

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

**MASTER OF ARTS-POLITICAL SCIENCE
SEMESTER -II**

**INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY
ELECTIVE-204
BLOCK-1**

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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ENLIGHTENMENT TO PERFECTION

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FOREWORD

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.



INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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BLOCK 1 INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Introduction to the Block

This block introduces us to the concept of Foreign Policy and explains various approaches and theories before giving us a glimpse of what the Indian Foreign Policy looks like. It then takes you through various bilateral relations that India has with major countries and what it means for them. It concludes with the status of India on the Global stage in context of major global issues.

Unit 1 - Foreign Policy: Major Approaches & Theories – Introduces us to the concept of Foreign Policy and various theories attached to the concept.

Unit 2 – India’s Foreign Policy – Gives us an overview of what is India’s Foreign Policy in terms of the different principles guiding it.

Unit 3 – India with SAARC & ASEAN – Helps us understand India’s standing in the SAARC & ASEAN regions and groups.

Unit 4 – Bilateral Relations: US, Japan, Bangladesh – Explains the relations that India has with US, Japan & Bangladesh.

Unit 5 – Bilateral Relations of India: China & Russia - Explains the relations that India has with China & Russia

Unit 6 – India & Global Issues: Power & Security – Takes us through the issue of Power & Security on the global platform and India’s role in the same.

Unit 7 - India & Global Issues: Nuclear Non-Proliferation - Takes us through the issue of Nuclear Non-Proliferation on the global platform and India’s role in the same

UNIT – 1 FOREIGN POLICY: MAJOR APPROACHES & THEORIES

STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 India's Foreign Policy under Nehru in the Formative Years
 - 1.2.1 Tilt in Non-Alignment
 - 1.2.2 India China war
- 1.3 Foreign Policy after Nehru
- 1.4 Indira Gandhi's Tenure
 - 1.4.1 Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1971
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 - 1.4.4 Indira Gandhi's Second Tenure
- 1.5 Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian peacekeeping force in Sri Lanka
- 1.6 Narasimha Rao(1991-1996)
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- 1.11 Suggested Readings & References
- 1.10 Questions for Review
- 1.12 Answer to Check Your Progress

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

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- To understand India's foreign policy under different political leaders
- To understand the nature of the affairs that was under control.
- To learn the relationship between India and the U.S and understand the various intricacies of the same.
- To understand the manner and rules that the people had to abide by and rules exercised in this

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Indian foreign policy is formulated after intense interaction between socio-political parties,

governments as well as institutions. The outcome of the policy process, "foreign policy" is the concrete policy which is directed towards a foreign nation or external policy issue of the country.

What has been the outcome of the policy process after independence in the last fifty-six years?

Indian foreign policy has been considered Non-Aligned in India, from an ordinary citizen to the Prime Minister and abroad from foreign government officials to informed public have been characterizing it as the same. Be that as it may, even today, without an elective approach structure, the Indian political class has been depicting Indian international strategy inside the system of non-alignment. In this unit we will understand the origin of non-aligned policy, it's a mechanism and its progression during the period since independence. This unit will also analyze the fluctuations in India's relations with major world powers as well as neighbors.

1.2 INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER NEHRU IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Indians gained control over their country as well as their foreign policy only after their independence from the British rule in 1947. Externally around the world, there was a cold war environment amongst the two superpowers the

U.S -United States and The Soviet Union U.S.S.R. India was a new country to be introduced in the environment. Both the superpowers were on the winning side in the Second World War. In September 1946, an interim government was put into place before August 1947, in September 1946. This was done under Nehru's leadership.

This put Nehru in a dilemma he was the first prime minister of India. He was educated in the western and was personally attracted to the Marxist thought. However, any alignment with any one of the blocs would have caused a partiality in his decision-making policies and would have resulted in a loss of the newly won independence. Making a free radical and practical decision was of utmost priority to him, which would not let him lose India's independence of decision-making. This policy was called the non-alignment policy of India.

On 7 September 1946, he formulated the basics of this policy in a broadcast from New Delhi. In this, he laid out certain foreign policy goals. Independence had not been announced yet and he was only an acting interim prime minister. The foreign policy goals included the following:

- End of colonialism and racism,
- He insisted on close ties with China and Asia and independence from inclination or adoption to any of the power blocs.

In his own words: "We shall take a full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races."

The nation and Nehru faced a dilemma with terms of power inclination politically. Thus, no alignment with either of the power blocs was Nehru's solution to the dilemma, which he and his country had faced. This was a lesson learnt from history and it portrayed the intellectual side of Nehru. Soon after the independence the first American president George

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Washington had asked his countrymen while laying down his office in 1796: “It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.” Instead, he advocated that the new Republic should cultivate “just and amicable feelings toward all” nations.

Soon after the end of the Second World War, there were military alliances floated by the United States and the Soviet Union across the world. Nehru had primarily decided non-alignment, which radically meant not getting entangled or involved with any of the powerful forces. The United States had promoted NATO – The North Atlantic Treaty and the Soviet Union countered it with the Warsaw Pact. To attract independent nations of Asia and Africa, the two superpowers had promoted regional alliances while they were competing for military alliances at the global level.

Secondly comes neutrality. Non-Alignment did not refer to being neutral to world politics. It has a true meaning during the times of the war. However nonalignment is referred to as a positive thought, it referred to India’s freedom of decision making and that it meant that the country retained its decision making powers on an issue that affected her interests. There was no commitment prior to support one another during crisis time.

In 1950’s United States had promoted the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). India’s neighbor Pakistan had joined them to get military aid to fight against its neighbor India. Both these organizations were meant to fight against communist promoted by the Soviet Union. The Pakistani alliance with the United States had promoted the cold war between India and Pakistan causing tension amongst them and had also affected the relationship between the United States and India.

This tension was brought out very clearly over the Kashmir issue. Nehru had great faith in the international organization’s state of justice. There was a crisis created by Pakistan was against Jammu and Kashmir, it was Nehru who had taken this to the UN in 1948. Kashmir's question was a matter

which was seen through the prism of the cold war, Nehru had never expected this.

Pakistan was asked to withdraw its forces, the UN had ordered a cease-fire. The Indian PM had then given an assurance to hold a plebiscite to decide as to whether Kashmiris desired to join India or join Pakistan. This showed the faith Nehru had in UN Decisions.

However, in the process, the Kashmir issue got entangled amidst the global cold war between the US and the Soviet Union. Once this became a part of the cold rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union, Pakistan started raising its rivalry with India with its military alliances. The kept the issue as an instrument to pressurize India politically, instead of declaring Pakistan as an aggressor and seeking to vacate its aggression, kept the issue as an instrument to pressurize India politically.

Nehru had enabled the Indian republic as a member and had maintained close ties with the British Commonwealth of Nations. However, Britain was not interested in getting to the end of the Kashmir issue. India could have sought help from the but Nehru had disappointed the then Dean Acheson Secretary of state in 1949.

Dean Acheson states in his memoirs: “When finally, I urged Pandit Nehru to help me by a frank discussion of a practicable solution of the trouble over Kashmir, I got a curious combination of a public speech and flashes of anger and deep dislike of his opponents... I was convinced that Nehru and I were not destined to have a pleasant personal relationship.”

John Foster who was Acheson’s successor in office follows his footsteps and wasn’t friendly to India either. Dulles desired that India join the military alliances promoted by the U.S. By then Dulles had come under the influence of pato mania in promoting military pacts. However, the country’s nonalignment policy was against it. Hencedulles concluded that nonalignment was immoral and it failed to take a firm stand against godless communism.

Amidst these circumstances, the Soviet Union helped India. The US, in that early period, obliged Britain on the issues identifying with the last's recent settlements. Subsequently, when Western forces like the US and UK started to decide in favor of Pakistan on the topic of Kashmir, the Soviet Union practiced its veto capacity to spare the Indian interests from Cold War legislative issues.

1.2.1 Tilt In Non-Alignment

The Soviet Union helped India to get over the endeavors by the western forces to humiliate India. You do not humiliate a companion who comes to your rescue. That is a standard in relational undertakings; so is that in universal issues. The trial of this standard came during the SC discourse on the Soviet military intercession in Hungary in 1956.

There was an uprising against the Soviet mastery of Hungary, where individuals stressed on the need of majority rule government. In any case, the Soviet Union militarily mediated in that nation to ensure that an expert majority rules system government was eliminated and a star socialist government was introduced. The topic of Soviet military mediation preceded the UN. The General Assembly examined the Hungarian emergency. There was a five-power resolution calling upon the Soviet Union to pull back its troops. India cast a ballot against the goals. This methodology of India was broadly objected in the nation just as abroad. Was India supporting Soviet military mediation? Nehru went to considerable lengths to clarify, rather unconvincingly that the conditions and impulses under which India cast a ballot against the goals. His primary ground was that the goals requested "decisions ought to be held in Hungary under the supervision of the United Nations." That could later be used to request comparative races in Kashmir. In any case, the way that India opposed the military intercession aroused opposition from both inside the country as well as from the other parts of the world. Thomas A. Bailey in his *A Diplomatic History of the American People* records that "even 'neutralist' states like India were moved to challenge the fierceness of the Soviets."

In 1954 he yielded the Chinese case over Tibet by tolerating its suzerainty over it when India consented to an arrangement for exchange with the "Tibetan area of China." India surrendered its privileges and benefits in Tibet without increasing any complementary concessions from China. The initial move towards this exchange was made by China by expelling India's impact in Tibet totally. The Chinese People's Liberation Army started assaults in Tibet, with China announcing Tibet as an indispensable piece of its region. In continuation of the approach of Indo-Chinese fellowship, India consented to the Sino-Tibetan Arrangement on May 23, 1951, which fixed Tibet's destiny for all time. Chinese troops from that point onwards, were positioned on the fringes of India, Burma, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, and the neighboring regions. On the other hand, India pulled back the entirety of her military, postal, business, telephonic and transmitted administrations and gear from the northern outskirts positioned for over a century. To assuage the Chinese, Nehru proposed the Panchsheel (Five Principles) Agreement with Chou En-lai in 1954, in light of the standards of common regard for regional trustworthiness and power, non-hostility, non-obstruction in inside undertakings, equity and serene conjunction.

The Panchsheel understanding was a disgraceful endeavor to shroud India's failure to restrict China's expansionist structures and to draw China into a guarantee to limit its regional desire. That China had no aim of submitting to this understanding was obvious from the development of military separations in the Aksai-Chin region, development of streets inside the Indian region along the Sinkiang outskirts, and the shelling of Indian stations irregularly. The Chinese maps were at that point demonstrating the whole North-East Frontier Agency (a piece of India) as the Chinese region.

In spite of China's military activities, Nehru educated the Parliament in 1957 that there was "not the remotest possibility of India coming into any sort of military clash with China or the Soviet Union. India is so arranged topographically that it would not be anything but difficult to assault her." Within two years, in 1959, Tibet was kept running over by the Chinese

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powers and Dalai Lama needed to attempt an amazingly perilous and uncommonly risky voyage to get away from the Chinese strike.

After three years, in October 1962, the Chinese squashed the Indian powers, involved vital stations, and obliterated India's fringe barriers. The US Ambassador, John Kenneth Galbraith in Ambassador's Journal depicted India's defenselessness in opposing Chinese assault:

Their (India) air arm isn't exceptionally powerful. The urban communities of the Ganges Plain are available from the landing strips of Tibet. There is no possibility that Indians could fight back to China and there is nothing in Tibet. Furthermore, there is no specialized possibility that we could accord them quickly the security that Nehru inquired.

Nehru could have practiced adaptability in non-arrangement with regards to India's national intrigue. Would he be able to not have taken the assistance of the US, which was, hostile to China at that point and which went to India's assistance at any rate quickly after the October 1962 Sino-Indian war? India took the strategic and political assistance of the Soviet Union over Pakistan's war in J and K regardless of whether it was reached out without India requesting it. In the event that India had requested the US help in 1954 during the Tibetan emergency, the US help in gathering the Chinese test in October 1962 could have been considerably greater and progressively successful. It would have given the right picture to non-arrangement to demonstrate that it enabled a nation to look for help from any nation when its national security is compromised instead of making India consistently tilt towards one Super Power—the Soviet Union. These are obviously huge if and yet of history. Be that as it may, this demonstrated constraints of the Indian international strategy in the developmental long stretches of the Indian Republic.

Nehru's dependence on the "regulation of barrier by companionship" versus China was a disappointment. Indians were altogether amazed at the disappointment of Nehru's international strategy. Nehru himself turned into a disappointed man. His Defense Minister, Krishna Menon was compelled

to leave from the Congress Party. J. Bandopadhyaya really taking shape of India's Foreign Policy finishes up: "It was Nehru's evidently optimistic elucidation of India-China relations that was most likely in charge of the nonattendance of... key arranging."

Check your Progress 1

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

- 1. Discuss why India voted against the five policy goals.

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- 2. What happened on 7th September 1946?

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1.2.2 India China Border War

The qualities and shortcomings of the non-alignment were exposed during the period following the real emergency in Indian international strategy. This was the unexpected Chinese animosity in October 1962. Harmony and companionship with China was the foundation of the Indian international strategy as defined and executed by Nehru with help from his companion and Defense Minister, Krishna Menon. Actually they never visualized a risk from Communist China. They primarily focused on Pakistan as a risk to India's security.

Nehru thought of settling the regional emergency by political arrangements as opposed to by the utilization of power. He never understood that military quality improved the capacity to arrange political settlements among countries. This had driven him to approach the UN because of Pakistan's intermediary war in Jammu and Kashmir in 1947-48, when, truly, the Indian

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armed force had the option to toss out attacking Pakistani armed force from the Kashmir.

An agreement for trade was signed between and “Tibetan regions of China” in the year 1954 when Nehru granted Chinese claim over Tibet by accepting its suzerainty. India did not gain any reciprocal concessions from China even though India gave up its rights and privileges in Tibet. The first thing China did was to oust India’s influence in Tibet. China declared Tibet as an integral part of their and the Chinese People’s Liberation Army began raiding in Tibet. Further, in the policy of Indo-Chinese friendship, India signed an agreement on May 23, 1951, which was known as the Sino-Tibetan Agreement. This agreement sealed Tibet’s state completely. It is since then that the Chinese troops allotted on the borders of Burma, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Nepal, and the neighboring areas. On the other hand, India withdrew all its services and equipment such as -military, postal, commercial, telephonic and telegraphic services from the northern borders stationed for over a century. To appease the Chinese, Nehru ended the Panchsheel Agreement with Chou-Eh-Lai in 1954. It was based on the principles of military, postal, commercial, telephonic and telegraphic services.

The Panchsheel agreement an inferior attempt to camouflage India’s inability to oppose China’s progressive design. The agreement was a kind of illusion, as it was apparently a promise from China to restrain its territorial ambition. The agreement very evidently brought out how China had no intention of standing by this agreement, which was clearly brought out in from their building up of military detachments in the Aksai- area, contracting roads within the Indian Territory along the Sinkiang border and the Shelling of Indian outposts periodically. The entire North-East Frontier Agency (a part of India) was shown as a part of Chinese territory in the Chinese maps.

In the face of China’s military operation, Nehru managed to inform the Parliament in 1957 that there was “not the remotest chance of India coming into any kind of military conflict with China or the Soviet Union. India is so

situated geographically that it would not be easy to attack her.” In 1959, within the span of two years, Tibet was run over by the Chinese forces. It was by the dangerous and extraordinary hazardous journey taken up by Dalai Lama that they could escape China’s attack.

India’s aim was ineffective. The cities near the Ganga Plain was perceptible from the airways of Tibet. There were no chances of India reciprocating to China and there was nothing in Tibet. There was hardly any technical chance that they could accord them immediately the security that Nehru had asked for.

Nehru could have kept in mind India’s national interest when exercising the flexibility in the non-alignment movement. He couldn’t take the help of the US which was anti-China then but eventually, it came to India’s rescue after October 1962. India took the diplomatic and political assistance of the Soviet Union over Pakistan’s war in J&K even if it extended without India soliciting it. Had India appealed to the US for its assistance in 1954 during the Tibetan crisis, the US’s help in meeting the Chinese challenge in October 1962 could have been substantially more effective. It would have provided an accurate image to non-alignment to prove that it allowed a country to seek help from any other country if the nation’s security is threatened rather than making India swing to the respective Super Power—the Soviet Union. This part of history shows limitations of the Indian Foreign Policy in the initial and formative years of the Indian Republic.

Nehru’s dependence on the “doctrine of defense by friendship” vis-a-vis China was unsuccessful. Indians were taken aback by the failure of Nehru's failure of foreign policy. Nehru was disappointed by his failure. The defense Minister, Krishna Menon was forced to resign from the Congress Party. y. J. Bandopadhyaya in the Making of India’s Foreign Policy concludes: “It was Nehru’s apparently idealistic interpretation of India-China relations that was probably responsible for the absence of... strategic planning.”

1.3 FOREIGN POLICY AFTER NEHRU

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In major concern of the people post 1960s was “After Nehru, Who?” Nehru was succeeded by Lal Bahadur Sastri after his death in 1964. Lal Badhur’s tenure was short as he died in Tashkent on January 1966 after signing the Tashkent Agreement with Ayub Khan, military dictator of Pakistan.

Sastri was remembered for making major changes in India’s Foreign Policy. He shifted the major attention from international events to the immediate neighborhood of India. It was Nehru’s personality that made him place India playing a crucial role in international affairs. Nehru’s ideas on international affairs were much bigger than his resources permitted them. He was responsible for introducing newly liberated communist China’s premier Chou en lai. He was the forefront of getting communist China seated as the legitimate member of the 6 UN in place of Nationalist China, which had fled to Taiwan after the communists captured power in Mainland China in October 1949. He played a major role in Bandung (Indonesia) Conference in 1955. In fact, it was Nehru who an important agent between China and the US during the Korean war.

The Rann of Kutch is a marshy land between West Pakistan and Gujarat. It was Pakistan’s case that Rann of Kutch was a lake and according to the international law, the boundary should run in the middle of the lake. On the other hand, India claimed that it is marshy land and the boundaries between Sindh and India were well demarcated. It was Pakistan that was intruding into the area since 1956. Hostilities broke out between the two countries in this area in the year 1965. The then British PM Harold Wilson intervened while referring to their dispute and would arbitrate if both parties were unable to meet at an agreement. Gradually as the countries couldn’t come to a proper solution, arbitrators awarded 900 square Km to Pakistan- one-tenth of its original claim.

India continued to be looked at as a weak nation, while China, on the other hand, exploded a nuclear bomb in October 1964 without India reacting to it instantly. The non-aligned conference that met in Cairo in 1964 sent representatives to Beijing to stop China from going nuclear. The delegations were refused by the Chinese Authorities.

Shastri faced another major issue that was the India-Pakistan war of 1965. The modus operandi of this war was similar to that of World War I in the year 1947-48. Ayub Khan, you used the weakness of India and mixed it with the hope of Kashmiris rose in revolt against India and launched a war. As a result of this war, Pakistan was able to capture some territories of J&K while Indians opened the second front of its choosing by moving towards Lahore.

The US at that time was busy with its war in Vietnam. Hence the Johnson administration did not act beyond imposing an arms embargo against both the countries as they were allegedly fighting with American weapons. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was eager to use its offices in solving the issue. It had come closer to India by taking a neutral stance over the Sino-Indian border war of 1962. However, the Russians wanted to be portrayed as neutral in the Indo-Pak war. The Russian leader in fact wished to befriend Pakistan or at least alienate it away from the US.

Kosygin the invited Lal Bahadur Shastri and Ayub Khan to Tashkent to find a solution to the war and both the leaders accepted the offer. Tashkent's agreement was signed after a long period of arm twisting. According to this agreement India had to give up the territories captured by their army which had been opposed by the opposition parties.

Check your Progress 2

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. What was the foundation of Indian International strategy?

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2. Which country was intruding in the Rann of Kutch area and since when?

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1.4 INDIRA GANDHI'S TENURE

Lal Bahadur Shastri was succeeded by Indira Gandhi as the new PM. Post Pandit Nehru, Indira Gandhi had the longest tenure as the nation's PM. She could secure her power only after the elections held in the year 1970. The major Foreign Policy event during her tenure was the Bangladesh war fought with Pakistan in 1971.

The background of the crisis is to be kept in mind while understanding the major event in the History of India. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in December 1970 won a majority in a democratic election in Western Pakistan while Awami League won an absolute majority in East Pakistan by winning 167 seats. Pakistan Yahya Khan should have invited the leader of Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman to form the government keeping the democratic theory in mind, but Bhutto did not wish to have a Bengali PM of Pakistan.

Neither was Yahya Khan willing to transfer power to a Bangladeshi. Martial law was imposed instead of transferring power. He appointed Lt. General Tikka Khan as Governor and sent an army to subdue the movement in East Pakistan in March 1971. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman of the Awami Party was arrested and imprisoned in West Pakistan. The military dictatorship was denounced as a result of the enraged population of East Pakistan.

The worst human rights violations in world history were seen in the involvement of the military. There was mishap everywhere around. Supporters of the party were massacred, women were raped and systematic killing of the Hindus in East Pakistan. It was a war of hatred. The Pakistani

army painted “big yellow Hs on the Hindu shops” as reported by the New York Times. It was done such that the Hindus would be destroyed and attacked. As a result of this issue over 12 million Bangladeshis, Muslims and Hindus, came to West Bengal, mainly to Calcutta, as refugees. There was an issue of law and order in the state of West Bengal and feeding the large number was an economic strain on India at large.

Skilled in political gamble Indira Gandhi, went on a tour of Western countries to inform the leaders of the human tragedy in East Pakistan. At that moment the US was secretly engaged in opening up relations with China in which Pakistan had played an important role as a middleman. At the same time, she had also asked the army to prepare for military intervention. The army was equally skilled where the planning of such actions is to take place and suggested the intervention to take place in winter as the passes in the Himalayas would be snow covered making it difficult for Pakistan’s ally China to intervene in this crisis.

Pakistan attacked India on the 3rd of December and also forced her to divert her troops to the west. This resulted in the birth of Bangladesh by putting an end to East Pakistan. The Indian forces were at their best when they accepted the surrender of over 90,000 Pakistani troops in the war.

1.4.1 Indo-Soviet Treaty Of Peace And Friendship, 1971

During the Nehru period, there was already a pro-Soviet inclination during the practice of the non-alignment movement. The Soviet Union was sympathized with as a result of the non-alignment movement. Cuba, as a member of the non-aligned movement, even introduced the idea that the Soviet Union is a ‘natural ally’ of the non- aligned nations. This was done at the 1979 NAM summit held in Havana. The inclination becomes evident in Indo- soviet relations of this time.

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India had signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union before the Bangladesh War in 1971. According to the treaty, the two countries agreed on “immediate mutual consultations” on the condition that either country facing military threat would adopt effective measures.

Soviet Union’s acceptance of India’s policy of non-alignment was brought out through the treaty. However, the end of the non-aligned took place with the criticism of the treaty by the US. But the treaty was an answer to the changing scenario of those times. India had been befriended both by Pakistan and China since 1962 based on the idea that an enemy’s enemy is a friend. The US, on the other hand, was already close to Pakistan as they had military forces that were binding their relations. Richard Nixon, the US President, was working on building up relations with China and aimed at balancing the power of the Soviet Union.

1.4.2 Shimla Agreement, 1972

With an agreement signed between Gandhi and Bhutto, the indo-Pakistan war came to an end in 1971. According to the agreement both the countries “resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations.” They also agreed on maintaining peace and unity and territorial integrity of each other’s nation and not to encourage any acts which would hinder peace in their respective regions. Pakistan then regained all the territories it has lost in West Pakistan in war and secured freedom from Prisoners taken of War in Bangladesh. India gained assurances of good behavior, which Pakistan was incapable of in practice.

Jan Sangh- of the opposition party, the predecessor of the modern-day BJP played an important role in the Shimla Agreement. Atal Behari Vajpayee was appointed as the External Affairs Minister in the subsequent BJP government under Morarji Desai. The agreement became possible only after “secret and midnight” understanding between Gandhi and Bhutto.

Check your Progress 3

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. Whom did Indira Gandhi succeed?

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2. Which treaty did India sign in 1971?

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1.4.3 Nuclear Test Of 1974

Mrs. Gandhi is also kept in mind by the nation for her calculations to take the nation on a path of power. While Nehru had an idealistic approach to power Indira Gandhi was rather realistic in this concern. Nehru said in 1954 in the Lok Sabha: “If you peep in the future and if nothing goes wrong—wars and like—the obvious fourth country in the world (after the US, Soviet Union, and China) is India.” But it was Gandhi who took the proper action. One such actions are her undertaking a nuclear test in May 1974 in Pokhran.

Since the nuclear tests in October 1964 by China, the Indian government was under pressure too, to conduct nuclear tests. Lal Bahadur Shastri was however silent on the demand. But Swaran Singh, his External Affairs Minister declared that India had the capability to acquire nuclear capability in a reasonably limited duration. Apparently, Shastri as the PM in late 1964 had authorized Atomic Energy Commission to work on the bomb 9 design.

To demonstrate the Indian nuclear capability, Indira Gandhi conducted a nuclear test though she made it clear it would be a peaceful nuclear explosion (PNE). She channelized her thoughts in the following way. Firstly, during the Bangladesh war in 1971, the US used its nuclear pursuit to blackmail India to desist from attacking West Pakistan. But previously when Henry Kissinger, president of Nixon's National Security Adviser was in India, he was told that the Indian policymakers that India should not rely on the US if China interferes in a conflict that may arise between India and Pakistan. This was in opposition to the prevailing Nixon Doctrine which had given a word of the US of protecting any non-nuclear nation if they are threatened by a nuclear weapon. In this case, it was China. This is why Gandhi wished to make India self-dependent on her security.

1.4.4 Indira Gandhi's Second Tenure

In 1977 the Indian government was for the first time taken over by a non-congress government and was under Morarji Desai as the PM. This was also the period when Mrs. Gandhi briefly went out of power. Mrs. Gandhi replaced Charan Singh in 1980 who succeeded Morarji Desai for a six-month term in 1979. The members under the BJP had hardly much to contribute to the evolution of a nation's foreign policy. Their promise to redo the tilt towards the Soviet Union in the Indian non-alignment and make it genuine but it was not kept.

There was a significant foreign policy challenge that was unfolding while there were elections going on in December 1979 when the Soviet Union military intervened in Afghanistan, which was a non-aligned country on its borders. The Soviet Union was asked to withdraw its troops as soon as possible and preserve the non-aligned status of Afghanistan by then Indian PM, Charan Singh. As matters went before the UN for a discussion on 12th January 1980, the then India's Permanent Representative, Brajesh Mishra made it clear that India opposed the presence of foreign troops. He also

made it clear that the Soviet Union in the case of Afghanistan had given India a word that it would withdraw the troops when the government in Kabul asked for it. He added: "We have no reason to doubt the assurances, particularly from a friendly country like the Soviet Union, with whom we have close ties." The aim behind this statement was to trouble the Indian non-alignment policy even after the breakdown of the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Gandhi while campaigning had stated in an interview to France's Europe Radio Station that the Soviet's interference in Afghanistan was a "a danger to India." Charan Singh's initial idea on the issue was not reflected in Brajesh Mishra's statement.

The Indian northwestern borders had got US-Soviet Union Cold War. The US was rather being cold towards Russia and wanted India to help the US in getting the Russians out of Afghanistan. The US wanted to take revenge and wanted to make Vietnam feel what dishonor meant to a nation. Just like the Americans were forced to withdraw dishonorably from Vietnam in 1974, the US wanted Russian to face the same dishonor. Russia got a taste in 1988.

The US turned towards Pakistan towards support as India refused to cooperate with the US against the Soviets. Pakistan instantly provided aid to the US by transferring weapons from Afghan guerrillas at a total military and economic package of \$7.4 billion. It is since then in the name of Jihad to date the region was transformed into terrorist hub-terrorism which was strengthened by religious fanaticism.

1.5 RAJIV GANDHI AND THE INDIAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN SRI LANKA

The Afghan crisis from the previous government was inherited by Indira Gandhi; likewise, her successor inherited the crisis of Sri Lanka which had left a deep impact on 1983. The issue had been dealt with as a disinterested middleman between Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

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(LTTE) by Mrs. Gandhi. they were basically demanding a separate Tamil state in north-eastern Sri Lanka.

The crisis took its worse shape under Rajiv Gandhi's term. Initially, he had urged to provide humanitarian aid to the beleaguered Tamils in Jaffna in the North as the Sri Lankan government had imposed an economic constraint on that area. In spite of them sending 20 boats but the Sri Lankans did not allow the supply to reach the needy. The seriousness of the purpose brought out my India was understood by President Jayewardene only after India took steps to help the needy by dropping supplies in 1987.

A.s Sri Lanka was facing leftist, JVP threat on the South, Jayawardane requested help from India in maintaining peace in the north. India and Sri Lanka signed an accord in July 1987. according to this accord which was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Jayawardane, the Indian troops were to be sent to Sri Lanka to maintain peace in North and East. In return, the militants were accepting to get back to peaceful lives. this accord provided a merger of Tamil dominant areas in the north and the east- holding both provincial elections and devolution of the powers.

The main issue that did not smoothen the implementation of the agreement was the distrust between parties. The Tamils perceived the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) as "Innocent People Killing Force". There was a demand for the withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka from both sides: both Tamil's and the new president of Sri Lanka, Premadasa. V. P. Singh, the successor of Rajiv Gandhi, withdrew the IPKF. India was at a loss of 1000 Indian soldiers. The dispute resulted in the plotting the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi on May 21, 1991. this was the same force responsible for assassinating President Premadasa.

1.6 NARASIMHA RAO (1991-1996)

She was remembered to have survived as the PM of a majority government and carry out the foreign policy for a complete term of 5 years. The very first PM beyond the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. He has faced a number of policy problems.

His major issue is the economic readjustment from a mixed economy to a global one. There was no proper way to indicate the proper way to help the economic growth- by the following liberalization, privatization, and globalization (LPG). By the time, Rao's government came to power India had an adverse balance of payment under which the foreign exchange Rs 2000 was worth Rs. 2400 crores, which was the cost of 7 days' imports.

1.7 INDIA-US RELATIONS

Foreign pressure naturally comes to an economically wear government. the US has taken maximum advantage of this situation. The US somehow convinced Rao to open up the Indian market to American penetration in areas of computers, IT, and Telecommunications, etc. India, under the pressure of the US, had to abandon the nuclear testing planned for 1995.

India clearly stated that it wanted to retain its nuclear position. This had become even more difficult to achieve since the Cold War. India joined the US in co-sponsoring the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Fissile Material Control Treaty (FMCT). Rao got caught while he was conducting tests in Pokhran 1995, NY the US and had to shelve the program.

1.8 FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS AND THE NDA GOVERNMENT

In 1998 Atal Behari Vajpayee became the PM. He leads a coalition government comprising of 13 political parties, but the government could not last longer than 10 months. In the elections of October 1999, the BJP- led

National Democratic Alliance came to power- the first-ever government to hold on to power for 4 years.

1.8.1 Attempts To Improve Relations

In 1999 the PM planned to improve its relations with Pakistan. He took various steps to do that. Firstly, he took a trip to Lahore to meet Nawaz Sharif, PM of Pakistan. During this trip, PM Vajpayee made a visit to Minar-e- Pakistan symbolizing the Indian acceptance of the creation of Pakistan based on Mohammad Ali Jinnah's "two nations" theory.

The Pakistan PM after its meeting in Lahore said that it would be the year to decide over Kashmir. The Indian External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh had said that after fifty years of independence "the time for map-making in the region is over" meaning that the question of changing the geography of the region does not arrive.

The Kargil war took place on May 1999 between the two nations the Pakistan army was preparing itself for war while the PMs of both the nations were discussing their future. The war was noteworthy as it was the first war fought between the two nations after they acquired nuclear weapons in May 1998. This was an effort by the Pakistani armed forces to change the status quo on the Line of Control. This was done so that no matter what negotiation took place the Pakistanis could use it to bargain with India.

In 1999, PM Nawaz Sharif was deposed in a bloodless coup by Pakistan Army Chief of Staff, General Pervez Musharraf. All the efforts that were put in to normalize relations with Pakistan went in vain. India reacted in a traditional way. It made sure that Pakistan was suspended from the Commonwealth of Nation and boycotted the meeting of the SAARC. Despite India's next attempt at peace, on inviting Pervez Musharraf by

Vajpayee for a conversation at Agra in early 2001, the General was adamant on his terms to discuss only on issues related to Kashmir.

Pakistan's armed forces took over all institutions of the government and the cross boundary that had been a major cause of the destruction of the relation of India-Pakistan relations had been aggravated by the domination of the military forces. With Pakistan's terrorist attack in the Parliament and elimination of the top leadership, the Indo-Pak relation was further spoilt on 13 December 2001.

Luckily Indian armed forces could engage the terrorists in a forced gun battle outside the Parliament House and killed all the Pakistanis with the help of their security alert. the High Commissioner was withdrawn from Islamabad and withdrew all air, rail and bus links with Pakistan. India left with no other option was compelled to approach the US- the only surviving superpower in the world. Hence the relevance of the Indian Non-Alignment was raised now and then. However, Pakistan managed to come close to the US by promising the Americans their full cooperation in their fight against the Taliban regime and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

Non-alignment was the child of a bipolar world in which two poles were intensely contesting for supremacy at all levels—ideological, economic, and political. With the end of one pole, the relevance of the other pole on the other side was over. Another quality of the non-alignment is that the non-aligned countries could retain their independence of decision making unlike the nation aligned who just has to toes the leading nation in decision making.

But in another way, Indian non-alignment tilted towards the Soviet Union during the Cold War. But Russia itself got closer to its former rival. S. Earlier, during the Cold War, it used to be the normal response of the policymakers that it is not so much that India is leaning towards the Soviet Union, but it is the other way around. So, there was nothing wrong in India

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working in with the US if they were helping India to promote the Indian national interest. Since India had connections with the other powers too, it was bringing up the formation of a multipolar world. On the other hand, India moved to form closed relations with the ASEAN countries by adopting the “Look East” policy. India was increasing its relations with other countries like that of the Europe Union, Australia, and Japan. Its relations with Sino had begun improving in a big way by 2003.

Check your Progress 4

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. Name the external affair minister of India.

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2. In which year did the Kargil war take place?

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1.9 LET US SUM UP

In the last 50 years post-independence, the Indian Foreign Policy that undergone may change on an account of many factors. Firstly, the rise of the US as the only superpower post-cold war in the international environment. Secondly, with the change in the political parties and the formation of the coalition government in the 21st century there took place a number of domestic changes. Thirdly, the personality of the PMs has also changed as a consequence.

Yet, Indian foreign policy is woven within the framework of non-alignment. Though there is, looking at the origin of non-alignment in the bipolar world, a reason to question the relevance of non-alignment, its relevance lies in the fact that India claims to retain its right to judge every policy independently and formulate its own policy response. But India works to usher in a multipolar world wherein she can emerge as an independent player along with others.

1.10 KEYWORDS

Dispute: disagreement, argument, or debate.

Approach: come near or approaching to (someone or something) in distance or time.

Threats: a statement of an aim to inflict pain, injury, damage, or other hostile action on someone in retribution for something done or not done.

Bargaining: negotiate the terms and conditions of a transaction.

Prohibited: formally forbid (something) by law, rule, or other authority.

Consent: permission for something to happen or agreement to do something.

Deemd: regard or reflect in a specified way.

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1.12 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1.
2. Elaborate on Nehru's contribution to the foreign policy of India.
3. The Pakistanis exploited the weakness of LalBahadur Shastri. how did they do it and what was its outcome?
4. "Indira Gandhi laid the foundation to make India a major power." Justify this statement with concrete examples.
5. Give a detailed account of Rajiv Gandhi's achievements and failure in foreign affairs.
6. Discuss the main achievements of India's foreign policy during the initial years of the 21st Century.

1.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your progress 1

1. See section 1.2.1
2. Nehru formed the basic outline of the policy of non-alignment. (See section 1.2)

Check your progress 2

1. Harmony and companionship with China were a foundation. (See section 1.2.2)
2. Pakistan that was intruding into the area since 1956. (See section 1.3)

Check your progress 3

1. Lal Bahadur. (See section 1.4)
2. Treaty of Peace and Friendship. (See section 1.4.1)

Check your progress 4

1. Swaran Singh.....(See section 1.8.1)
2. The Kargil war took place in May 1999.....(See section 1.8.1)

UNIT -2 INDIA’S FOREIGN POLICY

STRUCTURE

- 2.0 Objective
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Domestic Determinants
- 2.3 Geographical factors
- 2.4 History& Culture factors Society
- 2.5 Political System
- 2.6 External Determinants
- 2.7 Global
- 2.8 Regional
- 2.9 Bilateral
- 2.10 Let us Sum Up
- 2.11 Keywords
- 2.12 Suggested Readings
- 2.13 Questions for Review
- 2.14 Answers to Check your Progress

2.0 OBJECTIVE

Once you go through this unit, you should be able to:

- To understand the meaning of Foreign Policies and its Characteristics
- To know the factors that impact deeply India’s foreign policy with the global world

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy for any nation stands for the type of relationship that nation maintains with global countries. These relations include all international factors including human rights, peace, justice, climate change,

decolonization, development, etc. Using its foreign policy, a state regulates and controls the way other states maintain relation with it.

So, we can define foreign policy as:-

“A type of system which includes activities that have evolved by various communities which helps in transforming the behavior of nations and for changing its own behavior and activities towards the international community.”

In order to get familiar with India’s foreign policy, we have to get familiar with all basic and fundamental determinants or factors that help in the formation of all the objectives and principles of India’s foreign policy.

In general, if you want to get familiar with the foreign policy factor, then you also have to understand all factors (internal and external) which deeply impact the foreign policy. These factors are termed as determinants and these are considered as main foundations for principles and objectives.

In this chapter, you will be familiar with each of these factors that affect the Foreign policy of India. Each of these factors proves helpful in determining the implementation process of the Nation's foreign policy.

In the present time, you also need to keep in mind that India is no longer considered as a powerful nation that is restricted to its regional boundaries. It has marked its presence in the global nations. These are the factors that also influence the growth of the nation in global affairs. Here in this chapter, we shall discuss all determinants that have a deep impact in shaping the nation’s foreign policy.

In this unit, we shall get familiar with all major factors that prove helpful in understanding and affecting India’s foreign policy.

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Foreign policy implementation can be considered as a dynamic process. You also need to keep in mind that even if the government of the nation changes, still its foreign policies remain unchanged.

Foreign policy is determined by numerous factors, most of the factors may be considered as static- which remains unchanged. Each factor together determines the states of foreign policy. So, if we speak of India's foreign policy, this is true as well.

India presently is considered as the world's second most populated nation, next to China. It is also considered as the world's largest democracy. Currently, India's economy is also rapidly growing at a faster pace. Today, India has managed to emerge as a powerful regional power and global power.

This is because of India's contributions made to the global world and international affairs. In this chapter, we shall discuss all possible determinants that have proved helpful in shaping the current Indian foreign policy.

Check your progress 1

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. What is the definition of Foreign Policy?

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2. Why is Foreign policy implementation considered as dynamic process?

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2.2 DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS

In general, when speaking of Nations foreign policy, it is considered to be an overall sum of factors including objectives, interests, and principles which help in promoting the nation's relationship with other global countries. So, it is obvious that the Foreign policy of India can certainly not be stated on the basis of any one of the selected factors or set of factors.

It is a sum total that includes a number of factors and in a way, these factors are responsible for affecting the foreign policy of the country in more than one way. This effect may also vary depending on various circumstances. These are also factors that have been bifurcated as domestic determinants (internal factors) and external determinants (external factors).

You also need to keep in mind that the foreign policy of the country certainly does get affected more by a few selected factors, and less by a few other selected factors. There are also certain factors that are considered to be stable and these factors have been stated by individuals who have crafted these foreign policies.

Stable factors are also regarded as ones which cannot be altered or changed as they remain consistent.

2.3 GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

India is a country that has a big geographical boundary and it shares its geographical boundaries with other neighboring countries. For India's foreign policy, geography is considered as the most important determinant. These geographical factors may include the shape, size, and location of the country that can affect the foreign policy of India.

As per predictions made by Lord Curzon in 1903, India's geographical position will help place the nation in topmost position within international

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affairs. It was also true as was mentioned by the Country's first Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, who in his speech made in the Parliament also mentioned the same about India's geographical location. The statements were made by J. L. Nehru on March 17th 1950.

In his statements, Mr. Nehru also mentioned that India was an important part of Asia on account of its geographical location and its connectivity with the Indian Ocean. He also mentioned that India holds its importance because of its connection with Far East Asia, South East Asia, and West Asia.

Mr. Nehru also mentioned in his speech that this factor could not be ignored that India as a nation was also considered to be Centre of Asian Arc that stretched all the way from Tokyo to Aden and was still at the center of the Indian Ocean. He considered that India had its dominant and central location in the Indian Ocean, and this main factor contributed to its important role played on the global platform.

Geographically speaking, India is separated by another Asian mainland by Himalayan Peninsula in North, the Indian Ocean in the South, In the West by the Arabian Sea while in the East by the Bay of Bengal. Its geographical location is also one of the leading factors that prevent global powers to empower the country for their international strategies.

Apart from this, India is also considered as one of the most important trade routes for the Western world and Japan. It is located nearby to the European nations via the Sues Canal. This also offers India access to the Mediterranean Sea. India's location certainly does make it most imperative to its Foreign Policies, such that it can aim to improve its stand on political, cultural and economic grounds as compared to other global countries.

As per its size, India stands seventh-largest state within its region. Due to its size, it is also considered as a potential leader that is rich in major resources including land and marine resources.

India shares its land borders with countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Myanmar, and China while its marine borders are shared along with Maldives, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Indonesia. This size proves helpful for India to develop its foreign relations and policies with these countries and maintain bilateral relationships with them.

2.4 HISTORY & CULTURE FACTORS

India is a country that holds its rich past history and culture. These two factors have a very significant role in shaping the Foreign policy of the country. Two of the most important factors that had a direct impact on India's foreign policy may include Freedom struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

India has offered its total support against racialism and discrimination in Asian and African countries. Apart from this, India and its people also hold their past experience to fight against racial discrimination during British India times.

India had experienced exploitation on account of British imperialism, and so the country's current foreign policy has been shaped to fight against racialism, colonialism, and imperialism.

India also maintains its historical links with Commonwealth countries and Britain, which has a deep impact on its current foreign policy with the global world. Other influential factors may include:-

- Indian's national movement during the freedom struggle.
- Principles and ideals that gave birth to the National movement.
- India's rich history of maintaining foreign relations before independence.

Apart from this, India's foreign policy has been greatly influenced by the relations between India and Pakistan. This factor has managed to create

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tremendous pressure on the country's foreign policy with the global world. This factor had greatly been affected by the partition of India with Pakistan.

India's relation with Superpower countries has also been greatly affected by the Kashmir and Pakistan disputes. Apart from this, India's role played in the Liberation Movement with Asian countries has also deeply impacted its relationship with other countries and its foreign policy.

On cultural grounds, India holds its rich cultural past and present. Its cultural values have had a great impact on India's foreign policy. Its cultural values have managed to offer the world with develop mutual understandings amongst nations and to offer peaceful means to settle disputes amongst them.

India is a country that also respects the rights and peace of other nations and offers with tolerance and non-interference towards their disputes. India's foreign policy also is positively impacted on account of its peaceful coexistence with its neighboring countries.

Indian foreign policy maintains Panchsheel as its important principle and this factor is greatly influenced by the country's diverse culture. India follows its independent foreign policy on account of its civilization and culture. These are also factors that have helped India maintain its foreign policy with other nations around the world.

- India's Nonviolence policy also has a deep impact on its foreign relations with other nations.
- The evolution of India's foreign policy can be reflected in Arthashastra traditions, Buddhist and Jain traditions, Dharma Shastra and Shrutis.
- Equation of right ends and right means is also considered as an important factor that has a deep impact on its foreign policy.

2.5 SOCIETY (SOCIAL FACTORS)

These factors refer to the Philosophical factors and as far as India's Foreign Policy is concerned, there are multiple factors that have a deep impact on it. To get started, the two most important factors that offer Its foreign policy with values may include:-

- India's Peace relationship within and outside the country.
- Mutual love and faith that India has with other countries around the world.

India is also committed to maintaining world peace, democracy, peaceful coexistence with other nations, maintaining bilateral relations, secularism, opposition to racism factor and anti-colonialism.

Apart from all the above-mentioned factors, there are other philosophical factors that might have been emerged within the country, tight after its struggle for freedom movement.

- British rule in the country proved helpful for India to develop friendly relationships with other countries including Africa and Asia.
- India developed its relationship with an aim to prove the existence and power of freedom and peace and set an example for other countries.
- India had developed its own definition of Foreign policy that was not a part of any other "school of thoughts".

It is also true that India is considered as a part of its Hoary civilization and is also considered as a Cultural and social hub. Within its society, India shares diversity in social and cultural grounds.

Check your progress 2

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. What do you understand by Domestic determinants?

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2. What are the social factors that contribute towards India's foreign policy?

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2.6 POLITICAL FACTORS

There are many political factors that contribute to shaping an effective Foreign policy of India. Some of these factors may include:-

- India's own political organization.
- The government structure is followed within the country.
- India's enlightened leadership skills.
- India's political traditions that are passed on from one generation to another.

Each of the above-mentioned factors is responsible for shaping the current Foreign policy of the country. One of the most significant factors that have helped shape India's foreign policy includes the experience of Indians at the time of British rule.

India also managed to earn the Quasi-Independent status during 1919 at the time of British government rule. This also proved helpful in the origin of the

Current Foreign policy of the country. This was further led by the Imperial policy that was followed by the British Imperials.

It is obvious that India's experience within the Foreign affairs sphere is also considered as the main helping hand in shaping the Country's foreign policy at the time of the Independent India movement. Furthermore, in the 19th and 20th Century, in the late Renaissance, India's values for Socialism and Democracy have been considered as the two most important factors for India's non-co-operation of Liberal-Capitalist democratic system and the Western model of democracy including communalism.

It also had a positive impact and helped India to maintain a very friendly relationship with Communalist and Democratic countries. India being a democratic nation has managed to establish its democratic political structure including a free press, independent political parties, and elected parliament. These three factors also have a deep impact on India's foreign policy.

- International agreements and negotiated treaties are the two most important factors that help in binding India's relationship with other countries and governments.
- Both the above-mentioned factors are not considered as major part of the local law unless they have been passed and approved by the Parliament act.

This means that there is an existence of interest groups that are concerned with foreign relations and maintained both outside and inside the parliament. Apart from this, India has also been maintaining dispute free relations with other countries on account of non-violence, truth, and peace. These factors also prove helpful in promoting the disarmament relationship with other countries.

India holds its regular stand-in signing with the non-proliferation treaty and discriminatory nuclear treaty. In 1996 India has also signed a comprehensive

test ban treaty in accordance with other nations of the world and continues to be a leader for creating the non-nuclear weapon world.

2.7 EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS

A Nation's foreign policy is made on account of its current prevailing condition within international political relations. So considerably, foreign policy refers to the overall sum of all types of decisions that are taken and followed by a country with an aim to maintain a smooth and healthy relationship with the Global countries.

This is a factor that depends on the Behavior of all other nations with any country and its political boundaries. At the international level, the emergence of the Second World War played a major role in the impact of the power structure.

Some such factors included as mentioned below:-

- The immediate decline of the European nations which was formerly an emerging powerful nation around the globe.
- The rise of the two superpowers like the USSR and the USA.
- The rise of the cold war between the two superpowers of the world and all other alliance countries ' involvement.
- The emergence of devastating Atomic bombs.
- The international recognition of UNO, etc.

Each of the above-mentioned factors helped shape the new world at the time of the Post-war environment.

The rise of India as recognized Sovereign State which took place in 1947 (right after its independence) along with the emergence of China as a powerful communist revolutionary country, also posed as a sign for the emergence of the powerful Asian subcontinent.

It was during this time that India had declared its formulation of forming its independent Foreign policy movement. From 1945 to 1990, the time when most nations were facing a cold war situation, India was least affected by its foreign policy. Apart from this, the VETO formation that was laid down in the UN Security Council, was one of the factors that were also considered as an immediate effect of Cold War politics.

During this time, India had also responded positively to the International Milieu, on account of its propagation and adoption of non-alignment policy, which was also represented by the country in the Cold War and the Bipolar world.

Factors affecting India's foreign policy directly

There were a number of factors that had directly affected the Formation of India's foreign policy. Some of these factors included 1971 détente that was between China and the USA, America's initiative towards the expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations, and the strategic relationship development between China and the USA at the time of Bangladesh War. At the end of the Cold War, India for its foreign policy had to make adjustments to blend in perfectly with the International environment.

The fall of the USSR (Soviet Union) later forced India to reorientation its already existing foreign policy and to look forward to implementing the Look East policy. This was one single factor that also proved helpful in stabilizing India's foreign policy.

With an aim to adjust to the ever-changing environment of the International countries, India was also facilitated in 1998 for its Nuclear weapon test, which was also considered as a necessary step taken by the country. After this, India had to take all measures for maintaining healthy foreign relations with other developing countries of the World.

On account of this, India had to maintain its foreign policy relationship with global powers which is reflected in the evolution of India-EU relationship and Indo-US relationship. Necessary adjustments to India’s foreign policy was made on account of the ever-changing international environment. Some other factors that had a deep impact on changing India’s foreign policy were based on World public opinion and international organizations. Some of these factors of serious concerns included elements like climate change, human rights, terrorism, and poverty.

Check your progress 3

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1 When did India sign nuclear test ban treaty?

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2 Mention two direct factors that affected India’s foreign policy?

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2.8 GLOBAL FACTORS

How should India promote and secure its current interest on the global platform today? This is a factor that is full of uncertainties and flux. In the present time, the definition of Global power certainly is changing. It is obvious that the US is no longer in control of the global economy. European nations are also grappling with factors like flood migrants, right-winged nationalism and Brexit. China is also considered as a new pretender that regularly threatens its China-Dream of emerging as powerful economy within the Asian world. These factors have led to the global denomination.

Russia has managed to regain back its global structure and self-confidence. Japan is also one of the nations that play a very significant role in altering the global economy. Japan has a major advantage as to date it is considered to be a less inhabited country in Asia. This factor offers Japan with its technological and economic strength to emerge as a Powerful economical nation in Asia and a global platform. Most parts of the nation from Morocco to Pakistan is currently facing issues related to terrorism, sharp regional conflicts, and economic drawbacks, and most of the countries around the world are considered as failing or failed states.

It is obvious that the global Kaleidoscope is sitting on a regular basis and India is hoping to emerge as a newly developed economy of the world under the leadership of Current PM Narendra Modi. This has opened up new doors of opportunities for India's foreign policy where India is further looked up as a stabilizer or swing state. India holds its top position in the emerging global economy. Even if this is true, still it is not considered an easy task for the nation.

The fact still remains that power has to be taken as it is never handed over or given. In order to emerge as a top global economy, India has to be prepared to face all types of challenges and conflicts with other nations of the world. It is also expected that India will be forced to stay down on power by a number of countries from around the world. This is one of the main reasons why India has to focus on leveraging its power and strength and present its diversified Foreign policy that is very much flexible and alert.

Just like any other former leaders, Mr. Modi also aims at maintaining autonomous decision making and preserving India's foreign policy. In the initial stages "non-alignment" was considered as the creed factor. Today and over the past, many different factors including multi-faceted success, past achievements and policy opinions have cherished India to establish its new foreign policy.

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India is a country that is much bigger than many as compared to its landmass coverage. Even today, India is not considered as a passive power, neither is it considered as an expansionist and aggressive power, World Wide. India is a country that had resisted apartheid and colonialism. It has at the same time also resisted joining the blocs.

Apart from this, India has also never accepted the NPT nuclear regime. In the present time, India has offered the global world with multiple positive agendas. Within the global governing structure, India has managed to seek its positive influence with its Positive Foreign policy.

- On a global platform, India holds its stage and voice on a wider WTO platform.
- India is also one of the members of the G-20 summit.
- It is also a major part of the East Asia Summit today and a leading country of the Asia Subcontinent.
- In the near future, India also hopes to be a part of as a Permanent member of the United Nations as a nuclear supplier's group.

Today, India is an undisputed part of the global platform. It maintains its close trade and bilateral relationships with the Soviet Union, right after the end of the Cold War. Within the UN India has also offered its undisputed support to other countries for maintaining healthy Foreign policy relationships with them. This support is offered by India in the field of economy and defense areas.

India has also been maintaining a very strained relationship with US nations, which has emerged since the beginning of the 20th Century. In the present time, PM Modi and the US have managed to overcome all types of previous hesitations to help maintain good trade relationships with the US.

In the same way, India also holds its soft foreign policy with Japan by maintaining Indo-Japan trade relations. Both countries share a relationship on common trade grounds. Even with China, India has been maintaining its

strong foreign policy relationship on multiple grounds including border sharing. Some other notable examples may include G-77 and NAM. Apart from this, ASEAN and Persian Gulf relationships are considered as top priorities on India's foreign policy reports.

2.9 REGIONAL FACTORS

India shares its regional boundaries with its neighboring countries. One of the main aims of improving India's foreign policy is to maintain a healthy relationship with its neighboring countries. With an aim to maintain peace within its regional boundaries, India has made many attempts. On account of India's active involvement, the country had to face multiple terrorist threats in the past and some threats were even faced by the country's internal policies.

On account of this, India had to face a number of wars with its neighboring countries including China and Pakistan.

With the emergence of SAARC, which is more based on maintaining border peace, India had managed to establish its peace instead of facing major conflicts and bloodshed. SAARC was established in 1985 in a summit held between South Asian countries regarding the signing of the regional border treaty. The countries that are a part of the SAARC summit includes:-

1. Bangladesh.
2. The Maldives.
3. Bhutan.
4. Pakistan.
5. Nepal.
6. Sri Lanka.
7. India.

The SAARC meeting was first held in Bangladesh (Dhaka) of which India was one of the most important attendees of the summit. As a part of the

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Summit, India and other nations also agreed to sign up a treaty and agreement to help promote regional welfare, offer a better and improved lifestyle for local people, help in promoting economic growth and establishment, promoting a better level of trust amongst these nations, regional cooperation and self-reliance.

For India's foreign policy, SAARC formation was seen as a hope to help boost the Country's economic position within these nations. In recent times in its 14th Summit, the list was updated with Afghanistan as its newest member. During this summit, European nations, Japan, China, the US, and Korea were also invited to act as passive members during the summit meeting.

With an aim to help improve relationships between the SAARC nations, countries also agreed to include SDF funds, which is a type of development fund that can be used by SAARC countries for various developmental projects. India's foreign policy aims at improvising the funds to help implement and promote energy dialogue, using more energy-efficient technologies for wind and solar energy, availability of Bio-fuel techniques, hydropower stations, and other efficient energy development programs. India had also promoted the exchange of dialogue with South Asian countries under the SAARC summit related to implementing various energy-efficient technologies and resources.

India also entered into the Agra summit after the Pakistan and India conflict in the Kargil area. Even after the completion of the Indo-Pakistan war in Kargil, India tried to enter into a peace treaty with Pakistan and to maintain its strong trade relations. The talks were first initiated by both countries in a summit that was held in Agra city.

India always looked forward to maintaining its strong foreign policy against Pakistan although the meeting had to be called off after two-day talks

between the two countries on account of disagreement. Apart from this ever since, both sides have been very much unstable regarding the Kashmir.

Based on India's strong foreign policy, the Indian government had managed to maintain normal relations with Pakistan. On personal grounds, India had been facing elevated cross border terrorism in Kashmir and other border regions, which has made the situation even more complicated for both countries.

As a part of its foreign policy, efforts for peace have always been made by India via operating communication and transport services including Samjhota Express, which is a Railway service that links the two countries, Delhi-Lahore regional transport service and recently the Thar express. Even if India holds its strong foreign policy with Pakistan, still it has been regularly suffering from Cross border infiltration and other terror activities.

Check your progress 4

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

- 1. Name two railway links that connects India and Pakistan?

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- 2. Name the countries that are a part of the SAARC summit?

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2.10 BI-LATERAL FACTORS

There are multiple factors that have been considered as a driving force between India and Other global countries for maintaining Bilateral relations. These factors have also helped in shaping up current India's foreign policy. Most of the factors that are included in the formation of the foreign policy of

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India, has originated from its past experience (British colonialism and independence struggle movement).

Apart from this one of the leading factors is also considered as the division of India into local states, after the end of the British era. There are a number of issues that India has to face on account of illegal immigrants across its foreign borders. The issues always keep on pounding back and affecting the Indian economy and its foreign policy.

In recent times, the disagreement between China and India in terms of border and trades, have also been considered as the most affecting factor that contributed towards fall back of India's foreign policy. For any policymaker, it is obvious that infiltration across borders is considered as a major issue to deal with.

There are many international understandings that India has to deal with including Bangladeshi, Nepali, Tamils, Sri Lankans, and Pakistanis. These factors have on a regular basis proved a burden for shaping India's foreign policy. These are major geo-strategic issues that have to be administered along with other South Asian neighboring countries.

1. Indo-China

India and China are considered as two of the most powerful countries of the Asian subcontinent. Both countries try and maintain strong foreign policy with each other and trade relations. It is obvious that both countries are also having a very strong economic interest with each other and the 1984 agreement between the two countries reflects their common interest.

This is what promoted the ideology of the Hindi-Chin brother aspect in the 1950 treaty between the two countries to help promote international trades. The treaty was signed between the two countries even if there were strong border conflicts in the Tibet region. India also had to face an unexpected war

with China which had left India in Traumatic state. At the same time, this war had also affected long term trade and bilateral relationships between the two countries. During Late Rajiv Gandhi's tenure, India and China also entered into bilateral relations with each other related to the exchange of technology with each other. Apart from this, as a part of India's foreign policy, we also share common technology related to Civil and Aviation to help promote the use of air space between the two countries.

To date, despite all foreign policies available, Tibet is still considered as the disputed area between the two countries. In late 1998, the foreign policy of the country was also impacted by the signing up of Sino-Indian relations. The treaty was signed up by the leaders of the two countries despite the fact that China was always seen as a major threat to India's foreign policy.

To date, both countries try and maintain trade relations between the two under mutual understanding. Late in 2003, Tibet was declared as a part of China while in 2004 China had declared Sikkim as a part of India. Presently the two countries are also seen as World's biggest economies within the Asian region.

2. Indo-Pakistan

The bilateral relations between India and Pakistan have been long debated issues on a global platform. The two countries not only share political boundaries but also share the rich past history of conflicts and trades. After the partition with India, Pakistan had divided into two separate parts – East and West wings. Then again Pakistan was further divided into Pakistan and Bangladesh.

With India, Pakistan has been long facing conflicts for Kashmir as both nations are quite self-determined about their independent rights to hold Kashmir. As per Pakistan, it is certain that the fate of Kashmir can only be

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decided by the local people of Kashmir, the majority of the local population is Muslim community and Hindus being the Minority.

Even if the two nations have faced long haul of Terrorism and cross border infiltration, still India had managed to maintain its foreign policy with Pakistan from cross border trades. There were many factors that over a period of time, have managed to affect India's foreign policy with Pakistan for economy and trades.

- China-Pakistan Deal – One of the major factors is considered as the Sino-Pakistan deal which took place in the '50s. Pakistan had entered into trade relations with PRC. In recent years the two countries had also had many agreements related to trades, military, technical and economic assistance. This has been one of the major factors to impact India's foreign policy and bilateral relationship with Both Pakistan and PRC.
- Bangladesh formation – Yet another factor that has affected India's foreign policy with Pakistan is the formation of Bangladesh from Pakistan. The partition took place in 1971 when the majority of the Muslim population from East Pakistan had divided into form Bangladesh. The conflict between the two countries had resulted in the division and formation of independent East Pakistan and Bangladesh into two separate nations.
- Shimla Agreement – Later on, 2nd June 1972, both India and Pakistan entered into Shimla Agreement. As a part of the summit, both countries settled into maintaining their bilateral relations in a very peaceful way. As a part of India's foreign policy, the two countries had agreed to settle the conflict related to Kashmir in a peaceful way without creating any disturbances politically.

3. Indo-Bangladesh

The India-Bangladesh relationship is a special type of bilateral relationship between the two countries of the subcontinent. The two countries under India's foreign policy share political, economic and cultural relationships. Bangladesh also shares its local language with the West Bengal state of the country. Right after the partition, Bangladesh was declared as a part of Pakistan, but yet shares its political boundary with India. In the past, a number of ups and downs have been noticed in relationships between the two countries that have also affected India's foreign policy terms and conditions.

4. Indo-Sri Lanka

Indo-Sri Lanka's bilateral relationship has been based on two major factors including ethnicity and security. Right after 1950 when Sri Lanka was freed from British rule, India and Sri Lanka came to a mutual agreement to share regional boundaries with each other for economic and security reasons. India pursued the policy of non-alignment, so it totally agreed with the policies of Sri Lanka to overcome the British umbrella security and at the same time to minimize the effect of Westernization within the Indian Ocean. Tamils of Sri Lanka have thus been exchanging trade, economy, and funds amongst themselves with India. Bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka had improved further in the '90s the moment India had announced to expand and offer cultural, scientific and economic support to Sri Lanka. Ever since after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination in 1991, the two countries have been working hard to maintain and improve the existing bilateral relationship for mutual interest. Today they share joint statements for maintaining peace treaty and eradicate global terrorism or any other factor that can prove helpful for the spread of global terrorism. Both India and Sri Lanka share their common view on the Terror act regarding Zero Tolerance policy against such acts.

5. Indo-Nepal

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Indo-Nepal Bilateral relationships can be better understood by the closeness between the two countries. Both countries share a lot in common including political and regional boundary, linguistic, cultural and ethnic identities. In 1950 India had entered into a bilateral relationship with Nepal. The two countries define foreign policy related to carrying out trade and conduct trade activities jointly. As a part of India's foreign policy, the two countries have agreed that the trade relations between the two countries will not be affected. India and Nepal also share mutual understanding to such an extent that in case of any external interference, the two countries would mutually offer assistance to each other. India's foreign policy states of existence of a very friendly relationship between the two countries to such an extent that most Students from Nepal would also be offered with facility and priority for higher education just like other Indian Citizens. In 1978, as a part of India's foreign policy, India and Nepal had entered into long term trade relationships. Due to certain issues, the treaty could not be extended further after 1989. Apart from this China-Nepal relationship played a major role that had a great impact on the Indo-Nepal relationship.

6. Indo-Bhutan

The Indo-Bhutan bilateral relationship can be dated back since 1949. The general treaty between India and Bhutan is termed as a treaty of friendship which is made with an aim to maintain peace and harmony between the two countries. As per India's foreign policy, Bhutan and India do not interfere with other trades and other internal affairs. Bhutan and India had mutually agreed to guide each other's foreign policy related to foreign trades and defense-related affairs. Apart from this, India offers support to Bhutan for medicine, infrastructure development, technology exchange, industry development, telecommunications, animal husbandry, and energy. Ever since signing up with the UN in 1971, Bhutan has exchanged foreign trades with India. Both countries also share a lot of bilateral relations in various aspects including education, hydropower, resource development, IT sector and health.

7. Indo-Myanmar

Indo-Myanmar bilateral is most distinct as India shares over 1670 Km of land border with this country. Both countries together come close on multiple international platforms including ASEAN and BIMSTEC. Under its foreign policy, India offers Myanmar with full support for security situations and Military actions. India hopes to develop better trade and economic relationships with Myanmar under the ASEAN summit.

8. India-Arab

India-Arab Bilateral relationship has been recently considered as the latest developments in India's foreign policy. Currently, India has been looking forward to improving and maintain a good relationship with the unstable Arab countries in the far East. India under its foreign policy plans also trades in Oil and natural gas from these countries. At the same time, millions of labors and professionals on a regular basis find job opportunities in Arab countries for their livelihood. India maintains its long-term relationship with Iran, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain (recently). For India maintaining trade and economic relationships with the Arab world is important for it to access Central Asia and Afghanistan. India also maintains its bilateral relationship with Israel and Iran for trade and economy.

2.11 LET US SUM UP

- Looking at the above analysis, it is certain that India's foreign policy is determined by numerous factors. Each of these factors has been discussed in this chapter. You also need to keep in mind that in general, these factors keep on changing as they evolve and transform for a better environment.
- The main objective of India's foreign policy is to try and maintain a good working relationship with other states of the world that is best for the

international and national interest. India at times focuses on justice, security, and peace for people of all nations.

- Besides, national determinants, there are also a number of international determinants of India's foreign policy that play a lead role in the formulation of its foreign policy by policymakers of the world. Each of the foreign determinants has been discussed in detail in the above article. Some of these factors are related to disarmament, nuclear deals, and support.
- As to date, India has worked in implementing its foreign policy effectively on a global platform. The people of the country stand united behind the implementation of its foreign policy. So, the foreign policy of India can be determined as sum total of different factors which work for the benefit of the nation and its people.

2.12 KEYWORDS

- **Determinants:** Determinants refers to any factors that can deeply affect the outcome or nature of something.
- **Foreign Policy:** Foreign policy refers to all strategies that are by the government and help in dealing with global nations.
- **Bilateral relations:** Bilateral refers to anything that affects two sides and relations refer to deals, so bilateral relations stand for common relations that are maintained between two countries for promoting trade and policies.
- **Cold War:** Cold War refers to the conflict like a situation that is between two countries that are characterized by propaganda and threats or any other measures. It is also entitled to a type of warfare that is going on between two or more nations.
- **Terrorism:** It is a term that is used for any type of activity that is unlawful, intimate and violent. The act is conducted against local civilians in any country with an aim to pursue political power or rivalry.
- **Non-alignment:** It is a type of movement that involves not being organized ahead of time. In alignment refers to a state when the mass of the population is not well organized in a straight line or order.

2.13 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Amb (Retd) Rajiv Sikri. "India's Foreign Policy – Determinants, Issues and Challenges, 2017"
2. Appadurai. "India's foreign policy and Relations, 1985"
3. Bandyopadhyay, Jayanta. "The making of Indian Foreign Policy, 1975"
4. Dixit J.N. –"Indian Foreign Policy Act 1947 – 2003, 2003"
5. V.N. Khana. "Foreign Policy of India, 20009"

2.14 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- What are the external determinants that impact India's Foreign Policy?
- Name three of India's important Bilateral Relationships?
- What is the importance of maintaining a Bilateral Relationship with other states?

2.15 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your progress 1

1. "Foreign Policy is a term that stands for a special type of system or arrangement that includes different types of activities that have been developed over a period of time, by various communities. These help in transforming the behavior of any nation towards other international nations." (See section 2.1)
2. "Dynamic process is a term that is made use of for full-proof or complex process. Foreign policies are termed as Dynamic process as even if the leaders of the nation change, still these policies stay unaffected." (See section 2.1)

Check your progress 2

Notes

1. Domestic determinants are the factors that are local, and they have a very deep impact on India's foreign policy. These factors prove helpful in promoting the national relationship of India within local regions and international countries. (See section 2.2)
2. Some social factors that prove helpful in promoting India's foreign policy may include a country's relationship that it maintains with Global nations These related to Philosophical factors such as Secularism and Bilateral relationships that it maintains with other international countries. (See section. (See section 2.5)

Check your progress 3

1. India signed a peace treaty against nuclear test policy in an international convention in the year 1996. The treaty was signed by India with an aim to help create an image of a non-nuclear weapon world. (See section 2.6)

2. There are a number of direct factors that may, in fact, affect India's foreign policy. Here, as discussed two such factors may include the China and USA Détente that had taken place in the year 1971. The second such factor would include the Expulsion (exclusion) of Taiwan from the United Nations list. (See section 2.6)

Check your progress 4

1. India and Pakistan, in general, share common railway system to help link the two countries. These two railway systems that help link the two countries and operate between India and Pakistan include Samjhota Express and Thar Express. (See section 2.9)

2. The names that have been included in the SAARC list are India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Maldives, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Lastly Afghanistan. (See section 2.9)

UNIT- 3 INDIA WITH SAARC AND ASEAN

STRUCTURE

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 What is SAARC?

3.3 Purpose of SAARC

3.4 Developments of SAARC

3.5 What is ASEAN?

3.6 Purpose of ASEAN

3.7 Developments of ASEAN

3.8 Let us Sum up

3.9 Keywords

3.10 Suggested Readings

3.11 Questions for Review

3.12 Answers to check your progress

3.0 OBJECTIVES

Once you go through this unit, you should be able to:

- To learn about SAARC
- To learn about ASEAN
- To know the role of India with SAARC and ASEAN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Notes

India has played an important role when it comes to regional co-operation by considering the foreign policies it has built. Again, it's not that the country has helped in the search of the Asian identity after independence. The country also hosted the Asian Relations Conference that was held in 1947. After this, it also played a vital role in the conference that took place in 1949 in Indonesia. It was the Non-Alignment policies as well as the Principles of Panchsheel allied with Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, that came up with an important impact on the relations of India with other neighboring countries. Along with this, the Prime Minister also induced that India had an important role in evolving regionalism within India as well as with the neighboring countries. No doubt, among the Asian countries, India stands different due to the population, economic growth, military, and other growing interest it comes with for international affairs, it still looks for external help for countervailing or compensating issues from countries like the Republic of China.

India comes with its own position among the Asian countries for its vision regarding regionalism. And according to the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation, also known as SAARC, regionalism for India is not only limited to the neighboring countries. The sense of involvement and identity India carries extends to various regional structures like the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), East Asian Summit (EAS), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and many more. Along with all these aspects, India has also signed an agreement of EU strategic partnership in the year 2004 which has strengthened the relations of India with Russia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa.

This paper would help in understanding the role of India in regionalism particularly with regional organizations like ASEAN and SAARC properly.

India has always considered regional cooperation as an important aspect of its foreign policy. The search for a larger Asian identity and role was integral to India's freedom struggle from the start.¹ Even before India achieved formal independence, it had hosted an Asian Relations Conference in 1947. India later held a conference on Indonesia in 1949. Its earlier efforts

were expanded further to produce the Afro-Asian Nation's Conference at Bandung in 1955 and the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961. The policies of Non-Alignment and Principles of Peaceful Coexistence or Panchsheel associated with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru have had a major influence on India's relations with its immediate and extended neighborhood. Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was convinced that the Asian states needed to form a strong common identity, and noted that they had the capacity to work together for their common future. Nehru was also convinced that India had a key role to play in the emerging regionalisms within India's immediate and extended neighborhood.

No doubt India stands out in Asia apparently because of the size of its population, military, economic growth, and its growing interest in playing a role in international affairs. For instance, India accounts for 75% of the population of South Asia, 65% of its total area and 78% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP).² In terms of location; India also has centrality in South Asia, in that while it has borders with Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, they do not have borders with each other. This gives India regional advantages as well as disadvantages as the smaller states either try to obstruct or counterbalance India or seek countervailing external help from outside the region from countries such as the Republic of China.

Given the size of India and her position in Asia, its vision of regionalism has sought to situate the country in a landscape larger than the Indian subcontinent. While India's clearest regional setting and strong sense of identity is within its immediate neighborhood of South Asia, and thus its expected role in the regional structure there, that is the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), India's sense of regionalism is not limited to its immediate neighborhood. India's sense of identity and involvement extends to regional structures such as the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectorial

Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIM-STEC), East Asian Summit (EAS) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). After the end of the Cold War and since the introduction of economic reforms in India, it has turned its attention also towards the South East.³ Thus, India's Look East Policy and the country's potential as a major market and investment hub have contributed significantly towards expanding and diversifying India's relations with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its member countries. India has also embarked on improving relations with non-Asian powers such as the European Union (EU) and the US. For instance, India and the EU signed a strategic partnership agreement in 2004. India has also strengthened its relations with Russia, and has also been taking steps to deepen its engagement with Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

This paper examines India's role in regionalism, specifically in regional organizations such as SAARC, ASEAN, and EU and also in sub regional structures such as BIM-STEC, IOR-ARC, and MGC.

Definitional and Conceptual Clarification

What is a region? What is regionalism? There are many definitions of region and regionalism. There is no single accepted definition of these concepts. While some argue that regions are rooted in geography, others stress that they should be viewed as socially constructed. The idea of a region as simply a geographical concept has been increasingly challenged as new definitions emerged.

3.2 WHAT IS SAARC?

The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, popular by its prefix SAARC, is an organization that came into existence on the 8th of December 1985. The organization was established by the South Asian nations at the time of adoption carried out by the Government of Bhutan, Bangladesh, Maldives, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. The organization focuses on the promotion of social progress and economic

progress along with the cultural development in the South Asian countries. The organization also looks for the development of cooperation and friendship along with the remaining developing countries. The organization is composed of eight states that include Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and India along with six observer countries that include the European Union, Japan, China, United States, Republic of Korea, and Iran.

The organization is entirely dedicated to promoting technological, economic, cultural, and social development that emphasizes self-sufficiency collectively. Again, considering the population, the sphere of influence of the organization is the largest considering regional organization which is nearly 1.5 billion combining the population of the member states. Lastly, Afghanistan joined the organization in the year 2007 and became the eighth member of the association.

The genesis and development of SAARC mirrors the evolution of the self-image of India's leaders from timidity to increasing sureness concerning the country's role and aspirations within the South Asian region. The country Asian country have compete a central role during this biological process unfoldment.

The Role of Asian country, associate degree intra-regional power, could be a country whose history is closely tangled thereupon of India's. Pakistan's beginning story supported religiously derived nationalism wanted to separate its nationhood from a shared centuries-long historical and cultural inheritance with India spanning Mogul and British rule, provision many Indo-Pakistani wars within the amount since independence in 1947. What began as "narcissism of little differences" has, over time, created associate degree mechanical phenomenon force in Asian country that complicates the political resolution of problems like Kashmir; however even additionally, has allowed the Pakistani military to arrogate to itself the role of "guardian and keeper" of the state's national honor. because the solely stable establishment during a country wherever the civilian leadership is weak and corrupt and

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desires the support of the military to remain in power, the Pakistani Army, through its intelligence wing—the international intelligence agency Agency (ISI) has, since the Eighties, assisted and abetted teams of militant Islamic fighters to wage “jihad” against India, leading to a decades-long rebellion in geographic region on Pakistan’s Japanese (India’s western) front. On the western front, Pakistan’s nurturing of the Afghan religious movement has spawned a native force group, the Pakistani religious movement (Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan—TTP), that is battling the Pakistani state. Terrorism, like revolution, currently “devours its own kids.” In his testimony to the Abbottabad Commission charged with work Pakistan’s intelligence failures once the 2011 U.S capture of Osama Osama bin Laden on Pakistani soil, former Inter-Services Intelligence chief Ahmed Shuja authority is reported to possess stated: “We are a failing state, though we have a tendency to aren't nevertheless a failing state.” Pakistani leaders have nevertheless to determine whether or not continued an enmity of alternative with India is price quite fighting its own existential battles. As associate degree economic partner, India can be noncommissioned as ally within the strengthening of the Pakistani state.

The secretariat of SAARC is located in Kathmandu. The secretariat monitors and coordinates the implementation of the various activities of the organization, as well as carries out the preparations for the meetings and services. It also serves similar to a communication channel between the Member States and the Association itself including the regional organizations too.

The Structure and Decision-Making Process of SAARC

All the decisions are basically taken considering the harmony into account. The contentious issues and the bilateral are not included while taking decisions by the negotiations and debates of SAARC. Priory, the preparatory meetings are undertaken by the First Summit that is held in Dhaka. After that, the debates take place at the Foreign Secretaries in Colombo and by the Foreign Ministers in New Delhi. These meetings work for the promotion of

regional cooperation. Apart from all these, the cooperation areas considered under the reconstituted Program of Action by the Regional Integrated which is carried out through various Technical Committees that now consider other fields like Health and Population Activities, Agriculture and Rural Development, Environment and Forestry, Women, Youth and Children, Transport and Human Resources Development, and Science and Technology.

The Summits

The Summits are considered to be the highest authority of SAARC and are carried out annually. The country that is hosting the Summit is liable to hold the Chair of the Association. The current Chair of Association is Sri Lanka as the last or Fifteenth Summit was held in Colombo in the year 2008. The Sixteenth Summit would be hosted in April 2010 by Bhutan.

The Council of Ministers

The Foreign Ministers are included in the Council of Ministers which gather for a minimum of 2 times in a year. The functions of the Council of Ministers include reviewing the progress of cooperation regionally, formulating of the policies, establishment of additional mechanisms, and identification of new areas for cooperation which are required.

The Standing Committee

The Standing Committee is formed by the monitors, Foreign Secretaries, and lastly the coordinates of SAARC programs like approving of projects that include mobilizing regional and other external resources, and cooperation. The meets or the Standing Committee are carried out often when required and the reports are also considered by the Council of Ministers. To date, the Standing Committee has considered around 36 regular and 5 Special sessions.

All these summits and meetings have now become an integral part of the entire process of SAARC.

Check your progress 1

Notes

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. What is SAARC?

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2. What states and observer countries are SAARC composed of?

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3. What is the structure and decision-making process of SAARC?

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3.3 PURPOSE OF SAARC

SAARC is an organization that was established for the promotion of the welfare of the people living in the South Asian countries for standing strong collectively. The organization works for making the weak countries and the people living there in self-reliance, as well as enhances mutual assistance and collaboration in various areas. The organization also checks the cooperation required for both the regional and international organizations too.

South Asian Association for Regional co-operation is that the solely forum for co-operation in South Asia. within the name of up-to-datedness South Asia is heading towards huge weaponization, majoritarianism and stereotypic perceptions .In the name of national interest, state sovereignty and development they're moving removed from the important issues and context of the region. it's resulted in retardation, underdevelopment and division rather than regional progress, prosperity and harmony. India in physical size, the dimensions of the economy, population and strength could be a single state. India accounts for nearly common fraction of the entire value and population of the SAARC region, and nearly sixty per cent of its total international trade. India could be a continent in itself instead of just one amongst the countries and irresistibly dominant one in SAARC. The highest approximation to India's position in SAARC and South Asia is land in ASEAN however this can be in physical and strength instead of economic power or a mixture of France and European nation inside the ecu Community/ while not political leadership regional groupings can collapse that happened in port Agreement. The leadership that solon gave to ASEAN vie a significant role that's the most strength to keep ASEAN along until these days. ASEAN was part setup to determine smart relations with their neighbor countries and that they are no-hit .SAARC members will learn from ASEAN from that perspective. once ASEAN member states speak they gift ASEAN as a central purpose .In most of cases SAARC has very little intending to its member states particularly to India and Pakistan. In the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, a decision relies on accord which suggests cooperation might solely progress once it's realised to be comfy to any or all. If any member feels any regional proposal is threatening to its national interest she will be able to apply veto power on its proposal. It is neither indicate d agreement intrinsically, nor will it embody ballot, as not all members of Association of Southeast Asian Nations essential to agree noticeably with the proposal below discussion; although it will want enough support to approve

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a proposal (ASEAN documents don't cite a specific member) and it's required to confirm that no alphabetic character ber votes against it. (Severino, 2006). Association of Southeast Asian Nations introduce “consensus minus X principle in Association of Southeast Asian Nations Way” which suggests a member country is allowed to give up participation in a very set up or theme while not obstructive others. as an example, ASEAN Free Trade space was discovered by Malaysia, state and Singapore, whereas relatively less developed countries like Laos, Cambodia, Union of Burma and Vietnam were granted longer to enforce the reforms that were essential to participate. just in case of a stalemate sort of a diversity of o pinions and interests among governing leaders, at the side of unresolved territorial disputes and political variations, member has choice to bilateral negotiations (Feraru, 2015). Thus, accord choices are reached at through consultations between governments.

The prime purposes it was established for include:

- Promoting the welfare of the people living in the South Asian countries and improving their standard of living and quality
- Hasten the economic growth, cultural development and the social progress of the countries by serving all the citizens with the opportunity of living a dignified life as well as realize the full potential they come with
- Enhancement and strengthening of their autonomy collectively in the South Asian countries
- Contribution to communal trust, appreciation, and understanding of the problems other people are facing
- Promotion of shared assistance and dynamic collaboration in the social, economic, technical, scientific, and cultural fields
- Solidification of the cooperation with other countries in the developing category
- Boosting cooperation among the international countries through the forms considering the matter of common interest

- Conjoin with regional and international organizations that come up with similar purpose and aims

Henceforth, SAARC comes with an objective of the overall welfare of the people living in the developing and under-developed countries for the inclusive development of South Asia.

3.4 DEVELOPMENTS OF SAARC

According to the statistics of 2014, SAARC has given tremendous benefits to the South Asian countries which are now the home to around 1.749 billion individuals among which 67% of the people reside in the rural areas. Again, 42% of the people working in the South Asian countries are connected with agricultural operations.

During the time of forming Association of Southeast Asian Nations in 1967, geographical area was deeply and severely broken in some ways. Dutch East Indies had simply emerged from an enormous confrontation with Asian nation and Singapore in addition as its own domestic upheaval. Besides, Asian nation and Singapore had simply had a bitter separation. The dispute between Asian nation and therefore the Philippines over North Borneo was boiling. every country had boundary or alternative territorial disputes with one or a lot of of its neighbors. Viet Nam was divided, and war was going between North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam every with country allies and supporters. Laos and Asian nation were deeply involved in this war. The Philippines and Asian country backed South Viet Nam and therefore the U.S. Asian nation referred to as Burma had determined drastically to scale back its participation in affairs competitive with armed conflict at intervals its borders. In Asian nation, the Philippines and Asian country, communist insurgents with robust support from their massive power patrons created a significant security threat. In alternative words, the complete Southeast Asian region was troubled for survival within the conflict quag. To avoid these inauspicious circumstances the leaders of Dutch East Indies, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Asian country determined to transcend their

countries" variations. They raised the requirement of maintaining smart relations and co-operation with its neighbor countries. So, they stop their disputes from eruption into conflict. Besides this, they determined to disentangle the Association of Southeast Asian Nations region from the rivalries of the large power and keep it from continued to be an arena for open or covert big power conflict.

Apart from all these, other developments of SAARC include the following:

- **SAARC Agriculture Minister's Meeting**

After a long break of around 7 years, the 3rd meeting of the SAARC Agriculture Ministers was finally organized. The meeting was attended by nearly all the Member States along with the Bangladesh H.E. Prime Minister. The meeting gave importance to the various important implementations and revealed their stress in delaying the decisions. The meeting considered all the programs and related aspects of SAC which also included the sharing of the seeds of high quality and various other inputs and germplasms. New programs were implemented where the participation of various practitioners and experts was noted from the SAARC Member States. Some of the important concepts discussed in the meeting include low programmed budget, lack of answers from the Member States, difficulty in recruitment and retainment of scientists with high caliber, unattractive remuneration, lack of liveness and mandatory partnership forging, etc. considering both specialized bodies and international organizations.

- **SAARC Food Bank**

When the 18th Summit was held by SAARC, the directive of eliminating the threshold criteria was undertaken for the SAARC Food Bank Agreement. The board meeting that was held on the 2nd and 3rd of September 2015 also promised to commend the drafting of the amendment for the agreement.

Along with this, a draft was also carried out and circulated for which views were welcomed from the Members of the States.

- **SAARC Development Fund**

The 18th SAARC Summit was held in Kathmandu in November 2014. The summit or meeting was directed for making the Social Window quite strong considering the SDF along with operating of its Infrastructure Window and the Economic Window as soon as possible. The meeting demanded effective implementation of the projects regarding the sub-regional and regional areas. To date, around 26 meetings have been undertaken while 5 meets of the Governing Council of the SDF are also held. The meet has addressed various matters like maternal and child health, women empowerment, agriculture, water and sanitation, IT, education, as well as violence against children and women.

Apart from all these, other considerable developments of SAARC include various cooperation-based projects like Agriculture and Rural Development, Trans-boundary animal disease, a partnership of SAARC with other development partners, SAARC Agriculture Center, and much more.

Check your progress 2:

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. What are the considerable developments of SAARC in the field of Agriculture?

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2. What matters are considered by the SAARC Development Fund according to the last Summit?

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3.5 WHAT IS ASEAN?

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, commonly termed as ASEAN, is an organization that came into existence in Bangkok on the 8th of August 1967. The Association was formed when the ASEAN Declaration was signed by the founder countries of the organization which includes the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore. It was later Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia joined as the Member States of the organization. All the countries in the organization make up a total of around 640 million population with a combined GDP rate of approximately \$2.57 trillion. The countries in the organization have encouraged economic integration along with the signing of the 6 agreements that were free trade with regional economies. The impact of ASEAN is limited by diverging of the national priorities, lack of tactical vision, and lastly the poor leadership. Lastly, the biggest challenge for the organization is the negotiation for a different approach with China, particularly by responding to the maritime claims in the Southern part of China Sea.

When the original 5 members of the organization Dutch East Indies, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Siam signed the Bangkok Declaration in 1967, they had very little in common except for climate and natural resources and somewhat similar ideological orientation . except for diversity in language, faith and ethnic identity, these nations were isolated from one another politically and economically (linked separately to western metropolis) despite geographical and semblance of cultural bonds. The key aims of ASEAN are to hurry up cooperation within the economic process, socio cultural development within the region and to uphold regional peace and solidity through adhering to the values

of international organisation Charter, respect for just atomic number 58 and spirit of the rule of law. The ASEAN summit typically control once in 2 years. Though South Asian countries share robust cultural similarities among them however it's conjointly distinct by the presence of unbounded disparities that hardly exist in the other part of the world. The eight countries of SAARC don't seem to be equal in standing, population, size, possession of natural resources and also the level of economic process. Such varieties of contrasts haven't become favorable to the progress of regional collaboration in South Asia (Grover, 1997). On the opposite hand, association members don't share such robust similarities or variations as found within the case of SAARC.

The association also comes with an ASEAN Regional Forum Membership that includes a total of 27 states inclusive of countries like Bangladesh, Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Cambodia, European Union, China, Indonesia, India, Japan, Republic of Korea, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar, Pakistan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Russian Federation, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Timor Leste, Thailand, Vietnam, and United States. The main purpose of the formation of this intergovernmental organization is for promoting regional stability and economic growth among the member countries.

Member cooperation of ASEAN

The primary aim of ASEAN as an organization is the promotion of research and technical cooperation among the countries who are the members of the association. The members of the ASEAN organization provide the ASEAN Outstanding Scientist and Technologist Award every 3 years to the nations both regionally and internationally to the countries that have provided with outstanding achievements in the scientist and technologist fields. The areas considered include safeguarding the area's wildlife and environment. The association also established the Center of Biodiversity for promoting the cooperation for sustainability and conservation in various serves and regions

standing as the Secretariat of the Heritage Parks of ASEAN which consists of 37 sites in total.

Similarly, in the field of education, another network was established by the name of ASEAN University Network in the year 1995 for the promotion of youth and academic cooperation among the Member States. Lastly, in the year 1981, the University Games was also established as an initiative in a new field.

Importance of ASEAN economically

According to a survey in 2014, ASEAN came up with a GDP rate of around \$2.6 trillion which would place it to the 7th position if ASEAN was a country. ASEAN has proved to be the home for around 622 million people or even more as the entire region comes with a large population which is even more than North America and the European Union. The organization also comes with the largest labor force in the world compared to India and China.

3.6 PURPOSE OF ASEAN

As per the declaration made by ASEAN at the time of establishment, the purpose and aims of the organization include:

- Accelerating the social progress, cultural development, and the economic growth in the regions with the help of joint endeavors with the spirit of partnership and equality for strengthening the foundation for a peaceful and prosperous community with the Southeast Asian Nations collectively
- For promoting regional stability and peace through generating respect for the rule and justice of law among the nations of regions and stick to the principles built up by the United Nations Charter
- Promoting mutual assistance and active collaboration on matters that come with a common interest in various fields like social, economic, cultural, administrative, and many more

- For providing assistance mutually in the form of research and training facilities for various spheres like professional, educational, administrative, and technical
- For adding to the collaboration effectively to boost amazing utilization of the trades in various fields like industries and agriculture, expansion of trade regionally and internationally, improvement in communication and transportation facilities, and much more to boost the standard of living
- Promoting the studies of Southeast Asia
- Maintenance of beneficial and closure of cooperation with regional and international organizations that already exist with similar purposes for exploring every avenue for mutual cooperation

Along with all these, ASEAN also works on the principles that were established in 1976 by the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, popularly known as TAC.

ASEAN's primary purpose was to make a surroundings by that every state's survival may be ensured through the fostering of regional stability and limiting competition between them. ASEAN's memberships became a heterogeneous patchwork and their economies vary dramatically.

Singapore's GDP is fifty-two,200(The world factbook: Singapore, 2010, cited USD whereas Myanmar's GDP is \$ 1100(The world factbook: Union of Burma,2010, cited by. the initial member states and Brunei are economically a lot of developed countries and capitalistic, free market economies whereas the CLMV states are less developed and quasi-central economic science .Myanmar, Kampuchea emphasize non-interference, but older members specialize in co-operation and co-ordination. during a given state of affairs this variations the member's efforts to seek out common solutions to specific troubles in addition as build it difficult once collective action is suitable. Despite these Brobdingnagian variations the 10 disparate countries are along and in a position at the most times to exhibit regional unity. To wield diplomatic clout while not military may could be a key feature of ASEAN's

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success within the international context. South Asian Association for regional co-operation is that the solely forum in south Asia. Among seven member states Bharat is that the largest not solely economically however conjointly in physical size and military power. Thus, suspicions among alternative SAARC members vis-à-vis Bharat run robust. For Bharat there's the suspicion that the smaller nations can group against her at Associate in Nursing institutional forum. Moreover, any external power will continuously cultivate a smaller nation to achieve an edge within the region and Bharat specially. In ASEAN, the country is that the largest in size and population not in economy, the country that is never feared is Bharat. The leadership that Suharto gave to ASEAN vie a serious role that's the most strength keep ASEAN along until these days. once ASEAN member states speak they gift ASEAN as a central purpose .In most of cases SAARC has very little aiming to its member states particularly to Bharat and Asian country. There are 2 chapters during this essay. In chapter one the discussion relies on the similitude of SAARC and ASEAN, the section 2 is regarding the success of ASEAN scrutiny to SAARC. A model could be a commonplace or example for imitation or comparison. The word model is employed to represent, to indicate the development or look one thing. Association of Southeast Asian Nations and South Asian Association for regional Co-operation are established in same ASIAN continent however they are individual and separate organizations. From the beginning ASEAN and SAARC has had their own guiding and principles to figure and to strengthen their individual skills. With the passage of your time, ASEAN has gained loads however SAARC has not. SAARC was established for the upbeat of seven South Asian countries. Although, there are several summits and intergovernmental talks since the beginning of the organization in 1985, SAARC have not created the maximum amount headway as was expected. With the flow of multilateralism and regionalism ASEAN goes forward SAARC continues to be in same position and unsuccessful. SAARC member states ought to follow ASEAN as a model for regionalism and for the regional prospects

and prosperity. to deal with and to represent something as a model we've to specialize in 2 key points: one is success and therefore the alternative one is similitude. As a regional organization, ASEAN deserves to be a model for SAARC in context of those 2 points.

3.7 DEVELOPMENTS OF ASEAN

The list of developments of ASEAN includes various aspects it has successfully achieved. In the year 2018, Australia and ASEAN together signed an MOU or say the Memorandum of Association on the concept of counter-terrorism which expressed the grave concerns jointly regarding the DPRK nuclear programs and the ballistic missile programs too. Similarly, in the month of April in the same year, the ASEAN Center for Energy also published a report that outlined the prospects and developments achieved by the organization recently regarding the civilian nuclear power through the Pre-Feasibility Study on Establishment of Nuclear Power Plant in ASEAN. Again, in September month of the same year, Thailand also sanctioned the CTBT with all the 10 countries of ASEAN for the treaty.

ASEAN's primary purpose was to make atmosphere by that every state's survival might be ensured through the fostering of regional stability and limiting competition between them. it's continuously imperative to sustain its believability by providing the platform of interactions in East Asia and therefore the remainder of the planet. With the entry of Asian nation, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam (CLMV) ASEAN's pace is currently a operate of the variations. the first member states and sultanate are economically additional developed countries and capitalistic, free market economies whereas the CLMV states are less developed and quasi-central economics. Myanmar, an Asian nation emphasize non-interference, but older members specialize in co-operation and co-ordination. during a given scenario this variations the members efforts to seek out common solutions to explicit troublesome furthermore as create it

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difficult once collective action is suitable. Despite these huge variations the 10 disparate countries are along and ready at the most times to exhibit regional unity. To wield diplomatic clout while not military may may be a key feature of ASEAN's success within the international context. Over the 2 decades, 1968-88 most of the intrastate conflicts are with success resolved. If it's not resolved than it's been reduced to manageable levels. the matter between the Thai state and therefore the Malay-Muslims of that country's southmost states ceased to be the dissentious issue at intervals Siam that it had been before the institution of ASEAN and its time period. ASEAN membership has enabled Siam and Malaya to succeed in understanding over this issue. within the Philippines republic the Moro's of island are engaged during a prolonged and violent separatist campaign. This was the sole intra-state conflict that was unresolved .The basis of a settlement was negotiated between the 2 parties in 1976. thenceforth it took nearly twenty years and far conflict before the primary section of the settlement was enforced. each in negotiating it and in its implementation ASEAN members helped greatly. Besides the official dealings the ASEAN governments are pushing for larger awareness and involvement .For this purpose governments try for people-to-people participation, as well as Track 2 diplomacy and therefore the development of civil society. Limiting competition, preventing inter-state conflict among member states

Prior to this, in the year 2017, ASEAN also expressed its deep concern for the test firing of DPRK on the concept of Pukguksong 2 MRBM which was considered in February. In the March month, the 24th meeting was held in Jakarta, by the name of the ASEAN-EU Joint Cooperation Committee. Following the meeting, the organization also expressed its deep concern regarding the ballistic missiles firing that took place in the morning of 2017 appealing for security and peace in the Peninsula of Korea for its complete support for denuclearization.

In the year 2016 also, ASEAN worked for stability and peace in the Peninsula Korea region through its assumed office by mentioning an Ambassador for the same. Through a meeting, held in the month of April the same year, ASEAN along with China formed the JCC, ASEAN-China Joint Cooperative Committee which renewed various two-sided commitments for forging amazing cooperation. The organization has worked in the field of transboundary challenges and transnational crime also with effective measures.

ASEAN is found working on nuclear energy for appealing the countries to develop peace and regional security cooperation among the member states as well as other neighboring countries too on international standards. The organization also commits to support a nuclear-weapon-free world by working on disarmament issues.

Recently, ASEAN held its 10th meeting of ASEAN-US Joint Cooperation Committee which was held in Jakarta for discussing the various measurements that would be helpful in sharing strategic priorities, which includes aspects like cybersecurity, crime, and other developments according to the US-DPRK relationship.

Check your progress 3:

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. What is the structure and decision-making process of SAARC?

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2. What is the primary aim of establishing ASEAN?

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3. What award does ASEAN declare every 3 years and what is its purpose?

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4. What are the important achievements of ASEAN?

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3.8 LET US SUM UP

- Considering the past of SAARC, India has been an important member along with one of the founder member countries. The country has, however, never used the soft powers it has, immensity in trade and given political influence for establishing its position among the nations.
- The recent development in the satellite concept is not only the work of SAARC nations, but some of the ASEAN nations have also played a vital role in the development.
- India also played a vital role in blocking China to enter on behalf of Pakistan into the committee of SAARC by gathering the support of other nations who are members
- India is among the largest economies in SAARC, and hence, comes with increased influence for the economic matters
- Considering ASEAN, India has played a vital role as a peacekeeper regarding various disturbing issues in various regions which boosts the maintenance of harmony and peace.
- There are regular ASEAN-India summits held which work on making changes in international politics for improving the relations between ASEAN and India.
- India has played a vital role in improving stability, cooperation, economy, etc. and providing the people with sufficient employment opportunities.

- Consider SAARC or ASEAN, India has always been among the prime countries looking for maintaining harmony and peace be it nuclear elements, economy, cooperation, or any other international matters.

3.9 KEY WORDS

- **Regionalism:** Regionalism is considered to be a political ideology that focuses on the development of a social or political system that is based on either one or more regions or nations, economic interests, subnational entities, etc. that is also similar to nationalism.
- **Self-sufficiency:** When any nation is capable of growing enough grains for its population, it is known as a self-sufficient nation.
- **Autonomy:** Autonomy in terms of political words means a nation that is capable of taking decisions independently.
- **Summit meeting:** A Summit is a meeting held internationally including the State head or even the Government head which is usually held with tight security, prearranged agenda, and with substantial media exposure on important concepts.
- **Cybersecurity:** Cybersecurity is a state where an individual is protected from unauthorized usage of electronic data.

3.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. “*ASEAN and SAARC in the Contemporary World*” – by Panini Syeda
2. “*SAARC ASEAN: Prospects and Problems of Interregional Cooperation*” – by Bhabani Sen Gupta
3. “*India and SAARC*” – by Suman Sharma
4. “*India and SAARC: Interlinked Dreams*” – by Manish Chand

5. “South Asia, Stability and Regional Cooperation, M & D (Man and Development) – by Agwani, M.S., Ray Ashwini K., Kumar Satish, Mukherjee

6. “*Regional Security and Regional Cooperation, A Comparative Study of ASEAN and SAARC*” – by Chibber Bharti

3.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- What is SAARC and what is its basic aim?
- What is ASEAN and what was the reason for its establishment?
- What is the role of India in the development of SAARC and ASEAN?

3.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your progress 1

1.The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, popular by its prefix SAARC, is an organization that came into existence on the 8th of December 1985. The organization was established by the South Asian nations to focus on the promotion of social progress and economic progress along with the cultural development in the South Asian countries. (See section 3.2)

2.The organization is composed of eight states that include Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and India along with six observer countries that include the European Union, Japan, China, the United States, Republic of Korea, and Iran. (See section 3.2)

3.The structure and decision-making process of SAARC includes meetings carried out in different levels like The Summits, The Council of Ministers, and The Standing Committee that work on different aspects and fields. (See section 3.2)

Check your progress 2

1. After a long break of around 7 years, the 3rd meeting of the SAARC Agriculture Ministers was finally organized. The meeting considered all the programs and related aspects of SAC which also included the sharing of the seeds of high quality and various other inputs and germplasms. New programs were implemented where the participation of various practitioners and experts was noted from the SAARC Member States. (See section 3.4)

2. The SAARC Development Fund meet has addressed various matters like maternal and child health, women empowerment, agriculture, water and sanitation, IT, education, as well as violence against children and women. (See section 3.4)

Check your progress 3

1. The main purpose of the formation of this intergovernmental organization, ASEAN is for promoting regional stability and economic growth among the member countries. (See section 3.6)

2. The members of the ASEAN organization provide the ASEAN Outstanding Scientist and Technologist Award every 3 years to the nations both regionally and internationally to the countries that have provided with outstanding achievements in the scientist and technologist fields. The areas considered include safeguarding the area's wildlife and environment. (See section 3.5)

3. The important achievements of ASEAN can be counted with the various Memorandum of Associations it has signed with Australia, China, India, and other countries for studying the Nuclear Power Plant and managing peace regarding the same globally. Other aspects of the development list include cybersecurity, crime, disarmament issues, etc. to make the world nuclear weapon free. (See section 3.7)

UNIT – 4 BILATERAL RELATIONS: US, JAPAN, BANGLADESH

STRUCTURE

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 US-India bilateral relationship

4.2.1 USA-India - how are both countries important for each other?

4.2.1.1 Importance of India for the USA

4.2.1.2 Importance of the USA for India

4.2.2 Pillars of strategic bilateral relations between India and US

4.2.3 Contemporary and future relations between both countries

4.3 Bilateral relations between India and Japan

4.3.1 History

4.3.2 Bilateral treaties and agreements

4.3.2.1 Treaty of peace 1952

4.3.2.2 Recent Agreements

4.3.3 Bilateral forums

4.3.4 Future prediction

4.4 bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh

4.5 Let us sum up

4.6 Keyword

4.7 Suggested Readers

4.8 Questions

4.9 Check your progress

4.0 OBJECTIVE

After reading the chapter, you will be able to

- Know the significance of bilateral ties between India and the 3 countries mentioned, namely, the USA, Japan, Bangladesh.

- Understand the importance of maintaining cordial relationships with important foreign policy allies.
- Trace the topsy-turvy timeline of the bilateral ties between India and the USA
- Understand the applications of healthy trade and collaboration between India and Japan.
- Get a grip on our sweet and sour relations with our neighbor Bangladesh.
- Understand how these countries are important for India and vice versa.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Till now we have covered several topics on foreign policy. We have a basic understanding of all the related definitions now. India has a history of colonialism and racism which is strictly against the sustainable development for any international platform also India considered it a threat to world peace and security. The core principle of bilateral relationships between countries is unflinching faith in peaceful solutions to bring an end to international disputes and political solutions.

With the quest to become a leading source and expanding the power with its global recognition, India is emerging as a brilliant part following the bilateral relations with the neighboring countries. The earlier history of India was suppressed by suppression and autocracies. As a result, India started its own foreign policy and bilateral agreements carefully. After independence, the helm of foreign policies and external affairs in India was prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Along with him, a number of other potential individuals have nurtured the laws and policies incorporating the legacy of our culture.

With the change in time and rapid advancement based upon the requirements, Indian foreign policies and dynamics with other countries have changed dynamically. Considering the fundamental objectives and

ethos, a paradigm shift has been witnessed in the relationships of India with other developed or developing countries.

After independence, the ideals of world peace, mutual respect among Nations intolerance were extracted from everywhere. Also, in operational terms, these principles took the concrete objective. The prime objectives are –

Elimination or eradication of colonialism or any other kind of racial discrimination

Protection of the interest of people of Indian origin globally

Let us learn and understand the bilateral relations of India, Japan, and Bangladesh.

4.2 US-INDIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

Like we have discussed in the earlier chapters, the ethos of India's foreign relations has been the principle of non-alignment. As soon as we got independence, we decided as a nation to stand against the armed race going on in the world between the two power blocs, namely

- **The USA Or The Capitalist Bloc Or The Western Bloc**
- The USSR or the communist bloc or the eastern bloc

But it was more or less a known fact that we swayed a little towards the USSR due to our shared belief in the concepts of socialism. This led to very unstable relations between the US and India. Unlike Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who went on to liken the US hegemony to British imperialism, since the past 3 decades or so, we have had have central governments that are in favor of solidifying the ties between both countries. The diaspora we have in the USA is extremely active and they help strengthen the already ever-

improving relationships that India shares with America.

Although there were tough times that the relationship of both countries has faced, India and the United States have more or less shared warm relations since independence. This means there has been no hostility or aggression between the two nations, even though there may have been a difference of opinion on certain issues. Though the dimensions between the two countries kept changing because of conflicting views on the economy, Pakistan and its support of terrorism, and issues of soft politics like environment. One of the prime foreign policy objectives of the USA is to secure a global environment and India being the largest democracy of the world fit right into their plans. The area of joint cooperation and development of Indo US relations include agriculture, promoting democracy, containment of terrorism, etc. Under the administration of Barack Obama in 2009, the then Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh received the guest of honor for the first state dinner.

Although the bilateral relationship between both countries has a journey of its own, a clear shift was noticed post the disintegration of the USSR in the formative years of the 1990s. In the aftermath of a failed communist state in the USSR, India had no choice but to look west in hopes of forming good ties with the US as it was the only clear hegemon. It was a phase that Francis Fukuyama describes as the *end of history*. After that, the two countries have never looked back and collectively collaborated on many projects and global issues. We have lively cultural exchanges, Indian tourists visiting the US and vice versa, shared global superstars like Priyanka Chopra and Dev Patel as well as aligning global aspirations. The USA and India are strategic and cultural partners in the true sense of the term.

4.2.1 USA-India - How are Both Countries Important for Each Other?

Let us look at how the US and India have become so important to each other in contemporary times and what are the reasons for the same.

4.2.1.1 Importance of India For The USA

India is an indispensable partner for the United States because of its geographic location. It is located between the two most problematic regions for U.S. interests. The arc of instability for the USA begins in North Africa, proceeds through the Middle East, carries forward to Pakistan and Afghanistan. It finally ends at India's western border.

- As the Asian economies have risen, the Indian Ocean has become home to critical global lines of communication. It has more or less 50 percent of world container products and nearly 70 percent of ship-borne oil and petroleum traffic transiting through its waters. And India is at the helm of it all.
- India has the world's third-largest Army, fourth-largest Air Force, and fifth largest Navy. This makes India fully capable of safeguarding its national interests and that is the kind of country the USA wants to maintain amicable ties with.
- India-USA cooperation is critical to global action against the already dangerous climate change.
- India's strategic diplomatic ties globally, its aspirations for United Nations Security Council permanent membership, and its importance in international organizations like the International Atomic Energy Agency make it a very effective voice in global attempts to curb proliferation.
- As India modernizes and grows, it will obviously spend trillions of dollars on sectors like energy production and distribution, infrastructure, transportation, and defense hardware. U.S. firms can be the ones to benefit from this large-scale transformation by providing the required technology that India will need in the journey.

- India's no tolerance position against terrorism corresponds with that of the United States as both countries have suffered due to it.
- India is an indispensable U.S. partner in international efforts to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction.
- India has the second-largest English-speaking population in the world after the USA. This English-speaking elite and the middle class have an effortless partnership with their counterparts in U.S. firms and institutions. This includes more than 2.8 million Indian Americans. More than 100,000 Indian students' study in American universities.
- India is committed to a world order that is driven by multilateral institutions and cooperation. It believes in the gradual evolution of collective international norms into readily accepted international laws.
- Indian culture and soft power have only generated goodwill in its extended neighborhood. New Delhi has great relations with important states in Central Asia, the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, and also with important powers like Brazil, South Africa, and Japan. India's soft power is its biggest power because it enthralls even those who may politically disagree on certain issues. This has attracted the USA's attention as everything mentioned is of strategic importance to it.
- India's democracy has prospered despite all the shortcomings and hurdles in the form of poverty, unparalleled religious, ethnic and linguistic diversity, and many major and minor foreign and internal conflicts. Its strong democratic values are shared by the USA.

4.2.1.2 IMPORTANCE OF USA FOR INDIA

- America is a critical stabilizing force in Asia because of its military and diplomatic power projection and commitments to the region.
- India wants to be the central power in Asia as well as maintain peace in the region. This won't be possible with the constant interference

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and rule-breaking tendencies of China. The only equal power capable of stopping China is the USA.

- The United States will be extremely important for India's economy that has been built around uplifting domestic consumption and not just relying on exports.
- India's national interests with regards to Pakistan and Afghanistan can be taken care of if we work in coordination with the United States.
- The United States has been one of the main sources of foreign direct investment in India. We can credit it for bringing necessary managerial expertise, capital, and technology to the ever-changing Indian market.
- Security and freedom of navigation on the high seas are critical to India as a net energy importer and the US commitment to the cause is encouraging for us.
- Washington has undeniable say and influence in global governance institutions and its support on our causes is very important to further the same.
- India seeks a larger role in the UN Security Council and international monetary institutions. Here, U.S. support for India will be critical to reforms that New Delhi seeks.
- The United States retains a considerable technological edge on many spheres like commercials, aerospace, and defense technologies. In case of a dense friendship and partnership, the access to these will definitely help the center, firms, and enterprises as well as the individual consumer.

4.2.2 Pillars Of Strategic Bilateral Relations Between India And US

Below Are The Major Sectors Where India And The US Have Collaborated And Will Continue To In The Future:

1. Terrorism and extremism
2. Science and technology
3. Education and culture-exchange
4. Health and hospitality
5. Climate change

There are many big and small treaties and deals that have been signed by both countries. Some of the major ones are -

1. India-US Civil Nuclear Deal - The deal is a milestone in the relations between India-USA. It had major resistance at the time of its signing. It successfully introduces a new aspect to international nonproliferation efforts by the 2 countries. Since July 18, 2005, the deal lifts a three-decade U.S. moratorium on nuclear trade with India. According to it, the U.S can give assistance to India's civilian nuclear energy program. The deal expands the range of India-USA cooperation in the field of energy and satellite technology.

2. Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Association (LEMOA) - LEMOA gives access, to both India and the USA, to designated military facilities on either side for the purpose of refueling and replenishment. India and the U.S. as it holds a large number of joint exercises. During these events, payments are done each time. It is a long and tedious process. Under the LEMOA agreement, a mechanism will be instituted for book-keeping and payments. Officials, who will act as nodal points of contact, will be designated on both sides.

3. **Trade relations** - More than 50 bilateral dialogue mechanisms are functioning between the two governments of India and the USA. India-USA bilateral trade increased from \$104 billion in 2014 to \$114 billion in 2016 in the goods and services sector. There has been a concrete commitment on part of both countries to facilitate actions necessary for increasing the bilateral trade to \$500 billion in the near future

4.2.3 Contemporary and future relations between both countries

Like we have discussed in the segment, India and the US bilateral ties are in the best phase that it has ever been. We have the strongest of friendships between the countries, the governments as well as between the heads of the states. Let's look at a brief timeline of the India-US relationship before we delve into the contemporary issue –

The 1950s - India was very critical of the US for its activities in Korea. This was the decade when Pakistan made its support for the US in the cold war official, further straining the ties between India and America.

The 1960s - A fairly better decade as the US extended help to India during the Indo-Sino wars. But it all fell apart with India's criticism against the US involvement in the Vietnamese war, due to which the trade relations between both countries were jeopardized. India also rejected the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968.

The 1970s - India's nuclear tests at Pokhran were a major jolt to the USA. India was critical of US support to Pakistan and tolerating its pro-extremist stance.

The 1980s - proxy war with the USSR in Afghanistan made the USA pump

military equipment and funds into Pakistan, which obviously did not sit well with India.

Now let us look at the post-1990s, which was the start of a great friendship.

The breaking of the USSR and opening up of the economy of India inadvertently resulted in the betterment of bilateral relations between both countries. From then on, it has been an upward curve for both countries. In the current century, India and the US have joined hands to fight terrorism. This joint commitment proved to be a major reason for continued collaboration between a superpower and another emerging superpower.

The Indian PM Narendra Modi and the American president Donald Trump share a warm personal bond with each other, which translates into strong diplomatic ties between the countries.

Check your progress 1

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. Who was concrete for the bilateral relationship of India with other countries in early history?

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.....
.....

2. What were the 2 blocs competing for power in the cold war?

.....
.....
.....

4.3 BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN

4.3.1 History

Japan and India have shared healthier bonds since the 6th century when the principles of Buddhism spread in Japan. We can say that the influence of Indian culture, as well as Buddhism, had a greater influence on the culture of Japan and this is the major reason for which both countries share closeness. When the Second World War ended in 1949, Indian prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave an Indian elephant in Tokyo. This was highly appreciated as it bought a ray of hope into the lives of people. Strengthening the diplomatic relations in Japan and India signed a treaty on 28 April 1952. It is to be noted that Japan signed it as the first treaty after World War II. India and Japan are equally enjoying the cordial relationship since then.

The visit of Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori in August 2000 provided a platform to strengthen the India Japan relationship. Mr. Mori and prime minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee mutually decided to establish the global partnership between India and Japan after that the prime minister of Japan Junichiro Koizumi visited India in April 2005. Right after the meeting, India Japan annual summit meetings started being held in the respective capitals of the countries. The India Japan relationship got the elevation to the global and strategic partnership when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Japan in December 2006. In September 2014, prime minister of India Narendra Modi visited Japan and attended a summit with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and a mutually agreed on the upgradation of special strategic and global partnership.

Again, in the year 2015, Prime Minister Abe paid an official visit in India and attended a summit with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Two of them resolved the statistical advancements and plan to transform their global partnership into a more action-oriented and broad-based partnership

reflecting a broad convergence of their long-term association. They also announced, "Japan and India vision 2025 specific strategy and global partnership working together for peace and prosperity of Indo Pacific region and world". This was a joint statement which was made to serve as a guidepost for the new era of India Japanese relationship.

In November 2016, prime minister of India Narendra Modi visited Japan and had a summit meeting with the prime minister of Japan. Prime Minister Abe decorated this meeting as a magnificent one counting the substantial advancement in the new era of India- Japan relationship. Also, he hoped that both countries will lead to prosperity and stability together.

Cooperation in security

During the visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to Japan in October 2018, the leaders issued "the joint declaration on security cooperation between India and Japan". There are multiple frameworks of security concerns between India and Japan including the defense policy dialogue, 2+2 dialogue, military to military conversation and coast guard to Coast Guard Corporation. In one of the recent summit both of the prime minister's mutually agreed on their desire to deepen the pilot tree security and defense cooperation and the institute of foreign and defense ministerial dialogue. Both of the leaders also welcome the commencement of negotiations on the acquisition and crossing agreement.

4.3.2 Bilateral Treaties And Agreements

Both countries have agreed on a number of arguments or bilateral treaties. Let us go through each of them-

4.3.2.1 Treaty of Peace 1952

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The treaty of peace was signed on 9th June 1952 in between India and Japan for the Restoration of relations. In the early history of India, it was under the British Empire and Britisher's share diplomatic relations with Japan, this is the reason for which they got involved in World War II. Right after India got independence, then the prime minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru refused to attend the San Francisco peace conference because he assumed that the provision of the San Francisco treaty as a limitation to Japanese sovereignty.

Apart from this significant treaties number of other agreement was signed together by India and Japan, these are-

- Agreement for Air service 1956
- Agreement of commerce 1958
- Cultural agreement 1957
- Convention for the avoidance of double taxation 1960
- Agreement on cooperation in the field of science and technology 1985
- Japan India comprehensive economic partnership agreement 2011
- Agreement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of India concerning the transfer of defense equipment, science, and technology 2015
- Agreement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of India concerning security measures for the protection of classified military information 2015
- Agreement between Japan and the Republic of India on social security 2016
- Agreement between the Government of Japan in the Government of the Republic of India for cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

4.3.2.2 Recent Agreements

Considering the field of defense equipment, technological advancements, security, infrastructure, education, economy, civil nuclear energy, and high-speed trains India and Japan have recently signed 16 major agreements.

1. Memorandum in the concern of agreement on mutual cooperation in a peaceful utilization of nuclear energy:

Both the countries have agreed that they will reach the agreement for such requirements.

2. Considering the high-speed trains:

Indus memorandum confirmation was done in favor of a corporation for developing the Mumbai Ahmadabad high speed rail corridor with the help of Japanese High-Speed rail technology. Financial, as well as technical assistance, is also included under it.

3. Agreement on the transfer of defense equipment and technology:

A framework was introduced in this agreement to improve voice and enhance security and defense cooperation by easily making available the equipment and technology for combined research, development and usual production projects.

4. Agreement in concern of security measures for protecting classified military information:

This agreement assures the reciprocation of protection of classified military data and information which are transmitted between the two. It also introduced the terms of security which are stable and consistent in accordance with the nation's regulations of any receiving party.

5. Agreement concerning the amending protocol for double taxation avoidance:

This agreement concludes the amendment of convention between the two countries for avoiding any double taxation and also to prevent the fiscal division with respect to the income tax.

6. Memorandum considering the cooperation between India's ministry of the railway and Japan's ministry of land, transportation, infrastructure, and tourism:

This agreement was the mutual areas for technological advancement and cooperation including the exchange of information and best practices, exchange of delegates, officials or technicians, facilitating the participation of effective leaders and institutions, organizations and ministries. It also included conducting research development for projects and studies.

7. Agreement on technological cooperation between India's research designs and standards organization (RDSO) and Japan Railway technical research institute (JRTRI):

This agreement proposed mutual cooperation in multiple areas of security or safety for the train operations. It also included advanced techniques for the maintenance and utilization of environmental strategies.

8. Agreement for the letter of intent on strategic international cooperation program between India's department of science and technology (DST) and the Japan Science and Technology Agency (JSTA):

Please input the promotion and support for collaborative work and a project like joint research projects, joint research hub, and laboratories, conducting joint seminars, symposia, and meetings between the research institutes and supporters of both of the countries.

9. A letter of intent was also included in order to establish a researcher's exchange programs between DST of India and Japan society for the promotion of science:

This document also intended to develop a rose reciprocal fellowship program to build the capacity and human resource development in the areas of science and technology.

10. MoC in between India's Central drugs standard control organization and Japan's ministry of health, labor, and welfare:

The memorandum established under this head includes the stability of medical products regulation dialogue and cooperation framework also facilitating a constructive dialogue in the areas which are pertinent to the raw materials for pharmaceutical industries, biological products or other medical devices.

4.3.3 Bilateral Forums

Bilateral forums between India and Japan are segmented as-

GOVERNMENT LEVEL FORUMS

Vice-ministerial-level conversations: The specified conversation between the Government of India and Japan was started in 1966. The first foreign ministerial conversation took place in the year 1978 and 8th voice ministerial-level conversation was held in New Delhi in the year 1955.

Japan India trade conversation: The overall conversation on bilateral trade and investment started in the year 1978. The 12th search conversation took place in the year 1996 in Tokyo.

Japan India mixed cultural commission: In this forum, the Government of India and Japan exchange their mutual views on cultural exchange policy. The 9th search meeting was held on January 1996 in New Delhi.

PRIVATE SECTOR FORUMS

Joint meeting of India and Japan business cooperation committee: This committee holds the annual joint meetings and promotes the private-sector bilateral cooperation under various heads including the economic development as well as mutual understanding. The 27th joint meeting was held in New Delhi in the year 1996.

Joint meeting of India Japan study committee: This committee was established in order to guide both of the governments to mutually cooperate considering the politics, economy, culture and other sectors. The 28th joint meeting was held in Tokyo on December 1996.

4.3.4 Future Prediction

The statistical and defense relationship is quite stable in Indo Japanese strategies and it represents the regional potential towards developing the enhanced capacity for supporting long term and enduring objectives.

This relation is also significant for ensuring future security and stability of the recently coined "Indo Pacific region". The bonds India and Japan are sharing, are critical for the development of Beijing and Washington. It is clear that both countries are sharing complimentary but not identical strategic visions in the working. Both New Delhi and Tokyo manages to organize or minimize the potential negative influence with the rise of China in accordance with their own strategic motives.

For the geographical part, India is worried about China's increasing behavior but also dependent on its economic growth in China. Hence India is less worried about the immediate response of China as a threat to Japan. This may be the fundamental reason for which India will be less vocal complaining about China and preferred to warn Beijing with actions and signals.

It is better to understand that India is still an emerging country, on the other hand, Japan is a traditional security partner. The emergence of the India

Japan alliance offers bedrock for multilateral organizations and institution buildings.

History of India in the strategic and economic friendship or better say partnership results in the development of "specific strategies and global partnership. With Suzuki motor corporation's incredible investment in India in 1980 this partnership has transformed the whole dynamic of the automobile sector in India. The close ties between India and Japan are continuously growing and Japan being the largest bilateral donor in favor of India is also extending the loans and granting assistance when required. 2016 a country assistance policy was introduced providing ODA to help India build its critical infrastructure and also to address a number of social causes.

With the close ties in the bilateral relations of India in Japan, we are expecting huge changes in the automobile investment in the past few years. The economic assistance shared by both countries is also significant and expected to face a rise. The efforts made by prime ministers of both countries are also providing a number of opportunities for the leaders and diplomats to build their bilateral agenda in the coming years and strengthen the personal bonds as well.

As PM Modi has made a return to power we can speculate that with the involvement of Japan's infrastructure projects we will develop better links with Southeast Asian countries. We can also expect some of the dynamic implementations of High-Speed rail projects in India the major one on top is the Ahmadabad Mumbai rail line.

4.4 BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND BANGLADESH

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The Indian subcontinent was going through its rough patch and facing a state of transition in 1971 after the fragmentation with Pakistan. East Pakistan was disintegrated from West Pakistan accelerating the trouble more. The formation of Pakistan was laid by the support of India in the movement led by Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. India supported at the moment and help in the struggles of East Pakistan, India was vocal of Bangladesh's independence. India has remained a closed neighbor of Bangladesh speaking of terms like cultural similarity, historical evidence geography or commercial ties. In the past few years, India has emerged as a friend for all seasons considering Bangladesh's growth and development. India also has a remarkable international influence upon Bangladesh which cannot be simply missed.

India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh as an independent and separate provision and also made efforts to establish diplomatic relations right after the independence of Bangladesh in December 1971. The relation between India and Bangladesh is based upon their historical and cultural evidence and also upon the shared values of secularism, democracy, and other common backgrounds. It also includes equality, trust, understanding, a Win-Win partnership and sovereignty that have the potential to go far beyond the strategic partnership. In the last few years, the partnership has also standing including the corporation in new and highly advanced technological areas.

Being the most important neighbor of Bangladesh, India has also recognized for geographical and other similarities. Right after the independence of Bangladesh, India has assisted the refugee from East Pakistan and intervened in the military help to bring independence and reconstruction aid. In the last few years, India and Bangladesh bilateral relations help witnessed unprecedented highs. In 2015 with the visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Bangladesh some significant and notable development strategies have been formulated. Some of the long-pending issues also got resolved including land, boundaries and Maritime regions. There are a

number of factors which unite both countries and measure of them are based on their common heritage, linguistic, literature, and arts. During the Bangladesh liberation war in the year 1971, both of the nation's stood as strong allies. In the serious issue of counter-terrorism Bangladesh and India choose to remain as strategic partners also they are one of the largest trading partners in South Asia significantly leveraging the economics.

Recognizable work in the field of space, electronics, cybersecurity, civil nuclear energy, IT and various other segments but also included among the agreements. Efforts also made to increase the bilateral trade between countries from 7\$ billion and 9\$ billion. During the period of cooperation projects were also introduced by the prime minister of India and Pakistan actively including the construction of Bhairab Bridge and Titas Bridge. Some agreements were also made to provide an additional supply of 660 MV electricity and the construction of Akhaura to the Agartala railway line. This agreement is made considering the Indian Line of Credit (LoC).

Bilateral treaties and agreements

India Bangladesh friendship treaty

India Bangladesh friendship treaty included the mutual agreement on peace and cooperation, and it was signed between India and Bangladesh on 19th March 1972. It was signed for a term of 25 years and then Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi signed it during her visit to Bangladesh and Bangladesh prime minister Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman signed it on behalf of their country. 12 significant articles incorporated into this friendship treaty which are-

3. The contracting countries solemnly agreed date they will be lasting peace and mutual friendship between them and each of them will respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. They also agreed to refrain from interfering in their internal affairs.

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4. Both countries agreed to condemn colonialism and racialism of any kind and reaffirm their determination to strive for their complete elimination.
5. The contracting parties also agreed to reaffirm their faith and trust in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence as an incredibly important factor for eradicating the tension in the world. They also agreed to maintain and balance international peace and security and to strengthen national sovereignty and independence.
6. The contracting countries will remain in regular contact and will exchange their views with each other on significant problems which are in common interest of both.
7. The contracting parties will continue to strengthen and widen their common interest of advantages and all-around corporations in scientific fields, economic and technical associations and will develop a mutual interest in fields of trade, transport, and communication. This will be done following the principles of equality and mutual advantage.
8. The contracting party will agree to make combined studies and will take joint action in problematic situations like flood control and will support river basin development along with the development of hydroelectric power and irrigation facilitation.
9. Both parties will actively promote their fields of art, culture, literature, education, health, and sports.
10. According to the tie of friendship between two countries each of the contracting country will solemnly declare that it will never enter into the participation of any military alliance directed against the other country. Each of them has two different from other aggression conducted by the third party and will never allow the use of their territory committing the act causing military damage to the contracting party.
11. Each of the contracting parties will have 2 different from providing any assistance to third parties participating in the military conflict against the contracting party. In a situation, if any of the party is attacked or threatened to be attacked the other party will immediately enter into the mutual consultation and take necessary measures to eliminate the danger and will ensure the peace and security of their respective countries.

12. The contracting party has declared that they will never undertake any action which is secret or open towards another state which may be incompatible to the treaty.
13. The treaty is signed for a term of 25 years and will be renewed by mutual agreement. The terms of this agreement were expired on 19th March 1997 and later to it none of the contracting parties showed interest to renew it.

During the visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Bangladesh list of 22 agreements was signed, exchange and adopted in between both the countries.

The agreements include:

1. Exchange of the instruments of ratification of 1974 land boundary agreement along with its 2011 protocol
2. Exchange of letters on modalities supporting the implementation of 1974 land boundary agreement along with its 2011 protocol
3. Renewal of bilateral trade agreement
4. Agreement on the coastal shipping between India and Bangladesh
5. Renewal of protocol on inland water transit and trade
6. Agreement on Dhaka Shillong Guwahati bus service along with its protocol
7. Bilateral cooperation between the Bureau of Indian standards and Bangladesh standards and testing institute supporting the cooperation in the field of standardization
8. Agreement of Kolkata Dhaka Agartala bus service along with its protocol
9. Memorandum for understanding coast guard
10. Memorandum for understanding the prevention of human trafficking
11. Memorandum for understanding the prevention of smuggling and circulation of any fake currency

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12. Memorandum of understanding between Bangladesh and India for extending their new line of credit (LoC)
13. Memorandum for understanding the blue economy as well as Maritime Corporation in Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean
14. Memorandum of understanding the use of Chittagong and Mongolia ports
15. Memorandum for understanding a product under India endowment for climate change (IECC) of SAARC
16. Memorandum for understanding the Indian economic zone
17. Understanding the cultural exchange program
18. Mutual agreement between Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited and Bangladesh submarine cable company limited for leasing of international bandwidth for internet assistance at Akhaura
19. Memorandum of understanding between the University of Jamia Millia Islamia and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh
20. Memorandum for understanding between the University of Jamia Millia Islamia, India and the University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

This agreement also included The Handover of any consent letter by insurance development and regulatory authority of Bangladesh to the Life insurance Corporation in India to support the operation in Bangladesh.

In June 2014 Indian external affairs minister Sushma Swaraj visited Bangladesh as her first official overseas tour. Also, on 7th May 2015, the Indian parliament passed land boundary agreement (LBA) in the presence of Bangladeshi deployments and officials as its 100 constitutional amendments. This agreement was formulated to resolve 68 year old border dispute since the British governance ended in India. The amendments for agreements made by Sushma Swaraj in her visit to Bangladesh include key agreements; the majority of them were-

- Proposing a specific economic zone in Bangladesh

- To provide an additional hundred MW power in Bangladesh from Tripura
- To increase the frequency of Maitree Express and also to start buses in route from Dhaka, Guwahati, and Shillong
- India to be allowed for ferry food and grains tool and lock North East region of India using the territory and its infrastructure
- An agreement was also made to send a fugitive accused of murder from Bangladesh in India.

Bilateral institutional mechanism

It is worth noticing that there are more than 50 bilateral institutional mechanisms present in between Bangladesh and India. Actively including the areas of trade and commerce, power and energy, security, transport and connectivity, science and technology, defense and Maritime affairs, rivers and including a number of other sectors as well.

A joint consultative commission (JCC) was led by the ministers of foreign and external affairs organized and coordinated the implementation of their initiatives which were taken by both countries. It also oversees the implementation and exploring better avenues for cooperation. The 3rd JCC was held on 28 September 2014 in New Delhi and the 4th JCC is expected to be held soon in Dhaka.

Bilateral trade and investment

India and Bangladesh signed the first trade agreement in 1972 and it was lastly renewed for 5 years in the provision of auto-renewable by PM visit to Bangladesh in June 2015. Since the last decade, bilateral trade relations between India and Bangladesh have grown steadily. In the last 5 years, total trade between both countries has grown more than 70% and India's export to Bangladesh in period July 2016 to March 2017 crossed the US \$ 4489.30

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million. The import from Bangladesh during the period 2016 and 2017 crossed US\$ 672 40 million.

India has also offered duty-free quota and free access to Bangladesh including all tariff lines (except tobacco and alcohol under South Asian free trade area) since the year 2011. Two haats in Tripura and two haats in Meghalaya have been established for benefiting the boarding communities. Also, additional border haats are under construction on India and Bangladesh borders.

Future speculations

Considering the joint efforts which India, as well as Bangladesh, is making at present to help in their sustainable development it is better to say that both will share some more coins in the future. Both countries are working on their number of infrastructure development projects and solving some major disputes together. Recently the prime ministers of India and Bangladesh inaugurated the rehabilitation of the Kulaura-Shahbazpur section of railway line together. A direct rail line connectivity to Assam and other northeastern states will be restored with the Kulaura- Shahbazpur rail line. The officials of both countries also inaugurated the construction of India Bangladesh friendship pipeline which will pass through Siliguri in West Bengal and Prabhati Pur in Dinajpur. This line will be 130 kilometers and follow through the Joydebpur sections of the Bangladesh railway line.

Apart from the infrastructure development projects, a number of other welfare measures and projects have also been introduced. This is done in order to commemorate the essence of the liberation of 1971 and to honor the invaluable contribution of Muktijoddha to build a dynamic future of Bangladesh.

Check your progress 2

Note a) Use the space given for your answer

1. PM Narendra Modi attended his first summit in Japan with whom?

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2. Which leader initiated the disintegration of West Pakistan?

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3. Under the recent agreement with Japan, what is the net amount considered in loan interest.

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

With its quest to become a leading source and expanding the power with its global recognition India is emerging as a brilliant part following the foreign policy agenda. The general instruments of diplomatic relations are supplementing various state crafts including the prosperous and significant Diaspora of India.

The importance of mutual cooperation in international platforms is significant. Also, it has a tendency to empower political, functional, economical or military roles played by the constitutional bodies. The variations in a world full of rivalry where the supremacy and dominance having their own superimpositions are also considered under such terms.

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India has always remained in favor of peaceful coexistence, mutual cooperation, non-alignment, support for decolonization and eradicating all the inequalities present among countries. The major objective of Indian foreign policies is to stabilize the country's freedom and help in decision making in odds. The variations in a world full of rivalry where the supremacy and dominance having their own superimpositions are also considered.

United States

India and the United States shared warm relations since independence. Though the dimensions between the two countries kept changing. The prime foreign policy objective of the United States is to promote globally and India being the largest democracy of the world gained recognition. The area of joint cooperation and development of Indo US relations includes agriculture, promoting democracy, containment of terrorism, etc. Under the administration of Barack Obama in 2009 Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh received the guest of honor for the first state dinner.

Japan

The bilateral relations between India and Japan have always remained stable. Japan has a cultural influence of Buddhism and right after independence, the bonds have grown stronger. Large numbers of Japanese companies have their profitable market in India and India is also a big marketplace for Japanese firms. The two countries signed a security cooperation agreement where both countries have to hold their military exercises, military to military exchange on fighting against terrorism and in the year 2017 an agreement was signed by Japan which grant a low-interest loan worth 4.5 Billion US\$ to India for constructing a high-speed rail line between Mumbai and Delhi.

Bangladesh

In the year 1971, India fought alongside the Bangladeshi to liberate them from West Pakistan. Indo Bangladesh relations have gained several high and low's in earlier history. In the past few years, India has also complained about the loose security concerns held by Bangladesh. His complaints have also off used for Bangladesh for harboring a separatist's group ULFA and a terrorist group to which the Bangladeshi government has denied. Both of the countries even shared border issues to which they come to a conclusion on June 2015.

4.6 KEYWORDS

Bilateral Laws: It refers to the act involving consenting will or approval of two or more distinct groups.

Diplomats: it refers to a person who supported by state or Central government institutions of a country.

Sovereignty: It is the right or power of a governing body without any external or third-party interference.

4.7 SUGGESTED READERS

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4.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Notes

1. Are our bilateral relations affected due to personal equations between heads of states? Explain with reference to the India-US relationship.
2. What are some of the recent agreements between Japan and India with regard to technology?
3. Write a short note about trade relations between India and Bangladesh.

4.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS WITH ANSWERS

Check your progress 1

1. See section 4.2
2. See section 4.2

Check your progress 2

1. See section 4.4
2. See section 4.3
3. See section 4.3

UNIT- 5 BILATERAL RELATIONS OF INDIA: CHINA AND RUSSIA

STRUCTURE

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

5.2 India-China relations

5.2.1 Political Relations

5.2.2 Educational Relations

5.2.3 Cultural Relations

5.2.4 Economic Relations

5.3 India-Russia Relations

5.3.1 Scope of India-Russia relations

5.3.2 Political Relations

5.3.3 Defense Relations

5.3.4 Economic Relations

5.3.5 Space Relations

5.3.6 Technological Relations

5.3.7 Cultural Relations

5.3.7.1 Local and International Cooperation

5.4 Let Us Sum Up

5.5 Questions for review

5.6 Keywords

5.7 Suggested Readings

5.8 Questions for review

5.9 Answers to Check your progress

5.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit will give an overview of the bilateral relation of india with china and russia. A reader will be able to make a perfect understanding of how the indian government and agencies make an effort to build a long and firm relationship with its neighboring countries. As russia is considered to be among superpowers, india made a long-standing term with russia.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

China–india relations, likewise called sino-indian relations or indo-chinese relations allude to the reciprocal connection between the people's republic of china (prc) and the republic of india. Even though the relationship has been sincere, there are fringe debates and a financial challenge between the two nations that have now and again prompted stressed relations. The cutting edge relationship started in 1950 when india was among the sovereign nations to end formal ties with the republic of china (taiwan) and perceive the prc as the real legislature of mainland china. China and india are the two most crowded nations and quickest developing significant economies on the planet. Development in strategic and financial impact has expanded the noteworthiness of their two-sided relationship.

Both the countries are the two largest ancient superpowers of the world. Both neighbors are the fast-emerging economies. India has been able to preserve and promote its national interest without coming into direct conflict with her mighty and powerful neighbor. China depends mainly upon the instrument of its foreign policy. China has shown incredible consistency in its dealings with India, whereas India seems practical only with one high - level visit to another. China has achieved most of its strategic goals vis-à-vis India. That is the main reason that China does not consider India as its

serious rival in the security field because of its low opinion of Indian capabilities.

India–Russia relations have been traditionally state-driven, which has given specific stability to the relationship. The similarities between India and Russia are not in a vacuum. Russia and India share the same approaches to ensuring peace and security and shaping a global architecture that reflects cultural and civilization diversity. Russia has raised the bureaucratic procedure in India for military requirements. Russia and India require a get through in military cooperation. Russia's belief that BRICS can be used to promote polarity offer an alternative vision of global governance.

The incredible IRIGC (India-Russia Intergovernmental Commission) is the primary body that behaviors undertakings at the administrative level between the two nations. The two countries are individuals from numerous universal organizations where they work together, intently on issues of shared national intrigue. Significant models incorporate the UN, BRICS, G20, and SCO. Russia has expressed freely that it underpins India getting a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Also, Russia has communicated enthusiasm for joining SAARC with onlooker status in which India is an establishing part.

5.2 INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

China and India relations are also called Indo Chinese relations. Indo Chinese relations refer to the relationships between the people of China and the people of the Republic of India. The links between these two states are not pleasant. There is an economic competition between disputes resulted in three major military conflicts among the nations. Results of BBC World Service Poll, 23% of Indians view China positively, with a 47% contrary view. 27% of Chinese people view India favorably, with 35% expressing a negative opinion. A survey conducted by the Pew Research Center In 2014, between 72% of Indians they're concerned that armed conflicts between China and neighboring countries could lead to a military conflict. There are

many obstacles for India and the People of China despite the growth of economic and strategic ties.

Relations among contemporary China and India have been depicted by outskirts questions, bringing about three military clashes — the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Chola incidence in 1967, and the 1987 Sino-Indian conflict. In mid-2017, the two nations clashed at the Doklam level along the contested Sino-Bhutanese outskirt. Be that as it may, since the late 1980s, the two nations have effectively revamped discretionary and monetary ties. In 2008, China turned into India's biggest exchanging accomplice, and the two countries have likewise broadened their key and military relations. Aside from exchange and trade, there are some different territories of shared enthusiasm on which China and India have generally been participating. In the expressions of Rejaul Karim Laskar, a researcher of Indian international strategy, "As of now, the two nations are collaborating on a scope of worldwide like an exchange, environmental change and change of the worldwide money related request, among others, to advance regular premium."

In spite of becoming monetary and vital ties, there are a few obstacles for India and the PRC to survive. India faces exchange irregularity vigorously in some support of China. The two nations neglected to determine their fringe question, and Indian news sources have over and over-detailed Chinese military invasions into the Indian domain. The two countries have relentlessly settled military framework along fringe zones. Furthermore, India stays vigilant about China's stable vital respective relations with Pakistan, while China has communicated worries about Indian military and financial exercises in the contested South China Sea.

5.2.1 Political Relations

India became the first country to establish diplomatic relations with the state of China in 1950. In 1954, the Republic of China was visited by Nehru, the prime minister of India. These ties they're attacked majorly by the India China. A new phase of improvements started in 1988 as Prime Minister

Rajiv Gandhi observed landmark visit China. In 1993 agreement was signed between the two states on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility on the Line of Actual Control. The signing of an agreement reflected the growing stability of the India China border area.

A declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation was also signed during the visit of Prime Minister of Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003. It was mutually agreed that individual representatives should be appointed to form the framework of settlement of boundary. During the visit of They Jiabao, the Chinese Prime Minister, a Strategic Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity was established between the two sides. An agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles was a green signal to the relation of both states.

In September 2014 16 agreements they're signed between the two countries regarding commerce and trade, space cooperation, pharmaceuticals, sister city arrangements, and railways, etc. China also intended to increase investment in India. The Chinese government agreed to make industrial parks in India.

Chinese President Hu Jintao said to Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh that "it is China's unswerving policy to develop Sino-Indian friendship, deepen strategic cooperation and seek common development." Also, "China hopes to see a peaceful, prosperous and continually developing India and is committed to building more dynamic China-India relationship."

A visit by Prime Minister Narendra Modi to China was observed from May 14-16, 2015. Both Prime ministers also addressed the session of the "First State Leaders" forum in Beijing. Prime Minister of India also announced the E visa facility for the Chinese community wishing to visit India. A total of 24 agreements they're signed on a government level. The business community approved twenty-four MoUs of the signing parties. A statement on Climate change was also released. The meetings on state-level continued in 2016, as President of India Pranab Mukherjee also visited China in May 2016.

At various levels, more than thirty agreements they're signed, including regional and international issues. In the year of 2003, the mechanism on "Special representatives on Boundary Questions" established. To facilitate the exchange of party leaders among the two countries, special efforts were made in 2004. In May 2018, President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi met in Wuhan for a casual summit that many states helped reset the relationship following the Doklam emergency. The summit was expressed to be one of a kind as the two chiefs, Narendra Modi and Xi Jinping, had no tight and commitment to reach any accords nor make huge declarations. Modi's attention was predominantly on real to life exchanges with Xi Jinping on an answer for a portion of the vexing issues like the limit question among others between India and China.

5.2.2 Education Relations

An umbrella agreement for educational cooperation among the two countries was signed in 2006 named as Education Exchange Programme (EEP). Recognized educational institutes awarded government scholarships to 25 students in each other's state. From India's sides, these 25 scholarships they're sponsored by Indian Council for cultural relations (ICCR). In 2015 extension to EEP was given but in the field of vocational education. Under EEP 25 Chinese they're selected to learn Hindi language and awarded with a scholarship by the Indian cultural council.

Cooperation in the academic sector resulted in an increasing number of Indian students in China. During the academic year 2016-2017 more than 1800 students, they're studying in China.

Embassy officials of India in China also visit University to make direct contact with university administration and Indian Students. The students are encouraged to feel free to contact embassy officials if they face any problem.

The Embassy keeps up an ordinary correspondence with MoE in China just like all colleges where there are a sizeable number of Indian understudies. Further, Embassy authorities likewise visit colleges to set up direct contact

with college specialists as they'll as to interface with the Indian understudies. Understudies are urged to approach the Embassy on the off chance that they are looked with significant issues. For this reason, the portable number and email address of the Minister (Education/Consular) and email address of Second Secretary (Education) are given on the Embassy site. The Mission has additionally propelled their based life account on their chat for Indian understudies, intending to make it simple for them to contact the Embassy just as to interface them to other individual Indian understudies concentrating in various urban communities of China.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

- 3. What is Education Exchange Programme?

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5.2.3 Cultural Relations

A Buddhist Temple was constructed by India in Luoyang, Henan province. It was said that the temple had been built in honor of Indian monks. The inauguration of the temple was done by President Pratibha during her visit to the state of China in 2010. In Peking University Centre for Indian studies was established in 2003.

Yoga practice has become popular in China. A yoga performance was witnessed by Indian and Chinese Prime Minister in the world heritage site of the temple of heaven. In 2015 an agreement signed to establish the Yoga College in Yunnan province of China.

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In the year 2016, an exhibition of Gupta Art at the Palace Museum in Beijing, titled "Across the Silk Road: Gupta Sculptures and their Chinese Counterparts, 400-700 CE" featuring 56 Indian sculptures was held.

Check Your Progress 2

Note a) Use the space provided for your answer

1) Write Down about the Cultural relations of India and China

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5.2.4 Economic Relation

Various mechanisms of dialogue had played a key role in shaping India China economic and commercial relations. Commerce ministries of both countries led the Joint Economic Group. Reform Commission of China prompted the Strategic Economic dialogues.

Some of the other institutionalized dialogue mechanisms between the two countries include the Joint Working Group (JWG) on Trade, JWG on Collaboration in Skill Development and Vocational Education, Joint Working Group on Information and Communication Technology & High-Technology, Joint Study Group and Joint Task Force on Regional Trading Agreement (RTA), India-China Joint Working Group on Agriculture, India-China Joint Working Group on Cooperation in Energy and the Joint Study Group on BCIM Economic Corridor.

Iron ore, cotton yarn, and organic chemicals they're the top exports of India to China. In the year of 2016. Indian exports of diamond amounted to 2.47 billion US dollars. India was known to be the second-largest exporter of a

diamond to China. In the same year, Indian exports of iron ore registered an increase of over 700% to reach US\$ 844 million.

More than five Indian banks have their offices in China. Chinese bank, ICBC also has one representative office in India in Mumbai. The Chinese investment in India reached 73 million US dollars. China's Investment in India till March 2017 reached to US\$ 4.91 billion. The growing Indian investment in China till March 2017 reached US\$ 705 million. In April 2017, an E-business visa was introduced to encourage more business people from China traveling to India.

In the last few years, the Trade and Economic Relationship between India and China has witnessed rapid growth. Trade volume between the two countries at the beginning of the century, the year 2000, stood at US\$ 3 billion. In 2008, bilateral trade reached US\$ 51.8 billion, with China replacing the United States as India's most extensive "Goods trading partner." The highest bilateral trade was achieved in 2011.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answers

- 1. List down the institutionalized mechanism of bilateral economic relations between China and India

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- 4. What are the exports from India to China?

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5.3 INDIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Russia has been known as a long-tested partner for India. India-Russia has been a long-standing and essential pillar in Indian foreign policy. Declaration on India Russian Strategic Partnership was signed during the visit of Russian President H.E. Vlmdir to India.

5.3.1 Scope of India-Russia Relations

Russia has been known as a long-tested partner for India. India-Russia has been a long-standing and essential pillar in Indian foreign policy. Declaration on India Russian Strategic Partnership was signed during the visit of Russian President H.E. Vlmdir to India.

Diplomatic relations among India and Russia started even before India accomplished autonomy, on 13 April 1947. In the period promptly the following freedom, the objective for India was achieving monetary independence through an interest in the overwhelming industry. The Soviet Union put resources into a few new endeavors in the territories of overwhelming machine-building, mining, vitality creation, and steel plants. During India's second Five Year Plan, of the sixteen vast industry ventures set up, eight they're started with the assistance of the Soviet Union. This incorporated the foundation of the world-famous IIT Bombay.

5.3.2 Political Relations

At political and official level dialogue mechanisms operate to ensure routine interaction and most importantly, to ensure the follow up on cooperation activities. The strategic partnership covers all the institutionalized tools. The Strategic Partnership was extended to "Special and Privileged Partnership" during the visit of the Russian President to India in the year 2010. Political Relations Annual Summit is the primary dialogue mechanism in the strategic partnership between the two countries, i.e., India and Russia. More than 17

Annual Summit meetings have been observed alternatively in both states. In 2016, the 17th Annual Summit Meeting was held in Goa, India. The meeting resulted in the signing of more than 15 documents regarding cooperation in the field of foreign policy, trade and investment, hydrocarbons, railways and science, and technology.

In the year 2017, the 70th anniversary of diplomatic relations between India and Russia was celebrated by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Putin. The anniversary was marked by adopting a joint statement, "Partnership for Global Peace and Stability."

For the 18th Annual Summit meeting, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Russia in June 2017. The outcome of the 18th Annual Summit was the adoption of the "St.Petersburg Declaration." The declaration provided a comprehensive matrix for cooperation between the signing parties.

Prime Minister of India appeared as Guest of Honor in the St.Petersburg International Economic Forum. Additionally, there is a high-level interaction between the two countries. Intergovernmental commissions on trade, economics, and military cooperation meet on an annual basis.

Defense ministry and its working group headed the Inter-Governmental Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation (IRIGC-MTC). In 2016, the 16th session of IRIGC-MTC was held in India, and it was also attended by the Russian defense minister. The 17th meeting took place in Moscow on 23rd June 2017.

On 20th August 2017 Deputy PM Dmitry Rogozin visited India. A sizeable Russian delegation to the Vibrant Gujarat Summit in January 2017 was also led by Rogozin. Issues of mutual bilateral, regional, and global interest also came under discussion. Security was the particular focus and purpose of this delegation. For foreign office consultations, a foreign secretary visited Russia in the year 2017. Deputy NSA visited Russia in March 2017 and met his corresponding person for the 17th India-Russia Joint Coordination Group Meeting. The 4th International Arctic Forum Meeting in Arkhangelsk. Russian Minister for Industry and Trade, Denis Manturov observed visit

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India in March 2017. He also inaugurated the International Engineering Sourcing Show. He also attended the first India-Russia Military Industrial Conference in Delhi on March 17-18, 2017.

Speaker of Lok Sabha headed the delegation of members of Parliament of India to Russia. The commission had to attend the 4th India Russia Interparliamentary member's meeting on 11th July 2017. The speaker also spoke in the Plenary Meeting of the State Duma in Moscow on 12 July 2017.

In 2000, during the visit of President Putin to India, the organization obtained another subjective character, that of a Strategic Partnership. The critical organization regulated yearly gatherings between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Russia and meetings have been held consistently from that point forward. During the 2010 visit of President Dmitry Medvedev, the relationship was raised to the status of a Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership. Up until this point, eighteen Annual India-Russia Summits have been held since 2000.

These have prompted individual contacts and close comprehension at the most elevated level between our pioneers. Both nations have standardized discourse components that report to two administrations. These are the Inter-Governmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation (IRIGC-TEC), co-led by the External Affairs Minister of India and the Deputy Prime Minister of Russia and the Inter-Governmental Commission on Military and Military-Technical Cooperation (IRIGC-MTC) co-led by the Defense Ministers of the two nations. These gatherings recognize needs and audit participation all the time and are vital stages to take our collaboration forward.

In the 70th commemoration of the foundation of strategic relations, India took part as Guest Country in the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum-2017. The Prime Minister of India Shri Narendra Modi was the Guest of Honor. During this time the eighteenth Annual Bilateral Summit was likewise held, which saw the selection of the memorable St. Petersburg Declaration: Vision for the 21st Century, and consenting to of 12 Arrangements in financial and political regions.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

1. How was the 70th anniversary of Diplomatic Relations celebrated?

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2. Write down about Annual Summits.

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5.3.3 Defense Relations

In the field of defense, India has a long-standing cooperation with Russia. Joint research and development and growth of advanced defense technologies and systems are examples of defense cooperation between the two countries. Launch of Missile System, production of SU-30 aircraft and T-90 tanks are the proof of the landmark cooperation between two states. During the 17th Annual Summit, the sides concluded agreements on the supply of S-400 air defense systems. Training exercises between armed forces of two countries held annually.

In December 2016 "Indra- Navy was held as annual bilateral naval exercise. Both countries have also decided to keep the first-ever tri-services exercised in the year 2017. During the 17th Meeting of IRIGC-MTC, a roadmap for the development of defense cooperation between India, Russia was signed.

A visit of Russian Naval Chief to India was observed on March 2017. The first India-Russia Military Conference took place in Delhi on March 2017.

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About 45 Russians participated in this conference. FSB Director, Alexander Bortnikov led a nine-member delegation to India on March 2017 and called on the Minister of Home Affairs.

The defense aspect of the relationship is perhaps the most grounded mainstay of the India-Russia relationship and has withstood the trial of time. India, with Russia's participation, has accomplished limit working in key territories through acquisitions and improvement of the weapons. The relationship is advancing from the customary purchaser dealer one to that of joint generation and development, with an accentuation on innovation sharing. Russia is focused on turning into an accomplice in the 'Make in India' program.

In 2017 two rounds of the India-Russia Military-Industry Conference they're held in March and August in which countless organizations from Russia and India took part. India is the biggest purchaser of Russian military hardware and, simultaneously, Russia is India's central barrier accomplice.

Likewise, India took an interest in Army 2017, the Army Games, and the staggering Spasskaya Bashnya Band Festival. The first-historically speaking TriServices Exercise, Indra 2017 that India has ever held with any nation was gripped with Russia on 21-29 October 2017 in Vladivostok, with regards to the nearby participation between our two countries in the protection area. A few stages are being taken to build preparing of officials in one another's Institutions and increasingly military trades.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

4. Briefly explain about India Russia Military Conference.

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5. What was the outcome of the 17th Annual Summit in the field of defense?

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5.3.4 Economic Relations

The key priority for both governments is forming the economic partnership a strong pillar of bilateral collaboration like other areas of cooperation between India and Russia. In 2014, a target of 30 billion US dollars bilateral trade by 2025 was set by the leaders of both countries

According to Russian Federal Customs Service data, bilateral trade during in 2016 amounted to US\$ 7.71 billion (a decline of 1.5 % over 2015), with Indian exports amounting to US\$ 2.39 billion and imports from Russia amounting to US\$ 5.32 billion.

Pharmaceuticals, tea, coffee and tobacco, machinery and mechanical appliances, organic chemicals, and electrical machinery and equipment are the major exports from India.

Pearls, precious and semi-precious stones & metals, nuclear potheyr equipment, electrical machinery and equipment, mineral oil & products, iron & steels, and optical, precision and surgical equipment are essential imports from Russia.

Ways for enhancing the bilateral trade are continually explored by India and Russia. Green Corridor Project has reached an advanced stage. Important projects like "implementation of the International North-South Transport Corridor" could provide a significant boost to the economic relations of India and Russia.

The Inter-Governmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation (IRIGC-TEC) is the apex G2G

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forum to review economic cooperation. It considers sectoral cooperation under working groups on trade and economic cooperation, priority investments, modernization, and industrial cooperation outstanding issues, energy & energy efficiency, science and technology, communications & IT, tourism and culture, and sub-groups on banking & financial matters and conservation of tigers & leopards. The 22nd meeting of the IRIGC-TEC was held in New Delhi on 13 September 201. The session was co-chaired by EAM and the Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin. In 2017, DPM Mr. Dmitry Rogozin visited India for the meeting of Co-Chairs of IRIGC-TEC in May 2017.

Tata Potheyr signed an agreement with the Russian Ministry of Far East Development for investment projects in the energy sector in the region in the year 2015. In December 2015, Heavy Engineering Corporation (HEC), Ranchi signed agreements with Russian company CNIITMASH on establishing a Centre of Excellence in India and modernization of HEC's facilities. Solar Energy Corporation of India signed an MoU with Russian counterpart for constructing solar plants in India. In 2016, an agreement on high-speed rails in India was signed between India and Russia.

Economic cooperation between the two nations is a zone that has been distinguished for unique concentration by the two countries. Reciprocal exchange 2015 added up to US\$ 7.83 billion. In 2017 there has been an upward pattern in the exchange figures. Regarding volume, the present characters don't mirror the quality of the relationship or the capability of our economies, which is colossal.

Their authority has set an objective of absolute exchange products and ventures of US\$ 30 billion every route by 2025. In 2016, the best three things of import into India from Russia they're valuable metals, mineral items, and synthetic substances. The most significant fares from India to Russia they're compound items, designing merchandise and horticultural elements. India positions fourth on the planet as far as the creation of nonexclusive pharmaceutical items. The two sides are attempting to grow the exchange bin and distinguish new regions of exchange.

The two sides are gaining ground towards accomplishing the objective of the joint venture of US\$ 15 billion every path consistently 2025. In 2016, Indian oil organizations purchased stakes in Russian organizations and oilfields worth US\$ 5.5 billion, and Rosneft has procured an Indian organization, ESSAR, in an arrangement worth US\$ 13 billion. This isn't just Russia's most significant interest in India, yet in addition to India's single biggest FDI. India and Russia have set up a US\$ 1 billion Fund to advance shared interest in foundation and innovation ventures.

India is additionally substantially expanding collaboration between the States of India and the Regions of Russia. They have nine sister State and sister city understandings, and more are under thought. Another phase in India's cooperation with Russian locales was come to during Prime Minister Narendra Modi's gathering with Regional Governors in June 2017 and between then External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj's meetings with Governors of the Far East. The Russian Far East is another focal point of our arrangement.

India, Russia and other neighboring nations are occupied with endeavors to operationalize the International North-South Transport Corridor which vows to move availability and exchange relations between the two countries. Two are likewise dealing with a 'Green Corridor' to straightforwardness exchange and traditions customs. The two nations have marked a Protocol on 24 December 2015 to rearrange visa techniques for representatives.

In a significant new advance to coordinate two economies, India and the Eurasian Economic Union have consented to start arrangements on a Free Trade Agreement. The two nations have agreed to participate in activities in third nations. As of now, they are talking about participation in the Roopur Nuclear Potheyr Project in Bangladesh. Indian and Russian organizations have been participating in oil and gas investigations in Vietnam.

Check Your Progress 6

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

1. What are the major exports from India?

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2. What are imports from Russia?

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3. What was the target set by both countries?

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5.3.5 Space Relations

In 2015 the 40th anniversary of the launch of India's first satellite "Aryabhata" on a Russian launch vehicle 'Soyuz' was celebrated. A framework agreement was signed by two states. The framework includes peaceful uses of outer space, including satellite launches, a GLONASS navigation system, remote sensing and other societal applications of outer space.

On 15 October 2016, ISRO and Roscosmos signed an MoU to institute ground measurement gathering stations for GLONASS and NAVIC in India and Russia. Both sides are also exploring the possibility of cooperation in manned space flight.

Check Your Progress 7

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

- 1) What was the agreement signed between ISRO and Roscosmos?

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5.3.6 Technological Relations

Department of Science & Technology (DST) and Russian Science Foundation signed an agreement to support and enhance basic and exploratory research. To encourage the development and growth of bilateral interaction between India and Russia in the field of science and technology various new initiatives such as the IndiRussia Bridge to Innovation, cooperation in telemedicine, creation of a Traditional Knowledge Digital Library, GIAN, and the Russia-India Network (RIN) of Universities are being promoted.

Russia is an irreplaceable accomplice in the circle of atomic vitality and perceives India as a mindful nation with cutting edge nuclear innovation with an impeccable non-multiplication record. After the Paris Agreement on Climate, Change India considers atomic energy as a significant wellspring of vitality to meet its vitality and environmental change commitments. This has united the two nations into a commonly symbiotic relationship.

India, Russia and other neighboring nations are occupied with endeavors to operationalize the International North-South Transport Corridor which vows to move availability and exchange relations between the two countries. Two are likewise dealing with a 'Green Corridor' to straightforwardness exchange and traditions customs. The two nations have marked a Protocol on 24 December 2015 to rearrange visa techniques for representatives.

Rosatom is building six units of atomic reactors at the Kudankulam site in Tamil Nadu. Two groups are now operational, and the following four are in various phases of usage. This is in accordance with the "Key Vision" report

marked in 2014 between President Putin and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. India connects high significance to neighborhood fabricating in India of hardware and parts for up and coming and future Russian-structured atomic power ventures.

Check Your Progress 8

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

1. What was the initiative taken by Indian and Russian governments in the field of science and technology?

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5.3.7 Cultural Relations

Various Cultural initiatives are taken to enhance people's interactions between India and Russia. The Year of Indian Culture was celebrated in 2015. The Year of Indian Culture "Namaste Russia" was inaugurated by President of India.

Jawaharlal Nehru Cultural Centre at the Embassy of India, Moscow (JNCC) maintains close cooperation with leading Russian institutions. It includes the Institute of Philosophy (Moscow); Russian State University for Humanities (Moscow); Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow); Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Moscow State University; School of International Relations of the St. Petersburg University; Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St Petersburg); Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology & Ethnography in St Petersburg.

There is a Mahatma Gandhi Chair on Indian Philosophy in the Institute of Philosophy, Moscow. Apart from Hindi, languages such as Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Urdu, Sanskrit and Pali are taught in Russian Institutions.

India and Russia have solid social ties, which are a significant commitment to the stable and robust relations between the nations. Recorded linkages have added to making generosity between the countries. As the Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi commented, in India, each youngster realizes that Russia is their nation's most noteworthy companion and has consistently remained with them during the hardest times.

The linkages that began with Afanasy Nikitin arriving at India even before Vasco-da-Gama uncovered India toward the West, Gujarati brokers settling in Astrakhan and the foundation of the Russian auditorium in Kolkata have all brought people groups of our nations closer. Russian researchers like Gerasim Lebedev and Nicholas Roerich have made a trip to India and influential Indian culture and theory. The grand epic of India, Mahabharata, has been converted into Russian. Correspondingly, Russian writing and scholars like Leo Tolstoy, Alexander Pushkin, and others have had a significant impact and commitment to Indian literature and thought. A few ages of Russians have grown up watching Indian movies. Yoga in Russia has been developing and ending up progressively prominent since the 1980s, especially in majors' urban communities and urban focuses.

Russian Institutions, including driving colleges and schools, routinely instruct Hindi to Russian understudies. Aside from Hindi, dialects, for example, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Urdu, Sanskrit and Pali are educated in Russian Institutions. Seats on Ayurveda and Contemporary Indian investigations have likewise been set up in various Russian Universities.

The quantity of Indian voyagers to Russia and Russian travelers to India has indicated massive increment over the most recent two years. The two nations are finding a way to encourage more straightforward access to one another's natives. The two countries have consented to restore their Cultural Exchange Program for the period 2017-2019. It has been chosen to celebrate 2018 as 'Year of Tourism' among India and Russia.

5.3.7.1 Local and International Cooperation:

In the worldwide field, the two nations have comparable positions and arrange their activities. Both participate intently inside the United Nations, BRICS and G-20 groupings, just as in the different structures in the Asia Pacific locale, for example, ASEAN and East Asia Summit Forum. Russia bolstered India's enrollment to the SCO and India was conceded as a full individual from SCO in 2017.

The exceptional political nearness between the countries is reflected in coinciding with worldwide needs. Both the nations share comparative perspectives on battling fear-mongering without twofold models, an increasing agent multi-polar world request dependent on global law with UN assuming a focal job, and settling dangers to universal harmony and security. Russia underpins India's lasting participation in the United Nations Security Council. On Syria and Afghanistan, the two nations have called for an undaunted activity to realize an enduring and cheerful arrangement, and overcoming the powers of psychological oppression. Two participate in other worldwide difficulties, for example, digital security, counteracting weaponization of space, and avoidance of weapons of mass destruction.

5.4 LET US SUM UP

India-China viable approach focused on economic and de-emphasizing their border issues have solved bilateral issues and have acquired a global and strategic approach. There are some issues between India and China. Both nations are still experiencing in emerging economic, political environments. As rising global powers, both the states have committed to promoting peace and stability in an international context. Initial negotiation between the two nations seemed to unfruitful, and it was considered that it is difficult to find common grounds.

As India shapes another administration and Modi starts a second five-year term, one of the essential international strategy challenges that will stay high on the motivation in New Delhi is the idea of the reciprocal association with

China. During Modi's first term from 2014-2019, India unambiguously perceived that its vital advantages in Asia would be best served by wagering on the United States.

Yet, past the incredible power competition setting, Modi will convey forward an elaborate respective plan with China into his subsequent term. The outskirts contest between the two nations stays as immovable as ever, and worries in Delhi about China's enormous key and monetary wager on Pakistan are developing. As troublesome as the association with China remains, we can anticipate that Modi's subsequent term should for the most part yield coherence in New Delhi's methodology toward Beijing, which has in the previous decade kept up a harmony between participation – including financial collaboration – and critical competition. Even as India has long had concerns and doubts about China's ascent – particularly as Beijing's essence turns into a verifiable reality around New Delhi's vital neighborhood –, it has little to pick up from taking an angry stance towards China. While Modi has shown himself willing to attest India's interests in the area opposite China, his first term demonstrated a proceeding with enthusiasm for extending New Delhi's stakes in supporting a regional business as usual good to India.

Russia and India agree that current global economic problems can only be addressed with greater participation of developing countries in global trade, finance, and investments. This requires a reform of the international financial institutions. For India, Russia can be vital to India's quest for energy security. The accord between Russia and India on civil legal responsibility for nuclear damage assures that both parties want to expand cooperation in the nuclear sector. The two countries have significant plans for peaceful nuclear power. Systematic barriers between India and Russia must be overcome. Non-Tariff Trade limitations exist in the two countries.

The extraordinary political closeness between the countries is reflected in according to worldwide needs. India and Russia share comparative perspectives on battling fear-mongering without twofold models, an increasing agent multi-polar world request dependent on global law with UN assuming a focal job, and settling dangers to universal harmony and

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security. Russia underpins India's lasting participation in the United Nations Security Council. On Syria and Afghanistan, the two nations have called for an undaunted activity to realize an enduring and cheerful arrangement, and overcoming the powers of psychological oppression. Two participate in other worldwide difficulties, for example, digital security, counteracting weaponization of space, and avoidance of weapons of mass destruction.

The two sides are gaining ground towards accomplishing the objective of the joint venture of US\$ 15 billion every path consistently 2025. Russia is an irreplaceable accomplice in the circle of atomic vitality and perceives India as a mindful nation with cutting edge atomic innovation with an impeccable non-multiplication record. After the Paris Agreement on Climate, Change India considers nuclear energy as a significant wellspring of vitality to meet its vitality and environmental change commitments. This has united the two nations into a commonly symbiotic relationship.

To encourage the development and growth of bilateral interaction between India and Russia in the field of science and technology various new initiatives such as the IndiRussia Bridge to Innovation, cooperation in telemedicine, creation of a Traditional Knowledge Digital Library, GIAN, and the Russia-India Network (RIN) of Universities are being promoted. India's first satellite "Aryabhata" on a Russian launch vehicle 'Soyuz' was celebrated. A framework agreement was signed by two states. The framework includes peaceful uses of outer space, including satellite launches, a GLONASS navigation system, remote sensing and other societal applications of outer space.

The extraordinary political closeness between the countries is reflected in according to worldwide needs. India and Russia share comparative perspectives on battling fear-mongering without twofold models, an increasing agent multi-polar world request dependent on worldwide law with UN assuming a focal job, and settling dangers to universal harmony and security. Russia and India agree that current global economic problems can only be addressed with greater participation of developing countries in global trade, finance, and investments. This requires a reform of the

international financial institutions. For India, Russia can be vital to India's quest for energy security. The accord between Russia and India on civil legal responsibility for nuclear damage assures that both parties want to expand cooperation in the nuclear sector. The two countries have significant plans for peaceful nuclear power.

Experts, businessmen, journalists, and the professional community should be involved. The state has the responsibility to initiate and coordinate such contacts, since developing bilateral relations is ultimately a strategic and political task.

5.5 KEYWORDS

G2G: Government to Government

(IRIGC-TEC): The Inter-Governmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation (IRIGC-TEC)

MoU: Memorandum of Understanding

5.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. The New Dimensions of India – Russia Relations by Surendra Singh
2. Peter Cahocoressi, World Politics 1945-2000, ISBN 81-317-0195-6, 2006
3. Paulo Antonio Pereira Pinto, China And India - Emergence And Cultural Impact, ISSN 1983-3121, Jun 2007

5.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Analyze Sino-India trade relations.
2. Differentiate in detail relations of India with China and Russia
3. Explain Russia and India's cooperation in all aspects.
4. Discuss in detail defense relations of India and Russia.
5. Analyze the Sino-India ties after Doklam clashes in 2017.

5.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your progress 1

1. An umbrella agreement for educational cooperation among the two countries was signed in 2006 named as Education Exchange Programme (EEP). Recognized educational institutes awarded government scholarships to 25 students in each other's state. (See section 5.2.2)

Check your progress 2

1. Across the Silk Road: Gupta Sculptures and their Chinese Counterparts, 400-700 CE" featuring 56 Indian sculptures was held in 2016. A Buddhist Temple was constructed by India in Luoyang, Henan province. It was said that the temple had been built in honor of Indian monks. The inauguration of the temple was done by President Pratibha during her visit to the state of China in 2010. (See section 5.2.3)

Check your progress 3

1. Joint Working Group (JWG) on Trade, JWG on Collaboration in Skill Development and Vocational Education, Joint Working Group on Information and Communication Technology & High-Technology, Joint Study Group and Joint Task Force on Regional Trading Agreement (RTA), India-China Joint Working Group on Agriculture, India-China Joint Working Group on Cooperation in Energy and the Joint Study Group on BCIM Economic Corridor. (See section 5.2.4)

2. Iron ore, cotton yarn, and organic chemicals they're the top exports of India to China.

(See section 5.2.4)

Check your progress 4

1. In 2017, the anniversary was celebrated by adopting a joint statement "Partnership for Global Peace and Stability".70th anniversary of diplomatic

relations between India and Russia was marked by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Putin. (See section 5.3.2)

2. The Annual Summit meeting between the Prime Minister of India and the President of the Russian Federation is the highest institutionalized dialogue mechanism in the strategic partnership between India and Russia. Multiple Annual Summit meetings have taken place alternatively in India and Russia. (See section 5.3.2)

Check your progress 5

1. Nearly 45 Russian entities participated in this conference. As in 2017, the Russian Naval Chief visited India. The first India-Russia Military Conference took place in Delhi on March 2017. Agreements on the supply of S-400 air defense systems was signed. (See section 5.3.3)

2.2. In 2015 Namaste India was celebrated in Russia and it was inaugurated by President of India.

(See section 5.3.3)

Check your progress 6

1. Pharmaceuticals, tea, coffee and tobacco, machinery and mechanical appliances, organic chemicals, and electrical machinery and equipment. (See section 5.3.4)

2. Pearls, precious and semi-precious stones & metals, nuclear other equipment, electrical machinery and equipment, mineral oil & products, iron & steels, and optical, precision and surgical equipment are essential imports from Russia.(See section 5.3.4)

3. 30 billion US dollars bilateral trade by 2025 was set by the leaders of both countries. (See section 5.3.4)

Check your progress 7

Notes

1. To ensure ground measurement gathering stations for GLONASS and NAVIC in India and Russia. An agreement was signed. (See section 5.3.5)

Check your progress 8

1. India Russia Bridge to Innovation, cooperation in telemedicine, creation of a Traditional Knowledge Digital Library, GIAN, and the Russia-India Network (RIN). (See section 5.3.6)

UNIT- 6 INDIA AND GLOBAL ISSUES: POWER AND SECURITY

STRUCTURE

6.0 Objective

6.1 Introduction

6.2 India after Colonialism

6.3 India and the Cold War: Non-Alignment Movement and the 1971 Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty

6.3.1 Non-aligned Movement

6.3.2 Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 1971

6.3.3 The aftermath of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty

6.4 India after Cold War: An era of Multilateralism

6.4.1 Rapprochement with the United States of America

6.4.2 Playing all Cards: The Game of Global Diplomacy

6.5 India as a rising power: India as a Global Player with its own regional struggles for Power and Influence

6.6 India and UN

6.6.1 China and Pakistan

6.6.2 Iran and the GCC

6.6.3 Look East Policy

6.6.4 Eurasian Influence

6.7 India's Security Struggle: International Cross-border Terrorism

6.7.1 Demands to Boycott Terror-linked nations

6.8 Let Us Sum up

6.9 Keywords

6.10 Suggested Readings

6.11 Questions for Review

6.12 Answers to Check your Progress

6.0 OBJECTIVE

After the end of this unit, you should be able to identify the Power and Security Challenges faced by India in the modern world and how they came to be. Owing to its Geographical placement and international importance, India ever since its Independence has been in the midst of the global struggle for Power and Security. Be it the post colonialism Power Struggle against Pakistan and China, the Cold War and the non-alignment movement or the struggle against International Terrorism, all of these factors have greatly affected the foreign policy of India over the years and still continue to do so. In this chapter, we are going to study about the global issues that affect India with special attention on Power and Security. This chapter analyzes the Global issues of Power and Security that are being faced by India and we'll also look into how the foreign policy of India keeps on changing as the power structure of the world changes with rising and fall of countries and regimes.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Till the first half of the 20th Century, India was all but a quasi-state of the British Empire in the subcontinent so there was really no pursuit of an independent foreign policy until India became Independent in 1947. On Independence with the advent of Nehru style of Politics, India was already in conflict with the newly separated Pakistan, while enmity towards Communist China was also increasing. These two factors started to define the first Indian Foreign Policy and they still do now 72 years down the line.

As India started to formulate policies on its neighbors, it was also staring into the oblivion of the Cold War which would then last till 1991. The global significance and influence of India increased even further when it chose to

keep its hard earned sovereignty at the forefront and refused to take any sides during the Cold War. Furthermore, India emerged as one of the leaders of the Non-Alignment Movement which resolved to distance newly Independent countries from taking any sides and take no part in destruction and violence. This Non-Alignment policy not only kept India out of unnecessary conflicts but also played an advantageous role because India was able to cooperate with both the rival sides and develop its Economy and Industries which were both in shambles.

Once the Cold War resulted in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, an all-time proven ally, India was forced to rethink its foreign policy and take lessons from the situation of the Soviet Union. So the end of the Cold War resulted in a dramatic shift of foreign policy as India decided to open up to the world and liberalized its economy. The liberalization of the Economy gave India the chance to open up to the world and forge new bi-lateral ties. In the subsequent years to this move, some key foreign policy decisions like Indo-US nuclear deal affirmed India's status as a rising power in the world to become one of the most powerful today.

6.2 INDIA AFTER COLONIALISM

As the British started to move out of India and India became Independent, the erstwhile Quasi-state of the British Empire faced a challenge to pursue a Foreign Policy that would ensure both the sovereignty as well as Independence of the nation, there was to be no compromise with this and it was clear. Nehru envisioned an Indian Foreign policy which was based on the true spirit of the Indian Freedom Struggle. So the following were chosen to be the basis on which the Indian foreign policy was to be established.

2. Preservation of Sovereignty and Independence: There must be no compromise with the sovereignty and the Independence of India and its foreign policy decisions whatever they shall be. This was to be ensured that nobody has the influence over India's foreign relations but only the Indian interests at hand.

Notes

3. National Development: Due to such an acute rate of poverty and illiteracy at the time of Independence, National Development also became a major goal of the Indian foreign policy which sought to maintain a framework wherein the National Development was the prime goal of any foreign agreement and relation. This doctrine was famously visible during the years of the Cold War when India had relations with Superpowers from both the block which helped India in its initial stages of Industrial growth as well as brought about the Green Revolution in the agricultural sector of the economy.
4. Protection of Interests of Indian Origin People Living Abroad: The Citizens Living abroad are also important to a country for namely two reasons, either they send money home and give a contribution in the economy or they are students who would soon be shaping the future of the country. Seeing this, the Indian Foreign Policymakers made it a priority to add the protection of Indian Origin People Living abroad as one of the fundamentals.
5. Decolonization of Africa and Asia: India had personally witnessed the misery and suffering that comes from colonization and imperialism so India took it upon itself to see to it that no country going through the same misery and suffering has to endure it any longer. This is a personal yet important part of the Indian foreign policy, one which reflects how important Independence and self-determination is to the people and Government of India.
6. End of Racialism: Racialism has always played a devastating role in the history of this world, whether it is Anti-Semitism in Europe, Racism in the United States of America, Apartheid in South Africa or the suffering of Palestinian people it has always had devastating effects of human rights and human liberties. In order to ensure that no further suffering comes from another deeply felt discriminatory act, India took it upon itself to make an effort and end Racialism in the world.

The Foreign Policy of India started taking shape soon after Independence as the conflict started brewing up with neighboring Pakistan and China. The power struggle for South Asia began when Mao Zedong established a

Communist China and annexed Tibet in 1960 and Aksai Chin (COK) in the Sino Indian War of 1962. Facing a common foe in India, Pakistan and China sought an all-weather alliance and the real Power and Security struggle for India in the Asia-Pacific region began.

The Sino-Indian War of 1962 proved in all regards as an eye-opener for India and Nehru and his successor Lal Bahadur Shastri with regards to the threats a powerful China can pose to India. This emergence of two big regional and potentially global players in the volatile region of South and Southeast Asia brought about a significant change in the approach of the Indian Foreign Policy and the subsequent struggle for power and influence that continues to date.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

1. What were the major challenges faced by India just after Independence?

.....

2. What key points were chosen as the basis on which the Indian Foreign Policy would be based on?

.....

6.3 INDIA AND THE COLD WAR: NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP TREATY

By the time India got Independent, a new world threat in terms of a third world war between the two world powers USA and the USSR had already started to seem realistic. In his speech on 2nd September 1946, after becoming the head of Provisional Government Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

made a categorical statement about the Cold War stating the Non-Alliance of India. He said, “We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to World Wars and which may again lead to distress on an even vaster scale. We believe that..... denial of freedom anywhere 29 must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and the peoples and the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races.....We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honorable treatment for our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them. Though, in the latter part of the speech, he did show optimism and expressed for a more peaceful and equal world. He stated that “The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatred and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this One World that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples and no group or class exploits another.” Nehru style of thought and Politics came with an understanding that India needed world peace for its economic development and he believed that India could play a vital role in establishing a peaceful and prosperous relationship between all nations. This resolve and Political thought of Nehru made India one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement.

6.3.1 Non-Aligned Movement

Drawing on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement was established in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia through an initiative of Nehru and Tito. The Non-Aligned Movement was a forum of 120 developing world countries plus 17 observer nations and 10 International organizations that were not formally aligned to any major power bloc and the purpose of the movement was enumerated by Fidel

Castro in his Havana Speech of 1979 as “to ensure the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the Non-Aligned countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics.”

The Non-Aligned Movement greatly benefitted India in terms of development as without supporting any power circle formally India could trade with both sides of the power sphere effectively and develop its industries, economy, and infrastructure to alleviate millions from poverty that was left behind by the British after regime on Independence.

As one of the establishing members of the second-largest grouping of states worldwide, India started to have great influence over world politics as this movement alone had around two-thirds of the UN members and 55% of the world population through this great influence of India lasted only till 1971 when it entered the friendship treaty with USSR. Though still formally Non-Aligned, India’s leanings towards the Soviet Union on issues such as Afghanistan and Cambodia further led to the decline of Indian influence within the forum.

6.3.2 Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 1971

Formally known as the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was a treaty signed between India and the Soviet Union in 1971. Although a major deviation from the Non-Aligned Status of India during the Cold War era it came as a prelude to the much anticipated Bangladesh War of Liberation or Indo-Pak war 1972 where both China and USA affirmed strong support for Pakistan and no hesitation in invading the territory of India if the war broke out. The Indo-Soviet friendship treaty which didn’t formally affect in any way the Non-Aligned nature of India affirmed that if attacked, India would be safeguarded and helped by the might of USSR, this is what ultimately proved a major catalyst in India

fighting and winning the war without any external intervention from either China or the United States of America.

This treaty of friendship proved to be a major insurer for India in terms of its sovereignty and Independence in the international arena of power struggle and autonomy and this is the same treaty that would set the prelude for the bilateral relations between India and Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

6.3.3 The aftermath of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty

Although the Indo-Soviet Friendship treaty ensured sovereignty, protection, and Independence for India, it came at the price of losing the premier standing and influence in the Non-Aligned Forum of countries. In the 1980s, the Indian Administration under the leadership of Indira Gandhi tried to reassert the influence of India in the movement by shifting to the relationship between disarmament and economic developing. By using Economic Development as a prelude and appealing to the economic grievances of the developing nations that made most of the Non-Aligned Nations, Indira Gandhi and her successors were indeed able to exert a moderate influence on the movement diverting it from Cold War-related issues such as the Havana Controversy of 1979.

Even though hosting the session meeting of 1983 in New Delhi did increase Indian influence within the movement, it still remained limited owing to the controversial decision by India to support USSR politically on issues like Afghanistan and Cambodia.

As the Cold War ended and the NAM lost its original goal, the members started to dispute amongst themselves and NAM lost its significance on the turn of Century. Although still in existence, NAM is no longer even a shadow of its former self in terms of its importance in the Global Power Struggle.

6.4 INDIA AFTER THE COLD WAR: AN ERA OF MULTILATERALISM

As the Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it started to pose numerous new challenges as far as Indian Foreign Policy is concerned. India began to adopt a more multilateral approach to its relationship and as the Economic Slowdown hit, it started to reform the Economy starting with its liberalization. This not only gave India an opportunity to engage with other nations on a diplomatic level but also on an economic which India viewed more important than forming Military Alliances. The policy of Non-Alignment got reflected even further in the Indian agenda as it started to engage with countries any and all. Perhaps the biggest examples of these engagements came with the starting of peaceful dialogues with China, rapprochement in relations with the US and a smooth transition to global diplomacy.

It didn't take the people in the power corridors of India much time to figure out that if it were to stick to the Nehruvian principles of Non-Alignment, Sovereignty, and Independence of Foreign Policy, it has to go with an open approach to its Foreign policy. Even though Modern Russia maintains the Soviet levels of relationship with India and it is still the largest military supplier, this doesn't stop India from building relationships with the erstwhile 1st World entities like the EU and the USA. The end of the Cold War also marked the end of Indian dependence on the Soviet Union as it independently signed many treaties of peace and cooperation with nations that once threatened to attack it and put economics sanctions for its Nuclear Program.

Even though the policies and actual ground reality towards its fiercest rivals and neighbors China and Pakistan haven't changed much, steps have been taken to reduce conflict, promote peace and ensure that there is no more war except those isolated confrontations that happen courtesy to such tense and complicated neighborhood. India embraced Multilateralism as a strategic

means of increasing its global reach, power and security and until now it has proven to do more benefit when compared to harm if any done.

In this topic, we are going to discuss in detail the principle factors and steps taken that defined and continue to define the 21st Century Foreign Policy of India.

6.4.1 Rapprochement with the United States of America

Nearly two years after the United States of America put sanctions on India for its ambitious nuclear program, President Bill Clinton visited India and celebrated the common values between the world's "oldest" and the world's "largest" democracies. The Bush administration went a step further by declaring India as an important partner for the United States and signed the NSSP (Next Step in Strategic Partnership) initiative as a basis for expanding dialogue on civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programs, hi-tech trade, and missile defense. In 2005, US made a clear exception and offered to supply fuel and resources for its Civilian Nuclear reactors, In 2006, The US Congress amended the US Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and India started negotiations with the IAEA over surveillance of India's Civilian Nuclear Program and finally following the recommendation of IAEA and the approval of France, Russia, and the UK, in 2008 Indo-US Nuclear deal came into effect.

This policy of the Manmohan Singh administration is in-fact one of the biggest achievements of his UPA-1 government because this policy does not promote a full alliance with the US but rather establishes a partnership based on two major points of interest.

1. The Normalization of relations between two democracies estranged due to the Non-Aligned policy of India
2. The promotion of relations with the United States is only to the benefit of India as it gives India enough space to maneuver when it comes to World politics of power and not be bound by a single deck of cards to play with.

There is certainly some opinions inside the power corridors of India who want to jump the US bandwagon due to the shared strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific region to counter the increasing threat and influence of China but this doesn't mean India would any sooner join the US sponsored League of Democracies which already has countries such as Australia and Japan as established partners of the US.

6.4.2 Playing all Cards: The Game of Global Diplomacy

While India finds its ties with the United States and Japan useful to keep China in check, at the same time India is also trying to normalize relationship with the Dragon. In 2005, both the countries entered into a “strategic partnership for peace and security” which is just one of the many dialogues India has launched with major countries for the past 2 decades. Getting closer to other major powers doesn't mean India stays away from the all-weather ally Russia, the Indian Government makes it a point year on year to promote further ties with Russia as well. The India-China-Russia summit that was started in 2005 doesn't create a Eurasian bloc that is opposed to the West, it just keeps the options open for India.

Furthermore, US interests in India don't preclude the use of force in international relations considering Iraq, Syria, Libya and finally and eventually Iran. Even regarding the reform of UN Security Council and failed negotiations of the Doha Round at the WTO, India is yet to receive any concessions and the story doesn't seem to be that great.

In 2004, India joined the North South group with Germany, Brazil and Japan to demand a permanent membership to UN Security Council, India also plays a major role in South-South Cooperation which caused the 2003 WTO summit in Cancun to end in failure. Amongst the 20 countries that joined hands to protest subsidies to domestic farmers by the US and EU, India and Brazil remain the key players battling to protect their poor farmers.

In short, India of the 21st Century is actively deploying a multi-directional diplomacy which the government itself calls “proactive and vigorous foreign

policy, seeking to develop strategic partnerships with all the major powers in the world”.

6.5 INDIA AS A RISING POWER: INDIA AS A GLOBAL PLAYER WITH ITS OWN REGIONAL STRUGGLES FOR POWER AND INFLUENCE

Since the end of the Cold War, India has emerged as a Global Player which is still regionally struggling for Power and Influence. Though India has the potential to become a Global Power, but it will mean resolving all the issues with struggle for Power and Influence regionally and getting a hold of the Global Affairs by being considered an important global partner not only in terms of trade but also in terms of security all over the world and not just in the South Asian or Indo-Pacific Region. Although this might seem a difficult task to achieve considering the presence of hostile China, it is not at all impossible.

Although India has in fact made quite progress on this front since the end of Cold War and the toll of multilateralism, it still needs to consolidate power in order to be considered amongst the Global Powers. As mentioned above, this part of the unit will explore the rising stature of India’s power globally, the important steps that made took India to this position, and take a better look at all the challenges India faces regionally that are in the way of its growth as a not only a Global Player but a Global Power.

6.5.1 China and Pakistan

Ever since Mao took over China, it has been the main challenge to the influence of India in the region as well as the world and due to its sheer size and sweeping Economic, Military and infrastructural reforms, China was able to overtake India a long way back. One can also say that the Permanent Seat in the UN Security Council invariably tips the balance in China’s favor. Pakistan on the other hand a story completely different, despite its Political, Economic and Social difficulties has been able to maintain a strong military

presence, control over half Kashmir and the all-weather allegiance with China makes it easier for Pakistan to do its act.

Though through the Modern years India has been able to counter these regional threats with efficiency, it still remains a major hurdle for India to be able to tip the regional players such as Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand and the SAARC and ASEAN nations if it wants to play any significant role in the Global Power Play. One major challenge in front of India when it comes to this power struggle is the enormous Wealth and Military Power of China that is unmatched in the South-South Asian region. Even though the data states that by 2030, India is bound to become an Economic powerhouse, it is still going to be very difficult for India to be able to assert its dominance in the region and expand its sphere of influence in the Asia-Pacific region and ultimately the world.

6.5.2 Iran and the GCC

India has had some of the best ties with Israel but it doesn't stop India from practicing the policy of multilateralism and pursue good relations with Muslim world, namely Iran and the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) countries. Even Iran and GCC countries don't go well together but India still has good relations with all of them. Iran is the second largest supplier of Crude Oil to India while the GCC countries account for about 66% of all the energy needs of India. These ever growing energy needs need good partnership and on this front India seems to have many key allies in countries like Iran, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Iraq and even Russia which is the second largest exporter of natural gas and one of the leading exporters of crude oil and minerals in the world.

These countries are far from being major players globally but good relations with major regional players like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey and Israel that lie in the extended neighborhood of West Asia only increase the influence of India further and give it a sense of power over the region.

6.5.3 Look East Policy

As a way to counter the increasing influence of China in South and South Asia, India adopted its Look East Policy. In 1992, after redefining its economic policy, India initiated the “Look East Policy” towards Southeast Asian countries and in 1996 India became a full dialogue partner in ASEAN(Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and joined the ARF (Asian Regional Forum). Although China objected to India joining the ASEAN+3 forum structure, in 2005 India scored some influence points when India became one of the founding members of the East Asian Summit. For even Southeast Asian countries, the rise of India is kind of a good news in itself. Strategically, India will is now able to offset somewhat China’s unquestionable dominant status in the region despite the sheer asymmetry between China and India.

One other forum that comes under the Look East Policy of India is The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectorial Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), launched in 1997 provided the framework for the rim countries of Bay of Bengal: Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand. A pale competitor to the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) project linking the latter countries to Chinese region of Yunnan, these initiatives enable India to build more links with its neighboring countries and increase its sphere of influence.

6.5.4 Eurasian Influence

Since the end of the Cold War, India has gained considerable success in gaining influence in the Central Asian region of Former Soviet Socialist Republics and Afghanistan. Playing a major supporter role in the Afghan conflict and constructing the only Military Base outside Indian Territory in Tajikistan close to Pakistan and Afghanistan are just the highlights of these achievements. Although these interests in no way conflict with the Russia led EEF (Eurasian Economic Forum), they rather complement it in making strategic partnership with Russia and the other countries.

Besides this, India has also recently entered the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a full time member, and though China is an integral part of the forum, it still helps to increase the Indian influence in the region. SCO plays an important role in stabilizing relation between India and China, along with BRICS and Russia-India-China forum which has resulted in some fruitful agreements with Russia playing as an informal mediator which enhances the regional as well as global stability even further.

India has been quite an influential entity over the years when it comes to the Eurasian Region and this influence is bound to increase greatly over the years with further cooperation and agreements being signed between the subsequent countries.

6.6 INDIA AND UN

Being a founding signatory of UN, India has always been an integral part of the various working bodies of the UN. Starting from being one of the biggest contributors in the UN Peacekeeping to the UNHRC, UNICEF, the WHO and more such organization but it has always got disappointed when it comes to the issue of reformation of United Nations Security Council. India has contributed immensely in the development of United Nations, on 29th October 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru outlined the Indian attitude towards the United Nations by saying “Indian attitude towards the UN is that of wholehearted cooperation and unreserved adherence in both spirit and letter to the charter governing UN.” He also made it clear that, “India will participate fully in UN’s varied activities and endeavor to play that role in the council to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her”. The fundamental reason behind the cooperative relations between India and UN lie in the core values they both share. India is committed to world peace and considers UN instrumental in achieving this goal. The ideals of peace, nonviolence, justice, rights, freedom are the foundational principles on which edifice of UN is based also enshrined into the Indian constitution.

6.6.1 India and the restructuring of United Nations

The demand for restructuring of the UN gained momentum after the end of the cold war to manage the new emerging challenges especially the global US power dominance. The reforms are essential to make UN fairer, structured, strengthened, revitalized and more democratic. There have been demands to reform the:-

- The structure and processes of the UN
- Budgetary procedure and
- Day to day administration
- Jurisdiction of the UN
- Structure and functioning of Security Council

The restructuring and reforming of Security Council represents the core of the UN restructuring debate. A lot of experts feel that the current state of UN Security Council don't match with the current realities of the world. They feel that Security Council severely underrepresents the World Population while concentrating it in one part of the world. Even though there were reforms that increased the number of non-permanent members from 6 to 10, the number of permanent members didn't increase to the disappointment of many. So there is an ever increasing demand of increasing the number Permanent and non-permanent members in the UN Security Council so that it can represent the true demographics of the planet while being free, fair and democratic to the world as the most important functioning body of the UN, and being one of the prospects for the same, India with Brazil, Germany and Japan are the most vocal proponents of the same.

Basis of Claim for India as a Permanent member of the Security Council:-

- Huge population,
- Largest democracy,
- Increasing economic power, purchasing power parity,
- Colossal Armed forces,
- India's consistent contribution to the UN since its inception
- especially in Peacekeeping Operations

- Financial support to UN

Check your Progress 2

Note: a) Use the space provided for your answer

1. India's claim to Security Council is based on which factors?

.....

2. Why is there a need for restructuring of the Security Council?

.....

6.7 INDIA'S SECURITY STRUGGLE: INTERNATIONAL CROSS BORDER TERRORISM

India has been struggling with the problem of terrorism, specifically cross-border terrorism for years now. We can trace the terror struggle of India to almost the times of Mujahedeen training in Pakistan for the mission in Afghanistan, hence cross border terrorism is a major volatile issue of discussion between India and Pakistan which India accuses of being a safe haven and major funding country of terrorism. Although the threat of Terrorism and its hybrid forms is getting more and more real day by day, terrorism in itself is not a new concept. One has to go several decades to trace the first incidence terrorism in India and this factor has made India a major proponent and contributor to anti-terror alliances around the world.

India's foreign policy acknowledges the threat of International Terrorism and is a major topic of discussion for the country with partners Old and New. Although, itself suffering from terror incidences on yearly basis, India is reluctant to join any coalition that is formed by the Western countries and doesn't support the interventions done by West in the Middle East on the pretext of Terrorism. All in all, although India does take the threat of cross

border terrorism very seriously, it doesn't promote any intervention, it rather chooses to fight it through cooperation and security measures because these interventions clearly violate the sovereignty and Independence of the nation where these operations are held and India due to its History is all but reluctant to sacrifice those core values in any case.

6.7.1 Demands to Boycott Terror-linked nations

India has been regularly voicing its concern against the nations that allegedly fund terror networks across the globe and it never skips a chance to attack these countries in International forums. Because India suffers mostly at the hands of Pakistani Cross Border Terrorists, it focuses majorly on the terror funding done by the Pakistani Army and ISI and calls for sanctions and boycott of the country. This has been a major flashpoint between both the volatile nuclear-armed neighbors and this has on numerous occasions been a reason for talks falling through between the two nations.

6.8 LET US SUM UP

- Owing to its Geographical placement and international importance, India ever since its Independence has been in the midst of the global struggle for Power and Security. Be it the postcolonialism Power Struggle against Pakistan and China, the Cold War and the non-alignment movement or the struggle against International Terrorism, all of these factors have greatly affected the foreign policy of India over the years and still continue to do so.
- Till the first half of the 20th Century, India was all but a quasi-state of the British Empire in the subcontinent so there was really no pursuit of an independent foreign policy until India became Independent in 1947. On Independence with the advent of Nehru style of Politics, India was already in conflict with the newly separated Pakistan, while enmity towards Communist China was also increasing. These two factors started to define the first Indian Foreign Policy and they still do now 72 years down the line.

- The liberalization of Economy gave India the chance to open up to the world and forge new bi-lateral ties. In the subsequent years to this move, some key foreign policy decisions like Indo-US nuclear deal affirmed India's status as a rising power in the world to become one of the most powerful today.
- .” Nehru style of thought and Politics came with an understanding that India needed world peace for its economic development and he believed that India could play a vital role in establishing peaceful and prosperous relationship between all nations. This resolve and Political thought of Nehru made India one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement.
- The Non-Aligned Movement greatly benefitted India in terms of development as without supporting any power circle formally India could trade with both sides of the power sphere effectively and develop its industries, economy and infrastructure to alleviate millions from poverty that was left behind by the British after regime on Independence.
- Although a major deviation from the Non-Aligned Status of India during the Cold War era it came as a prelude to the much anticipated Bangladesh War of Liberation or Indo-Pak war 1972 where both China and USA affirmed strong support for Pakistan and no hesitation in invading the territory of India if the war broke out. The Indo-Soviet friendship treaty which didn't formally affect in anyway the Non-Aligned nature of India affirmed that if attacked, India would be safeguarded and helped by the might of USSR, this is what ultimately proved a major catalyst in India fighting and winning the war without any external intervention from either China or the United States of America.
- Although the Indo-Soviet Friendship treaty ensured sovereignty, protection and Independence for India, it came at a price of losing the premier standing and influence in the Non-Aligned Forum of countries.
- As the Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it started to pose numerous new challenges as far as Indian Foreign Policy is concerned. India began to adopt a more multilateral approach to its

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relationship and as the Economic Slowdown hit, it started to reform the Economy starting with its liberalization. This not only gave India an opportunity to engage with other nations on a diplomatic level but also on an economic which India viewed more important than forming Military Alliances. The policy of Non-Alignment got reflected even further in the Indian agenda as it started to engage with countries any and all. Perhaps the biggest examples of these engagements came with the starting of peaceful dialogues with China, rapprochement in relations with the US and a smooth transition to global diplomacy.

- In 2005, US made a clear exception and offered to supply fuel and resources for its Civilian Nuclear reactors, In 2006, The US Congress amended the US Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and India started negotiations with the IAEA over surveillance of India's Civilian Nuclear Program and finally following the recommendation of IAEA and the approval of France, Russia, and the UK, in 2008 Indo-US Nuclear deal came into effect.
- India of 21st Century is actively deploying a multi-directional diplomacy which the government itself calls "proactive and vigorous foreign policy, seeking to develop strategic partnerships with all the major powers in the world".
- Since the end of the Cold War, India has emerged as a Global Player which is still regionally struggling for Power and Influence. Though India has the potential to become a Global Power, but it will mean resolving all the issues with struggle for Power and Influence regionally and getting a hold of the Global Affairs by being considered an important global partner not only in terms of trade but also in terms of security all over the world and not just in the South Asian or Indo-Pacific Region
- The restructuring and reforming of the Security Council represent the core of the UN restructuring debate. A lot of experts feel that the current state of the UN Security Council doesn't match with the current realities of the world.

- There is an ever-increasing demand of increasing the number Permanent and non-permanent members in the UN Security Council so that it can represent the true demographics of the planet while being free, fair and democratic to the world as the most important functioning body of the UN, and being one of the prospects for the same, India with Brazil, Germany and Japan are the most vocal proponents of the same.
- India has been struggling with the problem of terrorism, specifically cross-border terrorism for years now. We can trace the terror struggle of India to almost the times of Mujahedeen training in Pakistan for the mission in Afghanistan, hence cross border terrorism is a major volatile issue of discussion between India and Pakistan which India accuses of being a safe haven and major funding country of terrorism. Although the threat of Terrorism and its hybrid forms is getting more and more real day by day, terrorism in itself is not a new concept. One has to go several decades to trace the first incidence of terrorism in India and this factor has made India a major proponent and contributor to anti-terror alliances around the world.

6.9 KEYWORDS

- **Non Aligned Movement-** The Non-Aligned Movement is an organization of 120 Countries which became active during the Cold War and sought to maintain a neutral ground by not engaging with any power block and maintaining peace
- **IAEA-** The IAEA or the International Atomic Energy Association is the premier world body that is charged with monitoring Nuclear Atomic Plants of countries in order to ensure nobody is producing Nuclear weapons illegally
- **ASEAN-** The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is an Association of Southeast Asian nations who sought to promote trade, partnership and security of the Indo-Pacific Region
- **Multilateralism-** Multilateralism means an alliance of numerous countries that want to achieve a common goal

- **GCC**- The Gulf Cooperation Council is a Council of countries that lies in the Gulf region of the middle east which sought to work for the regional peace, security and economy

6.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- From Chanakya to Modi, The evolution of Indian Foreign Policy by Aparna Pande
- Challenge and Strategy: Rethinking the Indian Foreign Policy by Rajiv Sikri
- Chaturvedi, Arun, Lodha, Sanjay (Eds.), India's Foreign Policy and the Emerging World Order, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1998.
- Grover, Verinder (Ed.) International Relations and Foreign Policy of India, Volumes 1 to 10, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, 1992.
- Girard, Michel (Ed.), Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy Making: National Perspectives in Academics and Professionals in International Relations, London. Pinter Publishers, 1984.

6.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What are the reasons for India emerging as a Global Player and What are the hindrances to its promotion to a global power?
2. How has the Indian Foreign Policy changed since the End of the Cold Warr, is it for the good or the bad, explain your opinion.
3. Why was it important for India to sign the Indo-Soviet Friendship treaty, what could be the consequences had it not be signed?
4. Does embracing Multilateralism mean the Indo-Russia relations hit a low? Explain
5. Why is Terrorism an important topic for discussion for India in International Forums? Is it fair to call out allegations on alleged terror funders? Explain your opinion

6.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your progress 1

1: Poverty, unemployment, low literacy rate amongst the masses was one of the biggest challenges of the newly independent India. (See section 6.2)

2: The principles were: (i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (ii) non-aggression, (iii) noninterference in each other's internal affairs, (iv) equality and mutual benefit, and (v) peaceful co-existence.

(See section 6.2)

Check your progress 2

1: It's one of the main financial backers of the UN and the world's largest democracy. It's the world's second most populous country and maintains one of the largest army in the world

It possesses nuclear power and has been elected in the Security Council seven times.

(See section 6.6)

2: The Security Council needs restructuring and re-constitution, so as to reflect the changed post-cold war power equations. Reform of the UN has a direct bearing on the established principles of the international system, the world order and the fundamental interests of humanity.

(See section 6.6)

UNIT –7 INDIA AND GLOBAL ISSUES: NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

STRUCTURE

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Nuclear policy of India
- 7.3 The nuclear deal between India and the United States
- 7.4 NPT and arms control policy of India
- 7.5 Initiatives related to regional non-proliferation strategy
- 7.6 Global policies on Non-proliferation
- 7.7 Let us sum up
- 7.8 Keywords
- 7.9 Questions for review
- 7.10 Suggested readings & References
- 7.11 Answers to Check your Progress

7.0 OBJECTIVE

The main objective of this chapter is to focus on the key issues of nuclear non-proliferation while explaining the stand of India as a nuclear state. India does not enjoy the position of NWS (Nuclear Weapon State) as of now especially because it has not signed the NPT (Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty). However, it is also important to explain why it refuses to sign it and what can be the implications of that not only for India but for the whole world.

: Another objective of this chapter is to make you understand about the global policies when it comes to nuclear disarmament and the issues that come while implementing them. It also highlights a few institutions and forums that are an integral part of the nuclear non-proliferation program.

: India has always tried to create an impression of a peace-loving country and it has also managed to do that with some effect. However, the perception of a common Indian need not be the perfection of the rest of the world. Therefore, this chapter also tries to bring out some points with a third or independent perspective.

: This chapter also explains the strategy of India for nuclear disarmament and the regional tension that forces it to take an independent stance in the world. Some of the points also explain the negative role of nuclear superpowers like China, Russia, and the US in nuclear disarmament initiatives or programs.

: This chapter also highlights some notorious countries like Iran and North Korea and the hindrance they bring while being a member of the NPT. It also explains how a country like India can take a better stance in the future.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Many countries around the world are nuclear states which mean that they own nuclear weapons and missiles of great power. These weapons are highly destructive and nuclear war can easily be the cause of the destruction of the human race. As a result, most of the nuclear powers and even non-nuclear powers have signed the treaty of nuclear non-proliferation. The members who are nuclear powers should avoid further testing and development of nuclear weapons and they must also try to stop the non-nuclear powers from learning and developing nuclear weapons. India was among the first countries that strongly condemned the use and development of nuclear weapons. It also has a glorious history regarding the nuclear non-proliferation since the leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru have always openly stated the danger that nuclear weapons pose to mankind.

There have been several turbulences around the world when we speak of nuclear energy and nuclear power. While nuclear energy can be really helpful for the development of several technologies and also satiate the future energy demands of the world. The world is already facing a crisis

regarding the non-renewable sources of energy and the fossil fuel shortage has been discussed on several global platforms around the globe. The nuclear energy can be the option or alternative for these non-renewable sources of energy and power but what we are speaking here is the development of nuclear power and technologies for the sake of weapons. Many countries try to establish hegemony on the other countries by claiming to be a nuclear power. One such example is North Korea which has always in and out of the NPT i.e. non-proliferation treaty. India has never signed the NPT along with countries like Israel, Pakistan, and South Sudan. India has tested nuclear weapons and missiles before but it has always maintained its stand to not use it first. India is committed to not use nuclear power against any country. However, it uses nuclear weapons and power as a sort of defense mechanism which prevents the other countries especially the other nuclear powers from attacking it. It proves to be helpful for a country like India who has not been in the best of terms with neighboring countries like China and Pakistan.

The tension of being a nuclear non-proliferated country is immense as the NPT countries try to pressurize these countries to be a part of this treaty. The countries that are nuclear suppliers have great control over the other countries as they can deny the materials, technology, and equipment needed for developing nuclear technologies and weapon. Therefore, India has been consistently making efforts to be self-sufficient in terms of nuclear power and energy. Nuclear energy is the fourth-highest source of electricity in India. Moreover, India has twenty-two nuclear reactors and eight nuclear power plants which make it a powerful nuclear state in the world. Despite this, India maintains its stand to be nuclear-proliferated country.

7.2 NUCLEAR POLICY OF INDIA

India has not been a historic developer of nuclear power as it started evolving as a nuclear power only after 1989. The first nuclear test was conducted in 1974 in India but it did not make any significant progress after

that as it had received tremendous criticism from the superpowers. However, it has been speculated that India was making development in nuclear technology discreetly till 1989. The neighboring countries like Pakistan and China were making fast progress in creating nuclear powers and India had to somewhat reluctantly enter the regime of nuclear proliferation. Even after 1989, the progress of India in terms of nuclear power was not visible as India decided to keep it discrete. However, after the Pokhran 2 nuclear test in the able leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the then India's Prime minister, India declared itself as a nuclear power which also received huge criticism from the other countries. Especially countries like China tried to corner India and tried to stop the supply of nuclear technologies to India. This had halted India's journey to becoming a self-sufficient nuclear state to some extent. However, in the last decade and a half India has made a slow yet steady progress in the development of nuclear technologies and energy.

Initially, there was a stiff competition between India, China and Pakistan as each of them try to outperform each other in terms of nuclear weapons. However, India has mellowed down a lot in recent years as it now focuses on increasing the potency of nuclear weapons instead of increasing the numbers. Therefore, we can certainly say that India has been making a smart decision in terms of the development of nuclear weapons. There are several factors which have proved to be hurdles in India's pathway in becoming a powerful nuclear state. The main reasons are other issues like poverty, unemployment, and political conditions which have not allowed the ruling parties to focus more on the development of nuclear weapons.

If nuclear weapons are basically political weapons, not usable in fighting wars, the logic of missile defenses appears tough to understand: clearly missile defenses are required given that one assumes that nuclear weapons are progressing to be used. However, national capital has pursued a flight missile defence (BMD) system since a minimum of the mid-1990s.¹² India's look for associate appropriate BMD system seems coupled to the expansion of Pakistan's missile delivery capability, as well as the transfer of Chinese missiles like the M-11. As with nuclear weapons, the look for a

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BMD system has continued despite changes of political leadership and beliefs in national capital. At numerous times, Bharat has wanted the Russian-built S-300, the Israeli-American Arrow, and also the US-built nationalist flight missile defense systems. Bharat is additionally thought to own a domestic BMD system indevelopment, engineered round the still under-development Akash guided missile (SAM). New Delhi's decade-long search has been unsuccessful probably as a result of Indian decision-makers haven't given ample thought to what reasonably system India desires. Indeed, it's not clear however missile defenses can work into the prevailing Indian nuclear philosophy. India's official nuclear philosophy has created no mention of a missile defense system, and it's unlikely that the war-fighting orientation of missile defenses can sit well with the political/deterrence driven sentiment that dominates the nuclear philosophy. None of the Indian governments that are in power since 1995 have given any reason why they need missile defenses, although the difficulty had created dissension among a number of allies of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government once it enclosed communist parties as a result of national capital has been seeking to shop for a US-built system supported the nationalist PAC-3. so India's read of nuclear weapons suggests a part of inconsistency: nuclear weapons are essentially political weapons and unusable militarily by Bharat, however different states would possibly not be as restrained. As a consequence, Bharat each opposes the unfold of nuclear weapons and pursues BMDs.

Currently, India is on par with Pakistan in terms of nuclear power but it was still much catching up to do when we look at the countries like Russia, USA or China. China has been a rival country to India since ages and the capacity of India to target certain regions of China through nuclear weaponry is still not up to the mark. However, that does not mean that India is a weak country. It has been developing all on the fronts and economic growth of the country has been steady in the last decade. Therefore, we can expect India to grow in terms of nuclear power in the future and whether the outlook of the

other countries towards India changes after that or not is an interesting aspect to observe. As a result, we can expect the country to be a dominant nuclear power in the coming years and it might enhance its nuclear strength both in terms of quality and quantity. Currently, India does not look too keen on improving its nuclear weapons but we cannot deny the fact that it is a force to reckon with.

7.3 THE NUCLEAR DEAL BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES

India did not sign the treaty of nuclear non-proliferation at any point. However, it signed the nuclear deal with the United States on August 2008. It has great importance in the history of nuclear power development as it changed the perception of the world about India in terms of nuclear strategies. Initially, India was not succumbing to the pressure of nuclear superpowers but with the nuclear deal, India returned on its initial stand of cooperating with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. However, it does not mean that India gave up on its decision of developing nuclear weapons. It still can very much develop nuclear weapons but as per this deal, India did compromise on some of the imports that are crucial for the creation of nuclear weapons after the nuclear deal. This can also be viewed as a good move for India as it allowed the country to become self-sufficient by improving its domestic nuclear technology production.

Initially, it was decided that India will give up on some of the international nuclear imports. However, after some years the safeguards got revamped from partial to full in the international scene. It meant that India could no longer import nuclear technology or equipment from other countries unless it stopped the production of nuclear weapons. Therefore, India could have either given up its nuclear weapon development program or it would have to give up the import of nuclear technology from the rest of the world. India took a brave stand and decided to continue with the nuclear weapon development program without seeking any help from nuclear commerce. The nuclear deal gave India a chance to develop nuclear weapons while

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maintaining its tie-ups with global nuclear commerce. India was growing at a great pace especially when it came to economic development. It was pressurizing India as its energy requirements were also growing at an exponential rate. This deal allows India to import important nuclear technology from countries like Russia and France for satisfying its energy requirements. However, these nuclear technologies will be civilian which means that they cannot support India's nuclear weapon development program.

The nuclear deal did not curtail the capacity of our country to produce nuclear weapons. Way back in the 1980's India only had a few nuclear weapons or warheads. This number is expected to have reached 120 by 2019. However, some believe that the number is much lower. However, that does not mean that India did not grow its nuclear power due to shortage of resources. Some experts believed that India could use the nuclear fuel that it will receive after nuclear deal to suffice the energy requirements where the domestic production could be used for the development of weapons. However, it is not completely true. India has major stockpiles of nuclear fuel which is estimated to be about one ton. If it was really interested in growing its nuclear armament it would have done it much earlier without the assistance of international nuclear fuel. From these statements, we can conclude that India has chosen to produce lesser nuclear weapons even after having sufficient stock of the resources. This also means that India thinks that producing more nuclear warheads is a waste of time especially since it might not be useful for anything except for increasing its deterrence among the other nations.

Check your progress 1

Note: Please use the bellow given space

1. What was the nuclear deal signed between India and US?

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2. Give details about the Pokhran Test.

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7.4 NPT AND ARMS CONTROL POLICY OF INDIA

India has remained a nuclear power despite efforts of the other countries to make it a non-nuclear power. While it did not sign the NPT, it also did not expedite the process of nuclear weapon development. It maintained its stands of not using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states and also stated that India will not be the first country to use a nuclear weapon against anyone. There was another reason why India did not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. India did not get any assurance regarding nuclear cover at times of need. India has maintained good relations with superpowers like Russia and the United States. However, still it was not able to get their assurance of backup nuclear power or even the deterrence cover was not provided by these superpowers. Therefore, India continued in its stand though its reputation of a responsible nuclear state improved over the years. India has been able to protect its nuclear technology from intervention and its ability to do that is much better than those countries who boast about being nuclear superpowers.

India's nuclear strategy has been a complex one especially since it neither signs the NPT nor does it follow the nuclear weapon development strategy aggressively. Instead, it tries to be a non-threatening nuclear power while maintaining its deterrence over the other nuclear powers. The Indian government over the years have said that every nation has the right to be secure its country through any means. However, they have also said that the countries who have not signed the NPT should act responsibly and stop misusing their nuclear weapons. In short, India has created a good reputation

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among the countries by being the nation that sticks to its words of spreading peace in the world while it also subtly supports those countries that are not succumbing to the pressure of nuclear superpowers.

On the contrary, countries like Iran or say North Korea has already signed the NPT. However, they do not oblige to it nor they do act responsibly. India is much peaceful than these countries if we consider the fact that it has never tried to boast of its nuclear power nor has it tried to threaten any country based on a nuclear attack.

We all know that India has never signed the NPT. However, it does not mean that it opposes it. India has been a supporter of many clauses of the NPT but it also argues that the strategy of the members of the nuclear club is not perfect. India thinks that it is not only necessary for the nuclear club to stop the spread of nuclear technology in the non-nuclear states but the nuclear club must also try to expand its nuclear power. It means that the nuclear powers those who are part of the nuclear club must increase their nuclear power while curtailing the spread of nuclear technology in the non-nuclear nations.

India should continue on its policy of disarmament while maintaining its stand of not signing the NPT. However, this is a tricky position especially since the Nuclear Weapon States, i.e. NWS will deny a position of NWS to India even after signing the NPT. This means that India will have to accept the status of NNWS i.e. Non-nuclear Weapon States after signing the NPT. There is no change that India will accept this position. However, it is expected to play a pivotal role in bringing up new ideas and ways to implement the NPT. The trend of nuclear disarmament can be seen in India's current strategy of not to expand its nuclear arsenal rapidly. Therefore, it is very much adhering to the rules and conditions of NPT despite being a non-NPT country.

Many countries think that India's idea of disarmament is just to avoid signing the NPT. India as a country has to deal with many other issues and the development of tactical nuclear weapons by its neighboring country

Pakistan is certainly increasing its unrest. It means that instead of going for long-range nuclear warheads and ballistic missiles, it is focusing on the development of short-range tactical missiles. This directly means that it is targeting India. This creates many issues for India. It can neither adhere to the guidelines of NPT nor can it follow the policy of disarmament with a complete heart.

As per the policy of nuclear disarmament, a country has to move towards complete reduction of nuclear warheads and weapons. This ensures that the countries can maintain their security while maintaining their approach towards the NPT regime. Currently, the NPT members are trying their best to implement their policies across the world and many countries are supporting them for this cause. However, a country like India can become the leader of the non-NPT countries by talking and discussing their security issues. Also, with its economic growth, India will be able to focus more on the development of nuclear energy. India can produce nuclear fuel in huge quantities on its own but it is still not able to develop its nuclear equipment and technologies as it should. The pressure of the NWS nations is further making it hard for India to pursue its goal of becoming a nuclear superpower. The strength of India is negligible if we compare the strength of other nuclear nations but the economy and impact of India on the global front cannot be undermined. The United Nations understands that cooperation of India is a must in these matters as there are many countries those who look up to India. Therefore, India needs to take a wise stand on these issues and must be prepared to emerge as a powerful nuclear state.

Check your progress 2

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1. Explain NPT.

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7.5 INITIATIVES RELATED TO REGIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION STRATEGY

The global initiatives to support the cause of nuclear non-proliferation might not be good enough to handle regional uncertainties on many occasions. Therefore, it is sometimes necessary to focus on regional nuclear measures more than global initiatives. Several countries have agreed to be a part of such a regional non-proliferation strategy. One idea is to create Nuclear Weapon Free Zones i.e. NWFZ around the world. This means that even the South Asian countries like India have to be a part of these initiatives. However, the move of India to not support these initiatives has been quite a remarkable and surprising one. History has that India does not support any initiatives taken on the global front unless and until it understands it completely. Therefore, this decision of India can be seen in that perspective. However, that does not mean that India is not willing to participate in nuclear disarmament policies actively. By supporting initiatives like the Bangkok treaty it has proven that it still maintains its stand on nuclear issues.

What is Bangkok treaty?

On March 1997, ten South Asian countries including Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Laos, etc. decided to create a nuclear-free zone. This treaty meant that these ten countries will not participate in any nuclear activities and will not allow anyone to use their land, water, and air to perform nuclear tests. This is a very good initiative that was welcomed with all the countries including the superpowers. However, countries like India, Pakistan, and China were not able to participate in this treaty due to the ongoing regional tension and security issues among them. A good part is that India is still supporting the Bangkok treaty and it shows that India always welcomes good initiative irrespective of its size and scale.

Russia, USA, China, France, and the United Kingdom are the five NWS states that dictate most of the policies of the NPT. These countries have not supported the NWFZ as much as they should. This has created a state of confusion among the other regions of the world that are planning to undertake similar initiatives. The main reason for this that even if these regions adopt the NWFZ strategy, they are likely to have less control over the implementation of the rules. Also, the rules and policies that govern these strategies might not be as effective as the rules and policies of the NPT. Moreover, these regions fail to implement the rules and policies, it means that they will be the target for many notorious countries. Therefore, instead of contributing to the global initiatives of nuclear non-proliferation, they would suffer or be the cause of nuclear proliferation. India's stand to not support all the regional initiatives shows that it has a deep understanding of various nuclear issues and therefore it certainly has shown maturity on several occasions.

Nuclear weapon-free zones will make the regions vulnerable to the outside world. For example, if India accepts to be a part of the Bangkok treaty then it will become vulnerable in front of neighboring countries like Pakistan and China. Moreover, it will create a misbalance in the region which might result in drastic situations in the respective regions. Moreover, China will not agree to be a part of this treaty because this will make it vulnerable in front of the United States with which it is competing. Also, it cannot maintain its deterrence over the region if it accepts to be a part of the Bangkok or any other NWFZ initiative. Pakistan cannot involve in such initiatives because its government is not fully under its control. This might create an internal conflict in the country and it will also become vulnerable before a more powerful country like India.

It is also a fact that these initiatives have not proved to be effective over the years. Also, there is no proven track record which might inspire countries like India to take part in developing nuclear-weapon-free zones as of now. However, that does not mean that India or any other country might not entertain this in the future. A better idea is to cut down the development of

long-range missiles across the world and then these countries can entertain such ideas. It is not as easy as it seems to be. Countries like Russia and the United States have developed long-range nuclear warheads to such an extent that they will not agree to this. Moreover, it will make them vulnerable to the neighboring countries and they will not enjoy the dominant position as they do now.

7.6 GLOBAL POLICIES ON NON-PROLIFERATION

The global policies on non-proliferation revolve around disarmament of arms and institutions that are related to nuclear weapon development. However, it is not easy without the consistent support of all the nations especially those that have nuclear weapons. A CD i.e. Conference of Disarmament has been formed to work on lowering the development of nuclear weapons. However, the Conference of Disarmament works on the principle of consensus. This means that no initiative can be taken or no rule can be formed unless all the members agree to them. By now you would have already gauged that it is hard to form a consensus between different countries especially since most of them will be competing to achieve an edge over each other for nuclear power. This has made it very hard for the CD to function properly since decades which has created a kind of deadlock. However, the rule of consensus will remain effective since it is in the better interest of all the nations. As a result, we can say that the global policy of nuclear arms disarmament is itself not working smoothly as it should have been. This gives more opportunities to those countries who do not want to participate actively in the initiatives which mean that those countries that are not a part of NPT might be able to continue their nuclear power aspirations in the future as well.

We all know how a nuclear fission chain reaction can create thousands of times more nuclear energy than a simple nuclear reaction. Therefore, to curtail such reactions fissile materials were discovered. The fissile materials

were capable of stopping or controlling a nuclear fission chain reaction which makes it an essential step to control international nuclear armaments. However, due to the deadlock of the CD, it is impossible to implement the FMCT i.e. Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty. There are different kinds of negotiations in this treaty and different countries have different opinions and views about it. Therefore, it would be hard to have a consensus of this issue too which means that the existing forums would prove to be incapable of driving the global resolve of reducing the nuclear armament.

Some arms control initiatives have been developed outside of the Conference of Disarmament. If the CD remains dysfunctional and indecisive as it is today then changes of formation of other forums can be increased. However, CD still is the only forum that can carry out the negotiations related to the nuclear arms. Also, the negotiations have been completed outside CD are still not very effective because most of the nuclear superpowers will not participate in it. For example, Convention of Cluster Munitions and such other negotiations took place outside the Conference of Disarmament but none of the nuclear superpowers were a part of it. It means that those countries that have nuclear power remained out of it. Now you can imagine the effectiveness of such negotiations. The negotiations that are completed outside the CD can prove to be effective in case all the other countries come together and pressurize the superpower i.e. the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS). However, even if that happens, it is not possible that the nuclear superpowers will succumb to any kind of pressure since they are too powerful both in terms of economy and nuclear strength. Most of the hurdles are created by nuclear superpowers because they get too easily distracted with each other's intervention. The issues between these countries itself is a reason why the global nuclear disarmament policy is dysfunctional.

There are few forums on which these issues can be discussed but these forums are more like debates and the global policies of nuclear disarmament cannot be exercised through these forums. However, some committees and forums have proved to be quite effective in the last few years. For example,

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the UN Disarmament Commission provides a platform for open discussion where each country can provide its opinion and suggestions to break the deadlock and this can help the global nuclear disarmament resolution in a great way.

The issues of these forums also create issues for setting up the nuclear non-proliferation regime. This includes the NPT as well and therefore both the NNWS and NWS must find concrete solutions to minimize these issues. Also, NPT has tasted real success when it comes to curbing the spread of nuclear weapons in NNWS countries. However, it has not been able to stop the expansion of nuclear technologies and armaments. We must also acknowledge that some of the nuclear-weapon states that came into existence after the NPT was not a part of the treaty. The exception here is only North Korea. North Korea not only indulged in developing nuclear arms but it also withdrew its participation in the treaty shortly after that. This is not a good sign for the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. If more countries such as Iran follow the footsteps of North Korea then sustaining the NPT would be a hard task.

Countries like India, Israel, South Sudan, etc. that are not a part of the NPT also create pressure around those countries who have signed the NPT. This means that the security challenges faced by the nations that have signed the NPT will force them to either withdraw their participation or they can start developing their nuclear weapons secretly. These countries will be mostly NNWS and therefore violating the NPT would not be such a big deal for them. On the other hand, countries like India that supports the NPT will outside will itself not pose a big issue but it will encourage other countries to copy its stand. This will only weaken the treaty and stopping the growth of nuclear arms would prove to be impossible.

It is a known fact that the nuclear non-proliferation forms themselves do not have the necessary resources or power to monitor the nuclear activities that

have been carried around the world. A country like the United States does most of its work and the issue of non-compliance largely depends on the way it conducts its strategies and council meetings. On the other hand countries like Russia are a part of the NPT or any nuclear disarmament program only because it sits on a pile of nuclear weapons. Therefore, the chances of it doing the monitoring and another type of work are weak. Currently, most of the issues are faced due to non-compliant countries like Iran and North Korea. Also, countries like Russia and China do not have a hard-hitting approach like that of the United States. They vehemently voice their opinions against the US because they even want to showcase their deterrence on such initiatives. This creates a sense of reluctance in the other countries and they either move away from the initiatives or become a part of it but continue the growth of nuclear weapons secretly.

An example of such a country can be India as the other countries perceive it. However, the strengthening of the ties between India and the United States in the recent past have proved that India is indeed following some of the guidelines of the US. The responsibilities of countries like China, Russia, and the US are much greater. They must ensure that all the countries follow their commitment towards nuclear disarmament. They must make sure that the countries can no longer boast of reducing their nuclear arms as their commitment towards NPT. The participating countries should also ensure that the other countries that are not a part of NPT or any other nuclear disarmament initiatives should be coaxed to join them. The NWS countries could destroy their tactical nuclear weapons to convince the other nations that they too are committed towards nuclear non-proliferation. A country like India should take real measures to contain nuclear armament around the world instead of just following the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

7.7 LET US SUM UP

India has never been a real member of the nuclear non-proliferation international program. It considers the NPT and such other regimes as

Notes

discriminatory policies that the nuclear-weapon states have incorporated. On the other hand, it is also aware of the growing threat that the nuclear arms pose to the environment and mankind. Therefore, it seems to be stuck somewhere in between. It is also true that the nuclear non-proliferation initiatives only help countries like India that have a little solution to work with when such treaties are broken. The only solution that could work in this scenario is that all the major nuclear powers in the world must come together. They must prepare a common minimum program that not only supports their interests but also works for the nuclear disarmament of the world. For doing that effectively, they must handle cases like the recent North Korea case with care.

If something like that will happen again it can set a chain reaction which can create a crisis for even countries like China that enjoy a far more better place in the nuclear-weapon states as compared to the United States. The role and responsibility of the United States of America cannot be denied but if countries like India and Pakistan support it then it will surely be able to work with much vigor and effectiveness. However, Pakistan is in no mood to support the US especially since the United States stopped its funds. Moreover, countries like India have good relations with both the US and Russia. This means that they can neither go for nuclear weapon development, nor they can play the role of a pious saint in this. Non-proliferation goals are not impossible to meet but they must also protect the interests of the country. A nation like India needs to make its ground in between all this mess or it might have to focus solely on getting the position of Nuclear Weapon State to break the hegemony of the nuclear superpowers.

7.8 KEYWORDS

Nuclear fissile Materials – Nuclear fissile materials are the ones that can contain a nuclear fission chain reaction by either stopping them or by

reducing their reaction rate. These materials usually sustain such the nuclear chain reactions with the help of neutrons of the heat or thermal energy.

Nuclear Proliferation – Nuclear Proliferation is any act that supports the expansions of nuclear weapons. It can be improving the nuclear arms, providing nuclear technology to a non-nuclear nation or expansion of fissionable materials or technologies.

Disarmament – Disarmament is the act that reduces or completely withdraws the use of weapons or military force. Here, in this case, nuclear disarmament means a reduction in enhancing the quality of quantity of nuclear weapons.

Convention of Cluster Munitions - Convention of Cluster Munitions is a treaty that has been approved by many countries and the country that have signed this treaty cannot use, store or transfer cluster bombs that spread sub-munitions over a region. Sub-munitions are the small weapons or parts of a large bomb or warhead.

Stockpiles – A large storage of goods, objects or materials that are stored to use at the time of emergencies. Here, it means a stock of nuclear weapons.

7.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) Did the Indian nuclear test trigger an alarm around the world that even the NNWS countries were trying to be nuclear states and did this strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime in the coming years?
- 2) Is the nuclear test of India conducted in 1974 at Pokharan the most misunderstood nuclear campaign of India in history or is the second nuclear test conducted in 2008 the most misunderstood if we consider the international perspective?
- 3) Is India's adherence to nuclear disarmament a result of international pressure and politics?

- 4) The nuclear test of 1974 had certainly helped Indira Gandhi's government to regain the support of the people. Therefore, was it a populist action just to earn the admiration of the public?
- 5) How can India improve its nuclear weaponry without spoiling its reputation in the world?

7.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Nuclear Non-Proliferation and International Security – By Shyam Saran –
(https://idsa.in/strategicanalysis/NuclearNonProliferationandInternationalSecurity_ssaran_0705) this article gives you an idea about nuclear non-proliferation and international security.
- India and the NPT After 50 Years - By Jayita Sarkar & Sumit Ganguly (<https://thediplomat.com/2018/06/india-and-the-npt-after-50-years/>) this article gives you a brief anecdote about India's history with NPT. It also has some really interesting counterfactual questions related to nuclear arms and NPT.
- India's nuclear dilemma – By PULKIT MOHAN (<https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/india-nuclear-dilemma-44593/>) this article has explained how India faces a nuclear dilemma and how can it revamp its future goals and plans regarding nuclear disarmament.
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation: An Indian Perspective – By RAJESH RAJAGOPALAN(<https://library.fes.de/pdffiles/iez/global/05793.pdf>) this E-book has everything that you need to study about India's nuclear disarmament stand and the global issues and policies related to nuclear non-proliferation.
- Nuclear India and the Non-Proliferation Treaty – BY Baker Spring and Dana Dillon (<https://www.heritage.org/defense/report/nuclear-india-and-the-non-proliferation-treaty>) this article is especially helpful if you want to develop a third-party perspective about India as a nuclear state and its strategy behind not signing the NPT.

7.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your progress 1

1. The Indo-US nuclear deal signed in 2008 does not stop India from producing nuclear weapons. As per this deal, India only has to create distinct facilities for civil nuclear requirements and military nuclear requirements. The US also has promised India to co-operate with India to develop its civil nuclear facilities according to this deal. (See section 7.3)

2. India conducted its first nuclear test way back in 1974. The desert of Pokharan was used for an explosion that had deafening volume and earth-shattering magnitude. By doing so, India becomes the sixth country to join the list of nuclear states which consisted of the United Kingdom, United States, China, France, and Russia. (See section 7.2)

Check your progress 2

1. The NPT has completed 51 years and India has not signed this treaty even once. Countries like Pakistan, Israel and South Sudan (that was formed in 2011) have also not signed this treaty as yet. (See section 7.4)