

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

STUDY MATERIAL

FOURTH SEMESTER

ELECTIVE : PS4E05

For

M.A.POLITICAL SCIENCE

(2017 ADMISSION ONWARDS)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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MODULE I

FOREIGN POLICY MEANING AND DETERMINANTS

Introduction

Policy is considered as a plan of action and which is essential for the development of a nation. Policy of a nation is further divided into domestic as well as foreign. In the era of Globalization no nation can exist in an isolated one. Security, economic growth, environmental issues etc. create the nation states to collaborate and coexist together. As a result of these, bilateral, trilateral as well as multilateral relations build up between and among nations. Foreign policy is defined as the general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs. Leopold von Ranke emphasized the primacy of geography and external threats in shaping foreign policy, but later writers emphasized domestic factors. Diplomacy is the tool of foreign policy, and war, alliances, and international trade may all be manifestations of it (www.britannica.com).

According to Joseph Frankle 'foreign policy consists of decisions and actions and while involve some appreciable extent relations between one state and others (Shivakumar, 2011)

Padelford and Lincoln defines "Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete course of action to attain these objectives and preserve interests" (amerrizwan.blogspot.com, 2009)

From ancient periods onwards India was engaging with the world. It is evident from the writings of the scholars and travellers. During the national movement Nehru have clear vision of engaging with the world. As a newly independent nation, India gave much emphasis in engaging with the world. Article 51 of the Constitution of India clearly stipulate that '(a) promote international peace and security; (b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations; (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration' are its foreign policy objectives.

Basic Principles of India's Foreign Policy

1. Non alignment
2. Opposition to colonialism and imperialism
3. Opposition to racialism
4. Pacific Settlement of disputes

Determinants of India's foreign Policy

a. Geography

Napoleon once stated that any country's foreign policy is determined by its geography. Country's size, location, topography etc. are basic determinants of any country's foreign policy. In 1903 Lord Curzon, the then Governor General of India, predicted that the geographical position of India would more and more push it into the forefront of international affairs. In 1948 Nehru spoke of India as the pivotal centre of South, South-East, and Western Asia. It is a sort of Asian bridge (**Fadia, 2014**). Further its northern borders are generally protected by the mighty Himalayas. It has a vast sea coast on three sides. This factor cannot be ignored in foreign policy making. India's coastline is vital for its foreign policy. Indian Ocean was used as a route for penetration into India during 17th - 19th centuries by the French, British, Dutch and the Portuguese. Most of the foreign trade of India goes through the Indian Ocean. India

has been supporting the demand of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace because that is essentially vital for India's security (**Khanna, 1997**). India has common land frontiers, at places, with Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Myanmar (Burma) Nepal and Bhutan. The former Soviet Union was also very near to the State of Jammu&Kashmir. Until the Chinese aggression in 1962, the Himalayas were known as the defenders (prahari) of India. That is no truer. The air forces of all countries have changed the security perspective all over the world. India's vast coastline necessitates not only a powerful navy, but also friendly relations with other naval powers present in the Indian Ocean (ibid).

b. History and Political Tradition

India's foreign policy is a by-product of history and tradition. As Nehru said, 'a country's foreign policy ultimately emerges from its own tradition, usages, and objectives and more particularly from its recent past.' Palmer and Perkins point out that the roots of Indian foreign policy are to be found in her civilization, the heritage of British policies, the independence movement and the influence of Gandhian Philosophy(**Fadia, 2014**). It's true that India advocates pacific settlement of disputes based on the Gandhian Philosophy of non-violence. Since independence India always stood and support for independent movement all over the world based on her colonial past.

c. Economic Development

Country's economic dependency is another factor determining foreign policy. If a nation's economy is economically sound, that nation will be able to interact with other nations without any obligations. Most of the nations are dependent in one way or another with other nations. As a developing nation India's development is not possible without the financial and technical assistance from others. India implanted certain steel plants like Rourkela(German Collaboration), Bokharo (with Soviet assistance) etc. with the help of other countries. Since 1990, India follows Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization for the development. As a result, govt. of India was compelled to reduce the rules and rules and regulations and opened up market for other countries'.

d. National interest

It means interest of a nation want to protect and promote while interacting with other nations. H. J. Morgenthau stated that any foreign policy which operates under the standard of the national interest. Jawaharlal Nehru declared that 'to the interests of India, for that is my first duty'. Another occasion he said' whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of that country' (**Fadia, 2014**).

e. International Milieu

This is one of the external determinants of foreign policy. International Milieu means international environment. Nehru adopted the policy of nonalignment for overcoming the cold war scenario. As a newly independent nation, India needs support from all quarters for the fulfilment of economic development. Nehru understood that aligning with one block will limit the possibility of getting assistance from other; therefore it will be better keep away from power blocks and stand as neutral. When nuclear weapons states tried to make nuclear apartheid by formulating NPT, Indira Gandhi was not ready to sign in the agreement. Later it results to conduct two nuclear tests and Indiaacquire the status of Nuclear weapons state. Disintegration of Soviet Union and end of Cold War influence India to frame Look East Policy. There are lot of similar examples to show how international milieu influence foreign policy of India.

MODULE II

FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

a. Parliament

As supreme law making body of India Parliament has to play a major role in the policy formulations. The Constitution of India clearly stipulates the role of Parliament in shaping foreign policy. Article 246 of the Constitution of India states, Parliament has the power to make laws in all aspects of Foreign Policy. It reads as

(1) Notwithstanding anything in clauses (2) and (3), Parliament has exclusive power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List I in the Seventh Schedule (in this Constitution referred to as the Union List)

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (3), Parliament, and, subject to clause (1), the Legislature of any State also, have power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List III in the Seventh Schedule (in this Constitution referred to as the Concurrent List)

(4) Parliament has power to make laws with respect to any matter for any part of the territory of India not included (in a State) notwithstanding that such matter is a matter enumerated in the State List (indiankanoon.org).

Shortly Parliament has to intervene and formulate all the aspects of India's relations with International affairs. This includes diplomatic, consular and trade representatives the UNO and International Conferences, International agreements war and peace, foreign jurisdiction, emigration, Passport, VISA, etc. (Shivakumar, 2011)

Shiva Kumar points out that its resolutions either supporting or opposing policies proposed by government or by suggesting or forcing upon the government new policies. Further the parliament has to cut down or increasing the budget of the MEA, Defence and Aided Ministers, Set by a new mechanisms and governmental institutions for the making of Foreign Policy. Indo –Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement was recent example for how parliament can influence the foreign policy. Mutual exchange of certain enclaves with each other was put forwarded during the time of Mrs Gandhi for humanitarian reasons. But this bill was failed to get parliamentary support in 1974. Due to this, Bill was side line last 4 decades. This Bill again came before the Parliament during the last years of second UPA government and finally passed by newly elected NDA government as 100th Constitutional Amendment. The Lok Sabha showed rare unanimity in passing the Constitution (119th Amendment) Bill to settle its 41-year-old border dispute with Bangladesh. The implementation of the LBA will enable the two countries to exchange lands known as enclaves or chhitmahal in each other's territory. The bill will also help in resolving the long-standing problem of land in adverse possession. Bangladesh and India share a 4,096-km international border, the fifth-longest land border in the world. From 1947 till now, the unresolved problem of enclaves and adverse possession has been a source of constant friction. It was hoped that the Indira-Mujib

LBA in 1974 would settle both these problems but, for a variety of reasons, it has taken four decades to resolve all the pending issues and for the Indian Parliament to finally ratify the agreement (indianexpress.com)

Parliament has constituted a Standing Committee on External Affairs for look into the specific aspects of foreign policy. Presently Dr. Shashi Tharoor, MP is in charge of this standing committee. This committee recently submitted a report on Doklam issue and it was gained media attention on because of certain critical points in the report that indirectly point out the faults of Union govt. in dealing with the Doklam issue. However since the time of Nehru, foreign policy decisions are carried out without any proper discussions in the Parliament in advance. Even though members can raise questions, move motions on foreign policy most of the time members concerned domestic policies. Indo US Nuclear deal is only the occasions were by which a non-confidence motion is discussed specifically relating to foreign policy of National Govt.

b. Political Parties

As interest articulators political parties are inevitable in any parliamentary democratic set up. All the political parties point out their foreign policy goals in their election manifestos. Foreign policy principles of India are a brain child of Nehru and Indian National Congress. During the initial years of Independence Communist Parties considered Nehru Government as running dog of imperialism. However when his government was interacted with soviet Union, communist Party was ready to extent their support in future development of India. The first split in the communist Party itself relating to Indo- China war. While the Indian National Congress advocates the principle of Non-alignment, regional integration and disarmament, UN reforms etc. The Communist parties favoured pro soviet attitude and always disinterested in India's engagements with western countries particularly the US. As a National Party turned ruling party BJP supported the nuclear policy of India. That's why Vajpayee ready to conduct second nuclear test while continuing the previous governments' nuclear policy. BJP is also following a pro West as well as pro US policy. Indeed, more interested to interact with Israel than the Palastein. However both BJP and Congress continuing the policy of liberalization, Privatisation and Globalization with a minor difference while they are in power. Rise of regional parties adversely affected the India's bilateral relationship with other countries. Teesta Water issues between India and Bangladesh un-ended due to the stand of Trinamool Congress. Further Tamil Parties has direct control over India's Foreign Policy towards Sri Lanka. The foreign policy of a country cannot have a smooth sailing if domestic sailing if domestic politics is sharply polarized in antagonistic camps or ideological blocks. The existence of national consensus on foreign policy especially during post-independence to middle 1990s gradually turned due to the growth of coalition politics and multi-party system (Shivakumar, 2011). This is clearly visible in the expression of Dr, Man Mohan Singh. He opines that 'the things that we do and the things we do not do

will have a profound consequence on our ability to emerge as a truly global power. An internally divided and divisive society cannot project an external image of strength of power. And I think is the guideline which should guide the acts of all political parties' (pmo.nic.in)

After the nuclear deal, around one decade take foreign policy issues as important. The Rafale deal between India and France is now an important issue; the Congress party take it as an issue of corruption in the floor and outside the parliament. Media also seriously look in to this issue by publishing series of stories with this agreement. All the foreign leaders were aware of the importance of political parties in Indian Politics. Therefore most of the international leaders meet opposition party leaders while their visit to India.

c. Public Opinion

Public opinion is to be considers as opinion of the people. In a democratic set up it has direct impact on the prospects of any govt. therefore every govt.always tries to catch the minds of people. At the international level BREXIT was the living example for how people have a say in Foreign Policy. As a result of referendum, British Government was forced to break up with European Union and even the Prime Minister was compelled to resign her post. Media and Political Parties are the major platforms for generating public opinion. However when it comes to domestic or foreign, media and political parties gives importance to domestic policies than foreign policies. Therefore people were also more interested in domestic issues. Shivkumarpoints out that in a hugecountry like India poverty and illiteracy is widespread, common people do not take much interest in issues related with country's international relations compared to their interests and demands in internal policies. Further they show interest in country's foreign policy at the time of War or International Crisis. Even govt. is also not interested to share their achievements in the field of Foreign Policy among the people. For example, the present NDA government spencrores' of rupees for advertisements for showing their achievements. Even though the Prime Minister has visited more than sixty countries and reached many agreements, advertisements are focusing on domestic initiatives of the government. People occasionally interested in foreign policies of government. If it hits directly hits their day to day life. For example the recent unexpected flood in Kerala and UAE government's offer to contribute for rebuild Kerala and Central government's reluctance towards this move evoke the attention of people from all quarters.

d. Ministry of External Affairs

Ministry of External Affairs is a nodal agency for conducting foreign affairs of India. MEA is accountable for Foreign Policy Making, its execution and regular conduct of international relations.The administrative structure of the MEA consists of two types of divisions.- territorial divisions and functional divisions. It has thirteen territorial divisions, each covering a large area of the world. Each division is responsible for policy coordination in its respective area. The MEA also has functional divisions dealing with external publicity, protocol, consular affairs, Indians abroad, the United Nations (UN) and other international

organizations, and international conferences (byjus.com). Three functional divisions deserve special mention due to their growing importance in India's foreign policy. The Policy Planning and Research Division are responsible for conducting research and preparing briefs and background papers for policy makers. The background papers provide information on various issues related to international developments. The briefs cover wide-ranging issues relating to India's foreign policy and its role in the changing international environment, The Economic Division has the responsibility of managing and conducting foreign economic relations. In the age of globalization, the economic division has become very important. Its activities reflect changes in the government's economic policy and the international economic environment. It established the Economic Coordination Unit in 1990 to assess the impact of the Persian Gulf crisis arising from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, changes. It also tries to promote foreign investment in India. The Economic Division also runs and coordinates India's foreign aid programs, including the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC), and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme, The ITEC programme launched in 1964 is the flagship programme of India for economic cooperation with developing countries (byjus.com).

The Public Diplomacy division was established in 2006 to initiate programmes for enlisting popular domestic and international support to India's foreign policy measures. The broad mandate of this division is to organize outreach activities inside and outside India to effectively project India's foreign policy to wider public. It works in close collaboration with researchers, think-tanks, civil society, media and industry to attain its objectives. It also supports TRACK II interactions with other countries. TRACK II diplomacy refers to the involvement of non-official members and groups in the conduct of foreign relations.

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) are also run by the MEA. The ICCR arranges exhibits, visits, and cultural exchanges with other countries and oversees the activities of foreign cultural centers in India. The ICWA aims to develop a think-tank and works as an important platform for discussion on various aspects of foreign affairs of India (ibid).

MODULE III

THE POLICY OF NON ALIGNMENT

- a. Introduction
- b. Origin of NAM
- c. Membership of NAM
- d. Evaluation of NAM
- e. Relevance of NAM

a. Introduction

The post-1945 period witnessed drastic changes in the international system. Eurocentric international system was gradually turned to US centred and Soviet centred. These two powers tried to influence the other countries militarily, economically as well as ideologically. Both powers introduced various schemes for influence Eastern European countries. The USA introduced the Truman Doctrine as well as the Marshall Plan. The Soviet Union introduced the Molotov Plan for attracting countries. Both power blocs mainly offered financial assistance to the countries.

Apart from financial aids they created security and economic alliances. As a result of this international political system became bi-polar. It accelerated powerful bloc politics; this led to mutual distrust, hatred and sharp rivalry between the two superpowers. The USA in order to counter the spread of communism encouraged West European nations to create the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), a military alliance, in 1949. The Soviet Union countered the NATO by forming the Warsaw Pact, another military alliance of East European nations, in 1955. Primarily the act of military alliance confined within the European countries. Subsequently, both power blocs tried to bring Other Asian, African and Latin countries under their military and economic influences. This two superpower bloc started to pressures other countries it creates enormous impasse among Asian and African countries (Chatterjee, 2010).

Some developing countries disregarded the call of the superpowers to join their blocs and nurtured the dream of a world free of bloc politics and the dominant political tension blocs, associated with it. Some newly independent nation-states showed greater inclination to maintain their autonomy outside bloc politics. They felt that rendering allegiance to any of the superpowers would infringe upon their freedom to decide their course after the much-awaited independence of their motherlands. Prominent among these newly- independent developing countries was India, which rejected the idea of joining any bloc after the Second World War (Chatterjee, 2010).

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, as opposed to militarism and preferred relying more on the age-old Indian traditions of non-violence and peaceful cooperation among nation-states. He was joined by Indonesian President Sukarno and Egyptian President Nasser, and they endeavored to create a world free of bloc politics and military alignments. It was due to their efforts that the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) emerged and gathered strength in world politics after the Second World War (Chatterjee, 2010).

Non-Alignment is one of those phenomena of international politics which appeared on the international scene after the second world war and which represent an essential force in the shaping of the nature of international relations. The term of Non-alignment which is of a post-1945 origin and which has been adopted by the newly independent countries denotes different meanings to different people at different times. The westerners often use the expression neutrality or neutralism and try to understand non-alignment with the help of the term neutrality or neutralism. Western scholars identified various synonymous especially Schwarzenberger uses the terms *are Isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism, and non-involvement.* (Kumar, 1980)

Isolationism stands for policies of aloofness varying from the known isolation of United States before the First World War to postures of inoffensiveness in international affairs. Non-Commitment refers to politics of detachment for other powers in a triangular or multi-corner relationship. Neutrality describes the political and legal status of a country at war concerning the belligerents. Neutralization means a permanent neutral status of a particular state which it cannot give up under any circumstances, e.g., Switzerland is a neutralized state. Unilateralism is identified with policies of calculated risks such as the destruction of own thermo-nuclear weapon at ones' instance. Non-involvement means keeping away from the ideological struggle between the different superpowers, though permitting a certain degree of flexibility when unavoidable (Malhotra, 1993).

Non-alignment means that a nation pursuing such a policy need not be neutral under all circumstances. It can participate actively in world affairs under exceptional circumstances. The idea of non-alignment aims at keeping away, but it keeps away not for a particular conflict or issue but from a persisting international tension like the cold war. Since military alliances were an essential aspect of cold war, nonalignment naturally they insisted on shunning from these alliances. Any military alliance- either bilateral or multilateral-formed during cold war days was a violation of non-alignment (Chatterjee, 2010).

It is, therefore, a foreign policy perspective that advocates freedom from a commitment to any power bloc; it stresses the independence of choice and action in external affairs. The policy of not aligning with any bloc, but at the same time being friendly to everyone, so that it might be feasible to have a moderating impact on international relations, came to be popularly called as non-alignment. It would enable a nation to judge each issue on merit and decide upon its course independently without being influenced by any previous commitment or bias.

No-alignment as foreign policy contribution is Indian contribution to the theory of international politics. Non-alignment is neither a passive nor a contrary policy. It should be understood in the foreground of the ways of contemplating Indian people who have expressed many positive and constructive ideas through negative expressions, such as *Ahimsa and Apramad*(Chatterjee, 2010).

As a positive concept, it has several dimensions. It is natural that non-alignment should oppose specific values and at the same time promote some others which are in harmony with its basic orientation. The chief goals of the non-aligned movement in the fifties and sixties were decolonisation and the preservation of international peace. It has been contributing positively to attaining a new international economic order and a new information

order based on equity, freedom and eradication of exploitation and domination. It is positive since it strives for specific values and goals (Kumar, 1980).

b. Origin of NAM

The idea of a non-alignment movement was conceived at the conference of Afro-Asian countries held in New Delhi in 1947. After India gained independence from British rule, it decided not to join any power bloc. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister, took the initiative to encourage these Afro-Asian nations to fight against the evils of colonialism and imperial domination.

Jawaharlal Nehru first used the term 'non-alignment' in a speech he delivered in 1954 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In it, Nehru described the five guiding principles for China-India relations. These principles known as the 'Panchsheel' (five pillars), would later serve as the basis of the NAM. These were (1) respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) non-aggression; (3) non—interference in domestic affairs; (4) equality for all; (5) peaceful co-existence. However, in its most real sense, the Nam took a proper shape at the Bandung Conference of Afro- Asian countries held in Indonesia in 1955(Malhotra, 1993).

The attending twenty-nine nations declared their wish not to get involved in the Cold War and adopted a declaring on the promotion of World Peace and Cooperation, which included Nehru's five principles. The Bandung Conference emphasized the need for emancipation of the people from colonial rule and urged the newly independent nation-states to stay away from bloc politics and adhere to the principles of nonalignment. This conference had built the base for the movement(Chatterjee, 2010).

After Bandung, it took six years to arrange the first non-aligned summit in Belgrade, the capital city of former Yugoslavia, in 1961. Meanwhile, erstwhile Yugoslav President Broz Tito expressed his support to the non-aligned movement and invited the non- aligned countries to organize their first summit in Belgrade. Twenty-five countries participated at the Belgrade Summit. The basic thrust of this first non-aligned summit was on peace, socio-economic development of the privileged countries and disarmament of the world. The Belgrade Declaration on Peace evoked a global response.

c. Membership of the NAM

The Belgrade summit clearly outlined the conditions required for a state to be declared a non-aligned state. The summit set five conditions, mainly based on *Panchsheel*, for a state to become a member of the non-aligned movement. These are as follows:

- (1) A state willing to join the NAM must formulate an independent foreign policy aimed at establishing cooperation among nation-states;
- (2) It should support independence and right to self-determination of every nationality;
- (3) It should not be a member of any military alliance created out of conflicts of big powers;
- (4) If it enters into any bilateral or regional military alliance, such agreement or alliance must not be created out of conflicts of the big powers;

- (5) If it allows any foreign military base on its soil, such base must not be created out of the conflicts of big powers

The underlying implication of all these five principles was that a non-aligned nation should follow independent foreign policy, shall support the independence of a nation and shall not enter into bloc politics. Since its first summit in Belgrade in 1961, membership of the NAM went on increasing. In 2008, NAM held 118 member states. After the United Nations Organization (UNO), it is the largest organization of nation-states in the world, containing fifty-five percent of the world population (Chatterjee, 2010).

d. Evaluation of NAM

It can be evaluated on the following parameters to what extent policy has helped India in safeguarding the vital national interest. To what extent it was possible to put the policy into practice.

(1) According to critics, non-alignment has not helped India in ensuring its vital national interest. India had to compromise with its territorial integrity. India was able to defend the territorial integrity only after it entered into Treaty of Peace and friendship with USSR in 1971. Since then it has not been possible for India to practice Non-alignment in a genuine sense. After the disintegration of USSR, India was left with no option had to go for acquiring nuclear weapons to protect its vital interests. Post-cold war world order does not permit any country to remain nonaligned.

Officially Government of India continues to assert its commitment towards Non-alignment, but practically India has entered into the strategic partnerships with more than 30 countries. In practice strategic partnerships if they are strategic in a real sense are not very different from an alliance. Officially Government of India insists on exercising strategic autonomy, avoid the use of alliance and prefer terminologies like trilateral quadrilaterals.

According to C Rajamohan, non-alignment was not India's idealism rather India pragmatism. India had no choice but to go for non-aligned status for following reasons (1) Proximity of the Communist bloc (2) Adoption of liberal constitutional democracy (3) Nehruvian model of 'Mixed Economy'. It seems that it was a wise decision in that scenario, but it is also true that India could secure itself in a much better way after leaving the genuine non-alignment.

- (1) It was possible for India to exercise greater autonomy to take principled stands in initial days. However, since the 1970s it was not possible to go for principled stands all the time. West has always accused India that its non-alignment was tilted in favor of USSR. India failed to criticize/oppose Soviet invasion in Afghanistan very strongly. India always criticized intervention of Western Multi-National Companies (MNCs). Especially in domestic affairs of Third World Countries.
- (2) India could go for active involvement in world affairs during the time of Nehru. It played an active role in the Korean Crisis for Palestine issue, nuclear disarmament. However from the 1970s onwards, our focus has been on South Asia.

e. The relevance of the NAM

During the Cold War, nonalignment blossomed from a principle into a movement. However, doubts have been raised in the academic sphere about the relevance of the NAM since the end of the Cold War in 1991. Momentarily, it seemed that with the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the former bloc politics, the NAM had become marginalized. Scholars argued that the ideological and intellectual vigor of the Movement had diminished in the absence of rival power blocs. However, in reality, the NAM has not lost its relevance after the Cold War; it has adopted new and newer policies relevant to the post-Cold War world order(Chatterjee, 2010).

These policies have helped the movement not only to survive but to garner strength as well. Therefore, the survival and continuing significance of the movement cannot be questioned at the moment. This proposition can be strengthened by the fact that in the post-cold War period six successful summits held by the NAM (1992, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2006 and 2009). At all of these summits, member-states of the NAM have stressed upon the continuing significance of the movement and outlined the altered role of the NAM in a new international order. The six NAM summits held so far after the Cold War emphasized the social and economic progress of the developing nations(Chatterjee, 2010).

NAM has shifted its attention to socio-economic, ecological, health, anti-terrorism, and related issues during the post-Cold War period. It does not mean that the NAM has dropped its political agenda, It is still a significant base for upholding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the developing countries. It is also an important platform to fight for the right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities alongside its political agenda. NAM is also emphasizing other areas as mentioned above because these issues have gained prominence in international relations after the Cold War.

However, it also to be noted that as founder of NAM, India herself violating the NAM principles by aligning superpowers. Now India is following policy of Multi alignment rather than non-alignment. As second largest organization in the world, NAM has the potential to influence issues like Terrorism, climate change, UN reform etc. For the first time in the history of India, 2016 NAM summit held at Venezuela was concluded in the absence of Indian Prime Minister. Therefore is an urgent need to restore its relvance.

MODULE IV

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

- a. Pakistan
- b. Sri Lanka
- c. Bangladesh
- d. Nepal

a. India Pakistan Relations

Despite the historical unity, cultural uniformity, geographical proximity, and economic interdependence, both have bitter relations to each other rather than friendly relations. Since independence, their relations could not come out of the vicious circle of competition, conflict, and war. Their relations marched from conflict to peace and peace to conflict but have been far away from friendship and cooperation. They have been continuously in the situation of cold war and also fought four real wars. The period of detente or good relations has been very limited between the two. In India Pakistan relationship there is three important factors it remains a stumblingblock in India Pakistan relationship (Scott, 2011).

- (i) The difference in worldviews,
- (ii) The dispute over Kashmir and
- (iii) The problem of nuclear confrontation.

Indian perspectives on relations with Pakistan remain embedded like a thorn in India's foreign policy, both within its immediate neighborhood and also in India's extended neighborhood. During the early years after independence, the Indian worldview had been dominated by concerns about building a regional identity of the post-colonial nations of Asia. The initial stage of Indian Foreign policy based on regionalism was the dominant theme till 1964, especially during Jawaharlal Nehru era. After Nehru, When Shastri as Prime Minister, it has changed to bilateralism. India tries to formulate a rational policy toward its neighbors. Whereas Pakistan has gone through partition of their country due to the geopolitical reasons. The political system of Pakistan largely shows authoritarian tendency rather than a democratic one.

The dominant security concerns that Pakistan sought to address right from its inception is that of fear of India. The problem of Pakistan's foreign and defense policy revolve around this central theme of Indian domination and safeguards that were to be instituted to counter this threat. Pakistan's attempts to establish linkages with the Islamic world, with China and participate in the military alliances of the United States can be understood within this security concern of Pakistan. These links provided an opportunity for Pakistan to counteract India's desire to dominate in what India considered its sphere of influence (Scott, 2011).

Kashmir remains at the crux of the tortured relationship between India and Pakistan. Kashmir, like Junagadh and Hyderabad, opted to decide its future as to whether to join India or to merge with Pakistan. In case of Hyderabad and Junagadh, the Indian government took steps to ensure that the wishes of the overwhelming local Hindu populace were respected and hastened the process of merger of these two states in the Indian Union. Kashmir had a peculiar problem. It had distinct distribution patterns of its population, with the Ladakh area being predominantly Buddhist, the Jammu region Hindu and the Kashmir valley Muslim.

Pakistan sought to force the pace of the decision making on Kashmir by permitting the 'irregular army' to enter Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh, realizing the potential problems, signed the Instrument of Accession with India, thus merging the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union. After this decision of Hari Singh, it resulted in four consecutive wars between India 1947, 1965, 1971, 1999. It also led to insurgency in Kashmir valley; it gradually disturbs the most of the Indian cities due to Indian stand on Kashmir. Resolving the Kashmir valley issue India-Pakistan had gone through various bilateral talks (Tashkent Agreement 1966, Simla agreement 1971, Lahore declaration 1999, Agra summit 2001) most of the talks remain unsuccessful due to personal and political circumstances. Kashmir remains a question between India-Pakistan relationship (Malone, 2011).

Cross-border terrorism between both is an important issue. The killing of innocent people is continued in Kashmir. It is essential to remove the root structure of terrorism. But Pakistan still has a gap between its speech and action. Pakistan's policy of considering the Kashmir issue as its 'central' issue still has not changed. Day by day menace of cross border terrorism is increasing and it directly affects the peace building efforts. Recent Pathankot attack makes an end to the Bilateral relations. It also affects the prospects of SAARC.

The nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in 1998 had generated a great deal of debate on the rationale and implications of these actions taken by both the governments. Much of the debate focused on the security considerations of this action, the regional threat dimensions, and internal political compulsions. The Indian articulation focused on the threats from Pakistan and China, while Pakistan targeted India. The central questions raised about the Indian tests had been in the 'why' and 'why now' category. The debates used two distinct paradigms for analysis, the first using the security rationale and the second, the developmental rationale. The debates based on the first focused on the perceived threats from the regional order as manifested by Pakistan and China (Saksena, 1996).

Nature of relations between both the countries in future will depend on the role of following factors:-

- Establishment of democracy and internal stability in Pakistan can boost up the good relations between the both.
- However both the countries deny the mediation of a third country but both get influenced with the role of America in this region.
- At present, the role of economic factors can bring the change in their relations.
- Consent between both the countries on a direction for comprehensive efforts on Kashmir and other disputes.
- Again recognition to 'Shimla' and 'Lahore' arrangements and taking the steps accordingly.

Though at present, both have complex differences, and activities of regional and international politics influence them up to a great extent

b. India Sri Lanka

India-Sri Lanka relation has a long history and it has mythological support too. The story of Rama and Ravana is relating to this relationship. The relationship between India and Sri Lanka is more than 2,500 years old. Both countries have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction (MEA, 2017). The spread of Buddhism to Sri Lanka during the time of Emperor Asoka have historical evidences. However the relation between the two during the twentieth century has some negative impacts. Neil Devotta points out that 'no

South Asian country's ethnic politics has adversely affected India as has Sri Lanka's ethnic imbroglio between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils'. It's true this that ultimately results the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. There are certain efforts to build the bonds. Close personal relations Indira Gandhi enjoyed with Mrs Bandaranaike were mainly responsible for acknowledging Sri Lanka's claims over the small island of Katchchativu in 1974 (**Devotta, 2016**). Kacchativu is an islet in the sea between India and Sri Lanka and that was of some interest to fishermen of the two countries. In order to win the goodwill of a smaller neighbour, Mrs. Gandhi graciously ceded the sea rocks to Sri Lanka thus diffusing any possible territorial tensions (**Dutt, 2015**). In recent years, the relationship has been marked by close contacts at all levels. Trade and investment have grown and there is cooperation in the fields of development, education, culture and defence. Both countries share a broad understanding on major issues of international interest. In recent years, significant progress in implementation of developmental assistance projects for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and disadvantaged sections of the population in Sri Lanka has helped further cement the bonds of friendship between the two countries. The nearly three-decade long armed conflict between Sri Lankan forces and the LTTE came to an end in May 2009. During the course of the conflict, India supported the right of the Government of Sri Lanka to act against terrorist forces. At the same time, it conveyed its deep concern at the plight of the mostly Tamil civilian population, emphasizing that their rights and welfare should not get enmeshed in hostilities against the LTTE. The need for national reconciliation through a political settlement of the ethnic issue has been reiterated by India at the highest levels. India's consistent position is in favour of a negotiated political settlement, which is acceptable to all communities within the framework of a united Sri Lanka and which is consistent with democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights (**MEA, 2017**). Recent developments in India Sri Lanka relations are enumerated given below.

1. Sri Lanka is one of India's largest trading partners in SAARC. India in turn is Sri Lanka's largest trade partner globally. Trade between the two countries grew particularly rapidly after the entry into force of the India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement in March 2000. According to Sri Lankan Customs, bilateral trade in 2016 amounted to US \$ 4.38 billion. Exports from India to Sri Lanka in 2016 were US\$ 3.83 billion, while exports from Sri Lanka to India were US\$ 551 million.
2. India is among the top four investors in Sri Lanka with cumulative investments of over US\$ 1 billion since 2003. The investments are in diverse areas including petroleum retail, IT, financial services, real estate, telecommunication, hospitality & tourism, banking and food processing (tea & fruit juices), metal industries, tires, cement, glass manufacturing, and infrastructure development (railway, power, water supply). On the other hand, the last few years have also witnessed an increasing trend of Sri Lankan investments into India. Significant examples include Brandix (about US\$ 1 billion to set up a garment city in Vishakhapatnam), MAS holdings, John Keels, Hayleys, and Aitken Spence (Hotels), apart from other investments in the freight servicing and logistics sector.
3. The Government of India put in place a robust programme of assistance to help the IDPs return to normal life as quickly as possible. The main impetus for stepping up of India's development assistance flowed from the commitments made during the visit of President of Sri Lanka to India during June 2010. This included construction of

50,000 housing units, rehabilitation of the Northern Railway lines, wreck-removal and rehabilitation of the KKS Harbour, establishment of Vocational Training Centres, construction of a Cultural Centre at Jaffna, restoration of Thiruketheeswaram Temple, establishing an Agricultural Research Institute in the Northern Province, expanding the scholarship program for Sri Lankan students to pursue their higher studies in India, setting up Centres for English Language Training and providing technical assistance for the National Action Plan for a Trilingual Sri Lanka. The Housing Project, with an overall commitment of over INR 1372 crore in grants, is the flagship project of Government of India's assistance to Sri Lanka. The first stage of construction of 1,000 houses in the Northern Province was completed in July 2012. The second phase of constructing or repairing 45000 houses in the Northern and Eastern Provinces is being implemented.

4. Sri Lanka is one of the major recipients of development credit given by the Government of India, with total commitment of around US\$2.63 billion, including US\$ 458 million as grants. Under a line of credit of \$167.4 million, the tsunami-damaged Colombo-Matara rail link has been repaired and upgraded.
5. India and Sri Lanka commemorated the 2600th year of the attainment of enlightenment by Lord Buddha (SambuddhatvaJayanthi) through joint activities. These included the exposition of Sacred Kapilavastu Relics in Sri Lanka that took place in August - September 2012. During the exposition, approximately three million Sri Lankans (nearly 15 percent of the total population of Sri Lanka) paid homage to the Sacred Relics. The Indian Gallery at the International Buddhist Museum, Sri DaladaMaligawa, was inaugurated in December 2013.
6. Given the proximity of the territorial waters of both countries, especially in the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar, incidents of straying of fishermen are common. Both countries have agreed on certain practical arrangements to deal with the issue of bona fide fishermen of either side crossing the International Maritime Boundary Line. Through these arrangements, it has been possible to deal with the issue of detention of fishermen in a humane manner. India and Sri Lanka have agreed to set up a Joint Working Group (JWG) on Fisheries between the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare of India and Ministry of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Development of Sri Lanka as the mechanism to help find a permanent solution to the fishermen issue **(MEA, 2017)**

Even though a dramatic shift was happened in post-civil war period, growing presence of China in Indian Ocean in general and Sri Lanka in particular is considered as a serious issue between India Sri Lanka relations. SudhaRamachandran observed that 'Sri Lanka's location in the Indian Ocean, just a few kilometres from the Indian coast and near one of the busiest sea lanes in the world – one that carries much of the oil that fuels the Chinese economy – makes it attractive to Beijing. India believes that China's interest in Sri Lanka and its growing footprint there is part of an encirclement strategy to contain India and that Beijing will use its huge influence in Sri Lanka to secure a military presence there. The Chinese strategy is "smarter" than that, argues Jacob. China, he says, "is cultivating influence not by overt military presence but by encouraging people-to-people contacts, offering scholarships, sponsoring conference trips, and boosting Chinese tourism in India's neighbouring countries. This softly, softly, approach is more effective and far more difficult

for India to counter. Indeed India may convince the Sirisena government to trim its defence and security co-operation with China, but asking it to halt Beijing's exercise of soft power in Sri Lanka will be difficult. Importantly, Delhi must understand that it cannot counter Chinese influence in Sri Lanka by badgering or bullying Colombo to cut back on co-operating with Beijing or dictating who its friends and allies should be (Ramachandran, 2015)'.

c. India-Bangladesh Relations

Historians can't undermine India's role in the liberation of Bangladesh. The then Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi played an important in resolving Bangladesh issue. India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh as a separate and independent state and established diplomatic relations with the country immediately after its independence in December 1971. The relationship between India and Bangladesh is anchored in history, culture, language and shared values of secularism, democracy, and countless other commonalities between the two countries. It is based on sovereignty, equality, trust, understanding and win-win partnership that go far beyond a strategic partnership. In the last couple of years, the relationship has been further strengthened including through cooperation in new and high-technology areas. High Level Visits and Exchanges There have been regular high-level visits and exchanges between the two countries. There have also been frequent visits at Ministerial level as well as between senior officials on a regular basis (MEA, 2017).

There are more than 50 bilateral institutional mechanisms between India and Bangladesh in the areas of security, trade & commerce, power & energy, transport & connectivity, science and technology, defence, rivers & maritime affairs etc. A Joint Consultative Commission (JCC) led by the Ministers of Foreign/External Affairs coordinates and oversees implementation of initiatives taken between the two countries as well as explores newer avenues for cooperation. The India-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) came into force following the exchange of instruments of ratification in June 2015. On July 31, 2015 the enclaves of India and Bangladesh in each other's countries were exchanged and strip maps were signed. Residents of these erstwhile enclaves, who opted to retain their Indian citizenship made a final movement to India by November 30, 2015. A number of agreements related to security cooperation have been signed between both the countries. Few among these are following

1. The Coordinated Border Management Plan (CBMP) signed in 2011 aims to synergize the efforts of both the Border Guarding Forces for checking cross border illegal activities and crimes as well as for maintenance of peace and tranquillity along the India-Bangladesh border.
2. Bilateral trade between India and Bangladesh has grown steadily over the last decade. In the five years, total trade between the two countries has grown by more than 17%. India's exports to Bangladesh in the period July 2016 – March 2017 stood at US\$ 4489.30 million and imports from Bangladesh during FY 2016-17 stood at US\$ 672.40 million. India has provided duty free quota free access to Bangladesh on all tariff lines except tobacco and alcohol under South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) since 2011.
3. Total Indian investment proposals in Bangladesh registered with the Bangladesh Investment Development Authority (BIDA) exceed US\$ 3 billion. Indian Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Bangladesh reached US\$ 88.0 million in 2015-16.
4. In addition to LOC fund, Government of India also provides grant assistance to Bangladesh for projects under 'Aid to Bangladesh'. Projects such as construction of

school/college buildings, laboratories, dispensaries, deep tube wells, community centres, renovation of historical monuments/buildings etc. have been financed by Government of India under this programme. At present, three Sustainable Development Projects (SDPs) are being undertaken in the cities of Rajshahi, Khulna and Sylhet. The extended development work of RabindraNath Tagore's ancestral house in Shilaidaha is as well as 36 community clinics in selected districts of Bangladeshis also being undertaken. One of the biggest projects under the Indian grant assistance is the Bangladesh section of the Agartala-Akhaura rail-link.

5. Power and Energy Sector Cooperation in power sector has become one of the hallmarks of India Bangladesh relations. Bangladesh is currently importing about 660 MW of power from India. In March 2016, the two Prime Ministers inaugurated the export of power from Tripura to Bangladeshis well as export of Internet bandwidth to Tripura from Bangladesh. Supply of another 500 MW is expected to begin in 2018. The 1320 MW coal-fired Maitree thermal power plant, a 50:50 JV between National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) of India and Bangladesh Power Development Board (BPDB), is being developed at Rampal.
6. The Indira Gandhi Cultural Centre (IGCC), High Commission of India, is a Cultural Centre of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations of India in Bangladesh. Inaugurated in 2010, IGCC regularly organizes programmes covering a wide-gamut of cultural activities. The IGCC also holds regular training courses in Yoga, Hindi, Hindustani Classical Music, Manipuri Dance, Kathak and Painting. The courses are very popular with the Bangladeshi students. IGCC Hindi teacher also teaches Hindi at Institute of Modern Languages in University. ICCR has initiated a Tagore Chair in University of Dhaka since 2011. A MoU was also signed in January 2017 for a 'Hindi' Chair in University of Dhaka. A 100-member Youth Delegation is visiting India annually since 2012. High Commission of India has been publishing a print and electronic edition of Bengali literary monthly magazine 'Bharat Bichitra' for the last 43 years. The magazine has a wide readership in Bangladesh(MEA, p. 2017).

While acknowledging India's role in liberation of Bangladesh, Sheikh MujiburRahman was very much interested in India. Mrs. Gandhi and Mr.Rahman was tried to ensure cordial relations between each other. However situation is not same in the relationship between two countries from the succeeding leaders in Bangladesh. India also failed to conclude committed developmental activities in Bangladesh. Teesta Water issue is unending due to the compulsion of regional political parties like Trinamool Congress. Issues are common but it must be addressed with adequate attention.

e. India Nepal Relations

Geographically and culturally India and Nepal are inseparable entities. As close neighbours, India and Nepal share a unique relationship of friendship and cooperation characterized by open borders and deep-rooted people-to-people contacts. There has been a long tradition of free movement of people across the borders sharing family ties and culture. Nepal shares a border of over 1850 kms in the east, south and west with five Indian States – Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. The India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 forms the bedrock of the special relations that exist between India and Nepal. Under the provisions of this Treaty, the Nepali citizens have enjoyed certain advantages in India, availing facilities and opportunities at par with Indian citizens. Nearly

6 million Nepali citizens live and work in India (MEA, 2017). Relationship between these nations can be summarised as..

1. India is Nepal's largest trade partner and the largest source of foreign investments, besides providing transit for almost the entire third country trade of Nepal. India accounts for over two-third of Nepal's merchandise trade, about one-third of trade in services, 46% of foreign direct investments, almost 100% of petroleum supplies and a significant share of inward remittance on account of pensioners and workers. Main items of exports from India to Nepal are petroleum products, motor vehicles and spare parts, M.S. billets, machinery and spares, medicines, hot rolled sheets, wires, coal, cement, threads and chemicals. The main items of exports from Nepal to India are polyester yarn, textiles, jute goods, threads, zinc sheet, packaged juice, cardamom, G.I. pipe, copper wire, shoes and sandals, stones and sand.
2. Indian firms are the leading investors in Nepal, accounting for about 40% of the total approved foreign direct investments. As on 31 May 2017, Indian ventures lead foreign investment with FDI commitments of INR. 5159.86crores whereas the total proposed FDI commitments to Nepal from all countries amounts to INR. 13178.15 crores. An additional investment of US\$ 2.5 billion would come to Nepal from the Indian private sector and PSUs for development of two important hydro-electric projects viz. Upper Karnali and Arun III, each 900 MWs.
3. The Indian Army and the Nepalese Army (NA) have long standing cooperation. Bilateral defence cooperation includes assistance to NA in its modernization through provision of equipment and training. About 250 training slots are provided every year for training of NA personnel in various Indian Army Training institutions.
4. GOI provides around 3000 scholarships annually to Nepali nationals for various courses at the Ph.D/Masters and Bachelors in India, and Bachelors and plus-two levels in Nepal.
5. An Indian Cultural Centre was set up in Kathmandu in August 2007 to showcase the best of Indian culture across Nepali cities. The Indian Cultural Centre in Kathmandu has generated considerable goodwill through the various cultural events it has undertaken in the past. The Nepal-Bharat Library was founded in 1951 in Kathmandu. Its objective is to enhance and strengthen cultural relations and information exchange between India and Nepal. The B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation was set up in 1991 through a MoU signed between the Governments of India and Nepal. The Foundation's objective is to foster educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between India and Nepal and to promote mutual understanding and cooperation through sharing of knowledge and professional talents in academic pursuits and technical specialization(MEA, 2017)

Though India assured financial and technical assistance for the infrastructure development of Nepal, India failed to do so in a timebound manner. Indeed China through their, One Belt One Road policy tries to impress the Nepal government. Politically India is also failed to acknowledge Nepal's shift from Hindu State to a Secular State. This decision was adopted by Nepalese legislature by 2/3 majority. There is a feeling that India indirectly supports Madhesi's against the move. Therefore is an urgent need to rebuild the bonds.

MODULE V

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIA'S RELATION WITH

- a. USA
- b. Russia
- c. China
- d. Japan
- e. Middle East

a. India US Relations

India's Foreign policy can easily summarised as 20th Century India was pro Soviet and 21st century India is pro US. This is a major shift in the foreign policy objectives of India. India and the United States have had trade relations for over two hundred years. Indo-American trade had started in the eighteenth century when the Yankee Clipper ships brought ice from Boston and reached Calcutta, and returned to America carrying spices and textiles from India. Limited diplomatic relations were established in 1790 when US President George Washington appointed a consul at Calcutta. India's freedom fighters received friendly help and encouragement from the US people, from time to time. Inter-governmental exchanges, tourism and religious experiences promoted friendly relations between the two countries (Khanna, 1997). India's policy of non-alignment, India's reluctance to sign in US sponsored NPT, Indo Soviet treaty of Friendship and cooperation etc. are the major reasons for the hostilities between two nations. Because of these reasons US favoured Pakistan than India. The pro Pak stand of US to corner India also caused the gap between India and US. However, occasionally US were ready to support Indian interest and ready to bilateral talks. During the time of acute food shortage, the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi approached US government for food supplies. Food grains imported from US was great relief of that time was able to address the poverty of teeming millions to a considerable extent. This experience was an eye-opener to the newly elected Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and put forward the idea of green revolution for self-reliance. When John F Kennedy as US President, he seems India has the potential power to overcome the communist China. Kennedy administration supported India during the India China war in 1962.

Rakesh Sood, Former Diplomat observed that three factors have contributed the growing convergence between India and US. *Firstly*, 'the end of the Cold War provided an opportunity both the countries to review their relationship in the light of changing global and regional realities. *Secondly*, with the opening of Indian economy, the American private sector began to look at India with greater interest. Trade grew and today stands at more than \$500 billion in five years. If US foreign direct investment in India is more than \$20 billion, Indian companies too have invested \$15 billion in the US, reflecting a sustained mutual interest. *Thirdly*, the political coming of age of the three million strong diaspora its influence can be seen in the bipartisan composition of the India Caucus in the US Congress and the Senate Friends of India group' (Sood, 2018).

2+2 meeting- is a recently concluded meeting between India and US. This ministerial meeting at Delhi end up with an agreement named Communications Compatibility and

Security Agreement (COMCASA). The Hindu reports that COMCASA will allow the US to transfer specialized equipment for encrypted communications for US origin platforms like C-17, C-130 and P-81 aircraft. It comes into force immediately and is valid for 10 years'. Its landmark in the sense that this agreement was possible even without India is not member in US led nuclear suppliers group. Apart from the COMCASA, 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue and both the sides also called on Pakistan to stop terrorist strikes on other countries and urged for maritime freedom in the Indo-Pacific region (The Hindu, 2018).

b. Indo Russia Relations

Indo Russia Relations dates back to seven decades ago. Even before independence, nationalist leaders like Nehru were very much interested in Soviet model of planning. When India was independent even though Nehru was adopted non alignment policy was ready cooperating and collaborate with Soviet Union. In the era of multilateralism, an Indo-Russia relation has great significance at the global, regional and bilateral levels. The India-Russia bilateral relationship has a long history and a broad international context, amid the evolution from a unipolar order to a possible multipolar structure. This uncertainty is resulting in all great powers, including India and Russia, attempting to hedge and prepare for all possibilities. Given this international context, the changing India-Russia relationship is not only affecting bilateral ties but also India's relationships with the United States, China, Afghanistan, and other countries (www.brookings.edublog.) Indo Soviet treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1971 signed by Indira Gandhi helps to neutralise the Nixon – Kissinger sponsored conspiracy to attack India. The treaty served as 'warning to both Washington and Beijing not to think of military action against India in the unfolding crisis Bangladesh crisis. The treaty also praised India's policy of non-alignment. Responding to criticism in Western circles that India was abandoning the path of non-alignment, Ms Gandhi made the withering remarks that those who were now criticising the India had always been hostile to India's policy of non-alignment. The treaty won broad support in India, among its defenders being Jayaprakash Narain and C Rajagopalachari (Dutt, 2015).

India is engaging with Russia in all fields. Militarily India is the second largest market for Russian defence industry. Soviet union is largest supplier of defence equipment's to India and latter carried forward by Russia (**Ollapally, 2009**). India and Russia has several joint military programs such as Brahmos, Fifth generation aircraft, Sukhoi 30 etc. By making groupings like BRICS, India and Russia tried to balance the global power system. Deepa, points out that bilateral trade has marked seven times increase in the last decades. In 2002, it was 1.5 billion and increased to 11 billion in 2012 and it expecting to grow 30 billion in 2025. The relationship with erstwhile Soviet Union and later with Russia played a greater role in making major power in the field of Science and Technology. Aryabatta the first Indian Satellite was launched by India with the help of Soviet Union. Chandrayan II is a joint lunar exploration proposed by ISRO and Russian Federal Space. India and Russia sign pact for 2 nuclear power units, to cost Rs 50,000 crore. The Russian built Water-Water Energetic Reactor (VVER) reactor Kudankulam unit 1 and 2 are the largest power generating stations in the country. After all the units (1-6) of the plant are commissioned, the nuclear park will have the power generating capacity of 6,000 MW, boosting significantly the country's nuclear power generation (**Hindustan Times, 2017**). Bollywood is popular in Russia and a separate

Hindi is functioning in the University of Moscow by recognising the official language of India.

The India-Russia relationship has been under some strain in the last years. There was a growing perception in the Russian establishment that India was growing closer to the United States. The informal summit in Sochi was an attempt to address this perception. On the other hand, it is not just Russia that is worried about the India-U.S. relationship. India too has concerns about Russia's growing relationships with China and Pakistan, and its contentious relationship with Washington (www.brookings.edu).

John Cheriyan observes that, New Delhi's Military embrace of Washington, coupled with the rapid rate of declining sale of Russian Weaponry, has made Russia cautious (Cheriyan, 2017). After the Ukraine crisis in 2014, the Russia-China relationship has become stronger, with important implications for India and other rising powers. Both Russia and China are being challenged by the United States, politically, economically, and strategically. While China has been able to sustain competition with the United States, a weak Russian economy is increasingly making Russia dependent on China for economic cooperation. This dependency can further extend to political and strategic domains over time. Also tied to Russia's growing relationship with China is its increasingly close relationship with Pakistan, causing concern in the Indian strategic community (www.brookings.edu).

c. Indo –China Relations

Indo-Sino relations date back to pre- independence period. Even before the advent of Buddhism, the Shang-Zhou civilization and the ancient Vedic civilization in 1500-1000 B.C. showed some evidence of conceptual and linguistic exchanges. For instance, "wumingzhi" (nameless finger) in Chinese is called "anamika" (nameless) in Sanskrit and in Pali. Similarly, some ancient Indian literature mentions "chinas" referring to the Chinese people. The Mahabharata of the fifth century B.C. contains reference to China. Chanakya of the Maurya dynasty (350-283 B.C.) refers to Chinese silk as "chinamsuka" (Chinese silk dress) and "chinapatta" (Chinese silk bundle) in his Arthashastra. Likewise, the Record of the Grand Historian of Zhang Qian and SimaQian has references to "Shendu", may be referring to "Sindhu" in Sanskrit. In sixth century B.C., the birth of Confucius and Sakyamuni heralded a new period of exchanges between the two civilizations. Emperor Ashoka's propagation of Buddhism after his conversion in 256 B.C. brought both civilizations even closer (MEA, 2016). Both civilizations also shared scientific knowledge. In eighth century, Indian astronomer Aryabhata's astronomical signs were translated into Chinese in the book "KaiyuanZhanjing" compiled by Gautama Siddha, an astronomer in Chang'an of Indian descent. It is also believed that he translated the Nabagraha calendar into Chinese. During the Ming Dynasty, navigator General Zheng He's arrival at Calicut in early 15th century is also a testimony of China's ancient maritime linkage with India. Exchanges between India and China continued during the days of India's struggle for selfgovernance. In early 20th century, Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited China twice, in 1924 and in 1929. Since 1911, Chinese scholars and intellectuals have been visiting and revisiting Tagore's life, works and philosophy (ibid). However the early decades of post-independence marked more tensed relations between these two countries. On 1 April 1950, India became the first non-communist bloc country to recognize the PRC over the Taiwan-led Republic of China (ROC),

beginning the post-1949 diplomatic relations between the two nations. The popular Hindi slogan of “Hindi-ChiniBhaiBhai” was common during relatively congenial relations between the two early to mid-1950s (Sridharan, 2017). Nehru believed that along with China, Asia can lead the world. Jawaharlal Nehru signed Panchsheel agreement with his Chinese counterpart Zhou Enlai in 1954. Mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-interference, mutual non-aggression, equality and cooperation, and peaceful coexistence are the five basic principles of Panchsheel. However this agreement was short ended with Chinese aggression in 1962. The main reason for this aggression was Nehru government’s decision to give asylum to spiritual leader of Dalai Lama and lakhs of Tibetan refugees. The border issues between India and China over Arunachal Pradesh still persist and always an issue in mutual interaction. India and China share a 4,056-km border, heavily disputed in several areas. The recognized border today, is the Line of Actual Control (LAC). The demarcation existed as the informal cease-fire line between India and China after the 1962 conflict until 1993, when its existence was officially accepted as the 'Line of Actual Control' in a bilateral agreement (ibid). In 1960s and 1970s China continuously act against India by giving full support to Pakistan. As a result India was not ready to collaborate with China relatively next two decades. While, the India-China border conflict in 1962 was a serious setback to bonds, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi’s landmark visit in 1988 began a phase of improvement in bilateral relations. In 1993, the signing of an Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on the India-China Border Areas during Prime Minister NarasimhaRao’s visit reflected the growing stability and substance in bilateral ties. Visits of Heads of States/Heads of Governments Cumulative outcomes of nine key visits in recent times have been transformational for our ties. These were that of Prime Minister Vajpayee [2003], of Premier Wen Jiabao [2005 & 2010], of President Hu Jintao [2006], of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh [2008 and 2013], of Premier Li Keqiang [2013], of President Xi Jinping [2014] and of Prime Minister NarendraModi [2015] (MEA, 2016). These high level political interactions help to melt down the tug off between the nations in a considerable extent. Recent improvements in Indo Sino relations are pin point below.

1. Trade and economic relationship has seen rapid progress in the last few years. India-China bilateral trade which was as low as US\$ 2.92 billion in 2000 reached US\$ 41.85 billion in 2008, making China India’s largest trading partner in goods. By 2015, as per DGC&IS provisional data India-China bilateral trade stood at US\$ 70.4 billion
2. Exchange of Youth delegation between Indian and China has been continuing since 2007.
3. Yoga Festivals were organized in the month of July, 2014 in Beijing, Shanghai and Dali in partnership with Department of AYUSH, Government of India. Buddhist Art Exhibitions were organized in cities like Hong Kong, Shanghai and Chengdu. Indian Film Festivals were also organized in cities like Beijing, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Qingdao, Hong Kong and Xi’an in partnership with Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

4. The Mission maintains regular contact with the Indian community directly as well as through the “Indian Community in Beijing “, which is an association of Indians and PIOs based in Beijing.
5. India and China signed Education Exchange Programme (EEP) in 2006, which is an umbrella agreement for educational cooperation between the two countries. Under this agreement, government scholarships are awarded to 25 students, by both sides, in recognized institutions of higher learning in each other’s country. The 25 scholarships awarded by India are offered by Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) (MEA, 2016).

By understanding the possibilities of grouping India and China in addition with Brazil, Russia and South Africa formed BRICS for mutual advantage in 2011. Now this grouping is one among the prominent organization at the international level. For their mutual benefits, BRICS has formed BRICS bank like World Bank, IMF and ADB. However the Doklam issue in 2017 again led to the stand of between India and China. ‘Doklam, or Donglang in Chinese, is an area spread over less than a 100 sq km comprising a plateau and a valley at the trijunction between India, Bhutan and China. It is surrounded by the Chumbi Valley of Tibet, Bhutan’s Ha Valley and Sikkim. Despite several rounds of engagement between China and Bhutan, the dispute between the two over Doklam has not been resolved. It flared up in 2017 when the Chinese were trying to construct a road in the area, and Indian troops, in aid of their Bhutanese counterparts, objected to it, resulting in the stand-off. Doklam is strategically located close to the Siliguri Corridor, which connects mainland India with its north-eastern region. The corridor, also called Chicken’s Neck, is a vulnerable point for India’ (Joseph, 2018).

Since the days of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), independent India has entertained hopes of a joint Sino- Indian leadership of Asia as a counter to Western influence, but the Chinese have shown no enthusiasm for sharing leadership of Asia with anyone, least of all India. After all, the main objective of China’s Asia policy is to prevent the rise of a peer competitor to challenge its status as the Asia- Pacific’s sole “Middle Kingdom.” As an old Chinese saying goes, “one mountain cannot accommodate two tigers.” Checkmated in East Asia by three great powers—Russia, Japan, and the United States—Beijing has long seen South and Southeast Asia as its spheres of influence and India as the main obstacle to achieving its strategic objective of regional supremacy in mainland Asia. Chinese policymakers’ preference for a balance of-power approach in interstate relations has led them to provide military and political support to those countries that can serve as counterweights to Beijing’s perceived enemies and rivals. Recognizing that strategic-rival India has the size, might, numbers, and, above all, the intention to match China, Beijing has long followed hexiao, gongda policy in South Asia: “uniting with the small (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Nepal, and Sri Lanka) to counter the big (India).” (MALIK, 2009). This points are true that, China now playing an assertive role in India’s neighbouring countries to dismantle Indian influence. ‘One Belt One Road’ is like a move. Harsh V Pant rightly remarks ‘the underlying reality of India-China relations continues to be as complicated as ever. As the year came to an end, China’s engagement in India’s neighbourhood seemed to be growing with the Left Alliance winning in Nepal and the signing of a Free Trade Agreement between China and the

Maldives. China's relationship with Pakistan has become stronger with Beijing now openly batting for Islamabad, whether it is in scuttling Indian attempts to get Pakistan-based terror outfits banned by the United Nations Security Council or preventing India from joining the Nuclear Suppliers Group(**The Hindu, 2018**).

d. Indo Japan Relations

Historically India and Japan cooperate and collaborate each other in all fields. Since civilizational contacts between India and Japan began some 1400 years ago (Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 538 CE), the two countries have never been adversaries. Bilateralities have been singularly free of any kind of dispute – ideological, cultural or territorial. During a lecture in Tokyo in 1916, Rabindranath Tagore told a Japanese audience: “the welcome... which flowed towards me, with such outburst of sincerity, was owing to the fact that Japan felt the nearness of India (**Arpi, 2017**). The importance of Japan to India and India to Japan is understood from the following statements of leaders.

“The time has come for India and Japan to build a strong contemporary relationship one involving global and strategic partnership that will have great significance for Asia and the world as whole”

Dr.Manmohan Singh

“a strong India is the best interest of Japan and strong Japan is the Best Interest of India”

Shinzo Abe

Indo Japan Relations can be summarized into following points

- India was instrumental in bringing Japan into the mainstream of International and regional politics by inviting it to the first Asian Games in 1951 and encouraging Tokyo's participation in the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955
- Indo-Japan Peace Treaty 1952 which established diplomatic relations on 28th April 1952. It was one of the best first treaties Japan signed after the World War II
- Japan made economic and industrial recovery India's supply of Iron ore
- In 1957, Japan started providing Yen loan aid as the first Yen loan aid by Japanese govt. has become India's largest aid donor
- 2007 was celebrated as Indo-Japan Friendship Year
- 2014- Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was the Chief guest of Republic Day
- Japan is the largest source of FDI
- Delhi Mumbai Train project (largest overseas project financed by Japan
- As per 2014 statistics there are 1209 companies are functioning India. It is also tobenoted that there were only 267 companies in 2006.
- 2015- An Agreement reached to build a Bullet train line between Mumbai and Ahmadabad
- Since 2007 there is a Indo –US- Japan- Australia joint military exercises Malabar is conducting in Indian Ocean(**Pant, 2016**)

The present Modi government also understands the geopolitical importance India Japan relations to balance China factor. However, the sharp decrease in the bilateral

trade between the two nations is an important issue and to be addressed in the future. While Japan is India's largest donor and the third largest provider of FDI, bilateral trade has steadily declined since 2013, and is down to \$13.61 billion in 2016-17 from \$14.51 billion the year before. The contrast with India-China trade, at \$71 billion a year, and Japan-China trade, at \$279 billion, is stark, and the decision to finalise four new locations for special Japanese industrial townships may be only one way of addressing the difficulties businessmen face in India (The Hindu, 2017). When it compares to other aspects, it is easy to be addressed through a joint declaration. As Mr. Abe rightly remarked there is a need to continue the slogan "a strong India is the best interest of Japan and strong Japan is the Best Interest of India"

e. India and Middle East

In Indian Foreign policy circles 'Middle east' has remained an important sector it because of historical, Political, Cultural, Geographical and economic reasons. Indeed, Middle East is also vital for India's energy needs. India's relation with Middle East countries seems to be age-old. During the pre-independence period relationship starts with the trade relationship and it transcends to cultural interactions. Whereas the relationship during post-independence it has political as well as energy security reasons (Alam, 2011). During the post-independence period, India Especially Indian National Congress tried to make close contacts with Middle east. Indian National Congress coordinated various freedom struggles and organizations in Egypt, Turkey, and Syria; these contacts gradually results in a good relationship with Middle East countries (Suresh & Ramesh, 2015). India always has a good relationship with Middle East Countries since 1947 till today irrespective political parties ruled in India. Major Breakthrough in the Middle East relationships is associating with Israel for India's Security needs. Some school of Scholars criticizing this strategic alliance. Especially in the era Post-cold war era, India's relationship with Middle East highly relies on own strategic aspect rather than commercial or in the historical roots (Cheema, 2016). Since 1945 Gulf region remained as the strategic location in international relations due to political and economic reasons particularly after the bulk discovery of oil storage in the Gulf region. Middle east Primarily considered as the foremost region for energy needs of major countries in the international system (Mir, 2016). The politics of Oil in Middle east create a new dimension in global politics. India's relationship with Middle east countries evolved not through this abrupt international changes. It progressed through since age-old civilizations like Indus Valley civilization, Mesopotamia civilization and the Nile Delta civilization in Egypt was no stranger to each other at that time. After the advent of Islam to the British period, this interaction among various sectors further groomed and became more reciprocal during this time. During the Pre-independence period, Nehru Participated in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities with his idea of Pan-Asiatic Federation (Alam, 2011). These close affinity brought the leaders of the freedom struggle in these countries altogether. The 'Khilafat Movement' in the freedom struggle shows the Middle East politics influence Indian Freedom Struggle (Alam, 2011).

These movements and struggle brought new Idea of Non-Alignment in the post 'Second World War' Period. The idea of Non-Alignment gave a new outlook to these Middle East countries to protect their own National Interest. In the post-Cold War period

maximization of national interest become the priority of each nation-state system. Indian relationship with Middle east determined by five broad reasons in the Post-Cold War period (1) Geographical proximity and its direct bearings (2) Demographic assimilation and its impact (3) Political happenings and their implications (4) Convergence on the major issues of International (5) Changed regional economic scenario. These objectives in Indian ForeignPolicy towards Middle East become significant these days (Cheema, 2016). In the present context, foreign policy on Middle East by India primarily concentrating on three diverging political regions in international political System, i.e. **(1) Iran (2) Israel (3) Arab States**. The active Middle East Policy by India departed from the earlier stands of Pan-Asiatic Federation due to changing circumstances in the international system. India diluted their stand on 'Palestine cause' since the pre-independence period India gave moral and historical support to 'Palestinecause'. Specifically after the close relationship with Israel (Cheema, 2016).

(1). India Iran relationship

India and Iran shared a border till 1947 and share several common features in their languages, culture, and traditions. Both South Asian and the Persian Gulf countries have strong commercial, energy, cultural and people to people links. Independent India and Iran established diplomatic links on 15 March 1950. During the first and Second UPA government India- Iran relations relation strengthen further furthermore it increase challenges also. Primarily Iran's Stand on Nuclear enrichment become turbulent in international relations it affected India-Iran relationship mainly India's relationship with the US, Indian Policy makers further strengthen US relationship. For, successive US Presidents India's relations with Iran is not acceptable they try to pressure the Indian government to vote and stand against Iran in multilateral engagements. Indian Perspective on Iran is based on economic as well as the strategic relationship (Alam, 2011).

India-Iran Economic and Commercial ties have traditionality been maintained Indian import of Iranian Crude Oil. India is the third largest market of Iranian oil. India's export to Iran includes Petroleum products, rice, Machinery, and instruments, manufactures of metals primary and semi-finished Iron and Steel, Pharmaceuticals and Chemicals and processed minerals (Mir, 2016). Chahabhar container terminal project is the significant factor between India and Iran relationship. Through Chahabhar Port India can access Afghanistan and central Asia. This container terminal project is a game changer in India and Iran relationship. Chabahar port is critical logistical advantages as it would be linked to central Asia by rail and would provide expanded access to central Asian markets.

For India, Iran continues to remain important for various reasons: energy security, countering Pakistani Taliban in Afghanistan, access to trade and transport connectivity with Central Asia and Afghanistan and, to some extent, managing the domestic political dynamics. India does not want to be a victim of the US policy in West Asia. However, equally important for India is its strategic partnership with the US. In the current context, the real test for India and Iran is to maintain and sustain the current momentum. As second largest muslim populated Islamic country, Iran considers India has the potential to protect their religion. However in the present day scenario there are lot of attacks are happening against the Muslim minorities by hinduta forces. It will be a threat to India Iran relations.

(2). India –Israel relationship

Bilateral relations between India and Israel based on – economic, defense and people to people contacts. India is Israel's 10th largest trading partner. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1992, civilian bilateral trade has grown to about \$5 billion per year. With the proposed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in the pipeline, this is expected to more than double in the near future (Kumaraswamy, 2010). India-Israel relationship more concentrating on the strategic relationship, especially on defense procurement. Total defense trade between the two countries is worth more than \$ 9 bn. Moreover, there is a further possibility for high-tech cooperation such as in space technology and agriculture. Foreign policy concerns for the two countries are dominated by third-party issues such as Iran and the Palestinian issue. The fact these issues affect both nations reveals an affinity of interests of both sides (Mukherjee, 2017).

India-Israel relations are conforming to the real politik equation in international relations, and that self-interest is still important to India. It was pointed out that economic relations should best be left to the business communities on both sides. There is a lot of complementarity between both nations' economic interests. It was pointed out that both sides have faced challenges in the defense sector but this has been an issue on which cooperation has been robust (Kumaraswamy, 2010).

India-Israel bilateral relations have been increasing in political, economic and defense sectors. It was pointed out that there are vibrant people-to-people interactions, strategic dialogues between the security forces and strategic establishments, among other on-going exchanges between the two countries. Cooperation in science and technology, agriculture, space cooperation among other sectors is also vibrant.

(3). India and the Arab States

Indo-Arab relations that can be dated back to antiquity speak of such inter-cultural dialogues and exchanges between two age-old civilizations. There is a lot of historical evidence for this time-tested cultural tie up. The Arabs had a close commercial and cultural relationship with the Indians in the pre-Islamic period. The Indo-Arab friendship dates back to the very ancient times in history when Indian and Arab sailors plied their ships across the seas and established commercial links with each other. As a result, Arab traders built their permanent settlements on the western coast of India which played an important role in the exchange of Indo-Arab cultural relations (Ahmad, 1969).

There are important Indian investments in countries stretching from Oman to Egypt, Sudan and beyond. There have been cultural ties with the region throughout history. Much of our external trade passes along the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. India's staunch commitment to the Palestinian cause, common views on major international developments and strong economic and commercial relations form the foundations of India-Arab relations today. Our total bilateral trade with the Arab countries is over US\$ 110 billion and the region is home to 4.5 million Indians and caters to 70% of our energy imports.

MODULE VI

INDIA AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

- a. SAARC
- b. ASEAN
- c. European Union (EU)
- d. Role in the United Nations
- e. India's Nuclear Policy

a. India and SAARC

Since the formation, India played a major role in making SAARC became a major regional international organization in the world. Security and economic development are the twin factors contributed the South Asian Countries to join hands together. It was formed in the year 1985 with its headquarters at Kathmandu. India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldives and Afghanistan are the member nations in SAARC. India's contribution for the development of SAARC can be pin point as

1. India contributed USD 189.9 million to SAARC Development Fund.
2. The infrastructure for the SAARC Terrorist Monitoring Offences Desk and SAARC Drug Offences Monitoring Desk being strengthened with the financial assistance from India.
3. Two major projects are implementing by the SAARC with the technical assistance of India- a Woman Empowerment and Maternal and Child Health Care, Bio Mass Cooking Stoves and Solar Lanterns
4. South Asian University is situated at New Delhi. This is established with total cost of USD 308.91 million. Out of these India contributed 229.11 million. It means 75 per cent of the total cost of SAU was meet by India (Fadia, 2014).

Security in South Asia is essential for the development of India. Bilateral issues among member nations relating to Cross boarder terrorism, illegal migration, Sharing of Water etc. and growing influence of China in the region are the major challenges facing by SAARC in general and India in Particular.

b. India and ASEAN

2018 marked 25 years of diplomatic relation with ASEAN. In order to celebrate this relationship, ASEANs heads were the chief guests' republic day celebrations of India. This for the first time ten heads of the states participate this event. This it marked the importance of ASEAN in India's national interest. Disintegration of USSR was a major breakthrough in Indo-ASEAN relations. During the cold war period India's soft corner towards USSR major hurdle in the interaction with this regional groupings. MohitAnand points out that India has a close relationship with ASEAN countries since independence; it startled its influence in the south Asian region during the 1950's by supporting the Indonesian struggle for independence. However with the signing of Indo Soviet treaty of peace and friendship cooperation treaty, relation between India and ASEAN took downturn. He also stipulates that under the influence of Soviet Union Indiarecognised Peoples' Republic of Kampuchia regime that was propped up in Vietnam in 1980.

As stated earlier, collapse of Soviet Union, India also compelled to shift her foreign policy priorities for attainment of India's national interest. As a result the Prime Minister NarasimhaRao govt. adopted Look East Policy in 1992. ASEAN also accomplish the growing role of India will helps their political and economic prospects. As a result ASEAN accommodate India as their sectorial partner in 1992. India signed a free trade agreement with ASEAN in 2003. Anand states that the presence of India at the East Asia summit in December 2005 and its illusion in the East Asia Community have further testified the growing synergies between them and suggest a future entailing greater integration in the region (Anand, May 2009). The India-ASEAN dialogue partnership has come a long way in the past quarter century. From being a sectorial partner in 1992 to full dialogue partner in 1995, India and ASEAN are strategic partners today. With the ASEAN-India Summit, East Asia Summit, seven ministerial-level interactions including the ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) Plus etc., and 30 sectorial dialogue mechanisms, it is evident that India has substantially engaged the ASEAN over the years (Misra, 2018).

India's connectivity efforts, on the contrary, have been marred by procedural delays. While China is working on regional and inter-regional connectivity with projects such as cross-country railway networks with the ASEAN, India is still unable to complete projects initiated more than a decade back. Deadlines for both Kaladan and India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway have been repeatedly postponed for factors within and beyond India's control. It is important to expeditiously improve upon the under-utilised aspects of the physical, digital and transport connectivity (ibid).

c. India and-European Union

Fraser Cameron pinpoints certain reasons for why India is important for EU and vice versa. He points out that India is second –most populous state and largest democracy in the world, it has large and growing pool of intellectual talent it ranks among the top ten of the world's industrializing nations, leader of developing and less developed countries in world forums like G-20 and WTO, Economic growth makes it an increasingly important international player and catch the attention of EU. India seems EU as an international actor, fuelled by internal developments such as creation of the single market and the euro and external policies such as enlargement and its leadership role in trade, environment and other issues (Cameron, 2009). Following are the major areas of relations between India and EU.

1. Signed a MPU on Research and Innovation Cooperation and Enhanced Cooperation in Energy.
2. A Delegation for Relations with India (D-IN) was formally constituted in the European Parliament (EP) in 2007. It has 28 regular and 22 substitute members who are drawn from various political groups in accordance with their numerical strength in the EP.
3. The EU as a bloc of 28 countries is India's largest trading partner. Bilateral trade Between India and the EU was valued at €75.8 billion during 2012 as compared to €80.2 billion in 2011, representing a decline of 5.49%.
4. The EU is also one of the largest sources of Foreign Direct Investment for India. FDI inflows from the EU into India increased from €3.5 billion in 2009 to €7.5 billion in 2010 and €14.19 billion in 2011.

5. A Joint Working Group on Environment dealing with prevention of pollution, waste minimization, protection of biological diversity, sustainable forest management, environmental education, etc. has been created. An Environmental Forum bringing together academia, business and civil society to have an exchange of views on specific environmental issues also meets annually.
6. The India-EU Forum has emerged as an important Track II forum for discussion between policy analysts on both sides. It is led by the European Union Institute for security Studies and the Indian Council of World Affairs and includes participation from academics and think-tanks.
7. Over the years, India and the EU have signed a number of bilateral agreements and MoUs, notably a Science & Technology Agreement (2001, renewed in 2007), Joint Vision Statement for promoting Cooperation in the field of Information and Communications Technology (2001), Customs Cooperation Agreement (2004), Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Employment and Social Affairs (2006), Horizontal Civil Aviation Agreement (2008), Joint Declaration in the field of Education & Training (2008), Joint Declaration on Multilingualism (2009), Agreement in the field of Nuclear Fusion Energy Research (2009), Joint Declaration on Culture (2010), MoU on Statistics (2012), Joint Declaration on Research and Innovation Cooperation (2012) and Joint Declaration on Enhanced Cooperation in Energy (2012). India-EU Joint Declaration on the fight against terrorism (2016), India- EU Joint Declaration on a Common Agenda for Migration and Mobility (2016) Joint declaration on Water Partnership (2016) Joint Declaration on Clean Energy and Climate Partnership (2016) were adopted at the 13th India-EU Summit in 2016 (mea.gov.in, 2016).

d. Role of India in the United Nations

As founding member of UN, India played an important role in making UN an implementary body from a declaratory body by giving material and physical support. India is one among the countries who acknowledge Universal Declaration of Human Rights first. Article 51 of Indian Constitution itself declares promotion of International Peace and Security. AmanThakker sort out India's engagement at the UN into two broad themes: International Development and International Security.

1. As the world's fourth-largest emitter of carbon dioxide, India has been a central player in the negotiations of the two most recent climate change accords under the auspices of the UN. Indeed, India was recognised as a drafting author of the agreements and a leader within the Brazil-South Africa-India-China (BASIC) coalition, as well as the broader Group of 77 (G77) coalition at, both, the Copenhagen and Paris Conferences.

2. Within its engagement on international security, India has prioritised the adoption of an intergovernmental framework to combat terrorism. India's proposal for such a framework is the passage of an international treaty that defined terrorism and enhanced "normative processes for the 60 prosecutions and extradition of terrorists." To this end, India introduced the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism in 1996 (CCIT). Beyond the CCIT, India has also participated in other multilateral efforts on counterterrorism, particularly after the Mumbai attacks on 26 November 2011. This engagement includes advocacy and

support for the adoption of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in the General Assembly, and adoption of the 13 “sectoral conventions” on terrorism 61 negotiated at the UN. India also chaired the Counter Terrorism Committee in 2011, which was established by UN Security Council (Thakker, 2018). Since the formation India sincerely involved in the peace keeping measures of UN. Prime Minister Narendra Modi lauded India’s contributions to the UN peace keeping efforts as reflecting its ethos as a “messenger of peace” and India has participated in about 50 out of 71 UN peacekeeping operations undertaken in countries like Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Congo, Cyprus, Liberia, Lebanon and Sudan. He also added that “India is the third highest contributor to UN peacekeeping missions, with around 7,000 of its security personnel deployed on various missions across the world,” (The Hindu, 2017).

This involvement has getting much appreciation from the world. India’s spontaneous and unreserved participation in UN peacekeeping operations over the years has been a clear demonstration of the country’s commitment to the objectives set out in the UN Charter. Not in terms of rhetoric and symbolism, but in real and practical terms, even to the extent of accepting casualties to personnel (about 150 fatalities to date). This commitment has been acknowledged by the international community, successive Secretaries General and the United Nations Secretariat (Nambiar, 2014) many persons like, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, B.N Rau, Shashi Tharoor etc. held various post of UN Specialized organs. India seriously demanding reforms in UN including the Security Council; however this demand is continues as unaddressed.

India’s claims for Permanent Membership in UN Security Council as follows

1. Largest democratic Country with second largest population
2. India’s contribution in UN
3. Geographical Parity(From Asia now only one country, China representing the UNSC)
4. Europe centred power structure has changed

e. India’s Nuclear Policy

Regional and international factors contributed to the gradual evolution of India’s Nuclear Policy. Prime Minister Nehru followed a policy of non-alignment and disarmament. However, his adherence to scientific temper and development, Nehru established several scientific institutions. In his term he secured the political support needed to establish a cluster of institutions that would have advance nuclear research and policy through the 1950s(AEC; a closely related Scientific Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Defence, later renamed the Defence Science Advisory Board; DAE (Kirk, 2016) this institution paved the way for acquiring the Nuclear status to India. Two international treaties, NPT and CTBT and China threat directly contributed to acquire nuclear technology. In 1967, an International treaty was drawn emphasizing the need to disarmament and advocated any nations conduct nuclear tests in the future. Indira Gandhi government was reluctant to sign this agreement and she stated this agreement as ‘Nuclear Apartheid’ to prevent new nations from acquiring nuclear technology and strategy to maintain power status in the world. This was the one major factor for the first nuclear test in 1974. However in her second term she gave importance missile technology rather than nuclear energy. India’s second nuclear test was get momentum in 1990s when Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister and test was conducted during Vajpayee as

Prime Minister of India. In May 1998, the Indian Prime Minister AtalBihariVajpayee, famously foregrounded the Chinese threat in a letter to United States President Bill Clinton, explaining India's decision to conduct nuclear tests (Kirk, 2016). As a result of nuclear test US sponsored sanction was imposed against India. Even India's long friend ally Japan stopped their assistance to India. But this sanction was short term and India's role in growing role in multipolar world as well as in Indian Ocean compelled the US rethink rift sanction. It is also to be noted that US itself was ready to reach nuclear agreement with India. Now US try to ensure India's membership in Nuclear Supplies Groups. Now India has nuclear agreement with almost all the major powers like US, Russia, France, Japan etc. India's nuclear objectives can be put into two points. Firstly no first use of nuclear weapons, secondly nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

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