
FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA



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Determinants of Indian Foreign Policy

The Foreign Policy of India is determined by a number of factors or components. It is the result of the interplay of large number of factors that have affected its formulation in different ways and in different circumstances. These factors have been classified into Basic Determinants and Other Determinants by many writers. This has been done on the basis of the 'Importance' or on 'Stable-Variable Factors Classification'. No doubt Indian foreign policy has been influenced more by some factors and less by others.

J. Bandyopadhyaya, an authority in Indian foreign policy, in his work, 'The Making of Indian Foreign Policy' has classified its basic determinants as : Geography, Economic Development, Political Tradition, Domestic Milieu, International Milieu, Military Strength and National Character.

Besides these he has discussed the role of Political institutions — Public opinion, Party system, Pressure groups, Ministry of External Affairs, Diplomacy; and Personality as factors in the making of Indian foreign policy.

We, for the sake of convenience would classify and discuss the factors of Indian foreign policy under the following seven heads :

- (i) Geography.
- (ii) Economic Development.
- (iii) Historical and Cultural factors.

- (iv) Domestic Milieu.
- (v) International Milieu.
- (vi) Ideology
- (vii) Personality.

I. Geography

Geography is the foremost determinant of Indian foreign policy. The prediction that Lord Curzon made in 1903 has proved to be true. He observed, "The geographical position of India would more and more push it into the forefront of International affairs.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru too was fully conscious of the geographical importance of India. On 17th March 1950, in a speech in the Indian Parliament, he observed, "We are in a strategic part of Asia, set in the centre of Indian Ocean, with intimate past and present connection with West Asia, South-East Asia and Far Eastern Asia. Even if we could we would not want to ignore this fact."

Himalayas and the Indian Ocean are determining factors of India's security. To begin with, the Himalayas was considered to be natural security guard for India. However, in the fifties and sixties it led to a new security orientation in Indian foreign policy. To defend Himalayas came to determine India's security and defence needs and consequently her relations with other nations. It is a determining factor of Sino-Indian relations.

Similarly, being the largest littoral state of the Indian ocean area with approximately 3500 km. of coastal boundary, Indian security needs a strong and modernised navy as well as an end to the superpower rivalry in Indian Ocean. India's strong opposition to superpower naval bases in the Indian Ocean particularly to the American decision to develop Diego Garcia as a strong U.S. Naval base is governed by India's geographical position. However, the topographical nature of its long sea coast has not been very helpful for developing ports and naval facilities.

Location of India : India's strategic location has placed it within easy reach of many sensitive areas including China, South-East Asia, West and East Africa. "In practical terms," writes

Dr. Baljit Singh, "the nation and regions spell ambition and power (China) raw-materials and other mineral wealth (South-East Asia and East Africa) and oil and strategic location (West Asia)."

The development of relations with the nations of these regions and alertness towards the security needs of these regions as part of her own security consideration are the facts of Indian foreign policy that stand influenced by a geographical location. India's strategic location in South Asia, almost at the beginning of the Asian Continent (Ocean side) gives her a central position in Asian politics. Beyond the immediate regions, India is also on the trade route of Japan and the nations of western world. The Suez Canal makes it nearer to Mediterranean and European nations. Such a strategic location makes it imperative for Indian foreign policy to work for closer and greater economic, social, cultural and political co-operation with other nations. It has a strong bearing upon India's security.

The location of highest mountain ranges of Himalayas in the north limits to a very large extent India's trade with northern neighbour. The Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean on the other hand favour the development of oceanic trade.

Even in this era of sovereign equality of all states irrespective of their geographical areas, size of the state continues to be an important geographical factor of the national power of a nation. Large size affects the security needs and capabilities of the nation. Usually a large size is a source of large stock of natural resources. The two superpowers — USA and USSR are both large sized states. Fairly large size of India has an important bearing on the security of India and is a factor which helps India to earn recognition as a potential power in international affairs.

Similarly, nature of boundary is also an important geographical determinant of India's foreign relations. The impact of Frontiers on Indian foreign policy can be analysed in two parts : (i) Impact of Natural Frontiers and (ii) Impact of Unnatural/Man-made Frontiers.

I. Natural Frontiers. India has two Natural Frontiers : (a) *The Himalayan Frontiers* and (b) *the Indian Ocean Frontiers*.

(a) *The Himalayan Frontiers* : The existence of natural Himalayan Frontiers in the North has been a source of great

geo-political implications on India's foreign policy and her relations with many other nations. J. Bandhopadhaya has summed up the geo-political implications of India's northern frontiers (Himalayan Frontiers) as under :

(1) The Himalayas and the Karakoram constitute a great natural barrier on northern frontiers. This barrier is effective against the flow of trade and commerce but not against military attacks. In this age of jet travel and nuclear missiles, this Himalayan frontier is an exposed frontier. Its defence is a key factor in Indian security needs.

(2) The Tibetan Plateau is situated at a higher altitude than sub-Himalayan slopes of the Indian side of border. This situation is disadvantageous for defence operations of India.

(3) The importance of relations with Nepal and Bhutan has been largely due to their strategic location in the Himalayas. Particularly after 1962, Indian foreign policy has realised the importance of these Himalayan states and as such India is now more keenly aware of the importance of maintaining and developing more and more close economic, cultural, and political relations with these states.

(4) The defence of the Himalayan frontier is a big factor in Indian security planning. The continued stalemate in respect of Sino-Indian boundary dispute has particularly made it a key factor in Indian foreign policy decisions.

(5) The Himalayan and Karakoram mountains are common lines of defence for India and Pakistan. The construction and opening of the Karakoram highway by China-Pakistan has come to pose new pressure on Indian security. This has necessitated a more determined drive to normalise relations with Pakistan and China, as well as a stronger defence preparedness.

Thus, the Himalayan Frontier is a source of big influence on Indian foreign policy. In 1961, Nehru explained the great geo-political significance of this frontier when he observed : "If it is breached, the way to Indian plains and ocean beyond would be exposed, and the threat to India would then, like-wise, be a threat to the other countries of South and South East Asia. India's determination to resist aggression and retain her territorial integrity

is, therefore, a vital factor in the safeguarding of peace and stability throughout this whole area.”

(b) *The Indian Ocean* : India occupies a central and strategic location in the Indian Ocean area. Its national interests are inseparably linked up with Indian Ocean. A major part, almost entire load, of her foreign and coastal trade is dependent upon the freedom of Indian Ocean. Indian Ocean offers the most effective means of communication between India and most of the neighbouring Asian states and other important regions of the world. Indian foreign policy's goal to keep Indian ocean as a zone-of-peace free from superpower-revalry and cold war is based upon its importance for India. The security of India stands linked with the security of Indian Ocean. The importance of sea-based trade and security of India from the Indian Ocean side compels India to maintain a strong, modernised, well equipped and well trained Merchant Navy and Naval force. The geographic location of her Adaman Nicobar and other small islands further strengthens this need. However, because of limited resources at her disposal, India is presently depending more upon her diplomacy and less upon her power to keep the freedom of Indian Ocean.

Thus, Indian ocean frontier is a geographical determinant of Indian foreign policy. It is an important factor in the role of India in international politics.

II. Unnatural/Manmade Frontiers. Besides the Himalayan and Indian Ocean frontiers, India has a very large part of land-Pillar Frontiers, Particulary with Pakistan and Bangladesh. The problem of defence of these frontiers as well the problem of boundary demarcation have been a source of tension for India's relations with Pakistan and Bangladesh. India's relations with these two countries have been generally speaking, greatly influenced by the existence of unnatural frontiers. The existence of strained relation with Pakistan has been further a source of border tensions and even violations. India has to keep posted a sizable part of her military all along the Indo-Pak borders, particularly along the actual line of control in Kashmir. The Pakistani love for arms further keeps India engaged in attempts at modernising its military in active and weapon system.

Thus, the land frontiers, particularly the unnatural land frontiers have been important geographical determinants of Indian foreign policy.

To sum up, we can say that geography is an important, rather vital element of Indian foreign policy. Two of the major principles of Indian foreign policy clearly reflect the influence of geography.

The principle of Panchsheel stands for respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. Its emergence as a part of Sino-Indian relations tends further to reflect it.

Secondly geographical location of India has played a vital role in the adoption of and adherence to Non-alignment.

Close geographic proximity to U.S.S.R. and with direct and long frontiers with Communist China, its strategic location in Indian Ocean, Asia, South and the Eastern part of the globe and physical distance from America and Europe have influenced India's choice of Non-alignment as a fundamental principle of its foreign policy. Geography has influenced and helped India in keeping herself aloof from Cold War and its Power/Security Alliances. Thus, Geography is a vitally important factor of Indian foreign policy. However, it must be added that it has acted along with other factors in influencing Indian foreign policy and as such cannot be regarded as the determinant of Indian foreign policy.

II. Economic Development

A second major determinant of Indian foreign policy has been Economic Development. The economic condition of a nation is always a major determinant of its national power. Both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. have earned the status of being two superpowers in world politics, to a large extent, because of their strong economic position and high rate of economic growth. A foreign policy aiming at the increase of power must have a highly developed economy at its back.

Independent India found herself economically dependent upon others. Centuries of imperial domination and economic exploitation at the hands of the imperial Britain, and the lowly placed nature of its scientific and technological level made her a economically

backward nation. Problems like poverty, scarcity, underdevelopment, scientific, industrial and technological backwardness, etc. constituted serious limitations on India's national power. Making India play an independent and active role in world politics rapid economic development through the development of Agriculture, Science and Technology.

Economic underdevelopment was considered to be very harmful for India because it was a source of suffering economic exploitation and Neo-colonialism. The attack that Indian foreign policy has been making against the forces of Imperialism and Neo-colonialism has been due to her own sufferings under their yoke as well as due to her need to keep these evils away from independent India. The decision of Indian foreign policy-makers to keep India free from cold war and security alliances was also prompted by the desire to concentrate upon the pressing problem of economic development and to secure valuable economic and technological help from both the superpowers and their blocs. The adoption of two-tier economic system was to some extent, also influenced by the considerations of economic aid from the two superpowers. Initially India's trade with other nations was mostly with America and Britain and other non communist European nations. 34.7% of her imports used to come from U.S.A., 7.4% from Britain and 7% from West Germany. It was, therefore, essential for India to maintain and develop friendship with these nations. But at the same time development of trade relationships with the communist nations of Europe, Russia and China and now with Vietnam has been a necessity. Non-alignment was adopted also because of the need to develop trade relations with both communist nations. The decision to forge South-South Co-operation in the spheres of trade, economy and industry is governed by the desire of India to secure economic development through increased exports of Indian goods. India's decision to support the scheme for General Tariffs Preferences Scheme for third world countries (July 1985) is motivated by India's growing economic and trade needs.

After having briefly assessed the role of Economic Development as determinant of Indian foreign policy we can

analyse its full impact by analysing the role of the following variables of Economic Development :

- (1) Population
- (2) Natural Resources and
- (3) Technology.

(1) *Population* : India's overwhelming population and its heavy dependence on agriculture has been a strong economic variable of Indian foreign policy. A very large population, increasing at a high rate, has been a source of weakness for Indian foreign policy. Dependence of foreign aid and import of goods from other nations has been of big disadvantage in India's foreign relations. It has been indeed a big liability. With nearly 80% of the population living in villages and being engaged in agriculture, India still finds it necessary at times to import foodgrains for feeding her people. Even in 1983, American food suppliers came to India. Now we are importing sugar from other countries. Over population has been a source of slow economic growth and consequently a source of dependence upon developed nations.

(2) *Natural Resources* : In the modern age of advanced Industrial and technological development, natural resources constitute an important factor in economic development. Generally speaking, India's natural resources are diversified and relatively abundant with large deposits of coal, pig-iron and fairly good position in respect of some other industrial raw materials. India has the potential to be a self-reliant and developed nation. However, the slow progress towards fuller and optimum utilisation of natural resources has been a source of weakness. The dependence upon foreign technical know-how for the setting up a heavy industries has further been a source of weakness. The oil price hike in the International market and less developed nature of her own oil resources have been of disadvantage for Indian Foreign policy-makers. Dependence upon oil imports has been an input of India's West Asian and Middle Eastern policy. Nevertheless, the fairly good situation in respect of the existence of natural resources and the gradual but definite technological

and industrial advancement being registered by India can in the future be a source of big strength for Indian foreign policy.

(3) *Technology* : Technology is the application of the knowledge of science to practical purposes for promoting human welfare. In this age of technology, the level of technological development is an important factor that influences in a big way the foreign policy of a nation. At the time of independence India was a backward country with underdeveloped technology and low level of industrialisation. It was dependent upon other developed nations for the import of technical know-how as well as for the import of heavy machinery for setting up basic industries like steel plants. Consequently this dependence proved to be a source of weakness.

Gradually, however, India has been a position to register good progress in the sphere of technological and industrial development. Indian scientists have been successful in securing good technological advances for India. Industrial and technological advancement has now made India capable of exporting the know-how and help to the lowly developed nations of the Third World. With a large percentage of skilled manpower India has emerged as a potential power and it today stands at the take off state. With Rocket technology, Satellite technology Atomic technology and increased percentage of industrial output, India's chances of playing a more active role in international affairs have brightened. However, still there is a long way to go before India can hope to be a recognised developed country.

In fact there continues to be a big industrial and technological gap between India and other developed nations. India still is a developing nation and continues to be dependent upon the developed nations. Continued dependence upon foreign aid and loans, particularly from international economic institutions is a source of disadvantage for Indian foreign policy.

The recent I.M.F. loan, it is alleged by many, has been a source of American pressure on Indian economic policies. The imbalances in foreign trade too is source of concern for Indian foreign policy. The gap however can be narrowed down by a sound economic diplomacy. The consolidation of the Third World

and development of increased economic relations with the Third World countries can be a source of strength for India's needs for economic development. It is one of the main reasons for India's active leadership role in the struggle for securing the rights of the Third World. India's support for the need to secure a transfer of advanced technology from the developed to the developing countries is also motivated by her needs to have access to advanced technology.

Thus, Economic Development is one of the basic determinants of Indian foreign policy. Progress in this direction alone can make Indian foreign policy capable of securing the goals of national interest.

III. Cultural, Historical and Political Factors

Cultural Factor : The cultural values and traditions are always influential in the policies of a nation because the policy-makers in their attitudes, orientations and observations are always governed by these values. Indian foreign policy too bears the influence of India's cultural values. The importance that Indian foreign policy gives to world peace, peaceful means for settlement of disputes, mutual respect for each other's rights, non-interference and toleration towards others and peaceful coexistence, is due to the impact of Indian culture. Panchsheel is a major principle of Indian foreign policy and it clearly stands deeply influenced by Indian culture. Faith in Indian culture and pride in Indian civilization have been the sources of India's commitment to follow independent foreign policy and play a leading role in international relations.

In the words of N.D. Palmer, "Some of the characteristics and practices of Hindu civilization have a very noticeable influence on Indian attitudes and policies today. Among these are a kind of other worldly attitude towards life and an emphasis on non-material factors, and a spirit of tolerance, detachment, meditation and compromise which perhaps is best exemplified in Buddhism, an offshoot of Hinduism."

Indian desire to have friendship and co-operation with all the nations derives strength from the secular character of Indian culture.

(ii) *Historical Factor* : Further, the long and rich but complicated historical experience of the people of India has been a conditioning factor of Indian foreign policy. Having experienced the exploitation and sufferings under the yoke of British imperialism, Indian foreign policy stands totally committed to fight against Imperialism, Colonialism and Racialism. The support for solidarity with Asian and African nations too springs from India's opposition to imperialism and colonialism. The fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism can be effectively fought at the global level and hence solidarity with the victims of these monsters, is of fundamental importance to Indian policy-makers.

The historical links with Britain and other countries of the Commonwealth have been positive factors in the maintenance and development of relations with the Commonwealth countries. The impact of British Culture and tradition is again visible in the operation of Indian diplomacy.

The history of national movement, the ideals and principles that governed the Indian national movement toward freedom, the history of India's pre-independence foreign relations and the unfortunate effects of the partition of India have been highly influential factors in the making of Indian foreign policy. Relations with Pakistan and the consequent pressure on Indian foreign policy has been largely due to the impact of history of partition of India. Kashmir dispute with Pakistan has been a factor in India's relations with the super-powers. India's support for National Liberation Movement in Asian and African countries has been governed by the ideals of her own struggle for independence.

(iii) *Political Factor* : Indian political tradition too has been an influential factor of Indian foreign policy. The experience of Indians during the British rule has been its significant element. The quasi independent international entity status of India tacitly recognised by the British Government particularly after 1919, helped the process of origin of Indian foreign policy within, of course, the broad ambit of Britain's imperial policy. The experience thus, gained by India in the sphere of foreign affairs has been a helping factor in the making of foreign policy of Independent India.

Further, India's spiritualistic view of politics and power as reflected in the ideas of Gandhiji, Aurobindo and Rabindra Nath Tagore, has been instrumental in making Indian foreign policy adopt world peace, peaceful means, remaining aloof from power-politics, cold war and military/security alliances as the ideals and principles. Internationalism as an objective of Indian foreign policy too bears the influence of the Indian political thought.

Thus, cultural, historical and political traditions have been very influential in determining the nature of India's foreign relations and her foreign policy. Synthesis of the values of Democracy and Socialism during the course of her renaissance in late 19th and early 20th centuries has been a determinant of India's rejection of both Western model of Democracy (Liberal-Capitalist-Democratic system) and Communism. However, positively it has helped the Indian foreign policy to have faith in and to work for securing compatible friendship and co-operation both with the western democratic and the communist countries.

IV. Domestic Milieu

The linkage between the foreign policy of a nation and the domestic milieu is indeed deep. The nature of the goals of national interest that a nation tries to secure through its foreign policy are determined by domestic factors and it is in this sense one can say that domestic factors condition the foreign policy of a nation. Indian foreign policy is no exception to this general rule. Domestic milieu is an important determinant of Indian foreign policy. The cultural, historical and political factors can also be included in the study of domestic milieu of Indian foreign policy. Besides these principles, ideas and resolutions of the Congress, the impact of other political parties of India and the role played by Indian Civil Service in the making of foreign policy can be analysed as part of the domestic milieu. Along with this the domestic needs of the people of India have also been the determining factors of Indian foreign policy.

Indian foreign policy bears a clear imprint of the policies of Congress. Even before independence Congress was very active in expressing her opinions on international issues and problems. It was also vocal in specifying the principles of Indian foreign policy.

The foreign policy resolutions adopted by the Congress served as important inputs of Indian foreign policy. The broad-based structure of Congress Party provided the opportunity for various groups and people of different regions of India to fight collectively the struggle for Independence. This feature became responsible for the attempt of Congress to avoid extreme doctrinal ideologies or power groupings and adopt a composite outlook. Indian foreign policy too avoids the extremes of power groupings and accept the composite character of world and works for peace, friendship and co-operation with all the nations. The Congress ruling elite was also responsible for giving shape to the principles of Indian foreign policy. The Indian Civil Service and Indian Military elite too influenced the making of Indian foreign policy, yet their role stood overshadowed by the Congress and the political elite.

The problem of state-building that faced India after independence had an important bearing upon its foreign policy. The partition of the country and the communal riots which infested Indian social life in the mid-forties, the refugee problem, and the needs of socio-economic reconstruction, all combined to bear heavily on the task of policy-making. This demanded a full concentration upon the task of state-building. The need to integrate the princely states, to put into operation the democratic structure, to ensure smooth and stable administrative apparatus and to initiate the process of industrialisation and scientific and technological development weighed heavily on the minds of Indian leaders. Non-alignment, with its emphasis upon keeping away from cold war and power-politics was considered to be viable means both securing much needed foreign aid and help from all the developed nations and for giving Indian leaders the opportunity to concentrate upon the task of state-building. Thus, domestic milieu has been a basic determinant of Indian foreign policy. Indian needs, Indian conditions and Indian public opinion have been influential factors of India's foreign policy.

V. International Milieu

The Second World War had a big impact on the power structure at the international level. The decline of the power of formerly powerful European nations, the rise of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. as the two superpowers, the emergence of cold war and

the alliances, the emergence of Atomic Bombs, the rise of United Nations, etc. combined together to give a new look to the international environment of post-war era. The rise of India as a sovereign independent state in 1947 and the coming of successful communist revolution in China signalled the rise of Asia. It was in such an International milieu that India undertook the task of formulating her foreign policy.

The rise of America and Russia as superpowers and their attempts to consolidate their respective power positions through security alliances with their camp followers led to the emergence of bi-polarity in the International system. In this era both America and Russia, in order to strengthen their respective blocs started attempting hard to win over the newly emerged states like India. This international situation was a highly taxing situation for India and was beyond India's control. Indian foreign policy had to be formulated in such a condition of international milieu. India had only two alternatives : (a) To join any of the two blocs and be a party to the cold war, or (b) to keep away from the power blocs and the cold war. The second alternative was considered to be much more suitable for India's national interests. The decision to follow Non-alignment was based upon the desire to keep away from cold war, power blocs and alliances and upon the need to develop friendly and co-operative relations with both communist and non-communist countries. It was considered to be an appropriate and just policy for securing the objective of state-building, economic development, and effective participation in international relations without getting involved in cold war and power politics.

The decision to follow Panchsheel in relations with other nations particularly with neighbours like China was again determined by the environment in South Asia. The rise of Communist China in 1949, the Pakistani decision to join American Military Alliances in 1954 and the increasing superpower involvement in Asia further made it imperative for India to follow Non-alignment as well as to strengthen it at the international level.

The dependence of new states upon the developed nations and the continuance of Neo-colonialism and Imperialism through

new and subtle devices like foreign aid, cultural imperialism, control over foreign trade and international financial institutions like World Bank, were regarded as dangerous and harmful factors by the policy-makers of India. They came out to attack these evils through attempts to consolidate Afro-Asian solidarity and unity of the Third World. Indian foreign policy is playing a leading role in process of resolution of North-South conflict. It is championing the rights of the South, i.e., the developing countries of the Third World.

India has been an original member of the United Nations and has full faith in its ideals and principles. Indian foreign policy objectives include World Peace, International co-operation and faith in peaceful means for the settlement of disputes, non-aggression, rejection of war, support for Disarmament, opposition to nuclear weapons, etc. These are also the objectives of U.N.O. As such active participation in the activities and programmes of U.N.O. and other international agencies has been a fundamental principle of Indian foreign policy. The ideology of United Nations is the valuable input.

Solidarity with the developing nations, particularly with the Afro-Asian Nations, total opposition to nuclear weapons, remaining non-aligned but at the same time fully and actively participating in international relations, Panchsheel, opposition to nuclear weapons, particularly nuclear weapons race, development of warm, friendly and co-operative relations with her neighbours particularly with China and Pakistan, are major features of Indian foreign policy. Indian foreign policy has been fully alive to the realities of the international system.

VI. Ideology

The ideology of Gandhism, with its emphasis upon peace, non-violence, brotherhood of man, internationalism, and non-interference, in the affairs of others has been a source of big influence on Indian foreign policy. The Indian foreign policy objectives of peace through peaceful means and co-operation with all have clearly been influenced by Gandhism.

Coming to the particular ideologies, Indian foreign policy has been influenced by the ideologies of :

- (a) anti-imperialism
- (b) national self-determination
- (c) non-interference in the affairs of other nations
- (d) peaceful co-operation among nations, and
- (e) International peace.

The framework within which India has sought to pursue these has been Non-alignment.

Negatively also, India's rejection of ideologies of Western Democracy and Communism has been a determinant of Indian Non-alignment.

VII. Personality Factor

But for certain considerations, one would have liked to rename this determinant as Nehru factor of Indian foreign policy. After independence, the foreign policy of India was formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru and other Indian leaders. Nehru did a great job and as such can be described as the architect of I.F.P. Even after his death, the essential elements of his world view and his ideas remain the guiding principles of India's foreign policy. In many ways Nehru was instrumental in designing and laying down its fundamental principles.

Even before Independence, Nehru used to draft the Congress resolutions on foreign policy. He headed the foreign affairs wing of the Congress. As the Prime Minister of Interim Government he, in his speeches, clearly enunciated and explained the nature and shape of the foreign policy that India was to follow after independence.

After independence, Nehru was both the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of India. He got the first chance to formulate the foreign policy and he did the work most commendably. The decision to remain nonaligned, the decision to pursue peace, the formulation of Panchsheel, the desire for securing first the unity and co-operation of Asian Nations and then expanding it to the concept of Afro-Asian Solidarity, etc., were all due mostly to his thinking and his view of the world situation. He guided India's relations with both the communist and non-communist countries. He along with Nasser and Tito was the force behind the rise of

Non-aligned movement at international level and also for the origin of Afro-Asian solidarity movement. As a spokesman, not only of India but of the Afro-Asian nations, Nehru had considerable stature in the World. He came to be identified as an enlightened statesman of world and an effective bridge between East and West, the developing and the developed, and the old and the new.

Continuity of traditions set during Nehru's time has been a feature of Indian foreign policy neither because of the emotional attachment to Nehru and his ideas nor because of the facts that in 1966 his daughter became the Prime Minister of India and his grandson Rajiv Gandhi the Prime Minister of India, but because of the fact that principles formulated and adopted in the Nehru-era have served well and are continuing to serve well the goals of India's national interests. Nehru's speeches continue to be the reference works for Indian foreign policy students.

No doubt it was not Nehru alone who made, the whole of Indian foreign policy. There were many other influential leaders of India who made valuable contributions to the field of policy-making, yet no one can deny the important role of an architect that Nehru performed in the formulation of Indian foreign policy. Policy-makers after Nehru have been guided by the legacy of Nehru.

All this does not, however, mean that Indian foreign policy has been static and conservative. It has been changing and adjusting with the environment and needs and yet basically remaining within the broad principles adopted by it during the Nehru-era. Certainly, Indian foreign policy has left behind Nehru's idealism and is today much more realistic to the hard realities of international relations. It is fully conscious of India's global role, as a leader of the Third World, as a potential big power and as a recognised big power of South Asia and Asia. Successors of Nehru too have contributed a lot towards the operation and success of Indian foreign policy. The tree planted by Nehru has been properly and effectively nurtured by them. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has definitely infused a new dynamism in Indian Non-alignment as well as in India's relations with the two super-powers.

Q. 1. Discuss the basic determinants of Indian foreign policy.

Ans. Foreign policy is the Sum-total of the principles, interests and, objectives which the state formulates in conducting its relations with other countries. The principles are the codes of right conduct which are considered desirable in themselves, such as adherence to treatise and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Interests are what a state considers essential for its survival anti development, such as territorial integrity, improvement of living stare lords, and maintenance of a free Way of life. Objectives are, the more or loss precisely delimited interest, formulated in the circumstances in which the relations with another state are conducted.

The essence of Indian foreign policy is to safeguard the and integrity of the Country and to ensure for ourselves a position in which the, foreign countries will he prepared to co-operate with us. We can see an amalgam of idealism and realism in our foreign policy. In view of this we can analyse the various factors that have contributed in determining the bases of Indian foreign policy.

Firstly : The geographical factors, like the size and location of a country, its natural resources and the number of its population contribute to the power of the nation, which in turn shapes its foreign policy. As such, the geographical position of India doe s influence her foreign policy to a great extent. Geographically, India is so situated as to be the meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South-East Asia. India shares its boundaries with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Sri Lanka etc. For example—all the countries of South Asia which are the members of the South Asian Association for Regional co-operation have Common borders with India which is the biggest and the largest of all the member-countries of the

SAARC. Therefore, there are expectations from it as well as apprehensions of its dominance. Similarly, India and China are not only two most populous countries of the world but also have potentials to emerge, is middle level powers. Two such bordering countries can enter into co-operation or conflict depending on various situations including the decisions taken by their leaderships. In fact, India's policy of non-alignment is the result of its geographical factor. Superpowers, too have interests in India and her relationships with the neighbours.

Secondly : India's history is not very old but also complex. This history has given India a pluralist society and a value system. The writings of well-known modern Indian thinkers show that belief in ancient social values is still very much alive in modern India regardless of whether it is practised or not. Historically, India has always preached tolerance and compassion for all. Indian traditional wisdom has been influenced by the thoughts of great masters like Mahavir, Buddha, Kabir and Gandhi. So it is natural for us to lay emphasis on pacifism, non-violence, and co-existence in the field of foreign relations.

Thirdly : After Independence, India has developed agriculture and industry both. We cannot waste our precious resources on weapons of mass destruction. For, war act only diverts funds from development to defence but also affects foreign trade with neighbouring countries and foreign aid both of which are essential for development. Thus, the foreign policy has an impact on India's economic development. We have received economic aid from the development countries. It may encourage or discourage the flow of foreign private capital. It may through foreign trade policies and trade agreements, promote or retard exports with their impact on balance of payments as well as economic growth. So, the demands of economic development have been an important factor in the evolution of India's foreign policy of non-alignment as well as friendship with all countries for a lasting peace.

Fourthly : In the parliamentary democracy of India, since foreign policy forms an important segment of the public policy, the government seeks some autonomy from parliament. And

the parliament, as representative of the people has occasionally been a useful guardian in the formulation of our foreign policy. Public opinion, expressed through the press and studied by public opinion polls has had to be taken care of by the makers of foreign policy, Political parties have, of course, been keenly interested in foreign policy and no government, even one commanding a large, majority, can afford to ignore their view points.

Fifthly : As a matter of fact, in determining the base of India's foreign policy, the national interest is the top consideration. At the same time, being a developing country, India needs goodwill and help from the west as well. There is always a need for having friendly relations with the foreign countries. In this way, the national interest and security considerations have made it essential for India to remain away from the rivalry of big powers. Again, our foreign policy has been influenced by the ideals propounded by the great leaders like Nehru, Indira Gandhi etc. We have no designs against anybody, ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. We propose and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us.

Lastly : The domestic or internal determinants provide values and concerns for a nations (like India) foreign policy. The external environment provides the arena of action and broader global concerns and trends. India has chosen a policy of non-involvement in military and/or political grouping or blocs, and of involvement, in world affairs in the furtherance of international peace and freedom of colonial countries. Again India has linked her foreign paltry with morality and the ideals of the United Nations Organisation, Safeguarding the national interest is essential, but peace and progress are all the more crucial. Inspired by these ideals, the Constitution of India lays down in the Directive Principles that the state must endeavour to promote world peace and security and encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

The above, description of determinants of India's foreign policy makes it clear that our foreign policy has been a projection of the values which we have inherited through the centuries

and during our national movement as well as our present concerns. Like colonial powers and developed countries, India has not tied to the concepts of a foreign policy designed to safeguard overseas possessions, investments, carving out areas of influence and establishing domination over others, India's first concern is to safeguard its independence. She has equal interest in the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace as an essential condition of her economic, social, and political development. In short, the bricks and mortar of Indian foreign policy are history, geography, reason, science, culture, decency, tolerance, respect for others, co-existence and peace.

..... features of India's foreign