) On the one hand at the **domestic level**, the Philosophical foundation of the country, culture, Ideologies, Historical legacy, Geostrategic positioning (India occupies a core and asymmetrical position in the South Asian region), Power resources (Population, Military Capability, Economy, level of Industrialization), Leadership, Timeliness of the decisions making and Implementation, Central government ministries (Lawmakers), Indian states and Union territories, nature of the political system, nature of Indian economy, nature of Party System, Center-state relations, India's diaspora, Public opinion, the news media, academician, civil society, think tanks, research, scientific and technological development, private players (trade unions, interest groups and business community) and on the other hand **external factors** such as nature of the International System (bipolarity, multipolarity, balance of power, alliances), International Organizations, States, NGOs, Regional organisations, Diplomacy have shaped the framework of foreign policy making.

1.4 OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES

The key objectives of a country's foreign policy are to pursue its national interests. The objectives give shape to the foreign policy-making of a country. The principles are the means that a country adopts in its foreign policy making to achieve the objectives (end/goals)—national interests. We will undertake the evaluation of India's foreign policy objectives and principles by outlining the evolution of India's foreign policy in different historical contexts.

The Evolution of India's Foreign Policy: Different Phases

In the evolution of the foreign policy of any country, there is both continuity and change. In *India's Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect* (2012), Sumit Ganguly outlines the evolution of India's Foreign Policy through an assessment of personal, national, and systemic factors. (Ganguly, 2012)

Ganguly discusses the evolution of India's Foreign Policy in three historical contexts each having its distinctiveness:

1st phase - from 1947 to 1962;

2nd phase- from 1962 to 1991 and



3rd phase- from 1991 to the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) 1

The first phase under the architecture ship of Prime Minister Nehru according to Ganguly, characterised the 'idealistic phase' of Indian foreign policy. The second phase in the post-India-China war saw a shift towards self-help posturing of foreign policy while continuing with the early era of idealism. In the third phase beginning with the end of the cold war, India's foreign policy became more pragmatic aligning with the basic assumption of the doctrine of realism. (Ganguly, 2012) In contemporary times, what we call the fourth phase India has to focus not only on the principles of Realism but should take from other approaches like constructivism—shaping international norms.

Non Alignment and Beyond: Concepts, Policy and Relevance

The evolution of India's foreign policy in the post-independence period was influenced by all the systemic, National and Decision-making factors. The Indian foreign policy makers sidelined the systemic constraints, beginning with the Idealistic phase of the foreign policy. One systemic constraint beginning with the cold war was the mutual lack of interest of both the superpowers—the US and USSR towards India. It worked in the favour of India, helping her to continue with her policies and interest in the international arena— through the politics of the third world, Asia-Africa solidarity, the Bandung conference 1955 and the Non-alignment movement (NAM). The initial claims for greater cooperation among the Asian countries found their place in India's advocacy for an Asian consciousness forging regional unity and Asian solidarity in the post-world war II era. The Asian Relations Conference of 1947 is significant in this regard where Prime Minister Nehru argued for creating an Asian Regional Organisation. The Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries in 1955 and the creation of the NAM bloc were the initial initiatives calling for regional cooperation and Asian solidarity. (Thakur, 2022) However, there was also a disadvantage at the regional level due to the existing distribution of power at that time and the People's Republic of China (PRC) continued to be a security threat to India at the regional level. (Ganguly, 2012)

The colonial legacy at the National level created the space for the values of autonomy and self-determination in the minds of both the Indian people and the policymakers. The principle of independence and non-interference was desirable in the making of India's foreign policy— influenced by the belief in democracy, anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, peace, and sovereignty.

It led India to outline a unique foreign policy posture of looking at world politics. India under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru together with the other leaders of third-



world politics, pursued the policy of Non-alignment. The principle of Non-alignment has challenged the given bipolarity of the world and projected the third-world countries under the leadership of India as the political actor in world politics. Through the principle of non-alignment, India along with other third-world countries continued pursuing its political, economic and cultural interests on the world stage. The principle of the non-alignment guided India's foreign policy till the end of the cold war.

Two factors according to Ganguly contributed towards India adopting non-alignment: First, Nehru's concern about defence spending and Second, the Indian Prime Minister Nehru did not want to compromise Indian Independence by getting involved in the superpower rivalry.

Characteristics of India's FP in the first phase

India's advocacy of the Nuclear Test ban Treaty, its commitment to United Nations PKOs and peaceful resolutions of regional conflicts, to end decolonization through NAM, and limitation on defence spending were some of the key Foreign policy postures of India during the first phase. India's engagement with the multilateral institutions in particular its role in the United Nations and its peace operations; India's leadership role in the NAM and India's role in the decolonization process manifested in turn at the global, regional and national levels. (Ganguly, 2012)

In the post-1962 phase, India made the pragmatic shift and began modernizing its military however the principle of Non-alignment continued guiding the discourse of India's foreign policy trajectories manifesting at the global, regional and national levels. Some of the key Foreign policy postures of India in the second phase were Tashkent Agreement in 1966; under Indira Gandhi India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974; and the Indo-Soviet treaty of 1971. The nuclear test was significant in the discourse of India's foreign policy outlining the shift that while India continued to support the cause of the third-world countries and the movement towards decolonization, it realized the significance of military preparedness in the competitive global world. However, India could not emerge as a significant power at the global level due to its failure to achieve economic growth and also the limitation that it had at the level of diplomacy.

Third phase: recontextualizing Non-alignment Movement (NAM)

In the third phase, beginning with the end of the cold war, India's key foreign policy principle of Non-alignment came to be questioned. The key question was— non-alignment against whom?



Seeing the limitation of India's foreign policy, there was a need to reorient the foreign policy according to the interests and objectives of India as well as the realities of the shifting world order.

Various global factors having an enormous impact on India contributed to the shift in foreign policy:

1. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war
2. The Gulf war of 1991 created a fiscal crisis in India— Leading India to reform its economy by giving up on its commitment to the policy of Import substitution and state regulatory mechanism of licenses-quotas-permits raj to open up its economy and implement the policies of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization.

Taking into consideration both the domestic and international realities, India diversified its foreign policy options in the post-cold war era.

Indian diplomats had worked to engage with western countries, particularly with the United States. To engage with South-East Asia, Indian foreign policymakers have pursued the policy of the 'Look East' to attract foreign investments and develop as an export centre. The Indian policymaker also tried to have cordial relations with china nonetheless the border tension between the two countries continued. Ethno religious Insurgency was the other cause of concern for India's decaying relations with the neighbouring country Pakistan.

The Indian government came up with counterinsurgency measures though they did not solve the problem completely. All these factors along with the security threat from China led India to have its own nuclear doctrine— redefining its approach to look at the notion of power in the international context.

The key questions were:

- What foreign policy strategies should India adopt in the more complex, unpredictable, changing world?
- Can India continue with a realistic foreign policy positioning without abandoning the values, and norms of democracy, peace, and non-violence?

In the contemporary phase, what we call the fourth phase India has to focus not only on the principles of Realism but should take from other approaches like constructivism— shaping international norms.



In *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy*, C. Raja Mohan (2003) focuses on the evolution of India's foreign policy in the post-cold war era till the war on terrorism by postulating the question as to why the Indian foreign policy has made a transition in the Post-cold war era. Mentioning India's willingness to support the United States' war on Terrorism, Raja Mohan examines the changes and continuities in India's foreign policymaking and the factors that contributed to the transition in foreign policy. Raja Mohan is of the view that India's Foreign policy making became more mature and self-assuring in the 21st century. (Mohan, 2003)

Some of the domestic and International realities that contributed to the shift in foreign policy in the post-cold war era were changes like the Indian party system from one-party dominance to the era of the multi-party system, the beginning of the coalition politics, redefining of secularism, economic globalization, fall of soviet republics, and Gulf crisis. (Mohan, 2003)

Contemporary developments and Challenges in Foreign policy-making: 2014 till today

India's foreign policy making has got a new direction in 2014 under Prime Minister Modi. The 'Modi wave', the 'TsuNaMo' effect was not only visible in terms of the massive victory of the BJP in the 2014 General election but also in terms of foreign policy making.

The key question before the new government was— how India is going to engage with the other countries of the turbulent world.

From Panchsheel to Panchamrit

In post-independent India, engagement with China was seen as key to India's vision of Asian Solidarity. The engagement with china was also seen as necessary to avoid interference by the superpowers US and USSR. India-China diplomatic relations in the 1950s were shaped by the 'Panchsheel Agreement' of 1954. (Pant, 2016)

Panchsheel: the 5 principles of Peaceful Coexistence

Panchsheel consisted of 5 principles guiding India-China bilateral diplomatic relations:

1. mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. mutual nonaggression,
3. mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs,
4. equality and mutual benefit, and
5. peaceful coexistence



India as a swing state: Role of India in shaping the emerging world order

The role of India as a swing state shaping the emerging world order coincided with the rise of India and the reinvention of Indian foreign policy. The philosophical foundation of India's Foreign Policy was based on the ideals of democracy, prosperity non- violence, spirituality, peace, humanity, dignity, Sanskriti (culture and civilization) and commitment towards the principles of anticolonialism, non-alignment, and anti-racialism at the world stage. (Rana, 1970) Today given the richness of her civilizational ethos and material capability, one cannot ignore the role of India's foreign policy-making in solving the contemporary global challenges that people all over the world are facing in a constantly changing, uncertain and unstable world. The role of India has become significant in making the world a stable, free, open, inclusive, sustainable and humane place to live.

India: a swing state

India in contemporary times has the willingness, wide reach, and huge resource capability and Indian foreign policymakers are constantly working towards increasing India's standing in international politics. Indian foreign policymakers are working towards having a better representation of India's stature in the world. Today India is in the position of altering the power hierarchy of the nations. India is ranked 6th in the list of 8 great powers with the United States at the top of the list followed by China and Japan jointly placed in the second place. (Thakur, 2022)

India occupies a unique position in the world—the world's largest democracy, having a rich civilizational ethos and rapid economic growth has acquired a greater geopolitical significance in contemporary times given its location particularly its centrality and asymmetry in the South Asian region. In contemporary times, given the instrumentality of India, most of the countries of the world want to have economic, political, security and cultural relations with India.

India is playing a significant role as a Swing state in maintaining the balance of power in global politics. Having both the desire and capability, India is putting its best foot forward for the free, open, inclusive and stable Indo-pacific through her Quad strategy. India is working for the political modernization of the Middle East. Today India is an emerging global economy (5th in the World economic ranking and expected to be the third largest GDP by the next decade; emerging from being an aid recipient to become an aid donor) and has an influential role in groupings such as G20, AIIB, and New Development Bank and BRICS. Given her merit, India is one of the most vocal countries claiming for the reform of the



United Nations and voicing her claim through the Group of Four (G4- India, Japan, Germany and Brazil) for a permanent seat in the Security Council. India is a significant player in UN endeavours. (Muni, 2014) India's role in regional organizations such as ASEAN, and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), India's membership in the East Asia Summit (EAS) and African Union (AU) has become significant.

India's diversification in defence diplomacy by engaging with the United States, Israel, and France and her focus on the Indigenization of defence capability; her strategic engagements with west Asian countries, Central Asian countries and East Asian countries are noteworthy. India is recognized as significant for the maintenance of peace and stability in the ASEAN region. (Thakur, 2022) India's membership in security organizations such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization is another remarkable development at the level of foreign policy making. (The Hindu, 2017)

Furthermore, the belief in the principle of multilateralism—India's engagement with the institutions of global governance such as the United Nations and G 20, the growing salience of Indo-Pacific; Shifting priorities of the United States in Asia—recognizing India as a 'Natural allies'; and the convergence of interests in the post-cold war era with the like-minded countries in the areas like human security, disaster management, environment, infrastructure development, maritime security, nuclear energy, and economic growth have shaped India's foreign policy making in the post-cold war era.

With the diplomatic turn of the United States' relations with India and the recognition of India as a 'strategic partner' of the United States, the Indian foreign policy engagement has witnessed a paradigm shift in the post-cold war era. (Mansingh, 2007)

India became vocal about reforming multilateral institutions like the United Nations in the Post-cold war era— claiming herself as a legitimate one for permanent membership of the Security Council to make the United Nations fully democratic and representative.

India today is working towards a secure, free and inclusive maritime space, prevention of international terrorism, protection of the environment and prevention of the proliferation of WMDs. India's maritime influence, economic growth and geopolitical significance as a net security provider in the region are noteworthy.

India is an emerging, aspiring and would be a great power. Enhanced economic growth, political stability and India's significance in the new international order/post-pandemic world have risen her stature within global governance institutions.



The significant question is how India can utilize the opportunity given to her through membership in global governance institutions such as United Nations, G20 and East Asia Summit. India has shown willingness and also can work within these institutions of global governance with the motive to enhance their status in international politics. However, what distinguishes India's foreign policy-making is the flexibility in her approach with the focus on strengthening the international system in the process. (Thakur, 2022)

India is committed to strengthening rules-based international order, international law, respect for shared values of multilateralism, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations through Free, Open, Inclusive, Indo-Pacific (FOIP) and the principle of ASEAN Centrality providing Quad-sponsored vaccines to Indo-Pacific countries.

Recognizing the significance of maritime security, India has explicitly prioritized the deployment of its naval forces in international engagement. India is working towards creating Maritime Domain Awareness.

In May 2019, the US, India, Japan, and Philippine Navies demonstrated Joint Presence in the South China Sea through the first engagement of its kind, highlighting coordination among like-minded Indo-Pacific navies. It was one of the most significant multilateral naval engagements.

India has huge potential in the area of soft power capability making her instrumental in shaping International Politics. India's rich civilizational ethos, culture, philosophy, spirituality, huge population and the role of the Indian diaspora are significant determinants shaping her stature in the contemporary world.

However, India's foreign policy orientation has been shaped largely by her functional need, inter-dependence, mutual gains and Identity formulation. In contemporary times, Indian foreign policy making calls for issue-based alignment with link-minded states. (Hall, 2019)

Challenges/Limitations

1. Problematic political developments in the neighbouring countries—the rise of China, the issue of Pakistan, terrorism, insurgency, immigration, Civil wars, and political instability.

Managing its neighbour has become necessary not only to maintain peace and stability in the region but also for India's aspiration to be a global leader — as 'Vishwa Guru' (World leader). India aspires to be a 'Vishwa Guru' (World leader) and not merely a global power marking a shift in the foundational understanding of foreign policy making.



2. The deadlock on the issue of the Security Council reform—the charter provision, disagreement on different proposals regarding size and the nature of expansion, regional rivalry, and politics over the reforms mainly by permanent five (P5) and veto power has made the reform of the Security Council difficult.
3. Divergence on the issues such as climate change, reform of the International order (such as UNSC, IMF) and trade within the multilateral forums has been a cause of concern for India.

In the contemporary times, the Indian foreign policy making calls for issue-based alignment with the link-minded states. (Mohan, 2019)

4. Pandemic (COVID 19)

The pandemic has led us to reorient foreign policy in order to address the diverse range of challenges that the world is facing today—requiring us to make structural reforms in order to strengthen climate strategies. Given this, India is considering promoting diversification of the supply chains and strengthening domestic manufacturing. (Thakur, 2022)

5. Changing Strategic Landscape in Asia—demanding to ensure greater stability in Indo-Pacific region.
6. Furthermore, the contestation around the concept of Indo-Pacific is itself problematic.

The term “Indo-Pacific” is used to refer to various, sometimes divergent concepts—meaning different things to different countries. The United States, Japan, Australia, India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have presented their own concepts of the “Indo-Pacific”. There is no uniformity regarding the conceptualization of the term Indo-Pacific.

India’s Indo-Pacific conceptualization emphasizes economic prosperity, connectivity and multilateral cooperation.

With the diverse and changing notion of war and security issues in contemporary times—from space to digital, the key question in India’s foreign policy-making is—what alternatives India can provide for a sustainable, Inclusive, and humane world?

Panchamrit: 5 pillars of India’s Foreign Policy in the Contemporary times

Panchamrit means offerings consisting of a mixture of five foods used in Hindu Puja. The 5 pillars under the Panchamrit approach to Indian foreign policy consisted of:

- 1) Samman – dignity and honour;
- 2) Samvad – greater engagement and dialogue;



- 3) Samriddhi – shared prosperity;
- 4) Suraksha – regional and global security; and
- 5) Sanskriti evam Sabhyata – cultural and civilizational linkages

(Hall, 2019)

With the coming of the Modi government in 2014, India emphasized and prioritized the ‘neighbourhood first’ in foreign policy making. (Hall, 2019) Diversifying its foreign policy options, India started to engage more with West Asia by focusing on the ‘Link West’ policy and reviving its engagement with the East Asian countries by making the ‘Look East’ policy more substantial through its ‘Act East’ policy in order to engage East Asian countries.

Taking into account her rich cultural, spiritual and civilizational past, India focused on the use of the ‘soft Power’ in foreign policy making. The new foreign policy approach was adopted by the Modi government to enhance the Identity and stature of ‘Bharat’ in world affairs. So, through the Panchamrit, Bharat is willing to be not only a strong responsible power but also a respected power in the world.

Keeping aside the ideological baggage of the past, the government went beyond the pragmatic approach in foreign policy making under the ‘transformational leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi with the vision to transform both Indian society and India’s foreign policy engagement through India ‘Civilizational ethos’. (Hall, 2019) That is why the government is focusing more on India’s Soft power capability to reorient foreign policy.

1.5 CONCLUSION

The role of India as a swing state shaping the emerging world order coincided with the rise of India and the reinvention of Indian foreign policy. The philosophical foundation of India’s Foreign Policy was based on the ideals of democracy, prosperity non- violence, spirituality, peace, humanity, dignity, Sanskriti (culture and civilization) and commitment towards the principles of anticolonialism, non-alignment, and anti-racialism at the world stage. (Rana, 1970)

It becomes significant to note that the behaviour of the states is shaped not only by their material capability but also by the understanding of the norms that the states have in the conduct of their foreign affairs. (Katzenstein, 1996) Making a shift, in the contemporary time, Indian Foreign Policymaking has taken into consideration India's civilizational legacy as well as her desire to be an aspirational power which is reflected through the idea of Bharat as



'Vishwa Guru' (World leader). The new foreign policy approach was adopted by the Modi government to enhance the Identity and stature of 'Bharat' in world affairs. So, through the Panchamrit, Bharat is willing to be not only a strong responsible power but also a respected power in the world.

Today given the richness of her civilizational ethos and material capability, one cannot ignore the role of India's foreign policy-making in solving the contemporary global challenges that people all over the world are facing in a constantly changing, uncertain and unstable world.

The economic and security order in the post- Pandemic world has changed and become more complex. The increasing growth of India in times of uncertainties and disorder has led the world to look at India with great hope. Believing in the broader notion of Good Governance through the principle of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" or "the whole world is one family"—the idea of a shared destiny, the role of India has become significant in making the world a stable, free, open, inclusive, sustainable and humane place to live. India aspires to be a 'Vishwa Guru' (World leader) and not merely a global power marking a shift in the foundational understanding of foreign policy making.

1.6 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the major determinants of India's foreign policy.
- 2) Analyze the principles and objectives of India's foreign policy-making in contemporary times.
- 3) Discuss the continuities and changes in India's foreign policy.
- 4) Do you think foreign policymaking has become complex in contemporary times? Discuss in the context of the making of India's foreign policy.

1.7 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Look West Policy of India advocated expansion and extension of India's relations with?
- a) Western Countries
 - b) European Union
 - c) Africa and Latin America
 - d) West Asian Countries



- Q.2 Soft power is...
- Weakening hegemonic influence
 - Getting others to agree with you without using coercive force
 - The influence of financial institutions and markets
 - Collaboration among several emerging powers.
- Q.3 India signed 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship' in 1971 with...
- US
 - France
 - Bangladesh
 - Soviet Union
- Q.4 What is the major issue between India and Bangladesh?
- Industrialization
 - Water Dispute
 - Terrorism
 - None of the above
- Q.5 Who emphasized and prioritized on the 'neighbourhood first' in the foreign policy making?
- Jawaharlal Nehru
 - Manmohan Singh
 - Narendra Modi
 - All of the above
- Q.6 Panchamrit approach to the Indian foreign policy consisted of:
- Samman – dignity and honour; and Samvad – greater engagement and dialogue;
 - Samriddhi – shared prosperity; and Suraksha – regional and global security;
 - Sanskriti evam Sabhyata – cultural and civilizational linkages
 - All of the above
- Q.7 What is the theme of India's G20 presidency in 2023?
- Understanding the challenges and the need for collective action



- b) Realizing Opportunities of the 21st Century For All
- c) Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam: One Earth, One Family, One Future
- d) None of the above

Q.8 When did the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries held?

- a) 1955
- b) 1950
- c) 1961
- d) 1957

Q.9 How many countries participated in the Bandung Conference?

- a) 5
- b) 11
- c) 54
- d) 29

Q.10 'Panchsheel Agreement' shaped the diplomatic relations of India with which of the following Country?

- a) US
- b) Soviet Union
- c) Japan
- d) China

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Unit-II: Changing Relations with the Global Powers from Cold War to the Post-Cold War Era

**(a) INDIA AND US
INDIA AND RUSSIA**

Dr. Smita Agarwal

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 India's Relationship with USA
 - 1.3.1 India-USA relationship in the era of cold war
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 - 1.3.4 India- USA bilateral relations after the end of Cold war
 - 1.3.5 Indo- US relations after September 11
 - 1.3.6 Rising India: A strategic Choice for the US
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 - 1.4.1 A Historical glimpse of Indo- Soviet relations
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 - 1.4.6 Economic ties
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- 1.5 Conclusion
- 1.6 Practice Questions
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1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Students would comprehend the post-Cold War bilateral ties between India and the United States, as well as those following the September 11 attacks and rising India as a strategic option for the United States.
- Would also learn about Indo-Soviet ties, relations following the fall of the USSR, and new divides that followed.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Since time immemorial world has existed in interdependent relations. Earlier economic relations were the main stay between civilizations or countries. With increase in activities propelled due to globalization, states have entered into a complex –interdependence with other states. As a result, all states have relations with other states. This chapter will aim to look at India’s relations with USA and Russia. Both these powers are extremely important for India’s bid to attain superpowers relations. This is because both these powers had enjoyed and continues to control and mould international relations.

1.3 INDIA’S RELATIONSHIP WITH USA

India and USA are seen as world’s oldest and largest democracies of the world. Despite having strong ties where USA was seen as pushing the cause for India’s independence their relationship did not fructify in the initial years. This was mainly due to the international climate that was plagued by USA –USSR ideological cold war and India’s stance on avoiding any group politics that could be detrimental for India’s newly acquired freedom. India- USA relationship will be seen through three phases- during cold war, after the end of cold war and third phase will be after the Rise of China’s claim to being a superpower.

1.3.1 India-USA Relationship in the Era of Cold War

Diffusion of atomic bomb over Hiroshima and Nagasaki led to the start of an era of mistrust and start of cold war. This phase marked an era of polarization. India being a newly independent country chose strategic autonomy by adopting the principle of non-alignment. As a result, it was not part of any of US promoted military blocs and security alliances like Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) AND Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). While Pakistan became a member an active member of these organization thereby making India ‘s position with USA weak. This led to building of divide between the countries at all international forums and issues. The cold war led differences between the two countries was



clearly visible during Hungarian crises, Czechoslovakia crises, people's Republic of China's membership in United Nations, Kashmir problem, American arms transfer to Pakistan and nuclear issue.

1.3.2 Kashmir Issue

India did not get a very positive support from USA in the Kashmir issue. This problem had begun immediately after India's independence when Pakistan aided tribal invasion took place. US did not recognize Pakistan aggression and imposed arms sanction on India. This negative attitude continued till 1971. It was only after the signing of Shimla Agreement that US recognized India's stand to settle this conflict through bilateral dialogue. Situation improved with the waning of cold war where India opened its economy and emerged as strong economic power. This also coincided with the disintegration of USSR that effectively established free market economy as the universalizing principle of the world. Looking forward to becoming a hegemony, USA started tilting towards India and developed strong relationship with India that later replaced into strategic autonomy. This could be reflected when during Kargil war of 1999, USA effectively mediated Indo-Pak conflict.

1.3.3 Pakistan—a Hyphenated Relationship between India and USA

The partition of Indian subcontinent was very tragic as a result both India and Pakistan emerged as strong rivals. With the onset of cold war Since India refused to be an ally of USA, thinking of geo-strategic significance, USA chose Pakistan as its ally during the Cold war. Under SEATO AND CENTO program, Pakistan received arms transfer and other military and diplomatic aid from USA that was detrimental to India's security. This act further divided a rift between India and USA. In fact, Pakistan's closeness to USA was a major irritant in India – USA relationship. This was even seen when India had vehemently opposed arms race that had started during Cold war and had got translated into nuclear arms race also. India's strategic position on disarmament made her reject nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT). India's bid towards disarmament made her oppose the NPT that created a divided world between nuclear powers and non-nuclear powers. India opposed this discriminatory treaty and as per geo-political climate it also denoted Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) in 1974. This led to imposition of sanction by USA as by that time India was seen as an opponent. Since it had opposed USA war in Vietnam and Indo-China peninsula and had defeated Pakistan in 1971 war that had irked USA diplomats.

Despite the political differences and military non-cooperation between India and USA, the two countries were partners in other international forums. India did receive food assistance under PL480 program of USA during Indo-China conflict. It was also the recipient of loans from USA backed world bank in 1970's when India faced economic crises.



However, their relationship did not flourish due to geo-political reasons. This scenario changed with the end of cold war.

1.3.4 India- USA Bilateral Relations after the End of Cold War

India's relationship after the end of cold war improved. This happened with the disintegration of USSR that finally led to end of ideology debate and made capitalism with free market as the dominant ideology of that time. After the period of Cold war India- US relations saw a new phase. This was largely due to India's economic climate that made her end her romance with state aided mixed economy that was adopted immediately after India's Independence. In order to tide over her bulging economic crises India had to adopt USA economic model by asking for loans from IMF and strategizing its economy in line with USA model of free trade and market-based economy. Along with this economic compulsion, end of cold war led to end of Pakistan's relevance to USA which made her look for new partners who could become flag bearers to US economic model.

Post cold war's first President of US; Bill Clinton did not see India with a positive lens that is why his new Assistant secretary Robin Raphel had categorically questioned the legal validity of Kashmir's accession to India and had put sanctions on India through super 301 clause of Omnibus trade Act. At the same time many American think tanks like Asiatic society and Carnegie Endowment for International peace studies had called for crafting new era of Indo-US relations. This was largely the result of President Clinton policy of democratisation and free market economy. As a result, India's forced political-economic climate of opening its market made US rethink its engagement with India. The economic openness attracted the American diplomats. This could be gauged from the fact that US commerce department list of ten emerging markets in the world that could bolster America's trade and investment saw India as one of them. This was complimented by Prime Minister Narshimha Rao's initiative to reshape India's bilateral relation with US by making a visit to Washington in May 1994. The purpose of the visit was to facilitate enhanced ties in the field of trade and investment between India and US. This visit yielded positive developments when commerce secretary Ronald Brown signed a memorandum of understanding with commerce minister Pranab Mukherjee to create a commercial alliance between the two countries. This was a forum for consultation that would in coming years facilitate closer and enhanced business ties between the two countries. This pact led to 10 business deals and trade pact with India. This period marked the beginning of America's investment to India.

Followed by economic co-operation, next leap that took place was defence co-operation between the two countries. As a result then US defence Secretary William Perry visited India in 1995 and signed a pact for building intense defence co-operation with India. This came in the wake of arms sanctions imposed on Pakistan in 1990. Thus, we see that geo-economics



priorities that came in the wake of end of cold war make India an ally of US pushing Pakistan back whereby Pakistan lost all its strategic relevance to US since the withdrawal of soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Post cold war era did mitigate some differences between India and US and ushered in new era of economic and defence co-operation but certain irritants like nuclear issue still clouded their robust relationship. This reached a peak when India denoted a nuclear bomb in 1998 named Pokhran II. At the same time India's conduct in Kashmir was seen as human rights violations by some US legislators who used raise this demand in international forums. Finally with the denoting of the bomb US imposed sanctions on India under their policy of 'cap, freeze and back'. at the same time the political climate of US was in favour of pushing Pakistan as an ally. Therefore, despite Pakistan having nuclear arsenal build up did not face the same sanctions as India faced after it had tested it. This kind of strategic decisions had derailed India's economic growth. It also affected India- Russia's partnership deal for signing of cryogenic rocket deal.

The stale climate faced by India after Pokhran II did not continue for long. This happened due to certain political climate like Asian economic crises, breaching of boundary by Pakistan leading to Kargil war in 1999 but India's economy still showing resilience. As a result, US administration cleared the stalemate by supporting India's position in the kargil war. This also resulted in a visit by President Clinton in the year 2000 that led to signing of several agreements between Indian and US.

1.3.5 Indo- US Relations after September 11

September 11 attack on world tower shook the world and the widening US-Pakistan distance finally led to a rift. At the same time Bush administration had already contemplated to lift us sanctions from India over nuclear embryo. After this attack India emerged as a key ally who supported US war against terrorism. However, choosing strategic strategy over moral values, US made Pakistan its ally in its war against terrorism due to geographical reasons which made India vulnerable to Pakistan's attack frequently. Like attack over Indian Parliament on 13 December and attack over Kashmir legislative assembly in 2001.however as the political climate with death of Osama Bin laden and destruction of Iraq that had led to death of Saddam Hussein, Indo- Us relations now took a new turn. This largely stemmed from change in political leadership in US and change of world order where US faced a rising China who was trying to draft a new world order according to new principles thus giving a blow to US leadership. In this context US was drifting towards rising India who due to geographical and strategic reasons could be supported to contain rising China. At the same time US support to Pakistan dwindled as Pakistan was seen collapsing due to its internal political and economic instability.



1.3.6 Rising India: A Strategic Choice for the US

A stable economy, a vibrant democracy and positive human resource has made India been most sought-after destination for economic investment and has made India quite strong to draft its own principles of foreign policy. This bold confidence has given birth to the idea of strategic autonomy that has emerged as a cardinal principle of India's foreign policy in the postcold war era. This principle is being used by India to actively engage with US. By strategic autonomy, policy experts says that India exercises choice as per her requirements as to when to be independent and when to exercise alliance-based strategy. According to Kalyanaraman, 'Strategic autonomy 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. As a result, it is India's independent choice that is exercised while choosing to get closer to any country. This principle was enumerated by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, for the first time, in his keynote address at Shangri La dialogue in 2018 in Singapore. He said that, 'It is a measure of our strategic autonomy that India's Strategic Partnership, with Russia, has matured to be special and privileged Prime Minister said that India's principle of "strategic autonomy" remains strong, while drawing an equivalence in ties with Russia, the U.S. and China and cautioning against a "return to the age of great power rivalries". In the present context, in 2018 the debate on strategic autonomy has resurfaced when India, in October 2018 has signed a \$5.5 billion defence deal with Russia to purchase S-400 missile defence system and decided to continue with oil trade with Iran 2018 in spite of the open opposition by the United States.

In order to fully understand contours of strategic autonomy between India and US it can be seen through the following points

Civil Nuclear Cooperation

The Peaceful Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, that was signed in 2008 is the first major strategic breakthrough between the two countries. This agreement ended India's global isolation in the field of nuclear technology when India had exploded peaceful explosion in 1974 and it had faced major sanctions. In 2005 when President Bush signed strategic agreements, it also recognized India as a responsible nuclear power. This declaration was drastic opposite to earlier stand of US when India had refused to sign NPT. With this agreement in place India got access to commerce in civil nuclear agreements from Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). The deal also facilitated India signing of similar nuclear cooperation agreements with many other countries like Russia, France, South Korea, Japan and Australia.

Defence Cooperation

Defence Framework Cooperation agreement that was signed in 2005 for a 10-year period has included joint maritime exercises, arms supply and sharing of defence information. As a



result of this co-operation, they decided to launch the joint Malabar naval exercises in 2007. After this a multi lateral organization by the name Quadri-lateral security dialogue (QUAD) was conceptualized which included India, US, Japan and Australia. At the same time Defence co-production and co-development along with supply of advanced system constitutes an important element of Indo-US defence cooperation. Some of the important projects for co-development identified under this agreement are Intelligence-gathering and reconnaissance modules for C-130J Super Hercules aircraft; Mobile electric hybrid power sources; Chemical, biological warfare protection gear for soldiers. In sequel to above development, India was designated a Major Defence Partner by the US in 2016, which entitles India to seek supply of most advanced defence instruments from the US. India has procured from the US many advanced defence items like C130J aircraft, P8I maritime surveillance aircraft, and INS Jalashwa, Apache attack helicopters and Chinook heavy-lift helicopters and others.

India was also encouraged to play a major role in US South Asia Strategy announced in August 2017. This strategy aims at restoring peace and stability in Afghanistan and side line Pakistan for her tacit support to terrorist elements.

Indo-Pacific Strategic Theatre

With the rise of China and other Asian countries, like China and ASEAN members, the Indo-Pacific Ocean has assumed strategic and economic significance in recent years. This region is the major supply route for international trade and energy resources and contains two hot spots – Malacca Strait and South China Sea. The narrow Malacca Strait links Indian Ocean with Pacific Ocean and the South China Sea has emerged as a disputed place between China and its five neighbours- Taiwan, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, and Philippines. China claims 90 percent of South China Sea and indulges in power projection in the region, a position not accepted by the US on the ground of freedom of navigation. It is also in the Indo-Pacific region that China has launched ambitious 21st Century Maritime Silk Route. Thus, Indo-Pacific holds unparalleled strategic significance for India. The US has been a resident power in this region after the World War II and the rise of China and her power projection is likely to make dent on the US influence in the region. As a result, the U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) was recently renamed as **Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM)**, symbolic of the significance U.S. attaches to India and Indian Ocean in the region. Thus, India and the US are in the way of strengthening their strategic understanding and partnership in the Indo-Pacific region.

Thus we see that India's strategic autonomy has come to play due to geo-strategically reasons due to which US needs India as an ally to offset China's ambitious world leadership program. This can be seen when Eminent Australian strategist Paul Dibb predicted in 1995 that India had "greater potential as a power of influence" and "could emerge as a useful



player in a multipolar Asian balance” and “attract American interest as a counterbalance to China.”

1.4 INDIA-RUSSIA

Russia is a relatively new country on the map that was formed after disintegration of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991. Earlier India did have a vibrant relation with USSR. In fact, after Independence the kind of planning commission that was conceptualized was influenced by USSR. However, despite the similarities, India after Independence chose to be equidistant due to cold war that had become at that time. Since Russia was the predecessor to USSR, India relations with Russia need to take into account India’s relation with USSR.

1.4.1 A Historical Glimpse of Indo- Soviet Relations

Indo- soviet relations need to be seen through the cold war climate and geo-political relations. Immediately after Independence India’s decision to choose Non-Alignment, it irked USSR as result there was a distant relationship. However, adoption of mixed economy model made USSR confident that unlike Pakistan India will not drift towards USA. In fact, USSR continued to reiterate India’s position on Kashmir at internal forums. However, after the Maoist revolution in China, USSR chose China as an ally and considered her to a friend. This was the main reason that when China attacked India in 1962, India neither got the required support from USSR nor from USA. Facing a big defeat of its idealist principle of mutual co-operation and friendship in international relations, India then realized to be strategically realist. This decision therefore now made her look for strategic autonomy and yearn for long term self-reliance in military procurement. This ambition therefore made her look for viable partners whereby soviet Russia stepped in to ensure security co-operation with India. Here India’s decision should not be seen as abandonment to Non-Alignment principle. Rather it sought to use soviet supplied arms as stepping stone to achieve strategic autonomy. This could be seen when after the Indo-Pakistan 1965 war Pakistan agreed to be present at soviet sponsored peace mediation at Tashkent.

The turbulent times of 1960’s and 1970 are culminated in an enhanced Indo-soviet security co-operation. This reached its climax with the signing of Indo-soviet treaty of Peace, Friendship and co-operation in 1971 and addition of word socialism in the Indian constitution through 42nd Amendment Act of the Indian constitution. At the same time soviet- china relations got estranged and China started getting closer to USA when President Nixon paid a secret visit to People’s Republic of China in 1972. So, another axis was prepared among USA, Pakistan and China. Since the signing of treaty and geo-political scenario has made Indo- soviet friendship develop a kind of mutual trust and co-operation which continued till



the disintegration of USSR. India's most of the defence procurement came from the Soviet Union. By rough estimate almost 60 percent of the Indian army's military hardware, 70 percent of its naval hardware and 80 percent air force hardware originated from the Soviet Union. Moreover, the two countries decisions and strategic choices converged on most of the international issues of the cold war days.

1.4.2 Collapse of USSR and New Divergences between Indo- Russia Relations

The dissolution of USSR and emergence of Russia led to changes in the world order. As we have seen above that during this phase India developed close relations with USA. As a result, there was distance in Indo- Russia relations. This was largely due to the internal political turbulence that Russia was undergoing whereby it was trying to revamp its political economic structure. At the same time taking into consideration geo-political climate, Russia policy makers were leaning towards Pakistan that could provide them a gateway towards Islamic countries. As a result, their strategic interest converged towards building new ties with Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. This was reflected when Russia supported UN resolution to make South Asia a nuclear free zone thereby stalling India's nuclear program. This was in support of Pakistan as Russia wanted to free its soldiers who were under the custody of Pakistan backed Mujahideen faction who were captured during the USSR occupation of Afghanistan. At the same time Indo- Russian relations got estranged when Russian space directorate Glavkosmos and Government of India's contract broke for the purchase and transfer of technology of cryogenic engine. This technology know how would help India gain advance knowledge in space craft that could help her advance itself into advance satellite system known by the name Geo-synchronous satellite launch vehicle (GSLV) programme. The contract that was supposed to transfer technology also was suspended and only sale of cryogenic engine took place. This gave a setback to India's space self-dependence ambition.

After this debacle as we have seen in Indo-US relations this phase coincided with US replacing Russia as a strategic arms supplier to India. This also happened when another controversy of "Rupee versus rouble" debate took place. India owed a huge amount of debt to erstwhile USSR, India was ready to pay back the money but the new Government now escalated the exchange rate and wanted new currency denominator to be given while paying back. India objected to it. This dispute led to a collapse of trade relations between the two countries in 1991-92. After considerable negotiations a resolution was reached in 1993 whereby India was to repay to Russia \$ 1 billion a year in Indian goods until 2005 and remaining 37 percent of the debt would be repaid interest free over a span of forty- five years.

1.4.3 Rise of New Era in Indo- Russia Relations

After its failure to get required support from the West, Russia now started its independent revival program when US did not include Russia under North Atlantic Treaty Organization



(NATO). A change of leadership under Yevgeny Primakov conceptualized a strong Russia program by charting its own place in the world order. This opportunity it got immediately in 1996 when Indo –US relations were drifting apart thereby giving Russia an opportunity to bring India under its influence. Primakov also suggested the formation of a ‘strategic triangle’ between India, Russia and China as a stabilising force in international security. In Primakov’s view, this triangular relationship would be an effective counterbalance to the US-led unipolarity of the post-Cold War era, but major trust deficit between India and China stalled this progress. However, the closeness between India- Russia was reiterated when President Bill Clinton was pressurizing India to abandon its nuclear programme, Russia came forward and signed an agreement to build two Russian Light-water reactors (LWR) IN India against the Nuclear suppliers group ban. This paved the way for the construction of two 1,000 MW light water nuclear reactors at Kudukanal in Tamil Nadu. Russia did criticize India for conducting nuclear test in 1998 but it was not party to sanctions imposed by international community over India. In fact, Russia fully supported India in the Kargil conflict in 1999 and it called upon Pakistan to pull back its troop.

1.4.4 Defence Ties

A decisive shift took place when under the leadership of Vladimir Putin who became a president of the Russian Federation in 2000, a strategic partnership was established with India, which was later upgraded to a ‘special and privileged partnership’ in 2010. The corner stone of Indo- Russia partnership is defence relations. Russia has emerged as a tried and tested partner of India in this field. With almost 70 per cent of India’s defence equipment being of Russian origin, the strategic dimension of the relationship is clear. Russia offers India advanced defence equipment and sensitive military technologies. The most recent defence deals include the purchase by India of five S-400 missile systems, to be delivered from 2020, joint manufacturing of Kamov Ka-226T helicopters, and the acquisition and joint production of four *Admiral Grigorovich* class guided-missile stealth frigates. The Kamov helicopter deal is key, and is likely to provide a boost for the Make in India initiative, launched in September 2014 with the aim of transforming India into a global design and manufacturing hub. India will buy 200 Kamov helicopters, of which 60 will be produced in Russia and 140 in India in collaboration with Hindustan Aeronautics. The *Admiral Gorshkov* was finally handed over to the Indian Navy in November 2013 and reached India in January 2014.

1.4.5 Civil nuclear Ties

Civil nuclear cooperation between the two countries has a long history. Russia, which is currently the only country building nuclear power plants in India, supports New Delhi’s quest for membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). Recently a new agreement was



signed whereby Russia plans to build 25 nuclear power plants in different parts of India, which will immensely help to meet energy needs of the country. In fact, Russia is the first country to supply nuclear fuel and technology which will immensely enhance India's status globally in nuclear energy field. Russia has become the biggest contributor to India's 'strategic uranium reserve' apart from Kazakhstan and Canada. This will facilitate in creating 15,000 megatons of uranium reserve to fuel nuclear reactors.

1.4.6 Economic Ties

India has been one among the major exporters of pharmaceutical products to former USSR and post-Soviet Russia. Hence it is worthwhile to examine opportunities and challenges for promoting exports to Russia.

1.4.7 Global Partnership

In order to challenge US hegemony and to regain its lost status, Russia has been trying to push India at lot of international forums. In fact, Russia wants to build a new alliance comprising of Russia-China and India. This could be seen by operationalising Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) forum and Shanghai- Co-operation organization (SCO) Russia supported India's status from 'Observer' status to 'Full Membership' of SCO to strengthen this regional economic organization and to counter domination by Western economic institutions. Russia is aware that India has been able to achieve relatively high economic growth rates during the last several years and also development of hi-tech industries. On 12th September 2018 there was a joint meeting of SCO and Eastern Economic forum when the Secretary-General of SCO Rashid Alimov spoke about 'Digital Transport: The Future of Greater Eurasia'. India's Minister of Commerce and Industry Suresh Prabhu attended this session. The focus was on promoting transport system and cost effective operation that directly influences the development of international trade and economic cooperation in the SCO region and ensures close ties between nations.

This is highly significant for India which lacks geographical contiguity with Russia and the Central Asian countries. The primary interest has been on further expansion of transport cooperation that influences prospects for developing and expanding the entire system of trade and economic cooperation throughout the Eurasian region that will attract investment in interdependent infrastructure projects. India has an opportunity to actively participate in these infrastructure projects for strengthening economic cooperation with Russia and Central Asian countries.

However as easily understood Indo- Russian relationship should be seen through the lens of realist position. Russia is trying to regain its past status of Super power whereby it playing with geographical boundaries and locations to become a power. On one hand it is building up



this triangular relationship, on the other hand it is building close ties with Pakistan on behest of China. At the same time Russia is silently pushing China's one Belt one Road initiative which is detrimental to India's security. Russia's increasing energy ties with China at the cost of Indian needs is another major irritant in Indo- Russia relations. However, India is indispensable for Russia because it is apprehensive of China's rising ambition to become a world power, therefore requires a strong India who could check-mate China's ambition. These dynamics, will help us understand why Russia supported India's membership to both SCO and BRICS. This is how we need to understand India's strategic autonomy principle. After US- India civil nuclear co-operation that lifted all bans on nuclear embargo over India, India still continues to take help from Russia for building its civil nuclear energy. In fact, today we can see that India's arm's supply cartel has been diversified by having, US, Russia and Israel on board. This act has therefore made India exercise strategic autonomy to make rational choices.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Thus, we see that India's relation with major powers have seen shifts from Zero sum game to strategic autonomy game. Here India has traversed the distance from being a dependent upon Russia in initial years to being having close relations with US after the end of cold war. However with steady growth and strong democratic credentials India has become indispensable for any country. This is the reason India has been able to exercise strategic autonomy from time to time without taking sides. This is seen glaringly in the recent Russia-Ukraine conflict whereby India was not a party to impose sanctions of Russia and it has become a strategic mediator to end conflict to maintain world peace and enhance security of the world. In the relations with both US and Russia India has been quiet a realist by abandoning its programme of disarmament and strategically developing, learning and procuring its arms strength so that no country could try to undermine its territorial borders. This was very well gauged through the recent Indo- China border disputes whereby China had to push back and long-term border talks are going on with India.

1.6 PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Q1. Describe the nature of India-USA relation in changing strategic environment.
- Q2. Discuss important areas of India-USA relationship in the 21st century.
- Q3. Critically analyse India-Russia relationship in the 21st century.
- Q4. What are differences you see in the relation of India-Russia and India-USA in cold war and post cold war era.



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(b) INDIA AND CHINA

Anirudh Yadav

STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Learning Objectives
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- 2.6 India-China Border Dispute
- 2.7 Tibet Factor in India-China Relations
- 2.8 One Belt One Road Projects
- 2.9 Conclusion
- 2.10 Practice Questions
- 2.11 References

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Student would understand the political and diplomatic relations between India and China, they will also explore the bilateral trade and economic relations between them.
- They will also get information regarding cultural and educational relations, India-China Border Dispute, Tibet Factor in India-China Relation, One Belt One Road Projects

2.2 INTRODUCTION

The relation between India and China is widely regarded as one of the central pillars of global politics. The two Asian giants, India and China share much in common such as the Himalayas, ancient civilization, colonial past, current challenges and future potentials. The emergence of India and China was termed as the greatest events of the 20th century. China



and India are two of the oldest civilizations of the world. India was the first non communist country to apprehend the People's Republic of China in 1949 and started diplomatic relations with China. Recently, India and China marked the year 2020 as the 70th anniversary of diplomatic relations.

The significance of India and China relationship can be captured by some facts and figures. Today India and China are the second and first largest populated countries in the world respectively. Economically, China accounts for nearly twenty percent of World Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) basis. China and India are the first and third largest GDP on PPP basis respectively. Militarily, the two have the largest and the third largest standing armies. Both India and China have nuclear weapons capability. These facts and figures speak about the significance of India and China relationship.

2.3 POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

India-China relations have experienced considerable changes over the past seven decades ranging from cordial relations in the 1950s, deep antipathy in the 1960s and 1970s, to a reconciliation in the 1980s and the reconstruction since the disintegration of the USSR.

India and China started diplomatic relations in 1950 and India was the first non socialist nation to accept the People's Republic of China and start diplomatic relations. The saying Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai became prominent. Premier Zhou Enlai visited India in 1954. India and China put a joint statement and endorsed the Five Principles of Panchsheel. In the same year, Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru toured China. He was the first head of the government of a non-communist state to visit China since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. In 1955, India and China participated in Asian-African Conference held in Indonesia and promoted the Bandung spirit of friendship, unity, and cooperation. The Non-Aligned Movement was the result of this conference and in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, the first NAM summit took place in 1961. Nehru saw China as the potential partner in the Asian region. But the 1962 India – China border dispute led to major setbacks in bilateral ties. The border war intensified India-China rivalry. Later developments such as the acquisition of nuclear weapons by China in 1964 and India's role in creation of Bangladesh as well as its nuclear weapons test in 1974, strained India-China relationships.

However, by the end of 1970s, a change in mutual relationship was witnessed. In 1976, India and China re-established diplomatic relations and bilateral ties progressed steadily. In 1988, Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi toured China and started the normalization task of



bilateral ties. The two sides agreed to settle the border disputes and promote peaceful and friendly ties. The changed atmosphere in mutual ties was further strengthened during the post-cold war era. In 1991, the Premier toured India and the Prime Minister level joint visits were reinstated. In 1992, R. Venkatraman became the first Indian President to visit China since 1947, the Independence of India. In 1993, Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao visited China and signed the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) along India-China border area. According to this agreement regular meetings and consultations between defense personnel would be conducted. In 1996, Jiang Zemin became the first Chinese President to pay a visit to India and a deal on CBMs in the military fields along the LAC was signed.

On the event of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of foreign relations between India and China Indian President K. R. Narayan, visited China. Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee toured China in 2003 and India-China signed the Declaration on the Principles and Comprehensive Cooperation in India-China relations. Both the parties also agreed to undertake the special representatives summit apparatus in India-China boundary questions. The agreement emphasized on the advancement of exchange in culture, education, media and people to people contact etc. They also set up centres to promote culture in each other's capitals and work towards the promotion of direct shipping and air links and boost tourism. In 2005, Wen Jiabao visited India and issued the joint statement, and agreed for the establishment of the cooperative and strategic partnerships for peace and harmony. Border disputes were also discussed.

Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh toured China in 2008 and signed a joint vision for the 21st century. Year 2011 was declared as the India-China exchange year, cultural activities were held and a statement was signed on the joint anthology for the Encyclopaedia of China-India societal contacts. Year 2012 was celebrated as the year of India-China Friendship. In 2014, China President Xi Jinping visited India and both countries issued a joint declaration on building a strong development partnership. This visit was followed by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to China in 2015. In 2016, Xi Jinping again toured India to participate in the 8th BRICS summit which was held in Goa. At the summit, China's tourism year was celebrated in Goa. In 2008, an informal meeting was held between India and China in Wuhan. They both extend wide consent on the long-term strategic matter of bilateral and global significance.

Year 2020 was celebrated as the 70th anniversary of the initiation of diplomatic ties between China and India. Both countries agreed to celebrate activities to exhibit the historic



alignment between the two countries and to strengthen people-to-people exchange between the two nations at businesses, legislatures, academics, cultural and defense forces etc.

2.4 BILATERAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Today, India and China represent Asia's most dynamic and two largest economies. Bilateral commercial ties between India and China began in the 1980s. Efforts were made by both the governments to promote common trade interests and stiffen their relations on trade terms. India and China signed a trade agreement in 1984, status of Most Favoured Nation (MFN) was provided as per this agreement. But full-fledged bilateral trade was started in 1992. In 1994, India and China signed a Double Taxation Agreement. In 2003, Bangkok agreement was signed and both the nation's offered some trade preferences to each other. In the same year, both the countries initiated open border trade through the Silk Route. India and China also took part in the multilateral trade according to WTO commitments.

Today, China is the second largest trade partner of India, behind the US. India is China's top ten trade partner. The trade between China and India has grown four times in the past decades, but the trade is inclined more in favour of China. In the South Asian region, it is only India-China trade that has stood the most balanced trade in the region. The Economies of both nations are growing very fast. The bilateral trade between India and China grew from US\$ 3 billion in the year 2000 to US\$ 92.68 billion in 2019. In recent times due to border standoff and COVID-19 pandemic, bilateral trade declined by 15 %. In 2019, China accounted for five percent of India's exports and fourteen percent of imports. This led to a trade deficit of US\$ 56.77 billion in 2019.

Major products exported from India to China are organic chemicals, Ores, slag, mineral oils, mineral fuels and their products, mineral waxes, bituminous substances, fish, molluscs and other aquatic invertebrates, plastics etc. Major products imported from China to India are electrical machinery, nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery and mechanical appliances parts, organic chemicals, plastic and fertilizers. China is an integral part of the global supply chain and India, too, is dependent on Chinese imports such as 70 percent of electronic components, 79 percent of pharmaceutical ingredients, 45 percent of consumer durables and 4p percent of leather goods that come from China. India is the third largest pharmaceutical industry, for which 2/3rd of its important ingredients is imported from China.

China's trade principle, since the 1970s, has been import substitution, which made China the largest exporter of the world. China's principle to exert economic ascendancy atop the



third world nations has been active engrossment of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and development of foreign trade. This principle has helped China in global economic integration and controlling international industrial relocation. However, in the year 2020, India's trade principle is focused on advancing the share of the market and inspecting new platforms. It focuses on the MSME sector and labour-intensive framework. It also wishes to focus on agricultural exports and enhancing domestic markets at the international level.

Seven Banks from India have a branch office in China. ICBC, a Chinese bank, has one branch in Mumbai. Many Indian banks have presence in China like State Bank of India, Canara Bank, Bank of India, and Bank of Baroda. Currently, the State Bank of India (SBI) is the only bank to have the authority to act as a local currency business at its branch in Shanghai. Various agencies and government institutions have been interconnected with each other to boost their cooperation in areas like human resource development, taxation, health, education, employment, tourism and urban development. Economic think tanks and scholars also interact with each other on several areas of development. E-business visa was introduced in 2017, to promote more businesspersons from China to India. Various dialogue mechanisms are there to promote trade such as Strategic Economic Dialogue, Joint Economic Group, Development Research Centre, Dialogue and the Financial Dialogue. Other institutionalized dialogue mechanisms are Joint Working Group (JWG) on Collaboration in Skill Development and Vocational Education, JWG on Trade, JWG On Information and Communication Technology, Joint Working Group on Agriculture, Joint Task Force (JTF) on Regional Trade Agreement, JWG on Cooperation in Energy etc.

Total Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from China to India stood at US\$ 1.73 billion between 2000 to 2017, which is 0.49% of China's share. This indicates that China is not an important investor in India as compared to Singapore, Mauritius, USA, Japan and Switzerland. Indian companies which have their presence in China are Infosys, NIIT, Reliance Industries, TCS, TATA sins, Mahindra and Mahindra, Wipro APTECH etc. Approximately 100 Chinese companies have set their offices in India, such as Harbin Electric, Baoshan Iron & Steel Ltd, Sino Hydro Corporation, China Dongfang International, Sany Heavy Industry Ltd, Sinosteel, Haier, Huawei, ZTE, TCL etc.

India's demographic dividend and skilled manpower are its critical assets that are going to act a significant role in India-China economic and trade relations. India-China trade has enduring capability and has future political significance. India accounts for more than 1 percent in total foreign trade of China, while China accounts for over 5 percent of foreign



trade of India, which generates important stakes for further cooperation between both the nations.

Impact of COVID-19 on India-China Trade

Since the COVID-19 pandemic, indigenous production and supplies of medicines and their products have risen. The first patient of COVID-19 case was found in China. When the pandemic developed further, lockdowns were imposed in many countries, which impacted global trade and economy. The pandemic has impacted the Indian economy too which added fuel to the trade deficit.

The shutdown of industries in China due to the pandemic has affected bilateral trade. Bilateral trade between India-China underwent a plunge of 12 percent in the first three months of pandemic. According to Economic Times and Global Times, India's exports to China had decreased by US\$ 2.5 billion and imports had also dropped. Electric Lamp and Component Manufacturers Association India assert concern over shortage of electric devices, which are essential for making LED Bulbs. The prices of the appliances were also increased. India had to import steel from China, since the domestic manufacturing units were closed down.

COVID-19 pandemic has another side also. It has made India realize the need to boost its medical and pharmaceutical industry. Today, the pharmaceutical industry of India is third largest in terms of volume and fourteenth largest in terms of value. India is heavily dependent on China for supply of active pharmaceutical raw materials. COVID-19 pandemic has made India realize to focus on indigenous pharmaceutical productions. In order to deal with dumping of Chinese goods, anti-dumping duties were imposed by India on 25 products such as nylon tyre rod, Vitamin C and E, caustic soda, float glass, tableware, kitchenware, solar cells etc. The Indian Government also changed FDI policies, especially pertaining to the countries that share land boundaries with India.

Also, the Galwan valley incident in June 2020 led to calls for boycotting Chinese goods. The Indian Railway cancelled a deal of ₹471 crore with a Chinese firm. Similarly, BSNL was ordered not to use gear from Huawei, a Chinese firm. The Government of India has made mandatory all products to have the Country-of-Origin tag for products on e-Marketplace in order to identify Chinese origin goods. India also placed air conditioners under prohibited category and colour television under restricted category and many more moves have been taken which has both pros and cons.



India-China trade relations are facing many challenges. There are weak banking links between both the countries. Indian companies are not allowed to operate freely in China due to China's protectionist policy. There are numerous trade and non-trade barriers, mostly from China's side, which led to increased tariffs. Lack of infrastructural developments and border disputes further deteriorated the trade between both the countries. Due to economies of scale and cheap labour, China offers low priced imports such as electronic devices, clothing and textiles, machinery parts etc. China dumps their cheap manufactured products, thus hampering Indian domestic markets and affecting their manufacturing units. Due to the excessive supply of Chinese toys in the markets, the Indian toy industry is struggling to survive. Many Indian toy companies have been shut down. In order to deal with this problem, Prime Minister Narendra Modi called for innovation in India's toy sector under Atma Nirbhar Bharat, while inaugurating the India Toy Fair – 2021.

2.5 CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RELATIONS

During the historical period, many Buddhist scholars and pilgrims travelled to China through silk routes. Indian monks such as Dharmakshema, Bodhidharma and Kumarajiva helped to spread Buddhism in China. Similarly, pilgrims from China also visited India such as Xuan Zang and Fa Xian. As a sign of historical civilizational connection between India and China, India made a Buddhist temple in Luoyang, inside White Horse Temple. Indian President Pratibha Patil inaugurated this temple in 2010.

Yoga is becoming popular in China. During the Indian Prime Minister's visit to China, an accord was signed to start a yoga college in Yunnan Province (Kunming). On the day of International Yoga Day (21 June 2017) Yoga@Great Wall event was planned at the Great Wall of China. In 2016, an exhibition of Gupta Art, titled "Across the Silk Road: Gupta Sculptures and their Chinese Counterparts, 400-700 CE" featuring 56 Indian sculptures was held at the palace museum in Beijing.

In 2006, India and China signed an accord for the Education Exchange Programme, under which government scholarships are conferred to 25 students by both the nations in higher education. The cooperation in the education sector resulted in an increased number of Indian students in China. In 2017, during the BRICS Ministers of Education meeting, Shri Prakash Javadekar, minister of MHRD at that time, admired the formation of institutional mechanisms in the form of BRICS Network University and BRICS Think Tank Council. Twelve universities from each of the five countries under BRICS Network University, will



connect with each other in education research and innovation. Focus is given on five prioritized areas such as Communication and Information Technology, Climate Change, Economics, BRICS study, and Water Resources and Pollution. The number of Indian Diaspora in China is increasing. This project involves students who are studying different educational courses in several universities in China. Many Indian Diaspora are also operating as professionals in many Indian and multinational corporations.

2.6 INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

India shares 3488 kms of border with China. India and China have border dispute in three sectors:

1) The Western Sector

India shares a length of approximately 2152 kms with China's border in western sector, which covers an area between Jammu and Kashmir and China's Xinjiang Province. In western sector the dispute is for the Aksai Chin region of Jammu and Kashmir. The British Empire was responsible for the dispute over the Aksai Chin region. It is due to their failure to clearly draw a legitimate border between India and China. Two borders - the Johnson Line and the Macdonald Line were recommended between India and China during the British Empire. According to Johnson Line Aksai Chin falls under Indian territory. According to the Macdonald Line, Aksai China falls under Chinese territory. India contemplates Johnson Line as the accurate line and the legal national boundary with China. Similarly, China appraises the Macdonald Line as the right border with India. A line that separates Indian administered areas of Jammu and Kashmir from Aksai Chin is called the Line of Actual Control (LAC). India and China fought a war in 1962 over disputed territory of Aksai Chin. India asserts that Aksai Chin is a part of Jammu and Kashmir, while China declares that it was a part of Xinjiang province.

It has been reported that China offered a Package deal If India accepts Chinese sovereignty in Aksai Chin, China will accept India sovereignty in Arunachal Pradesh. India didn't accept the package deal and said that there will be proper demarcation in each sector.

Galwan Valley

Galwan Valley is in Jammu and Kashmir, Near Line of Actual Control (LAC), is a disputed area claimed by India but controlled by China. It has been a site of conflict since 1962. The Galwan River passes from the disputed Aksai Chin region and Shyok River on the Indian



side. It is located between Ladakh and Aksai Chin. India is constructing Daulat Beg Oldi Road. The road runs along the Shyok River, and it is the most critical line of communication close to LAC. It comes upto PP14. In June 2020, twenty Indian soldiers including a commanding officer were martyred during clashes with Chinese army personnels.

Pangong Lake

Pangong Lake is divided into eight fingers. Fingers 1-4 are under India's control and fingers 5-8 are under China's control. Near finger 4, there is an Indian post. However, India said that the entire area upto finger 8 fall under Indian territory. However the matter of dispute is the area between finger 4 and finger 8 and have repeatedly spotted confrontation from both the sides. Recent confrontation was a result of Chinese construction near finger 4 in the area of Pangong Lake. In the disputed region, China obstructed the route of Indian patrol teams and from there the confrontation started. India said that LAC begins at finger 8, while China asserts that LAC begin at finger 2, which is under the control of India. After several meetings between both sides, the dispute was not solved.

2) The Middle Sector

India shares a length of 625 kms with China in the middle sector, which runs along Ladakh to Nepal. There is not much conflict in the middle sector. Main conflict was in Sikkim. In 2003, during the visit of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, China recognised India's sovereignty over Sikkim. India-China opened Nathula Pass for cross border trade.

3) The Eastern Sector

India shares a length of 1149 kms of land boundary with China, starting from Bhutan's eastern point to a point close to the Talu Pass at the trijunction of Tibet, Myanmar and India. This line is known as the McMahon Line named after Henry McMahon, a representative of the British Government who signed the Shimla Convention (1913-14). China claimed McMahon Line as illegal and acceptable and said that Tibet has no legitimate right to sign the Shimla Convention. According to China, it was an imperial boundary and claims Tawang region of Arunachal Pradesh as an extension of Tibet, hence part of Chinese territory. Whenever, Chinese central empire was strong, Tibet was under their control. When it was weak, Tibet used to be autonomous. The British accepted Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. However, they divided it into two parts: Inner Tibet – full sovereignty of China and Outer Tibet – Tawang region of Arunachal Pradesh.



2.7 TIBET FACTOR IN INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

Tibet plays an important role in India-China relations. Due to its geographical locations, Tibet plays the role of buffer state that keeps the two countries apart and hence, strategically occupies a significant position between India-China relations. The favorable topography of Indo-Tibetan frontiers has facilitated Indo-Tibetan connection since the historical period. Due to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, Indian culture and civilization has had a deep impact over Tibet. It was during the period of Governor General Warren Hasting, that British India established diplomatic and commercial relations with Tibet in 1774. For the first time in 1907, Anglo-Russian treaty recognised Chinese suzerainty Over Tibet. Shimla Convention took place in 1913-1914 to discuss land boundary issues. As a result of this convention McMahon Line was proposed between India and China. This convention was signed by Tibet and British India. China didn't accept this line. China was not satisfied with the boundary fixed by convention.

After the denouement of the World War Second, two important developments took place – Independence of India from the British, and Communist captured power in Beijing and declared People's Republic of China (PRC). On 1 January 1950, just two days after India recognised PRC, China declared that one of the prime duties of the People's Liberation Army was to liberate Tibet. As a result of this announcement, several agreements were signed with the Himalayan states by the Indian Government. Chinese occupied Tachinu in March 1950, the traditional gateway to Lhasa. Large scale infrastructure projects started to be built from China to Tibet. In June 1950, Mao Zedong said that invasion would shortly take place in Tibet and Beijing radio announced that the Dalai Lama would peacefully accept Tibet's liberation.

In October 1950, the Chinese New Agency claimed that the People's Liberation Army had entered into Tibet to liberate the Tibetan people and unify it with China. As a result of all these announcements and developments, Tibetan people called that they would not accept Chinese intrusion into Tibet. Tibetan delegates were sent to New Delhi, London, Washington and Beijing to seek support and help from these countries. The Tibetan Parliament was shifted to the Dalai Lama's Summer Palace, Norbulingka. Chinese intrusion into Tibet was highly criticized all over the world. India also opposed China's intrusion into Tibet, as it would affect India's security and could cause unrest and disturbance near border areas. The Tibetan issue was also raised in the United Nations, but the Korean War diverted attention from Tibet and nothing significant could happen to stop Chinese intrusion into Tibet.



A delegation from Tibet reached Beijing in April 1951, as a result of this 17 point accord was signed between Tibet and China. According to this deal Tibet had to reunite with mainland China. This agreement further tightened China's control over Tibet. The People's Liberation Army established total control over Tibet. In 1954, an agreement was signed between India and China on Tibet, where for the first time Tibet was referred to as the Tibet Region of China. All the previous agreement of India with Tibet was disregarded. Though China used all the possible means to establish total control over Tibet, the reality was that the Tibetan people never accepted China's suzerainty Over Tibet. Tibetan people had a different culture and identity, which they wanted to preserve and keep intact. So, from time to time the Tibetan uprising took place which was suppressed by the Chinese military.

There was a large-scale rebellion by the Khampa tribesmen against Chinese rule in 1959. The Chinese Government had doubts of Indian hands behind this revolt. The Indian Government refuted the charges. The revolt compelled the Dalai Lama to escape to India. This was also one of the reasons behind the Indo-China war of 1962. The 1962 war led to a radical Tibet policy from India's side. In 1963, India didn't stop the Dalai Lama from promulgating a new Constitution for Tibet. Along with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Tibetan insurgents, India supported armed resistance by the Tibetan to rule the Chinese in Tibet. But since the India-China rapprochement which began during Indian Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi in 1988, India has stated Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) as an indispensable part of China. In 2003, during Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visit to China, China accepted India sovereignty over Sikkim.

China's pursued the policy of suppression in Tibet ever since the occupation of Tibet by China, in order to tighten it's suzerainty Over Tibet. The Tibetan suffered the worst human rights abuse during the Cultural Revolution and Great Leap Forward. But after Mao Zedong, some political, cultural, and economic reforms took place in Tibet. Individuals again allowed to pursue side line occupation and herding. Collective farming was abolished, and land was given to families. Border trade with Bhutan, Nepal and Burma resumed and a rural trade fair was opened. Political prisoners were released, and property was restored to a large number of people, which was punished during Maoist period.

2.8 ONE BELT ONE ROAD

In 2013, the Belt and Road initiative was declared. It includes a Belt of overland routes and maritime road, and plans to link Asia, Africa and Europe. The belt endeavors to the Silk Road



economic belt which covers overland routes, linking Central Asia, China, Russia, and Europe. The road refers to the 21st century maritime Silk Road plan to give a push to trade from China to Asia, Africa and Europe via the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean and from China via the South China Sea towards the South Pacific.

In the wake of the global slow down, the Belt and Road initiative provides a new development model to China to sustain its economic growth. One belt one road includes building roadways, railways, ports, power grids, oil and gas pipelines, associated infrastructural projects which helps the economy of China. The Belt and Road initiative has domestic as well as global dimensions, as it visualizes a move from western countries' developed markets to developing economies in Asia and Africa. It also represents a move in developmental strategy of China on provinces in central and western China instead of the already developed East Coast region. Belt and road initiative creates an energy route between the Middle East and Africa which will act as a safety valve against any possible blocks at points like Hormuz and Strait of Malacca. It will also make China maritime power in the South China Sea and Indian Ocean region and its littoral countries. Build and road initiative is projected as the project of the century. The project includes 29 international organizations and 126 countries, covering more than half of the world population.

Issues with One Belt One Road Projects (OBOR)

1. OBOR projects is a death trap diplomacy of China where belt and road initiative projects are forcing receiver countries into indebtedness. It also does not transfer their skills. For example, Hambantota port in Sri Lanka was forced to lease the port to China for 99 years.
2. One Belt One Road projects represent the political and economic ambitious goal of China. This will make countries like the USA, Germany, Japan, Britain, Russia and Australia sad about the impact of China's moves on their own economic and political affairs.
3. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a key part of the belt and road initiative which passes via Pak Occupied Kashmir (POK). This is the main reason for India showing its discontent over the belt and road initiative. Hence, boycotting belt and road initiative forums. China Pakistan Economic Corridor violates India's sovereignty, as it passes through the part of POK, which is an integral part of India. And India can not accept a project that violates its main concerns over territorial sovereignty and integrity. India also poses objections concerning operational



problems, lack of transparency in information sharing, problems in evaluation of the project about the impact on regional social culture, environmental concerns etc. Belt and road initiative is a part of Chinese New colonialism. China's port development project in the Indian Ocean raises security concerns for India. Increasing Chinese presence in countries like Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar has already raised concern for India.

India should raise its boundary questions to China and ask for an apt response acknowledging India's sovereignty. India can also provide a South Asian dimension to the belt and road initiative corridors on western and eastern sides of India by joining them with a scheme to connect Association for South East Asian Nation and SAARC region. India can also align with like minded nations like US, Japan and Australia to suggest suitable alternatives to belt and road Initiatives, example - Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AFGC). The European Union (EU) also proposed a document drafting its vision to connect Europe, Africa and Asia. It will provide a different outlook to that taken by China on one belt and one road projects.

2.9 CONCLUSION

India and China have to break down the psychological barriers and free themselves from the past memories, which have come in the way of improvement and normalization of ties between both the countries. Both India and China have good opportunities to give a positive direction in shaping global political and economic order. Their perception regarding regional and global issues are different and there is a room for accommodation and understanding. Realistically speaking, except the border disputes, there are no bilateral issues that should shake their relations.

The most important thing between India and China is how they can promote peace so that their capabilities and energies shall be devoted in the right direction of equitable global economic order and international peace and prosperity. If they fail to recognize their potential and obligations, it will harm both the nations. Both the countries should work together on matters like peaceful coexistence, New International Economic Order, equitable distribution of resources, sharing of technology, reform in international institutions like World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisations etc. This is possible when India and China shed their past prejudices and restart a new chapter of good friendship and better understanding. In order to resolve their differences, they must stick to the principles of Panchsheel.



2.10 PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Explain India-China trade and economic relations with special reference to impact of COVID-19 pandemic?
2. Discuss India-China border dispute and list down the efforts taken by both the countries in this regard?
3. Discuss Tibet factor in India-China relations?
4. Critically analyse One Belt One Road (OBOR) projects of China and India's stands behind boycotting OBOR forums?

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(c) INDIA-EU

Esha & Gayatri

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Learning Objective
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 What is Multipolar
- 3.4 Understand EU
 - 3.4.1 About European Union
 - 3.4.2 India-Eu Relations
 - 3.4.3 EU Significance for India
 - 3.4.4 EU-India Summit
- 3.5 Conclusion
- 3.6 Practice Question
- 3.7 References

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

- Student would understand about European Union; India-EU Relations and EU Significance for India
- They will also get idea about various EU-India Summits and changing equation in world order.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

India is playing a decreasingly large part in the new multipolar world. India has a intermediate power status and an arising power. The arising multipolar world presents openings as well as challenges for India's foreign policy. A multipolar world defined by geopolitics allows India to advance its public interest and leadership intentions by furnishing global interdependence, pursuing a laboriously participated leadership of global governance, and creating a positive indigenous terrain that provides further options for improvement.



Profitable interdependence in a multipolar world is multifaceted and complex. A multicentre world consists of multiple layers of governance; Regional powers and institutions matter for further than a bipolar or unipolar world. The arising multipolar world offers openings as well as challenges for India's foreign policy. In the environment of rising powers in an arising world order, Barry Buzan talks about the adding spread of power, as a 'rise of the rest' leading to a transnational system in which no superpowers, numerous great powers and not much will be Regional Powers (Acharya and Buzan, 2019)

India faces the challenge of reviewing and turning the strategic vision of Indian multilateralism. India has newly become a member of the SCO, originally set up by China, Russia and Central Asian countries. It joins the Chinese promoted Shanghai-headquartered Asian Structure Investment Bank and the New Development Bank promoted by the BRICS group. New openings have been uncovered due to which India has entered into many transnational-bilateral agreements with the European Union (EU). India should consolidate strategic hook-ups with Central Asian democracy as well as other transnational actors to make effective offsetting alliances that will make India a central player in the arising Eurasian indigenous armature. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) also provides India with an occasion to work with the Central Asian democracy and Russia to advance its strategic interests in the region. India has gained a prominent voice in global forums; it has been playing a major part in promoting South-South exchanges and has an influential position in BRICS. As an arising global power, India plays an important part in the present multipolar world similar as BRICS, EU, and SCO.

3.3 WHAT'S MULTI-POLARITY?

A multipolar world is one where power is spread among multiple countries, rather than dominated by one or two countries. For the duration of the Cold War, the world was separated into two major power blocs, considered by some leading judges to be a 'bipolar' world. Moment's world is witnessing the rise of new and different global powers able of plying influence in both global requests and global governance. The multicentre/ multipolar world is shaped not only by a many great powers and their alliances but also by new and indigenous powers, global associations, pots, social movements, and terrorist networks. Profitable interdependence in a multipolar world is multifaceted and complex. A multicentre world consists of multiple layers of governance; Regional powers and institutions are far more important than a bipolar or unipolar world. (Acharya, 2014)



Multipolar is getting gradationally more not easy, yet not more important. It gives a new significance to tactfulness. It's an arising multipolar world. It's considered to develop generalities and debates on an arising multipolar world. For any country to strengthen or develop its profitable position, it'll have to step into a multipolar world on its own. What an arising multipolar world could mean for the world's leading global trading bloc and profitable power, the European Union, BRICS, and SCO.

3.4 UNDERSTAND EUROPEAN UNION

“The EU began as the European Coal and Steel Community, which was innovated in 1950 and had just six members Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. It the European Economic Community in 1957 under the Treaty of Rome and, latterly, came the European Community (EC). The early focus of the EC was a common agrarian policy as well as the elimination of customs walls. The EC originally expanded in 1973 when Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. A directly tagged European Parliament took office in 1979. In 1986, the Single European Act solidified the principles of foreign policy cooperation and extended the powers of the community over the members. The act also homogenized the idea of a single European request.”

3.4.1 About European Union

- The European Union is a political profitable union of 28-member state that's located primarily in Europe.
- The institutions are the European commission, the council of the European Union, the court of justice of the European Union, the European central bank, the court of adjudicators and the European congress.
- The European congress is tagged every five times by EU citizen.
- The Maastricht convention established the European Union under its current name in 1993 and introduced the European citizenship.
- The convention of Lisbon came into force in 2009 which seeks to amend indigenous base for the EU.
- Goals
- Promote peace, values and the well- being of all citizens of EU.
- Offer freedom, security and justice without internal borders.



- Sustainable development grounded on balanced profitable growth and price stability, a largely competitive request frugality with full employment and social progress, and environmental protection.
- Combat social rejection and demarcation.
- Promote scientific and technological progress.
- Enhance profitable, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among EU countries
- Respect its rich artistic and verbal diversity.
- Establish a profitable and financial union whose currency is euro.

3.4.2 India-EU Relations

The EU began as an internal design. Its purpose was to make war insolvable in Europe by unifying European countries economically and politically. The idea of a common European foreign policy is recent. Ten or five time's ago, the European Union was arising as a power. This ended the single request, introduced a common currency, which had gone through a gradational expansion. The European Union is a multinational association by its veritably nature and its view of the world is that of multilateralism.

“India-EU relations date back to the early 1960s, India was one of the primary countries to set up politic relations with the European Economic Community in 1962. A common political report was inked in 1993 and extended on the collaboration accord amid India and the European Union in 1994. From the pillars of trade and commercial cooperation, more effectual political dialogue and periodic clerical meetings take place”.

From the Indian point of vision, collaboration with the EU can support peace, create jobs, goad gainful growth, and drive sustainable development. Thus, the EU and India feel to be natural mates and they need to take advantage of the being openings.

The communication aims to strengthen the EU-India strategic cooperation by fastening on sustainable modernization and common responses to global and indigenous issues. It also seeks to maintain the effectiveness of the EU's external action and is harmonious with the perpetration of the Global Strategy. The European Union is a natural mate in supporting India's sustainable development. The EU's moxie and technology in sustainable structure development, transport nonsupervisory frame, indirect frugality, environmental protection, and digitization will help India's ongoing transition to a resource-effective frugality and enhance global connectivity. Enterprises will profit from new business and investment openings.



India-EU has been main beliefs and an obsession to India and the EU will concertedly apply connectivity that conforms to transnational morals, rule of law, respect for transnational commitments, and is grounded on mutually agreed principles of sustainable connectivity. India and the EU will put particular emphasis on social, profitable, financial, climate and environmental sustainability, as well as translucency, viability, good governance, and icing a position playing field for profitable drivers. Equally fete that alignment with expressed interests of concerned communities and separate social and environmental impact assessments are of vital significance for all connectivity programs and conduct. (Source India-EU Connectivity Partnership, ministry of world affairs, government of India)

According to the Ministry of External Affairs EW Division, times ago the peak has led to the creation of a multi-level institutional armature for cooperation with the European Union. The first India-EU peak was held in Lisbon on 28 June 2000, which marked a turning point in the development of relations. Since also, fourteen periodic bilateral summits have been held between India and the European Union. The relationship was upgraded to a 'Strategic Partnership' during the 5th India-EU Summit held in The Hague in 2004. The 14th peak was held in New Delhi on 6 October 2017.

Minister Jaishankar said that connectivity is now one of the crucial pillars of engagement between India and the European Union. Physical connectivity should be global, transparent, commercially feasible, eco-friendly, community-responsive and shouldn't burden countries with debt. Mortal commerce is also important because the knowledge frugality requires an affluence of gift, which in turn can help with ease of doing business and the development of creativity. Digital connectivity can also be an area of India-EU cooperation as there's a strong confluence on data security, cyber security, and data sequestration. (Source The future of India-EU relations, ORF exploration)

India-EU Strategic Partnership will cooperate under connectivity establishment through being discourses with overall monitoring through review meetings. The Connectivity Partnership doesn't intend to produce a binding right or obligation for either party under transnational or domestic law. Its perpetration will be in line with the India-EU 2025 roadmap.

As an arising global power, India plays an important part in the present multipolar world. Thus, to maintain a rule- grounded global order, it's important that the EU and India apply effective multilateralism and global profitable governance. By enhancing political, profitable, security, maritime and defence cooperation, India and the European Union can enhance dialogue between the world's two largest republics. The rise of multipolarity between India



and the EU could give a new system to address this reality while continuing to cover core popular values. In this changing world order with changing rules, a new 'compact' with suitable morals and frame may be discovered to give a new motivation to India-EU relations. (Source: The future of India-EU relations, ORF exploration)

At the end, Minister Jaishankar and Minister Silva agreed on the significance of India-EU relations with major structural and systemic changes taking place in the global order. By enhancing political, profitable, security, maritime and defence cooperation, India, and the European Union can enhance dialogue between the world's two largest republics. With the rise of multipolarity, a 'triangle' between India, the EU, the UK and the US could give a new system to address this reality while continuing to cover core popular values. In this changing world order with changing rules, a new 'compact' with suitable morals and frame may be discovered to give a new motivation to India-EU relations. (Source: The future of India-EU relations, ORF research)

3.4.3 EU Significance for India

India is one of the 10 countries that the European Union (EU) has selected as a strategic partner in the international community a reasonable choice as India is the most populous democracy in the world. The importance of this Asian giant to the European Union, both economic and political, is undeniable. India is its 10th largest trading partner with total trade of 72.7 million Euros in 2013. “The European Union is India's third largest trading partner, accounting for €62.8 billion in goods trade in 2020, or 11.1% of total Indian trade, after China (12%) and the US (11.7%). The European Union is the second largest destination for Indian exports (14% of the total) after the United States.” India's foreign policy is gradually evolving from the philosophy of non-alignment, self-identification with developing countries and distrust towards the West. In view of the fact that the fall of the Soviet Union, India's position has moved closer to that of the US and the European Union, yet India's non-aligned past still appears to be a limiting factor in its international role. Furthermore, India has been primarily focused on domestic affairs, with a worthy focus on economic development.

“The European Union has provided peace, stability and prosperity for more than half a century and helped raise living standards and launched a single European currency: the euro. More than 340 million EU citizens in 19 countries now use it as their currency and enjoy its benefits. During the same period, India's agricultural imports from the European Union stood at US\$ 629.159 million. India's major imports were whey, vegetable seeds, olive oil, lactose and lactose syrup, chocolate and other food preparations, whisky, animal feed preparation, etc. spices, tortoiseshell, precious stones, and Pearls, such as nutmeg, cloves, and cinnamon.



The East Indies passed through India and through the Middle East and Europe. Spices like clove, black pepper, cinnamon and cardamom were produced in India and all these spices were in great demand in Europe. These are the main reasons why European trading companies were paying attention to India.” And thus, for India also EU imports are important for exports.

If we talk about the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) will not only increase India-EU trade and relations but would also result in a more balanced agenda and a stronger partnership in all areas of cooperation. The EU should also strengthen bilateral dialogue and cooperation on issues such as energy, human rights, climate change, and peace and security. Furthermore, the EU should bear in mind that given the vast length of its coasts, India is a major natural partner in maritime security and combating piracy. India also has a significant contribution in the management of international crises in a big way.

Also, in 2018, the European Union released a new strategy for cooperation with India, calling it a geopolitical mainstay in a multipolar Asia, which is important for maintaining the balance of power in the region. India may follow EU countries to engage in the Indo-Pacific narrative, geo-economically, if not from a security perspective. It can mobilize enormous economic resources for sustainable development of regional infrastructure, control political influence and power its significant soft power to shape the Indo-Pacific discourse.

The European Union is being enforced to engage with the geopolitical implications of its foreign policy imperatives and India is looking for important partnerships with like-minded countries to bring firmness to the Indo-Pacific theatre. In addition, India is looking beyond the bipolar geopolitical competition between the US and China and working towards establishing a multi-polar world. In terms of climate change, the EU could learn from a new industrial strategy called the Green Deal to make its emissions carbon-neutral by 2050. The EU and India can try to transition to carbon-neutral economies by 2050 by investing in clean energy. Europe's investment and technology are paramount in India's efforts to increase the use of renewable energy in India.

3.4.4 EU-India Summit

The first India-EU Summit took place in Lisbon in June 2000 and marked a watershed in the evolution of the relationship.

The 12th Summit was the first Summit to be held in India after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. “Prime Minister Shri Manmohan Singh led the Indian delegation while the EU was represented by Mr. Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council and Mr. Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission. The two sides reviewed



bilateral relations as well as exchanged views on regional and global issues. The leaders expressed satisfaction at the intensification of negotiations on the Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement, welcomed the enhanced cooperation in the field of security, and called for finalization of an agreement on R&D cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The two sides also signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Statistics and issued Joint Declarations on Research and Innovation Cooperation and Enhanced Cooperation in Energy". The 13th summit was to be held in Brussels in 2013. This is even truer at a time when the COVID-19 pandemic has intensified global polarization, highlighting the importance of solidarity and effective multilateral solutions in a rapidly changing world. Primary, Europe and India are interested in maintaining a rules-based multilateral trading system with the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. Therefore, they should not only take their trade negotiations to the next level, but also join forces to conduct a frank review of the current multilateral framework, which aims to underscore a fair and predictable global trade environment. Next, with the US exiting the Paris climate accord, India and the EU will benefit from joint leadership on global governance matters such as climate change, clean energy, or the circular economy. Cooperation on these issues should be taken to the next level, moving from commitment statements to joint action. And lastly, India and the EU must lead the discussion on multilateral solutions to today's major challenges from regulation of emerging technologies to the digital economy, from cyber security to global public health security. On these matters, India and the EU have the credentials to be the standard setters for fair discussion and dialogue. Starting with the EU-India Summit 2020, he should encourage his allies and the global community to follow his vision.

As the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath increase tensions between the US and China, efforts to reform and rebuild a multilateral world order is just beginning. India and the European Union being the largest democracies and home to some of the oldest democracies respectively are in a unique position to lead this effort. Now is the time for the EU and India to enhance cooperation, strengthen and deepen their dialogue, and work towards protecting a rules-based global order that facilitates sustainable development, security, and stability. As India prepares to host the G20 in 2022, the virtual India-EU Summit on 15 July is a step towards India aligning itself for a bigger and more diversified role in the emerging world order.

Trade & Investment Relations

In the past ten years, the EU's share of FDI inflows to India more than quadrupled, rising from 8% to 18%, making the EU India's top FDI source. Indian investments in the EU are



anticipated to be worth roughly Euro 50 billion between April 2000 and September 2020. FDI inflows from the EU to India were USD 86.82 billion during same time. Also, in 2017, India and the EU established the Investment Facilitation Mechanism (IFM), under which Invest India has set up a single point of entry for EU businesses looking to invest in India.

The India-EU Joint Commission, which is co-chaired by the EU Director General for Trade and the Secretary of Commerce, also discusses economic and trade-related matters. The most recent Conference was held on July 14, 2017. Additionally, there are Joint Working Groups/Technical Working Groups on sanitary/ phytosanitary measures (SPS) and technical trade barriers (TBT), agriculture and marine products, plant and animal health, textiles, and intellectual property rights, as well as pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, and medical devices.

Parliamentary Interaction

A virtual meeting between the Speaker of Lok Sabha and the President of the European Parliament was held on 13 January 2021. The European Parliament constituted a Delegation for Relations with India in 2007. A bilateral delegation comprising 13 Members of the European Parliament visited India from 28 October to 2 November 2018, where they met the Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha (lower house), and the Ministers of Commerce, Power, Housing, and Urban Affairs. A delegation from the European Parliament including members from the International Trade Committee (INTA) visited India in April 2022.

Culture & Education

India-European Union Joint Declarations of 2010 cover cooperation in the fields of education & training, and multilingualism. Senior official meetings periodically review initiatives and cooperation in the field of education and languages. Indian students avail scholarships for studies in EU countries.

India and the EU have a dialogue on culture to discuss cooperation in the field of cultural exchanges. In this context, festivals of culture (e.g., Europe-India festival), exchanges on heritage such as yoga & ayurveda, and other activities are taken up between the two sides.

3.5 CONCLUSION

EU-India observers lament that bilateral relations have been sluggish over the past few years. This is wrong. Both the EU-India Clean Energy and Climate Partnership and the Partnership on Smart and Sustainable Urbanism were launched in 2016 and support collaboration on



smart grids, cost-effective offshore wind power, and net-zero energy buildings, energy storage, advanced befouls, etc. though, going forward, the global climate and energy transition will require both India and the EU. Both to assist more than ever and rising cooperation on climate action and diplomacy should be a top priority for bilateral relations. Industrial decarbonization and cooperation on equitable transition are two areas for instant exploration. India and the EU have a new opportunity to go over the fundamentals of their rendezvous.

According to the study, the summit level is expanding intra-BRICS cooperation, which is beneficial to global stability, development, and cooperation. The BRICS, which were formed during a global slump, have expanded their fields of collaboration, creating a platform for debate and coordination to promote international governance change and multi-sectoral participation. BRICS has moved closer to playing a vital role in fostering social progress, particularly in addressing poverty and inequity, since the sixth summit. While there is a greater emphasis on reforming the IMF and the World Bank since BRICS formed an alliance to address some of the challenges in global governance processes during the GFC, the UN reform, particularly the expansion of permanent membership in the UNSC, finds no direct mention in the declarations. In terms of growth the most important accomplishment of BRICS can be seen in building institutional mechanisms including NDB, CRA and ARC. India's role in this process of institutionalisation, especially in the development of the NDB, is noteworthy. India has facilitated more institutionalization of the platform by organizing various workshops, meetings and other related events.

3.6 PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. In the context of recent international political scenario, write short essay on India's relation with Europe.
2. Critically examine the recent relationship of India and EU.

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INDIA AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Dr. Chandrima Chaudhuri

STRUCTURE

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- 1.2 Introduction
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1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- How do we understand the different issues and challenges in the Indian neighbourhood?
- How to understand in details variety of social and internal security challenges before India?
- How does Indian foreign policy respond to border disputes with China and cross border terrorism from Pakistan?
- How has the issue of migration and refugees affected the socio-economic process in Northeast India?



1.2 INTRODUCTION

Border disputes, ethnic conflict, cross border terrorism; migration and insurgency have become common phenomenon in the periphery of developing states. The post war period witnesses the gradual rise in these incidents in the Indian neighbourhood due to various historical, cultural, strategic and geopolitical reasons. The undesirable phenomenon is widely prevalent in various parts of the world. Valuable lives have been lost; many innocent civilians who do not indulge in any kind of movement are the main victims of these border disputes, migration crisis and cross border terrorism.

India's geographical position is unique as it shares borders with key countries in South Asia. India also shares common cultural, linguistic, and historical ties with most of its neighbouring countries. India along with its many neighbouring countries was under the colonial rule from under the British Empire. India and Sri Lanka were under the colonial rule, while Nepal and Bhutan were protectorate states under the British. But its huge size along with its population, military strength, economic growth and natural resources, India has been a disadvantage when it comes to forging close relations with its immediate neighbours. Most of these countries were smaller in size compared to India and they were politically apprehensive about India. Moreover, due to many historical and socio-political factors, border disputes, migration issues, water sharing problems and refugee crisis have marked challenges in the Indian neighbourhood. From the time India became independent, it has tried to prevent any other external power to interfere in the affairs of the region but its neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh have drawn attention of other major powers towards the region.

India's relations with China have been constantly affected by the border dispute between both the countries, and it has been a major concern for India. Moreover, on the border issue itself the scale and quality of transgression by Chinese has been concern for India in last years, including Depsang (2013), Chumar (2014), Doklam (2017), Galwan (2020) and Ladakh (2021). This too has happened when both sides were having constant high levels visits; even when PM Modi and Xi have met more than 10 times in last years. Similar kind of land disputes has been made by Pakistan and Bangladesh with India on the settlement of land boundary. Many of these have been resolved in the due course of time by the political acumen and statesmanship of our leadership and diplomacy, however these have been major concerns for India. The major fallout of all these has been the consistent friction in bilateral relations between Indian and neighbouring countries leading to lack of cooperation and



dialogue. This also had an adverse impact on the larger solidarity and cooperation amongst South Asian nations. Despite all these issues, India has constantly made an attempt to strengthen relations with Border States and under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi India's Act East policy and neighbourhood first policy has made new strides towards this process.

Thomas Nail's (2016) book, *Theory of the Border*, gives a theoretical framework to understand the structure and functions of borders of different kinds. According to the author, a common defining feature of border is introduction of some sort of social division into the world. Devoid of borders what we see is the "earth" or the "world". Social division precedes the origin of the states. It is the process of bordering that produced the states and not vice versa. A function of the border is multiplication by division. Division, which is the result of a continuous process of history, also produces qualitative divergences, giving rise to certain specific social formations. The productions of different qualitative entities offer scope for border studies to be multidisciplinary, encompassing anthropology, sociology, history, political science, international law etc. The book discusses a set of philosophical concepts pertinent and useful to various disciplines. The author's observation that the people and good move through the borders but the borders themselves move is a point relevant for the present study. The movement of borders is due to physical or geo-morphological and as well as political factors, the latter including territorial and other forms of conflicts. Another point is that borders functioned by restricting or dividing some natural flow of the people, but the borders has also never succeeded keeping everyone in limits especially the border population living in those areas often divided with separate sovereign territories.

1.3 BORDER DISPUTES

The history of India China border talks can be traced back to the 1960s, going back to the years of Nehru and Zhou Enlai. Possibly the first such 'formal discussion' between both the countries on the border issue was held in April 1960 in New Delhi during the visit of Zhou Enlai to India. The talks failed to resolve the differences as was expressed in the Press Conference of 25 April 1960 held by Zhou Enlai in New Delhi. Given the differences, both the countries now decided to start negotiating the border issue. Two such discussions also took place in Beijing and Rangoon in 1960 but the outbreak of 1962 war between both the countries stalled the on going talks on the border issue for next two decades.

Some importance was attached to the subject when Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua visited New Delhi in June 1981. Seven more rounds were held from 1981 to 1987, but despite



expressing ‘common aspirations for the settlement of India China border despite’ nothing concrete as such was achieved or agreed upon. The border dispute found ‘new attention’ when both the countries agreed to form in 1988 Joint Working Group (JWG) to address this issue. Around 15 rounds of negotiations were held under the JWG mechanism from 1988 to 2003. While the confidence-building measures (CBMs) dominated the agenda of the early talks of the JWG, the focus was shifted to the clarification of the line of actual control (LAC) after 1999. The border talks between both the countries were rebooted to the existing mechanism of special representative (SR) in 2003 after Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee’s visit to China. In between, the Border Peace and Tranquillity Agreement (BPTA) of 1993, has been existing as a larger framework for resolving problems bilaterally through dialogue and negotiation between both the countries. The BPTA was a key step to transform the Line of Actual Control (LAC) into a normal border, as *firstly* it sought to promote peace through specific modes of conduct of the two-armed forces, and *secondly* by calling for reduction in border deployment forces.

For the Chinese side, the admission, and later discussions on the differences over border issue between both the countries in last more than five decades is more or less formalisation of its stated position and disapproval of Mac Mohan line forming border between India and China. While for India the loss of territory to China (1962) and its concerns on sovereignty remains the valid expression of national interests. Interestingly, what is commonly referred to as the ‘border dispute’ between India and China manifests itself in two very distinct and separate positions towards their border areas shaped by the forces of history and colonial legacy.

Having existed since 2003 the special representative (SR) border talks have played a critical role in India-China bilateral relations. Over the years they have played a ‘key role’ helping to prevent any major flare up along the 4,057 km Line of Actual Control (LAC) between both. The LAC remains disputed with both sides having different perceptions based on history and colonial legacy. Nonetheless, the role of border talks has been very significant in maintaining ‘relative stability’ at the border. Over the years the SR talks have been able to reach certain agreements between both the countries on the border issue. In 2005, both the sides reached an agreement on the ‘political parameters and guiding principles’ for settlement of the boundary dispute. Since then both sides have been engaged in talks on a framework for boundary settlement (second round), followed by the actual demarcation of the border (third round).



Quite notably, both sides have agreed upon in 2012 that all Sino-Indo boundary disputes at trijunction points (with Bhutan, Myanmar, and Arunachal Pradesh) would be addressed in consultation with the third parties. During the Doklam standoff between both the countries last year in July 2017, India had consistently referred to the 2012 written understanding between special representatives (SRs) on India-China boundary alignment in the Sikkim sector objecting the efforts by Chinese side to alter the existing status quo unilaterally.

India and Bangladesh, presently two independent states, has had a shared socio-political history from the ancient period. The people and the geographical area of both the countries were under a single political authority during the British rule in India. The present Bangladesh was part of the British Province of Bengal until the end of the colonial rule of India and the partition of India in 1947 into two sovereign independent States of India and Pakistan. The new state of Pakistan that came into existence in 1947 had two wings, namely, West Pakistan and East Pakistan. Later, in 1971, East Pakistan emerged as an independent state, namely, the People's Republic of Bangladesh after a Liberation War waged by the people of East Pakistan against the power centre of the Pakistan state located in its western wing. The seceding of Bangladesh from Pakistan proved that religion couldn't be a sole criterion for the formation of a nation state. From the very beginning of the creation of Pakistan, there were contradictions between the peoples of its western and eastern wings, based on language and other socio-cultural history. However, the initial secession of Pakistan/Bangladesh from the undivided India was mainly based on religion as the creation of Pakistan was by forming the contiguous Muslim majority regions in the Northwest and Eastern parts of the undivided India into a new independent state of Pakistan.

After the partition of 1947, India shared a land border of 4069 kms and a maritime border of 180 kms with East Pakistan (later Bangladesh). Of the 4069 kms of land border, 2,216 kms are in West Bengal; 856 kms in Tripura, 443 kms in Meghalaya, 318 kms in Mizoram and 262 kms in Assam (Sreeradha Datta:2003). The delineation of the border between India and Pakistan was based on decisions of two Boundary Commissions (BCs), one for the division of Punjab and the second for the division of Bengal.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, appointed by the British Government, headed both the BCs. Radcliffe arrived in India 1947 for the purpose before which he had never been to India (Sumanta Banerjee, 2001). There have been criticisms from many quarters that the borderline he decided upon for dividing Bengal and delineated in the Award of the Boundary Commission was flawed in many respects. The border that he drew was simply a boundary line running across rivers, villages, and even marketplaces and houses. He had no right maps



to decide a proper border between the two countries (Mosley 1967). Old district maps were used, avoided any field survey and natural barriers were not followed in the delineation of the boundary (Joya Chatterji 1999; Pushpita Das 2008). The partition and the boundary drawing were in the main based on the determination of contiguous Muslim-majority and non-Muslim majority districts or sub-district administrative units like Police Thanas of the British Bengal. There were also some other relevant factors, which were taken into consideration for assigning a specific district or sub-administrative unit to either West Bengal or East Pakistan. For example, while most of Rangpur district had Muslim majority and therefore were assigned to East Pakistan, the Bhurangmari police thana area in Rangpur though it had a Muslim majority was assigned to West Bengal because the only railway line that connected West Bengal to Assam went through that area (Amit Ranjan 2018: 46).

1.4 MIGRATION AND REFUGEE CRISIS

Migration refers to the movement of people to a new area or country, usually to find work or better living conditions. Migration has been an ancient phenomenon and it can be both voluntary and forced. People can either move voluntarily to some other country in search of better opportunities. Usually, migration is forceful and the major reasons behind this huge scale migration are often to escape poverty, violence and war, or to avoid political genocide and human rights abuse. Migrant has been defined as a person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he was not born and has acquired significant social ties to this country (UNESCO 2017).

UNESCO has defined the various types of migration:

1. Temporary labour migrants or guest workers or overseas contract workers
2. Highly skilled and business migrants
3. Irregular migrants or undocumented or illegal migrants\
4. Forced migrants
5. Family reunification migrants
6. Return of migrants

Migration and Insurgency in the northeast is the product of more than one factor. There is significant evidence to testify to the volatile pre-conditions, which existed prior to the actual armed outbreak. The underlying factors, prevalent as they were, required just a spark to ignite



the tension-ridden atmosphere. The culmination of latent and immediate factors resulted in successive wave of insurgency across the northeastern region. The root causes of the present situation are to be found in many areas of political, social and economic realm. In tracing the causes, it is important to keep in mind how closely the past and present are interwoven and linked together. Civil war, ethnic conflict, terrorism, communal violence and insurgency have become common across the world especially in the underdeveloped regions during the last four decades. The undesirable phenomenon is widely prevalent in various parts of the world. Valuable lives have been lost; many innocent civilians who do not indulge in any kind of movement are the main victims of insurgency. Insurgency inevitably arouses the existing authority in one form or the other. The counter-insurgency measures taken by the existing authorities in one form or the other is inevitable. This has led to a widespread insurgency movement claiming the lives of both insurgents and the existing political authority.

The northeast region faces innumerable problems and one of the most significant is the immigration problem. Immigration has been defined as to come to a foreign country and take up residence. In actual practice besides residence, land is taken up and when immigration takes place in millions it creates a serious imbalance in all aspect of economy, political social and demography between the indigenous people on the one hand and the immigrants on the other. In Northeast India, Assam and Tripura have been inundated by this problem. The northeast region because of its diverse origins and development is particularly sensitive not only from external but internal migrants from different parts of the country. The northeast lies close to the Golden Triangle of Laos, Thailand and Myanmar making it vulnerable to the designs of the drug barons. Coupled with the ever-increasing number of insurgency groups operating in the area it is complex problem for the law enforcement agencies to tackle. Insurgency inevitably arouses the existing authority in one form or the other. The counter-insurgency measures taken by the existing authorities in one form or the other is inevitable. This has led to a widespread insurgency movement claiming the lives of both insurgents and the existing political authority.

In the contemporary literature there are many definitions of relevant terms as insurgency, revolution, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism and freedom struggle. Some authors use these terms imprecisely and many times interchangeably. According to William J. Lucas (1970), an insurgency is an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a legally constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. Another definition of Insurgency which focuses more on the political aspect is from Andrew M. Scott (1987): "Insurgency refers to efforts to obtain political goals by an organized and primarily



indigenous group using protracted, irregular warfare and allied political techniques." It can be viewed as a kind of social movement which according to T.K. Oommen (1990) "is perhaps the chief mechanism through which the deprived categories demonstrate their power." Societies often discriminate and governments are often partial and bias in giving treatment to its citizens. The number of representatives of a social group always determines the level of treatment given to that particular group. Some groups who uphold a distinct social life are often neglected and ill-treated. The outcome of such step-motherly treatment is an outburst of violent social movement causing insurgency.

There are certain valid reasons for the large number of migrations happening to India and creating challenge to demographic composition, economic livelihood and internal security. India's geostrategic location, and its relatively better and gradually growing economic position in comparison to other neighbouring states, backed by its liberal democratic rights-based rule of law framework is a better guarantee for the protection of individual liberties for the people living in other states. The large number of populations who are fleeing persecution in their native countries subject to strict state regulatory model and weak democratic foundations always look for India as a better economic and political opportunity.

Refugees/illegal immigrants from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have found shelter in India. However, if we make an assessment in case of Northeast India this migration has adversely impacted the interests of local populations in the areas. Given the large-scale influxes of illegal immigrants it also becomes detrimental to India's internal and national security interests. Further, the regulatory framework is absent of any national refugee laws has blurred the distinction between refugees and economic migrants, leading to the denial of any genuine assistance to real asylum seekers. It now poses an enormous problem for our socio-economy and border security.

If we make a general analysis of population growth and demographic statistics for Bangladesh and India in the last four censuses it becomes quite clear that the number of migrations from Bangladesh exceeds 15 million. Most of them have settled in states along the border with Bangladesh, and some subsequently moved to other parts of India, including its remote corners causing a big challenge. This huge influx of large number of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants to the Border States in India has proved to be a big challenge for us. It has led to severe stress and pressure on our human resources, economy and national security. It has substantially transformed the demographic pattern in the north-eastern states of India, leading major socio-cultural and political upheavals. The indigenous people feel highly excluded and marginalised in the socio-political process of the states given high



number of migrant's population and their growing electoral significance in the state politics. This has adversely affected their way of life and led to simmering tension between the two sides. Another country, which is a source of refugee crisis for India, is Myanmar. The Rohingyas who are a Muslim minority community in the Rakhine state have long been treated as second-class citizens in Myanmar. They are considered as illegal migrants from Bangladesh and hence they have been denied citizenship. This issue also made currents in India's domestic policy with certain electoral motives and petty gains.

1.5 ACT EAST POLICY, INDIA, AND THE NEIGHBOURHOODS

Contrary to what many suggest, there was never a golden age of India predominance in South Asia and the wider Indian Ocean region.ⁱ India's interest in the BIMSTEC has given new hopes to organisation and is reflective of the reality of our times. India looks forward to BIMSTEC as a 'key link' in alignment with its Act East policy objectives setting out new levels of cooperation in terms of promoting regional connectivity, coastal shipping, space, energy, transport and tourism in the Bay of Bengal region.

The 'geographical leverage' of this organisation forms prudent link between South Asia and Southeast Asian countries. And this also finds direct resonance with India's efforts to build greater regional economic engagement and partnership between its North-eastern region and South-eastern economies. The scope for direct connectivity, anti-insurgency cooperation and potential access to energy resource areas has evoked India's interest to make this platform active in last years. The urgency of promoting regional and sub-regional cooperation through BIMSTEC and BBIN is also in context of the compelling strategic challenge posed by China's muscular geo-economic and geo-political interventions in Asia under Belt Road Initiative (BRI).

India's 'renewed interest' in the BIMSTEC also finds convergence with India's foreign policy efforts to establish its 'neighbourhood first' and 'act east policy'. It is also relates to the "BRICs-BIMSTEC Outreach Summit" held in October 2016 at Goa, where leaders from the member countries collectively pledged to work for making BIMSTEC stronger and effective. At the BIMSTEC leaders' meeting in Goa, the joint statement emphasized that, 'geographical contiguity, abundant natural and human resources, rich historical linkages and shared cultural heritage [would] provide BIMSTEC the ideal platform to promote peace, stability and prosperity in our region.'ⁱⁱ

On the 20th anniversary of this organisation Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi described BIMSTEC as 'natural platform' for India's eastward engagement. In March 2017



India organised meeting of the BIMSTEC National Security Chiefs in New Delhi. This has allowed India to take the ‘leadership role’ based on promoting cogent economic interests for the region under the collective vision for growth and development for all. Unlike SAARC, there is a ‘broad consensus’ on addressing common security concerns that affect BIMSTEC countries. It does not face difference of opinion amongst member states in defining terrorism.

On the issues of connectivity in the sub region, India attaches greater priority in terms of financing and project execution. For major connectivity projects across the sub region, India is the ‘lead country’ in BIMSTEC. Many bilateral and trilateral projects are underway at the various stages of development and are being implemented across India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan especially related to road and railway connectivity. Indian ‘credit lines’ under different partnership agreements is funding most of these projects.

In terms of Nepal and Bhutan, both remain landlocked countries, and BIMSTEC holds the prospect of enhanced connectivity. Nepal too under the new regime is keen to build relations with India and other regional players. For Sri Lanka BIMSTEC is an opportunity to engage with booming Southeast Asian economies. Given its geographical position in the sub region, Bangladesh remains lead country for BIMSTEC especially for cooperation in trade and investment, energy corridors and blue economy and also climate change.

For other member states, like Myanmar stakes are high given its ‘strategic positioning’, and how Bimstec could be the possible gateway to ASEAN. It also allows augmenting wider economic cooperation between India and Thailand as key stakeholders in regional connectivity network. India-Myanmar-Thailand (IMT) Trilateral Highway is expected to boost trade and commerce between ASEAN and India, and BIMSTEC as sub-regional grouping forms concurrence with India’s ‘Look East’ and Thailand’s ‘Look West’ policy. For some states in the region with non-democratic character, the organisation provides a relevant platform to be necessary stakeholder in the sub-regional politics and economy.

1.6 SUMMARY

As a postcolonial state India must face certain set of challenges and issues within its periphery. These challenges have their roots in range of factors from history to politics, economic to major power relations. The balance of power in Asia also has to play some role in it, while the nature of newly independent modern nation state and its course of politics and choices by the leadership also had their fair share of role and significance in shaping these issues and challenges. The major border dispute that India faced as a challenge was with



China, which was later, identified by the Indian leadership as a 'potential threat' during the conduct of nuclear tests by India. The dispute had its origin in the desire by the Maoist China to not just completely violate the terms of peace and agreement signed between India and China under 'Panchsheel', but the blatant attempt to lead the invasion of Indian territorial sovereignty. The annexation that China did in 1962 in the name of border dispute was never originated in the pages of modern Asian history but rather was a Chinese attempt to show complete lack for mutual concerns and interests.

In case of Pakistan, the dispute is nothing but the notional interpretation of Pakistani leadership about something they claim to be their right on unfounded grounds and false factual understanding of history. They failed to acknowledge and accept the harsh realities of partition and in search of their political mileage and domestic support they have consistently engaged in the promotion of cross border terrorism in India through various means. The support of Pakistani state to this challenge in India has been very well faced and pushed back with the courage of Indian military and intelligence. Regarding illegal migration in border areas and to contain their effect on demography and economy, the regulatory framework of the state laws and policing has been much stricter in the last decades. To sum it up, unlike in the past the contemporary Indian leadership and the political system are in much better position today to take upon these set of challenges in present times. While diplomatically we are determined to resolve the border issues with neighbouring states, the military, local police and our frontline forces are much better equipped, trained and logistically supported to take upon any kind of challenge emerging due to cross border terrorism and illegal migration and refugee crisis. While we do provide humanitarian assistance in principle but that does amount to any kind of compromise on our interests and resources. Over the years Indian state has been evolved as a stronger power to take upon kinds of challenges originating from outside or within at every level.

In short, given its socio-economic size and geopolitical weight, there is less doubt of greater role for Indian diplomacy and opinion in the world politics and security issues. The newly infused foreign policy dynamism is another reflection of that with many Indian leaders making 'high level visits' abroad seeking greater and intensive engagements with other states.

1.7 CONCLUSIONS

The geographical size of India, its increasing economic weight, expanding global influence and growing military strength makes it a country with high potential to be a leading state.



Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, it expressed his strong belief that 'India will become a world leader in near future' (Deccan Chronicle 2013). Along with China, India is showing some credible features of being an important partner in the international community. The move of India's foreign policy and diplomatic engagements would be critical to the geo- political landscape of the Asia-Pacific in particular. As the global power centre has taken a shift towards East, Asia pacific has emerged as one of the dominant threats of power politics.

Firstly, Indian economy is too big to be ignored by any yardstick of economic partnership and cooperation. In the post cold war era, India has considerably underlined the shift from planning to liberal economic model taking 'comparative advantage' of its growing service industry, strong IT credentials, huge consumer market and increased private investment. The recent global rating assessment has put India in fairly well and commendable position in terms of economic growth projections and stability. *Secondly*, in terms of military spending India is now ranked as the world's seventh largest state. Some assessment projects it to be the fourth by 2020. It has more military personnel than any country in Asia except China, and its defense budget has risen to \$46.8 billion (Economist 2013). *Finally*, the geo-strategic location of India has increased its global importance as well. India's central position in South Asia has made it a 'natural super-power.'

1.8 PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. How do you understand the border dispute between India and China?
2. What are different kinds of migration recognised by UNESCO?
3. How far the border issues in Indian neighbourhood have affected the larger South Asian solidarity and cooperation?
4. What is India's response to cross border terrorism from Pakistan?
5. Identify key internal security challenges before the Indian state?
6. Do you agree that better economic relations can get away with historical issues like border dispute between two states?

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Unit-IV: India in the Contemporary Multipolar Forums

(a) NEGOTIATIONS ON TRADE AND CLIMATE

Dr. Duryodhan Nahak

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Learning Objective
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 India's Global Trade
- 1.4 Impediments on the Way of India's Trade
- 1.5 Negotiation in the area of environment
- 1.6 Security Strategy
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 Practice Questions
- 1.9 Suggested Readings

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

- The lesson would discuss on India's global trade since the introduction of Liberalisation, privatisation, and globalisation since 1991.
- It would make students aware about the ancient Indian empires like Maurya's, Cholas, Guptas, Pandya's used to carry commercial activities across seas with the South-East Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar and with neighbouring kingdoms like Nepal, Afghanistan and Ceylon.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Even though protecting sovereignty and territorial integrity are the primary interests of a nation, the foreign policy strategy in relation to trade, environment and security are the burning issues that cannot be undermined in present circumstances. India since its independence, has survived as the largest democracy in the world. India with near about 1.4



billion population is one of the growing economies is slowly emerging as the centre of an attractive destination for the investment and large-scale industries and technology centres. There has been manifold increase in India's global trade since the introduction of Liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation since 1991. The market reforms boosted the confidence of industrial tycoons to choose India as investment destination in future. It is noteworthy to say that India has arisen as a forerunner country in negotiating in the area of climate change and global warming. More importantly, it is impossible to think up a secured world without India. The role of India in the area of both conventional and human security is highly significant as it advocates peace and universal disarmament are the only means which can guarantee peace for the betterment of humanity.

This chapter is divided into three major portions. The first portion would deal with India's global trade, problems and prospects. The second part would analyse environment and the steps have been taken by India till now and the action that it is going to take to achieve the targets fixed in different COP meetings. And the third section would analyse India's security challenges and strategy.

1.3 INDIA'S GLOBAL TRADE

With the advent of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation, it had to lift a number of barriers in the beginning of 1990s, subsequently, it paved path for smooth conduct of the bilateral and multilateral trade with other countries. Since trade is a major yardstick to measure a country's power in the global landscape, it was compulsion for the government to liberalise its market, remove major barriers to invite the international community to invest in India. Historically, the ancient Indian empires like Mauryans, Cholas, Guptas, Pandyas used to carry commercial activities across seas with the South-East Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar and with neighbouring kingdoms like Nepal, Afghanistan and Ceylon.

The neoliberal scholars like Joseph S. Nye, Balduin etc. viewed the low-political-key questions are more important than high political and security issues in the debate of existing time than ever before. Given the volatile situation in the India's relations with Pakistan and China, India mostly depends on bilateral trade since independence. It has established individual trade link with some neighbouring countries like Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Bangladesh. With the opening of new opportunities in the trade area in the beginning of the 1990s, India made sincere endeavours to explore new trade avenues with looking towards South-East Asian countries. The Prime Minister Narsima Rao announced "Look-East" policy in 1992. Gradually, India became a regional dialogue partner in 1994 with the ASEAN and



full dialogue partner in 1996. Notwithstanding this, India-Asian cooperation started two decades back in 2002; India's trade with ASEAN constitutes only 10.5 per cent which is very low in comparison with China. India-ASEAN free trade area came into existence in 2009 but substantial headway has not been achieved yet. The Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi urged ASEAN countries to take quick action on some pending issues like pharmaceuticals, optical and medicine while holding co-chaired the India-ASEAN summit with Vietnam Prime Minister in 2021. Unlike India and ASEAN there is no free trade area between India and European Union till now. European Union is aware of the Chinese activities and its evil design "Spring of Pearls" in Asia. It wishes to contain China by developing economic ties with India. Another notable development is that during last two years Indo-US trade has surpassed India-China trade in 2019 and 2020. While Indo-China trade is at the end of the 2021 only remains 81 billion\$, after some stringent measures imposed by India on use of several Chinese Apps and products, the Indo-US trade was 88 billion\$ as compared to 87 billion\$ in 2018-19.

It is to be noted that the world economy has slowed down by the global financial crisis in 2008. Before that the world economy was partially affected by East-Asian economic crisis. The steps such as economic reforms, opening up of investment in certain areas, political stability and rising foreign exchange reserves in India boosted domestic market in a big way at the beginning of the 21st century. Although US and European market went down under the impact of financial down-turn, Indian GDP touched even 10 per cent in some quarters and never went below 7 per cent. The rising oil price in the international market and poor economic fundamentals influenced Indian trade in 2012-13. Subsequent developments like change of dispensation in the country in 2014, rise of domestic demand, helped in a big way in resuming economic activities in the second half of 2016. While the developing countries achieved mixed performances, the major economies like US, Britain, and Europe started doing well on economic front. China on the other hand, was instrumental in boosting the manufacturing and service sectors. In 2017 September press release, the World Trade Organisation in its revised estimate stated that the global trade which was supposed to grow by 2.4 per cent in 2017 is expected to grow by 3.6 per cent in 2017. Although India's export witnessed mild rebound, its merchandise export is not satisfactory in comparison with the other developing economies in Asia. Side by side, now developed countries are keeping strict vigil on developing economies of Asia as they require big domestic markets for the huge investment in the area of burgeoning infrastructure projects and manufacturing sectors as well. In recent years, the India's trade has been driven by dynamic private sector especially information technology and service sectors as they have been fostering the Indian economy



immensely. India's export has been increased by 17 per cent and import by 19 per cent in last 25 years. In reality, India's global trade has been increased by manifold since the onset of market liberalisation. In real numbers, India's exports have increased from 0.6 per cent in early 1990s to 1.7 per cent in 2016. In the similar way, the India's import has increased from 0.6 per cent to 2.4 per cent in the said period. This high growth aided sustained robust economic growth in India. In 2015, India announced foreign trade policy from 2015-20 stated two broader objectives. Firstly, India aimed at doubling its share from 450 billion to 900 billion\$. Secondly, it is expected India to increase its share from 2 per cent to 3.5 percent in the basket of export and import. Here it is important to mention that the entire global economy and the trade have seriously been affected amidst Covid-19 pandemic for last two years. India's GDP was naturally negative in 2020-21 financial years. In the face of this, the major international organisations like World Bank and International Monetary Fund have projected that India's economy would grow by more than seven per cent in the year 2022-23 fiscal years. "Make in India Initiative", by Indian government is an ambitious policy that would encourage competition among Indian business community which in long run help in producing large number of manufacturing goods in the country. This would further enhance job opportunities for the up-coming professional youths.

1.4 IMPEDIMENTS ON THE WAY OF INDIA'S TRADE

India has made significant contribution to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) since it came into existence in January 1995. India remained as one of the founding members its predecessor organisation General Agreement on tariff and trade (GATT) Right from the 1948. Meanwhile, now there are several complains pending before WTO dispute settlement body. The prominent among them are agriculture subsidy, environment, market access, and investment related issues and food safety standards. Being India is primarily an agricultural country where near about 30 per cent people living below poverty line. It is the responsibility of the government to improve their life standard. Even government is facing deep sense of resentments among the peasants to increase minimum support price of the agricultural commodities. It continues to be an electioneering issue for the political parties in the country since the commencement of 1950s.

India's trade in the international landscape is further being hindered due to non-cooperation among the South Asian countries. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), came into existence in December 1985. Due to non-cooperation in economic sphere, personal rivalry and belligerent behaviour by Pakistan, largely impacts



trade links in South Asian neighbours. That's why, instead of thirty-seven summits only the members have met 18 times since it's the origin of the SAARC. The very objectives of SAARC have been missed somewhere. On the other hand, the countries in the South Asia region are trying to collaborate with the major powers of the world to protect their economic interest. China is expanding its base in South and South-East Asia aiming to contain India within the region of South Asia. Contrary to this, India has been actively participating in different regional and sub-regional economic groupings and trade arrangements. The organisations like Bay of Bengal Initiative for multi-sectral economic and technical cooperation (Baymstec), Association of South-Eastern Asian nations (ASEAN), European Union, G-20, G-7 etc. India has kept itself away from Regional Comprehensive Economic Cooperation (RCEP) in which China is an important partner. It is equally important to mention that as the part of India's "Look-East" policy, which was initiated by Narsimha Rao government in 1992, was carried forward by his successors. First India-ASEAN summit was held at in year 2002. More than SAARC, India is improving ties with ASEAN and European Union, G-77, G-20. As the matter of fact, India's economic reforms is being well-endorsed by international watchdogs like World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Besides at bilateral level it has signed free trade area with various countries. Since India has emerged as a major power it is intensifying its activities in different other regions. The regional organisation SAARC has not met for last seven years. It is to be noted that the groupings and sub-regional groups are formed on the paper; they are not working. Rather India is developing relations with the individual countries. The BBIN comprising Bhutan, Bangladesh, India, and Nepal BIMSTEC comprising the countries located on the bank of Bay of Bengal are of crucial significance from India's trade perspective. While India's link and association with ASEAN and African countries different industrially powerful countries like G-7, U.S.A. Germany, Japan, and France is obviously welcome sign, at the same time, it should not happen at the expense of the India's relations with neighbours.

1.5 NEGOTIATION IN THE AREA OF ENVIRONMENT

The climate change and global warming are buzzwords that are dominating the contemporary discourse of international relations. In view of the rising global temperature, erratic monsoon pattern, recurring flood and depleting water table are the area of apprehensions for the intelligentsia and academia across the globe. The excessive use of fertiliser and deep Burwell are worsening the situation further. In the post-cold war period, India emerged one of the key negotiators in the United Nations Framework convention on climate change (UNFCCC) even



prior to the Rio-Earth summit of 1992. Not being able to create an atmosphere that can enable people to breathe clean air in India's National Capital territorial region and other metropolitan and industrial centres are the matter of grave concerns for the political establishment to rethink alternative strategy. Most significantly, the welfare issues figure in the manifestos of political parties in every general election for the parliament and state Assemblies. Meanwhile, in a noteworthy development, the political parties engaged in debate and discussion on environmental issues in recently concluded assembly elections in Indian state of Punjab which is the major beneficiary from the agriculture. It seems the awareness the people are largely developing towards environment and sustainable development is the positive indication. In the beginning of 1990s, India stated that high per capita income of carbon dioxide emission is responsible for the increasing global warming. It demanded differentiated approach for the different country. In other words, the response towards the environmental issues should vary from developed and developing countries. Much before these efforts, several conferences were organised in many cities of the world. Ramsar convention of 1971 on wetlands was held in Iran in 1971 to which India became a party in 1975. The area which is submerged in the water throughout the year and that water body contains relatively small plants and shrimps are protected by the laws of this convention. The convention of prevention of persistent organic pollutants (POP) was held at Stockholm in 2001 to which India became a party in 2004 and adopted in the same year.

The first ever Earth Summit otherwise known as United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), or Rio-Summit was held at Rio in Brazil in 1992. The famous United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was adopted by the participant countries. The three prominent documents are the outcome of the summit like convention on biodiversity, convention to combat desertification and Agenda-21. Agenda 21 is declaration a global action plan on sustainable development aimed to be implemented by the nations with the letter and spirit. Most recently the COP-26 was concluded at Glasgow in Scotland in 2021. United States (US) which was out of Paris accord COP-21 since November 2020 again returned to COP-26 after the change of the president in 2020. Now it is committed to achieve Carbon net -0 by 2050 whereas China and India are to achieve this target by 2060 and 2070 respectively. The first conference of parties (COP), however, was held in Germany. Kyoto Protocol or the COP-3 which was held in 1997 in Japan is important in certain respects. In the first instance, it was international legally binding treaty for the member All the participant countries reached in an agreement where it was announced the Carbon Dioxide emission would be curtailed in the time-bound manner by the parties between 2008-2012. It was decided to keep the increase global temperature within 1.5



degree up to pre-industrial era. The developed nations promised to give one billion\$ financial aid every year as the financial assistance to the developing nations. Also, India with the association of 72 Green countries insisted on reducing carbon dioxide emission in the time bound manner. This protocol came into force in 2005 with the signature by 116 countries. On the other hand, the developed countries asked the developing countries to take projects based upon clean development mechanism (CDM). Although initially, India was not agreed with this proposal but later it accepted under the pressure from different industrial bodies and associations. It was decided that carbon dioxide emission would be reduced five percent every year between 2008 to 2012. Since 2008, India started focusing on water, solar, and renewable energy capacity. In fact, environment issues were not part of larger agenda for political parties since long but now with the rising level of education, the youths are being serious on those the matters related to environment and sustainable development. As the matter of fact, earlier, the senior and experienced diplomats were involved in climate negotiations. For quite some time, the personality politics and linkage are being part of negotiations in various environmental conferences and summits. Several rounds of negotiations were conducted at Bali in Indonesia in 2007, Copenhagen in 2009, and Durban 2011. Besides this, this was already in high table in G-8+5 and G-20 summits. Indeed, this was a turbulent phase in relation to climate negotiation.

Meanwhile, Paris Agreement of 2015 marked a shift in the climate dialogue process. Here India promised to reduce Carbon Dioxide emission by 33-35 per cent by 2025. India claims that it has been able for reducing 21 per cent of its Carbon Dioxide emission and rest it is going to achieve soon. In a review conference in November 2020 with the world leaders, the Prime Minister made it clear India has produced 168-gigawatt electricity from renewable source. It aims to increase its production up-to 450 gigawatts by 2030. The Paris Agreement basically agreed to provide financial aid technical support and help in Carbon trading. Unfortunately, most of the promises have neither fulfilled nor the commitment is visible on the part of developed countries.

Ever since NDA came into power in 2014, the Prime Minister has initiated a host of steps to clean environment. Swatch-Bharat (Clean India) is one such initiative launched on 2nd October on the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, India's father of the Nation, that has several broad dimensions. It not only aims in making India defecation free rather promises to ban of single use plastic by 2022. In several policy papers, awareness campaigns, and speech it is being rehearsed by the government. A similar attempt was made by the Prime Minister in his independent day speech on 15th August in 2019. Under Ujala scheme which is



regarded one of the government's big flagship programmes, The it is providing (LPG) connection to the poor women at free of cost. With the special focus on women, the government aims at freeing them from smoke which largely affects their health and children as well. India in collaboration with the France has set up International Solar Alliance (ISA), whose headquarter is located at Guru Gram, Haryana. Now number of members has increased up to 120. The United States has recently joined as a member though its waiting for the ratification by US Congress. On the side-line of COP-26 conference at Glasgow, Scotland, the International Solar Alliance, and Green Grid Initiative of Britain launched one Sun, one Grid and one world. Several points can be listed as the outcome of the COP-26. Firstly, India is committed to reduce its dependency on fossil fuel by 50 per cent by 2030. Secondly, it is willing to increase its electricity production up-to 450gigawatt by means of solar power by 2030. Thirdly, it aims at lessening Carbon Dioxide by 30 per cent in the same period. Fourthly, of course, the Prime Minister of India demanded a trillion dollar to achieve those goals. Finally, India is likely to expand its forest cover to reduce Carbon Dioxide emission. In Addison to this, India is also committed to encouraging more and more electric vehicles in coming years. For that it is giving financial incentives to the buyers at the place of old patrol and diesel models.

1.6 SECURITY STRATEGY

Guarantying security to the people internally and externally is one of the primary national interests of the country's sovereign dispensation., While externally, defending territorial integrity and protecting citizens from outside threats are the major challenges for all the countries including India, on the domestic front, it is the responsibility of the governments to ensure internal security by eradicating poverty, tackling internal strife and fighting extremist violence, communalism in the states. The term strategy refers to science and art of executing a nation's ability that can ensure security for people both in the time of war and peace in the long run. It was uphill task for the newly emerging country India to devote resources for the nation-building. Several security components are outlined here that can be dealt in the subsequent paragraphs. Firstly, India emerged as a nuclear power after conducting Pokhran-II in 1998. Secondly, there are outstanding boundary disputes between India and Pakistan and India and China, remain deep area of security concern for every single Indian those who witnessed enormous political and security developments since independence and those who are living in today's India. India has already confronted four times with Pakistan in 1947-48, 1965 and 1999 in Kargil sector in Jammu & Kashmir and in 1971 which resulted in the



dismemberment of East-Pakistan. Both India and China were eye-to-eye ball confrontation in 1962. Thirdly, Terrorism added a new problem with the already prevailing issues since 1990. Alone in Jammu and Kashmir, the terrorism has taken thousands of innocent lives. The tentacles of this problem have spread to the different part of the country. The armed forces, police and civilians have been targeted and killed in those incidents. Fourthly, India faces insurgency problems in north-Eastern parts of the country. There are separatist's movements in different states to bifurcate from the parent state. The language movements and caste movements are sometimes aggravating the internal political situation. Finally, new security problems like Naxal or peoples war group (PWG) movement in more than dozens of states and proliferation of small arms are throwing major challenges to the peace and stability of the country. In Addition to this, narcotic drug trafficking over sea and through the porous border with the neighbouring countries, capturing power by Taliban extremists in Afghanistan, do not augur well from the Indian security perspective. These are not the positive signs, remain worrying factors always for Indian political and military establishments. Further, India's long coastline, the presence of US in Diego Garcia in Indian ocean, increasing activities by China in the South-Pacific part are vulnerable to continuous insecurity and external dangers.

India is a peace-loving country, but it was grappled with myriad challenges like mass migration, religious killing, and division of assets at the time of partition. Initially, there was huge difference between India and China over Tibet issue. While Nehru's international stature and Sardar Patel's helped to resolve some of the issues satisfactorily, India is yet to achieve permanent peace and stability with China and Pakistan both at Eastern and Western fronts.

India's adherence to UN purposes and principles, its leader's deep involvement in the Gandhi's non-violent freedom struggle, influence of western liberalism prompted its leaders not to nuclearize the country, as it was trying to recover from deep-rooted colonial slumber. Despite US offer, India remained aloof from both the superpowers and followed non-alignment policy. The NAM remains one of the key security strategies of the country irrespective of change of guard since partition. The repeated Imposition of war by Pakistan on India in different periods of the history, and attack by China in 1962 of course bothered India and forced it to strengthen its defence mechanism. Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai which was popular slogan in 1950s in India dissipated in Himalayan snows with the dastardly attack by China in 1962.

With the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's courage and intellect largely helped India to follow a strong foreign policy by signing the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with



USSR in August 1971. This was severely criticised in different quarters. Particularly, US dubbed it as India's compromise with the NAM policy. Even India which was unwilling to be nuclear power right after independence and 1950s, conducted its first nuclear test at Pokhran of Rajasthan in 1974. Despite the pressure mounted by international community on India to sign in nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT), India rejected it criticising it as discriminatory and monopolistic. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led government under Atal Behari Vajpayee conducted Pokhran-II in 1998 at Pokhran of Rajasthan on 11 and 13 May respectively. The United States, Japan, Australia, out rightly condemned the test, they imposed stringent economic sanction on India. India's immediate Eastern neighbour China castigated India's nuclear test and described that it would destabilise the South Asian region. India made it clear that the nuclear test is not directed against any country. It is, however, the geo-political location, rise of extremist forces and threats from some hostile neighbours compelled India to go for the nuclear test. Nonetheless, India's the then defence minister George Funnades one of the staunch leaders of Janata Dal United (JDU), justified the test and branded China is the enemy number-I of India. After several rounds of discussions between India's Minister of External Affairs Yashwant Singh and US Deputy Secretary of States Strobe Talbot, US softened its stand in relation to India. Consequently, it prepared path for the visit of US President's to India after 22 years. Similarly, Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited United States in September 2000 to advance the Indo-US dialogue process further. It is to be noted that although it was electioneering year in that country, the President Clinton gave all sorts of assurance to Indian Prime Minister to take Indo-US cooperation to new heights. As a result, India and the US engaged in dialogue process and became strategic allies and signed Next Step towards Partnership (NSSP) in 2001. Realising India's growing significance in the international ambience and clean track record in the area of armaments, US agreed to a proposal regarding a nuclear deal for civilian purpose. For that United States made brought amendments in the country's domestic law 123 in US Congress which allowed US government to go for nuclear deal with India. According to the terms of the agreement, out of 22 nuclear reactors fourteen were kept under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. Gradually, Australia, France, Mongolia, Kazakhstan expressed readiness to export Uranium to India.

The terrorism continues to be a serious security threat to the India's territorial integrity. The Jammu & Kashmir is jolted by the extremist problem over the last three decades. Countless youths women and innocent civilians have been lost in several horrific incidents. Several Indian cities such as Delhi, Bangalore, Varanasi, Allahabad, most notably the financial capital of India Mumbai have already seen the killing of innocent people many



times over last three decades. Narcotic drug supply to the country via Bangladesh and through sea-route is intended to disturb the security scenario in the country. The small arms like AK-47 rifle are also used in the time of communal flare-up in different parts. Cybercrime is another security problem through internet. The illegal hacking of security related websites help in licking the information in the hands of cyber criminals is not good for the nation's security interest.

Even though India is a secular country according to its constitution, it witnesses communal pogrom in different states of the country. Particularly, the Northern part of the is experiences communal violence from time to time. The Sikh riot of 1984 in the national capital region of the country, The Babri mosque demolition of 1992 at Ajothya in Uttar Pradesh, Godhra riot in 2002, the Mujapharabad and Dadri incidents in 2015 strengthen this above argument. The unity and integrity of the country remains big challenge for both central and state governments. The violent activities by Peoples War Group were largely responsible for worsening the domestic situation. Although the menace is fading away slowly, still it is prevailed in several under-developed states like Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Telengana, Andhra Pradesh and in the backward region of Maharashtra. Obviously, it is the duty of the government to arrest disproportionate increase in different states. Besides this, the caste violence, harassment of women, children and old aged are the areas of social insecurity need to be dealt by the constituent states with utmost priority.

As India is a developing country, for the faster economic growth it must take steps required for the rapid industrialisation of the country. At the same time, it must strike a balance between sustainable development and rapid industrialisation. The newly initiated start-up programmes in fact aims in making the country a self-reliant economy. the skilled youth population, efficient technology can facilitate capacity building in the country that can only help in expediting the economic progress. Another dimension is the growing discontent among the people in the regions of the states as they are being displaced from their original land in the name of industrialisation and setting big power projects and river dams. The public outrage in Singur in the state of West Bengal against Tata's Nano car factory, the movement in in port-city Paradip against Posco the South Korean tycoon, tribal protest in Lanjigarh against Vedanta Alumina groups are the glaring examples that challenged the political system. The Narmada Bachao movement in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh is one such apparent example that enhances the debate further.



1.7 SUMMARY

Although the primary interest of a country's sovereign-government to defend its territorial integrity and guarantee security to its citizens those who are residing inside and outside it, the trade, environment and social security cannot be neglected which are dominant discourse in contemporary time. The newer kinds of security like human security are now leading the social science more vigorously than in the past. The global trade is one of the key drivers of country's economy including India that can help in measuring power in the crux of international relations. With the rise of neoliberal scholars in 1970s like Joseph Nye Jr, Joseph S. Nye, Robert O. Keohane, and Balduin, changed the realist discourse of power-politics. They largely emphasized the economy particularly; trade is key driver to achieve cooperation than having only arms to encourage competition nation states. The entire world is today at risk of its survival on account of environmental hazards. The recurring flood, and drought-like situation, erratic monsoon, severe heat wave is throwing severe challenges to the animals and plants. The leaders are meeting every year without achieving any desired result. The Earth Summit of Riodigenero in Brazil in 1992 set an agenda for 21st century aiming to expedite sustainable development process.

The COP meetings are being held every year since 1995. The third COP summit in 1997 is remarkable as it decided to reduce Carbon Dioxide emission in a phased manner and bring down the world's temperature up to pre-industrial era. It fixed several responsibilities on the developed countries like providing financial assistance, offering technology, cooperating Carbon trading etc. It is different matter those efforts did not yield desired results. The COP-21 was held at Paris and fixed target for the developed countries. Recently, all the members met at Glasgow, Scotland in November 2021. India is committed to reduce the use of fossil fuel by 50 per cent by 2030. It is willing to generate electricity from renewable source 450 megawatt. It is further committed to achieve Carbon net zero by 2070. More importantly, India has already started taking a host of steps to achieve sustainable development goals fixed by Paris agreement and Glasgow summits. It has been on the forefront in initiating International Solar Alliance. The number of members has increased more than 120 in recent years. In a significant move, ISA and Green Grid Initiative, Britain have called for "One World, One Grid and One Sun" on the side-line of the COP-26 Summit.

Another significant aspect of this chapter is security that continues to remain significant for the survival of the nation-state system. Eradicating poverty, internal strife, fighting extremist violence, communalism are the internal problems while pose serious threats to the security of India on the one hand, externally, defending territorial integrity protecting border



are the major challenges for all the countries including India on the other. The term strategy refers to science and art of executing a nation's ability that can ensure security for people both in the time of war and peace in the long run. It was uphill task for the newly emerging country India to devote resources for the nation-building. Several security components are outlined here that can be dealt in the subsequent paragraphs.

Firstly, India emerged as a nuclear power after conducting Pokhran-II in 1998. Secondly, there are outstanding boundary disputes between India and Pakistan and India and China remains a deep area of security concern for every single Indian those who witnessed spectacular political and security developments since independence and those who are living in today's India. India has already confronted four times with Pakistan in 1947-48, 1965 and 1999 in Kargil sector in Jammu & Kashmir and in 1971 which resulted in the dismemberment of East-Pakistan. Both India and China were eye-to-eyeball confrontation in 1962. Thirdly, Terrorism added a new problem with the already existing issues since 1990. Alone in Jammu and Kashmir the terrorism has taken thousands of innocent lives. The tentacles of this problem have spread to the different parts of the country. The armed forces, police and civilians have been targeted and killed in those incidents. Fourthly, India faces insurgency problems in north-Eastern parts of the country. There are separatist's movements in different states to bifurcate from the parent state. The language movements and communal tension are sometimes aggravating the domestic political situation. Finally, new security problems like people's war group movement in more than dozens of states narcotic drug trafficking and proliferation of small arms via Nepal and Bangladesh and through sea-route, communalism are throwing new challenges to the peace and stability of the country. In Addison to this, narcotic drug trafficking over sea and through the porous border with the neighbouring countries, capturing power by Taliban extremists in Afghanistan, do not augur well from the Indian security perspective. These are not the positive signs, remain worrying factors for Indian political and military establishments. Further, India's long coastline, the presence of US in Diego Garcia in Indian ocean, increasing activities by China in the South-Pacific part are vulnerable to continuous insecurity and external dangers. Therefore, India has to follow long-term security approach to face those imposing challenges in ensuing century.

1.8 PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the major trade barriers India is facing with major economies of the world?
2. Critically analyse the major agreements related to environment and their impact on India.



3. Elucidate security challenges for India?
4. Discuss the factors that led India to emerge as a nuclear power.
5. Expound the outcome of Paris agreement and COP-26 at Glasgow and their impact on India.

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(b) INDIA AS A GLOBAL POWER: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

Dr. Surae Soren

STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Learning Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Understanding Postcolonial State
- 2.4 Principles in India's Foreign Policy
- 2.5 Nonaligned Movement
- 2.6 Nuclear Policy
- 2.7 Economic Policy
- 2.8 India's Role in South Asia
- 2.9 India's Significance in International Politics
- 2.10 Conclusion
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2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Student would understand Postcolonial State and Principles of India's Foreign Policy.
- They would also understand about Significance of India in South Asia and Global Politics.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

The foreign policy of India has displayed a multitude of analytical dimensions. In doing so it ranges from a pledge to moralistic principles which is deeply embedded in traditional ethos, energy and intent to lead the world to become a torchbearer of the world in desperate



situations, giving the world innovative ideas. India's foreign policy has been successful in protecting its geographical integrity, maintaining autonomy in thoughts and actions while at the same time clinging on to wisdom of its glorious civilization. India's foreign policy is not mere a subject of analysis but a well-crafted policy priorities than can be emulated in the world. Indian foreign policy shows how a country can play an effective role in steering the global order based on principles of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and mutual respect for sovereignty and status.

India's foreign policy makes India's position unique in the global system due to India's value laden principle-based outlook. It is difficult to categorize or classify India's foreign policy due to its uniqueness and vastness. Often it becomes difficult to understand due to nature of complexity involved in India's foreign policy. The various theories of international relations too become inadequate in explaining India's foreign policy due to its multifarious dimensions. Since its independence India has adopted different approaches in dealing different problems of the world. Therefore, it becomes absolutely prudent to analyse and study India's foreign policy as India complete its seventy five years of independence as a sovereign nation. The analysis becomes even more intriguing as India must witness a long colonial rule. It becomes necessary to understand that how India has fared after its independence and whether India still shows continuity in its foreign policy discourse which it has inherited from history.

The long colonial rule for more than hundred years was a very devastating phase for India. India not only lost its political independence but was also got shattered economically. The colonial rule also adversely impacted India socially, ideologically, and emotionally. The colonial rule widened sectarian divisions and weakened the social fabric. Due to loss of political independence India was mocked around the world as an uncivilized barbaric country. This not only affected the morale of the nation but also sowed the seeds of national movement which resulted in India's freedom in 1947. The period of colonial rule in India was not merely a period of great struggle but was also a time of nation building, redefining national ethos, search of ancient knowledge and wisdom, and self assessment of political and social structure. The experience gained during national movement and assertion of Indian tradition, knowledge and realpolitik has shaped the foreign policy trajectory of independent India.



2.3 UNDERSTANDING POSTCOLONIAL STATE

The study of postcolonial state depicts a very significant phenomenon in the study of system of states in the international relations. That phenomenon showcases a troublesome event of colonialism in human history which marks the widespread slavery of large population by a significant small population in the world for about two hundred years. The postcolonial therefore means the time and space which has past colonialism or the world order which has emerged after the end of colonial period. The postcolonial in other sense is the world order which has come after experiencing the colonial phase. The colonial era was very brutal and had broken the natural civilizational development by usage of means of sciences through industrial production and newly generated ideology like laissez-faire and white man's burden. What was most treacherous was the propagation of colonialism in the name of development and upgradation of the indigenous people. The colonial activities severely affected the existing social, political and economic order in the colonized countries.

Apart from slavery the other brutal aspect which emerged during the colonial period was depicting the colonized people as barbaric and therefore fit to be called as inferior human beings. These was done not only by imposing an alien form of political and social change but by also misrepresenting the art, culture, tradition, and history of the colonized people. A conscious effort was made to undermine the knowledge tradition of the colonized and impose a new and overbearing value system as considered to be fit by the colonizers. This made a great impact on the colonized people. The colonization process severely altered the traditional practices and value system. Despite its brutal nature it had brought modernity and modern knowledge and value system to the world. As a result the colonization process effected the emergence of a new global social and political structure. When the colonization period ended the new structure remained and was shaped and altered as per the understating and convenience of the newly independent nations. This new structure forms the basis of the study of postcolonial state. One thing which is very common around the world is the re-examination of the effect of colonization and its impact on the socio-political and economic aspects. Thus, postcolonial study showcases a new kind of knowledge system which has emerged after the colonial era.

The postcolonial study tries to dislodge the hegemony of western or colonial powers in every fields of knowledge production by re-examination and deconstruction of existing knowledge. The postcolonial study becomes complex when an attempt is made to draw a general meaning of postcolonial studies. Different authors have viewed and given emphasis



to different areas while studying post colonial system. In an authoritative articulation Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin have observed that “We use the term ‘post-colonial’, however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Helen 2002: 2). They have tried to generalize the meaning of postcolonial by including every type of culture which was affected by the colonial process. The postcolonial study thus has a continuity from the colonial days to the present times. The present-day knowledge formation is affected by the changes which were made during the colonial era. Leela Gandhi is of the view that “postcolonialism can be seen as a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past” (Gandhi 1998: 4). She also emphasizes on studying the antagonistic relation between the colonizers and the colonized (Ibid). By understanding the colonial era relationship between the colonizers and the colonized, the present era power-knowledge relationships between the west and rest of the world could be understood.

In international relations postcolonial study has a unique place. The entire colonization process was relation between different states which was based on values of superiority and domination. This is the reason why postcolonial studies developed its roots in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia. These were also the regions which faced the brute burnt of colonialism. As a result, the post colonialism in international relations questions the existing global norms and ethics which claim to impart global justice. Postcolonial study in international relations also challenge the western or European domination in creation of international order by questioning the ethical foundations of international society building.

Postcolonial studies therefore find its roots in those philosophies which have talked about international society and perpetual peace. However, the early protest movement against Columbus occupation of the Americas or early protest movement against the the European colonization of Asia, America, Africa and Australia have guided the understanding of the postcolonial study. The way the slaves revolted against the colonizers and questioned the ethical, legal and cultural reasons of slavery, still form the major premises of rejecting western norms of creating an international society.

The postcolonial study questions the assumptions of truth which the west has propagated especially those related to the colonized. Postcolonial study challenges the truth about the colonized as it believes that the western understanding how much ever honest cannot truly understand the conditions of the colonized. There is also a factor of power-knowledge relation which favours the western understanding. Since true understanding of international



society cannot be produced, the postcolonial study reject the creation of global institutions. The postcolonial study believes that the global institutions are created according to the western understanding therefore it may not serve any purpose to the cause of the postcolonial states.

The postcolonial study also focuses on the study of culture and identities. This has also led to the development of subaltern studies. Studying culture and identity becomes important because the west has created a certain form of identity and culture, which distinguishes them with the rest of the world. So, the rest of the world is considered as barbaric by the west. Edward Said has talked about 'Orient' which is culture and identity of the middle east and 'Occident' which is culture and identity of the Europe. According to Said the difference between the Orient and the Occident is man made (Said 2003: 5). Orientalism is struggle between the colonizers and the colonized over the claim of culture and identity. Due to colonial domination the rest of the world has been characterized as violent and unlawful. The postcolonial study challenges this type of identity.

In the contemporary times postcolonial study has given a new dimension to the study of international relations. The postcolonial understanding has shaped the foreign policy of the postcolonial states. The postcolonial study thus explains the foreign policy of developing countries which challenge the domination of western powers. Similarly, the post colonial study also explains the foreign policy of western powers which play a dominant role in shaping international order. In the entire discourse of postcolonial study, the norm creation, ethics and challenge to western understanding becomes very important. India as a post colonial state has tried hard to develop a foreign policy which is ethic based, non discriminatory and helpful in building equitable international society.

2.4 PRINCIPLES IN INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India got independence from the British rule in 1947 after a prolonged and sustained national movement for independence. The national movement played a very important role in shaping India's foreign policy. It also united India as a nation. Due to long colonial rule India started to show postcolonial characteristics. This happened because during the long national movement as the national leaders were revising, re-examining and reinterpreting India's tradition, culture and values, the British rule forced upon western values and system. This is how the idea of parliamentary democracy system, modern judiciary and modern education system came to India. Another important effect which the British rule had was in India's



foreign policy. The British rule emphasized on strong sovereignty, balance of power, international trade and supremacy of military power. Though British rule was draconian and exploitative these value systems were inherited by the independent Indian government.

As a postcolonial state India neither fully discarded the British system nor did it forget its tradition, culture and ethos which it had carried over since generations. Showing characteristics of postcolonial state India exhibits a unique kind of foreign policy which has its foundations in ancient India value system and at the same time has also adapted to modern international system. This makes India's foreign policy independent from global pressures. Since independence India has shown some pattern in its foreign policy which has its roots in historical values.

India has always seen the world as a one single unit living in peace and harmony. The ancient concept of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam (the world is one family) has guided India's foreign policy since independence. In this context the ancient Indian philosophy of Advaita is worth mentioning. In recent years Advaita has gained acceptance in India's foreign policy discourse. The Advaita postulates that "the globe as a political entity is perpetually connected" (Shahi 2015: 15). India's foreign policy also sees the world as a one entity which is globally connected therefore making discrimination and injustice impossible. India's understanding of interconnected world is about sharing resources and values. The ultimate aim of incorporating Advaita in foreign policy is to create a world which is free from hunger, poverty and exploitation.

Since independence India's foreign policy has also been deeply influenced and shaped by the Buddhist principles. The concept of Panchsheel or five virtues had played an important role in nurturing India's relations with other countries. India used Panchsheel to establish strong and long lasting relationship with other postcolonial states. In foreign policy the five principles are: "(i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (ii) mutual non-aggression, (iii) mutual non-interference, (iv) equality and territorial integrity and sovereignty, and (v) peaceful co-existence". The Panchsheel helped India to project itself as benevolent and nonaggressive country in the world. It helped in increasing India's prestige in the world as the world was looking for a peaceful environment after witnessing two world wars.

India's proclivity for world peace has also come from Gandhian principles of Satya and Ahimsha (truth and nonviolence). Mahatma Gandhi's influence on nation building and also in foreign policy had been profound. Gandhi's teaching of truth and nonviolence was not only integrated in India's foreign policy but was also cherished in entire world. Gandhian



philosophy and values prohibited India from indulging in power politics. As a result India's foreign policy focused on world peace and cooperation.

However the international system does not merely accepts pacifistic ideas but it also witness power politics. The countries engage in war for various reasons like security and prestige. So creation of strong military is also important. Having witness military incursions from neighboring countries, India's foreign policy based on nonviolent principles was modified and element of military strength was included in foreign policy discourse. However there was a dilemma as to how military activities could be condoned. The ancient tradition and knowledge system based on ancient value system was invoked. The Indian foreign policy believes in the concept of dharmayuddha to conduct war. The "dharma stands for right conduct in order to maintain cosmic harmony" (Roy 2007: 233). The dharmayuddha therefore is accepted when the order has to be maintained, matasyanyaya has to be ended and justice has to be prevailed. India's military strength is therefore to protect the nations from enemy attack.

India has deep sense of traditional values of peace and dharma. Since independence India's foreign policy has exhibited value and ethics laden actions. India feels proud in following the path of ethics and hope that the world too become more ethical. However as the international system has diverse competing perspectives, India's foreign policy has adapted to the emerging environment without compromising on ethics.

2.5 NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

As a postcolonial state India has exhibited a unique foreign policy which is unparalleled in the world. Uniqueness in India's foreign policy can be attributed to its policy of nonalignment. Due to India's effort, the nonalignment policy became a global movement saving large number of postcolonial and newly independent states from the consequences of war. As the second world ended in 1945 the cold war soon began. The cold war was an indirect war between the two power blocs. The American bloc wanted to create a world order based on liberal capitalism and on the other hand the Soviet bloc wanted to create a world order based on communism. This ideological driven indirect warfare was engulfing entire world and the newly independent states were facing the consequences.

The nonalignment movement could be considered as a postcolonial movement. The genesis of nonalignment movement lies in the colonization process in which the non European nations were colonized. The colonization process occurred as an effect of



propagation of laissez-faire ideology. The European nations in their zeal to search for new markets and natural resources explored the world. With their superiority in military strength, science and technology they defeated the non western world and forced them to slavery. During the colonization era racial discrimination became prominent which is still continuing in different forms. India too had to face economic exploitation and racial discrimination. Since the time of national movement itself, that is during the pre independent era Indian leaders became wary of liberal economics. Indian were also not asked about their willingness to participate in the world wars. Several Indian soldiers were send to different parts of the world to fight in the world war. India's nonalignment policy got developed even before it got independence. After India got independence it decided to not join any power blocs and develop its independent foreign policy.

India's diplomatic efforts played a crucial role in expanding the nonaligned movement. The nonaligned movement formed a large bloc of newly independent nations who did not wish to go into war. The outcome of nonaligned movement can be summed as the following-“(i) The non-aligned group's pressure undoubtedly pushed forward and speeded the process of de-colonialisation. Also polarisation of countries into two blocs was slowed down. (ii) The non-aligned group brought to the notice of the peoples of the world that there was an alternate side to these and that bloc policy would not serve the interests of world peace. (iii) The non-aligned and the Afro-Asian group helped the newly independent countries by giving them the necessary moral support in the independent exercise of their right to act as they themselves saw fit” (Ratnam 1970: 266).

Having formally established in 1961 the Nonaligned movement at present has 120 members. These members are not aligned to any power blocs. With the end of cold war in 1991 the nonaligned movement has kept its existence and relevance in international relations by adapting to the emerging global challenges. It now focuses on global cooperation on issues like climate change and poverty elevation. India still plays a crucial role in steering the functions of the nonaligned movement. The nonaligned movement could be considered as India's successful foreign policy.

2.6 NUCLEAR POLICY

India's nuclear policy had always been an issue of concern not only in domestic politics but also at the global level. In the postcolonial discourse the nuclear issue has not been discussed significantly partly due the fact that nuclear programme need sophisticated technology and huge financial resources. The postcolonial states neither possess technology nor financial



resources. The nuclear issues had been a matter of global concern ever since the atomic bombs were used in Japan in 1945. The sheer devastation it caused rattled the human kind. However the powerful countries especially the five permanent members of the security council in the United Nations monopolized the nuclear issues. The permanent five ran nuclear programme and conducted nuclear tests and prohibited any other country to run nuclear programme by threat of economic sanctions or military actions. However there was also a global discourse on usage of atom for peaceful purposes. Nevertheless any discourse on nuclear issue was dominated by the powerful western countries.

For India the nuclear issue was largely an ethical issue. As Indian civilization had been highly ethical and moralistic in nature, the freedom movement was largely peaceful. Gandhian principles of truth and nonviolence prohibited any harm even to the the enemy. So it became extremely difficult for India to shape its nuclear policy. The question about why does India need a nuclear programme and whether India should possess nuclear weapons was gradually answered.

Due to the destructive nature of nuclear weapons India was largely averse to nuclear weapons or the nuclear programme. The Indian leaders and the general masses were largely wary of nuclear programme. However it was also scientifically evident to the world that the nuclear energy can be harnessed for development purposes. So if India does not undertake nuclear programme it would fall behind rest of the world in development indices. The Indian scientific community argued in favour of nuclear programme by highlighting the utility of nuclear energy. Indian physicist Homi J. Bhaba “convinced India’s first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, of the signal importance of atomic energy research in enabling India to build an industrial base and to tackle the overwhelming problems of entrenched poverty” (Ganguly 1999: 150). On 03 August 1954, the Department of Atomic Energy was created. Since then India’s nuclear programme had moved on and gradually India’s nuclear policy started to take shape. “Despite his public opposition to nuclear weapons, Nehru granted Bhaba a free hand in the development of India’s nuclear infrastructure” (Ibid: 151). However this did not mean that India was pursuing a bomb.

As India’s nuclear policy developed, India started to call for global elimination of nuclear weapons from the earth. India wanted the world to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes. As India called for global elimination of nuclear weapons, India’s call went unheard and on the contrary the American and the Soviet bloc went into a nuclear arms race. India also found out that the world was discriminatory as the nuclear technology possessing country were reluctant to share nuclear technology even for peaceful purposes.



India's nuclear policy started to change due to geopolitical needs. In 1962 as a result of Chinese incursion on Indian territory India started to rethink about its military as well as nuclear policy. When China conducted its first nuclear test at Lop Nor on 16 October 1964, it altered the military balance between India and China. As a consequence domestic call for nuclear test grew in India. This also meant that people's aversion to nuclear weapons receded.

At the global level India found out that a militarily weak nation was not respected. It also found that India's neighbourhood was hostile and so its territorial integrity was vulnerable. This belief got strength due to India-Pakistan war in 1965 and 1971. India also found that the powerful nations who possessed nuclear nations were not ready to share nuclear technology and wanted to retain nuclear hegemony. This is evident from the fact that to prohibit nuclear tests, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) was brought into force on March 5, 1970. In this scenario India gradually changed its nuclear policy. In its nuclear policy, India never discarded its ethical and moral principles. However, it accepted nuclear bomb as a means of security provider and prestige builder. Therefore, India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974 and termed it as "peaceful nuclear explosion".

The world took note of India's nuclear test. The western countries reacted sharply and criticized India. A London Suppliers Group was formed to prohibit and control nuclear technology and materials to countries which did not adhere to NPT. India viewed the reactions of the west as discriminatory. Ironically India achieved what it wanted to achieve. India showed to the world that India is not a weak nation and follows an independent foreign policy.

For almost two decades India maintained a kind of status quo. It did not conduct further nuclear tests. However, with the increasing nexus between China and Pakistan alarmed India and it started to feel threatened. Further the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) which prohibited nuclear test was adopted by the United Nations in 1996. India termed CTBT as discriminatory and refused to sign it. To strengthen its security and to reestablish its prestige India conducted second nuclear tests in 1998. The world again reacted severely, and the western countries put sanctions on India.

India's 1998 nuclear tests projected India as a powerful and responsible nation. India also came up with its nuclear doctrine in 2003. India's nuclear doctrine contains two important aspects. It talked about creating a "credible minimum deterrent" and maintaining a position of "No First Use". It declared that its nuclear weapons were only to deter the adversary and at the same time it will not first use nuclear weapons against any country. Thus even after becoming a nuclear country India maintained a strong moral position.



India's nuclear policy has witness a strange tension in its foreign policy discourse. Being a postcolonial state India faced the dilemma of using all its resources for poverty alleviation and development programme in one hand and on other hand it wanted to project itself as a strong nation capable of protecting its people and sovereignty. India wanted to challenge western understanding of India as a weak and poor country. In conducting nuclear tests India not only challenged the western domination but also showcased itself as powerful nation.

The complexities in India's foreign policy behaviour have shown a gradual progression from a postcolonial state to an aspiring global power. India's determination to challenge the western hegemony in international order, social-political and economic spheres, ideology and thought system, and knowledge building process has projected India's aspiration to contribute significantly in creation of a new world order. India's vision of global order is based on the principles of peace, equitable distribution of resources, mutual respect and cooperation, non exploitative global relation. India's nuclear status has projected India's capability in military affairs and also in science and technology. Other significant factor which has helped India to aspire for a powerful position in the global order is its rise in world economy. The status of a country in international politics is not merely determined by military strength but also by its economic strength as it is the economy which sustains the military prowess and keep the population healthy and prosperous.

2.7 ECONOMIC POLICY

India had been an agricultural economy for a long time. The economic exploitation during the British rule had rendered India poor. The colonization process broke down India's economic structure. So after independence India focused on agricultural production. Apart from agriculture India also focused on industrial production. Both the agriculture and industry sector was developed under a plan economy which helped India to alleviate its poverty to a significant level. To sustain the agricultural activities large dams were built. These dams worked as a multi purpose project, producing electricity and providing water for irrigation. India also developed mineral based industries to produce iron and steel. As India was moving towards development its centrally controlled planned economy started to show its limitation. The 'inspector raj' and 'red tapism' became clogs in the wheel of progress. As a result India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate remained almost constant for a long time. The GDP grew at the rate of 3.5 per cent from 1950 to 1980. This somehow also indicated that the economic policy needed reorientation.



In the late eighties due to political instability and economic stagnation, India's economic condition deteriorated significantly. The economic deterioration happened due to lack of competitiveness and innovation in the economic policy. In 1991 India became so vulnerable that it had hardly enough foreign reserves to import for three weeks. This became a watermark for India in its economic policy. For India this was the time when it could reorient its economic policy. India approached the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for financial help. The IMF agreed to help India if it would initiate structural changes in economy. India was ready to make structural changes. Therefore in 1991 India announced to liberalize its economy. As a result the Multi National Corporations (MNCs) were allowed in India and private persons were allowed to run big industries.

The 1991 economic transformation brought positive results for India. India's economy started to grow. The average GDP growth rate was 6.6 per cent from 1992 to 2008 and 7.3 per cent from 2009 to 2018. In the year 2022 India's GDP is about \$3.25 trillion and the foreign reserves stand at \$619 billion. India has grown into a huge economy, standing at sixth place in the world economy. This gargantuan leap in economic position has reshaped India's priorities and remodeled its global aspiration. In 2001 Ashley Tellis, an expert on India's foreign policy had opined that if India grows at the rate of 7 per cent or more it will become an effective pole in Asian geopolitics and a significant country in the world (see Baru 2002: 2585).

The strength of India's economic policy can be analyzed by the fact that during the 2008 financial crisis, India was not severely affected. Apart from that India had stopped receiving economic aid but has started to give economic aid to the needy countries. In the 2004 Tsunami India was one of the leading country which helped the devastated countries. India had also provided economic assistance to several countries which had asked for assistance.

India's economic policy is now focused on making India a manufacturing hub for several commodities ranging from electronic items to heavy machine manufacturing. In recent years India has also developed its oil refinery capacity and has become significant supplier of lubricants and other hydrocarbon products. As India's software industry is developed, India has also provided technological help to other developing countries.

As India has gradually transformed into a significant global market it has aligned itself to the global economy. This has given India a much needed leverage in economic matters. Now India can control the flow of finance capital and influence the global economy. India is also hopeful of becoming a five trillion dollar economy by 2026 (PTI 2022). This will then make



India the third largest economy in the world (Ibid). In recent years India's status in the world has drastically improved.

2.8 INDIA'S ROLE IN SOUTH ASIA

The South Asia region has a unique place in India's foreign policy. Having a traditional and historical link, India share cultural, linguistic and religious ties with the South Asian nations. Till 1947 India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were under the British rule. These countries had witness a joint freedom struggle. They share the same history of exploitation under the colonial rule. But the most significant aspect of the South Asia region is the shared civilizational value. Be it Nepal, Bhutan or Sri Lanka, the South Asia region is joined by shared emotional heritage.

India has since its independence helped shape a common identity for the South Asian region, based on historical ties and mutually acceptable values. India has played an important role in regional integration. In 2014 India initiated a Neighborhood First policy with an objective to develop a collaborative partnership in fields of economy, technology, education, environment, and digital connectivity. Under this policy India has provided assistance to the South Asian nations.

India has also given high priority to economic relationship. While India's regional trade in South Asia was about \$13.5 billion in 2008 it rose to \$36 billion in 2018. Most of the Indian export go to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal. India's trade in the South Asia region is about 4 per cent of India's global trade. There is a high potential for improvement in trade relationship. To boost trade ties India has made several trade agreements with South Asian nations. In 1994 India signed SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) and in 2004 India signed South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA).

The main role of India in the South Asia region is that of security provider and regional balancer. India is also trying hard to further integrate the South Asia region. India promotes regions organizations like South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal (BBIN) initiative. Being the largest country in the South Asia both in geographical size and economy India has provided economic and infrastructural assistance to the region. India's assistance to the region during COVID-19 pandemic in terms of vaccine and other medical assistance was remarkable.



As India shares historical tie with the South Asian countries, issues related to the region receives special attention from India. Despite India's size and strength India has never tried to dominate the political or social issues in the region. India has no intention to become a hegemonic country (Chattopadhyay 2011: 2). India is determined to help and cooperate with the South Asian countries.

2.9 INDIA'S SIGNIFICANCE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The emergent India in the present international politics is a different India. The contemporary India is more confident and self reliant. Its is ready to take risks and play a pivotal role in international politics. India had believed that it is destined to achieve great power status (Ogden 2011 : 4). While the economic liberalization in 1991 provided needed impetus to economy, the 1998 nuclear tests catapulted India into the world stage.

As the world community on United States' behest imposed several sanctions on India, India took this opportunity to initiate a robust diplomacy to cope with sanctions and reformulate its bilateral relations. Due to India's diplomatic push and ability to leverage its economic and military strength, India became successful in changing the world opinion to its favour. Even "the USA began to accept the new consequences of India in terms of her economy, nuclear capabilities, stable democracy and large middle class" (Ibid: 10). The long episodes of talk between Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott helped eliminate misunderstandings between India and the United States. This talks also help change India's image in the world. India was able to convince the world that India is a responsible nuclear nation and is ready to play a major role in global issues.

India also improved its relation with China. India's relation with China is now based on shared partnership and mutual respect. India is fast gaining parity with China in terms of military and economic field. During 2020 border skirmishes at Galwan, Ladakh, India was successful in thwarting Chinese incursion into Indian territory. India has also been successful in breaking Chinese encirclement of India. One such example is the initiation of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) or Quad in 2007 between India, United States, Japan and Australia.

India has gained respect in the world due to its economic and military power. India is now member of several multilateral organizations and plays important role in shaping the policies of these organization. India's concern is now heard in international organizations like World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). India is also actively participate in multilateral forums like BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South



Africa) dialogues, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and East Asia Summit (EAS). India also help shape viewpoint in the United Nations and is a generous contributor to the UN Peacekeeping missions. India also plays important role in shaping viewpoint related to common concerns like issues of climate change, global poverty alleviation and containment of pandemic. India helps financially, technologically and also provides workers, staff and experts.

In the recent years India's role has increased in several fields. Be it outer space exploration or manufacture of vaccines, India has taking a lead role not only to showcase its prowess to the world but also to serve the human kind. The world community has also recognized India's role and contribution to global development and diplomacy.

2.10 CONCLUSION

India's history, tradition, culture and civilizational ethos play a crucial role in shaping India's foreign policy. The aspiration for global power is the manifest of deep rooted thought that India was a powerful country in the world and India must achieve its past glory. India also feels that it has every capability to achieve its dream. The postcolonial characteristic helps India to stick to its roots and at the same time make diplomatic manoeuvres in the technologically and financially driven modern world. India's aspiration for power is not to accomplish hegemonic objective but to contribute in global peace and development. India cherishes mutual cooperation and equitable distribution of resources. For India the world order should be non exploitative and non hegemonic. India's foreign policy is value laden and collaborative in nature. The increasing Indian role in international issues has made the world order more ethical and cooperative. India rises in the world is a pleasant phenomenon in international relations.

2.11 PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Multiple Choice Questions

- a. When was Nonaligned Movement formally established?
 - (i) 1960
 - (ii) 1961
 - (iii) 1962
- b. No First Use means.....
 - (i) never use nuclear weapons
 - (ii) become first in using nuclear weapons



- (iii) not using nuclear weapons first
2. Explain the role of ethical values in India's foreign policy.
3. Examine the impact of nuclear tests on India's foreign policy?
4. Discuss the role of economy in shaping India's foreign policy.
5. Critically examine the diplomatic status of India in international relations.

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