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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN A GLOBALISING WORLD

B.P.S.E.-142

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By: Anand Prakash Srivastava



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QUESTION PAPER

June – 2023

(Solved)

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN CHANGING WORLD

B.P.S.E.-142

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note: Answer any five questions. Select at least two questions from each Section. All questions carry equal marks.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. Elaborate the foreign policy of Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 6, 'India's Foreign Policy Under NDA-II', Chapter-5, Page No. 52, Q. No. 7, Chapter-8, Page No. 79, 'India's Policy towards Pakistan Since 2014', Chapter-9, Page No. 91, 'New Phase in Bilateral Relations'.

Q. 2. Discuss the objectives of India's foreign policy.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 27, 'Objectives of India's Foreign Policy'.

Q. 3. How did the end of cold war impact India-China relations? Elaborate.

Ans. In the post cold war era the Sino-Indian relation become more mature and practical. The process of engagement which began in the late 1980s further strengthens in the 1990s through a series of confidence building measures. This helped to reduce the cold war time misperceptions and distrusts as well as possibility of direct war. The India-China relations improved in the post cold war era as the all round cooperation in trade and other areas strengthened. There is a strong realization on both parts that economic development will not be possible without peace and only peace can serve their competitive ambitions of becoming 21st century global powers. China is focusing on military security, protection of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, economic prosperity, social welfare, achieving status of super power and modernization. For its economic development China requires an

international environment of long term stability and a stable surrounding environment.

Changing Chinese perspective toward India:

The Chinese perspective towards India underwent change in the post cold war era. Indian attempts to open its economy through its ambitious economic liberalization programme, its sincere attempts to economically engage with its East Asian neighbors, its emergence as a nuclear power, its progress in Information Technology, missile development fields, consolidation of Indo-US engagement drastically change India's image. These events compelled china to change its traditional mindset to underestimate India and orient china to pay more attention to rising India. China realized that sooner or later India is bound to emerge as a major power in Asia and a major player in the world on the basis of its increasing economic growth and military capabilities. At the same time it also realizes the conventional policy of containing India will not yield any result. Therefore, instead of containing India, China is trying to engage India. The change in Chinese perception can be attributed to several new developments both at regional and global level. Some of the reasons for changing perspectives are:

- Strengthening of Indo-US Relations in the post cold war era.
- The emergence of India as a nuclear weapons state,
- The steady economic growth with an average 8% annual growth rate, India's increasing ability to influence regional and global events,

- Indian's growing engagements with the regional and global powers,
- India's quest to become a regional super power,
- India's membership to several influential bodies

These factors impacted Chinese attitude towards India and made china to recognize Indian presence. The change in Chinese perspective is reflected on a number of issues in South Asia including China's blind support to Pakistan against India, Chinese stand on Kashmir issue, Chinese attitude towards other small south Asian countries.

Q. 4. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Gujral Doctrine

Ans. The Gujral Doctrine is a set of five principles to guide the conduct of foreign relations with India's immediate neighbours, notably Pakistan. These principles are, as he set out at Chatham House in September 1996.

As Prime Minister, he proposed the euphemistically named Gujral Doctrine, a revolutionary concept in Indian foreign policy. The Gujral Doctrine's basic principle was the non-reciprocal extension of advantages to neighbours, excluding Pakistan. There were five guiding concepts in the doctrine: (i) India will not expect for reciprocity from neighbours such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, the Maldives, and Sri Lanka, but would give everything it can in good faith. (ii) No country in South Asia would allow its territory to be used against the interests of another in the area. (iii) No country would meddle in another country's domestic affairs. (iv) Everyone would respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other. (v) All disagreements would be settled through bilateral negotiations in a peaceful manner.

(b) Act East Policy

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 108, 'The Act East Policy'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. Explain India's foreign policy in post-cold war period.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 31, 'Post-cold War Phase Goals: A Paradigm Shift'.

Q. 6. What is Belt and Road initiative? Explain.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 68, 'Belt and Road Initiative' and Page No. 70, Q. No. 4.

Q. 7. Identify the major issues in India-Sri Lanka bilateral relations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 94, 'Dimensions of Bilateral Relations'.

Q. 8. Write short notes on the following:

(a) SAGAR

Ans. Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) is India's policy or doctrine of maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean region. The policy was first announced by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on March 12, 2015. Although no single official documentary has been published regarding the approach of SAGAR there have been several initiatives and numerous maritime events that can be considered a part of it.

Vision of SAGAR: It was in a keynote address to the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) when Prime Minister Narendra Modi articulated a vision for the SAGAR initiative by stating that "Our vision for the Indian Ocean Region is rooted in advancing cooperation in our region and to use our capabilities for the benefit of all in our common maritime home" Based on this vision of the SAGAR initiative can be defined under the following terms:

1. Security: Enhancement of coastal security so that land and maritime territories can be safeguarded with relative ease.

2. Capacity Building: Deepening economic and security cooperation for smooth facilitation of economic trade and maritime security.

3. Collective Action: Promoting collective action to deal with natural disasters and maritime threats like piracy, terrorism and emergent non-state actors.

4. Sustainable Development: Working towards sustainable regional development through enhanced collaboration

5. Maritime Engagement: Engaging with countries beyond our shores with the aim of building greater trust and promoting respect for maritime rules, norms and peaceful resolution of disputes.

(b) 'New Great Game' in Central Asia.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 118, 'Geo-Strategic Importance'.



Sample Preview of The Chapter

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN A GLOBALISING WORLD

BLOCK-1 : INTRODUCTION



Evolution of India's Foreign Policy

INTRODUCTION

The development of India's foreign policy may be traced back to the pre-independence period, when the Indian National Congress resolved in 1932 to establish a foreign policy department under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru, with Ram Manohar Lohia as secretary. Given the complicated nature and functioning of international relations, no country in the world can afford to have an isolationist policy preference in its dealings with the rest of the world.

Furthermore, in India's instance, a variety of circumstances appear to have encouraged the government to develop a clear and comprehensive foreign policy. For example, the country's sheer size, rich diversity, historical and cultural ties, presence of a large number of countries in the near and not-so-distant neighborhood, and expectations of a majority, if not all, of Asian and African countries to provide a formidable voice to their concerns, as-well-as the leaders' global vision and outlook, have all tended to make the country an important player in international politics.

When examining the evolution and operation of India's foreign policy across time, two inter-connected patterns that served as signposts were observed. One, moralistic connotations and global concerns appeared to have taken precedence over the plain imperatives of national interests in establishing the evolutionary framework of India's foreign policy, particularly during its formative years in the post independence period. In other words, during India's early years, the idealism rather than the realist perspective of international politics was at the heart of the country's foreign policy.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

GENESIS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

During the lengthy years of British administration in India, the colonial authority had no qualms about

thrusting India into the whirlpool of world politics in order to suit Britain's national interests. To put it another way, despite not having much at stake in the workings of international relations during the first half of the twentieth century, India was constantly made a party to international relations, allegedly to reinforce the British position on key problems. This might be considered the first step toward the creation of India's foreign policy, since Jawaharlal Nehru began defining the Congress's position on significant international problems independently of the colonial government's declarations. With the growth of the national movement and the increased involvement of Congress in the management of the country's affairs, the stage appeared to be set for the country to play a larger role in international relations. In this regard, India's participation in post-World War II talks in San Francisco leading up to the finalization and signing of the United Nations Charter is instructive.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed interim Prime Minister of India near the end of colonial rule, his foreign policy viewpoints grew more crisp and unambiguous. For example, his utopian vision was at its peak in a broadcast on 7 September 1946 on the main guiding principles of India's foreign policy in the years ahead. He attempted to synchronize the country's basic national interests with the pressing issues of international politics at the time, so that national interests appeared hyphenated to more important challenges such as the end of colonialism, imperialism, and racism, as-well-as non-alignment with the power blocs and greater friendship and solidarity among the newly emerging nations of Asia and Africa.

Indian Freedom Movement and the Foreign Policy Values

The construction of an Indian worldview has been influenced by India's civilization ideals, philosophy and culture, as-well-as the history and heritage of the last many centuries. Of course, amid this long philosophical

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and intellectual heritage about India's place and role in the world, there are contradictions and difficulties.

In more recent times, British colonial rule influenced India's worldview in a number of significant ways: *First*, freedom fighters saw India's independence as inextricably linked to the liberation of all other oppressed people in Africa and Asia. *Second*, the Indian liberation struggle was founded on ahimsa, satyagraha, and swadeshi ideals. These articles of religion could not have been compromised by its foreign policy. *Third*, India's struggle for independence was a public movement. The fight for independence had united individuals from many castes, linguistic groupings, and communities into a one national movement.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 had created a tremendous deal of unrest among the people. Freedom fighters such as Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi saw the struggle for independence as a public movement.

Fourth, as a result of this protracted battle, certain principles evolved that the entire nation continues to appreciate today: Equality, non-discrimination, freedom, social justice, and development for all peoples and nations. In South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi watched racism and apartheid at work; he witnessed racial discrimination and inhumane working and living circumstances for Indian indentured labourers. India's foreign policy is guided by the values that emerged from the independence movement.

On September 7, 1946, while explaining India's worldview, Jawaharlal Nehru declared, "We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples." He emphasized yet another tenet of India's developing worldview, one that has remained a core tenet of Indian foreign policy since independence. "We totally oppose the Nazi philosophy of racialism, wherever and in whatever form it may be implemented", Nehru stated. During the civil rights struggle, the worldview created was one of active involvement with all people on the basis of equality, freedom, and sovereignty.

Indian National Congress and the Evolution of India's Worldview

The British colonial state apparatus, judicial system, all-India civil service and administrative structure, census system that enumerated different caste and religious identities, introduction of railways, postal system, taxation system, introduction of new agricultural crops, and establishment of textile mills and factories all contributed to India's unification. These developments aided in the development of Indian consciousness and the concept of India as a nation. The Indian National Congress was born out of this developing sense of national identity.

In 1919, Mahatma Gandhi supported the restoration of the Khilafat in Turkey. Mahatma Gandhi

coupled an international issue, namely the demand for the Ottoman Empire's Caliph to be restored, with the Non-Cooperation campaign, which was formed in response to British repression, including the Rowlatt Act and the massacre at Jalianwallah Bagh.

Mahatma Gandhi coupled the Swaraj proposal with the Khilafat demands during the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress in 1920, and approved the non-cooperation plan to achieve the twin objectives.

The 36th Annual Session of the Indian National Congress, held in Ahmedabad under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan, agreed to pass a resolution on foreign developments as early as 1921. On the occasion, Mahatma Gandhi observed, "Indeed, while we are maturing our plans for Swaraj, we must study and define our foreign policy." Surely, we have an obligation to tell the world what kind of relationship we want to have with it.

The Haripura Session of 1938 decided to enunciate and incorporate the two basic concepts, namely universal disarmament and collective security. These two concepts have remained the bedrock of Indian foreign policy for decades. The resolution stated: "The people of India seek to live in peace and goodwill with their neighbours and all other countries, and to this end, they wish to eliminate all sources of strife between them." A free India will gladly join such an order and advocate for disarmament and collective security.

NEHRU'S PERIOD

Jawaharlal Nehru is widely regarded as India's foreign policy architect. For a long time as the country's Prime Minister and first foreign minister, he gave such doctrinal and operational shape to the country's foreign policy that its effects may still be felt after more than seventy years of independence. There is a popular belief that Nehru was a true idealist. As a result, the foreign policy he envisioned for the country appeared to be more in line with his moralist worldview than with the country's essential national interests. Since Nehru had already stated India's strong commitment to Afro-Asian solidarity in the face of Western onslaughts, anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, and greater cooperation among Asia's and Africa's newly independent countries would have been a natural corollary of such a stance.

At the same time, international politics was troubled by the black clouds of the Cold War, which had begun to swallow an increasing number of states. In such a context, Nehru clearly teamed up with other countries, mainly Egypt, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia, to develop the Non-Alignment Policy. Non-alignment, in its broadest sense, refers to developing countries' autonomy in making judgments about global issues and difficulties, regardless of the stance taken by either of the two major blocs. In accordance with Nehru's

EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY / 3

conviction, the decision to send the Kashmir problem to the UN Security Council in 1948 was made.

In terms of India's ties with its neighbours, the theory of panchsheel guided India's foreign policy under Nehru's presidency. This policy enshrines five fundamental principles that will guide India's relations with its neighbors. Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; mutually beneficial ties based on equality; and peaceful coexistence are among these principles.

Nehruvian Consensus

The Nehruvian Consensus was based on the goals and principles that had emerged throughout India's battle for independence. Gandhi's worldview embodied anti-racism, anti-apartheid, and anti-imperialism ideals. Mahatma Gandhi saw political freedom as a vehicle for achieving moral and cultural liberation, as-well-as the regeneration of Indian society and culture.

Among the principles that came to guide India's relations with other countries were the strengthening of multilateral institutions and international law, collective security, diplomacy and dialogue instead of war and coercion, peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament, non-intervention, and respect for a nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Between the two world wars, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, and Rabindranath Tagore all closely observed the tremendous intellectual and political fight between democracy, socialism, and fascism. Between the two world wars, international relations were ruled by the use or threat of using brutal force; Nehru came to detest this type of brute power politics. Nehru realised early on that the conclusion of WWII meant returning to the same power politics rules and the use of force to settle international disputes. He recognized the same standards at work behind the emerging Cold War rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union, which explains Nehru's commitment to non-alignment.

Scholars disagree whether Nehru was an idealist who aspired to base Indian foreign policy on particular values, or a realist who valued diplomacy above all else in order to avoid the risks of the Cold War and a bipolar world.

For about two decades following independence, the Nehruvian Consensus dominated Indian foreign policy in terms of goals and methods, as well as India's worldview. In an era of bloc politics, arms races, spheres of influence, and proxy conflicts, India's worldview was driven by the Non-Aligned Movement. The Nehruvian perspective provided India with a pretty broad and cohesive understanding of international events and its place within them.

The 'Nehruvian Consensus' argument has yet to be settled. India's non-aligned attitude in the 1950s and

1960s was seen by some as highly pragmatic and profoundly realist. This was the best a developing country could and would have done when faced with the challenges of national integration, pluralist democracy, and planned economic development.

At a period when Pakistan was a significant member of the US-led Baghdad accord, India maintained relations with Pakistan without surrendering its position on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Nehru hammered out the panchsheel ideals with China, and the Hindi-Chini bhai bhai period served national security objectives.

The international scene had changed dramatically by the 1970s. For one thing, the international area in which Non-alignment and Nehruvian global diplomacy could exist had diminished. The Cold War had intensified, and the prospect of "mutually assured destruction" had emerged as a result of the nuclear build-up (MAD). The two superpowers themselves were hoping for a détente that would reduce their mutual enmity and rivalry. By the 1970s, India's domestic capabilities had also evolved. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, was a pragmatic and a realism practitioner. She discovered that things had changed; in the 1970s, it was the world of 'realpolitik.'

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY DURING COLD WAR

During this time, five Prime Ministers - Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh, and Rajiv Gandhi - were in charge of India's foreign policy. Shastri succeeded Nehru as Prime Minister of India after his death. Though Shastri's tenure as Prime Minister was too brief to have a permanent impact on India's foreign policy, his tenure was exciting enough not to be overlooked when evaluating the country's evolution. Similarly, given that Shastri was a member of the Nehru government, which had led India's foreign policy at the time, it might be argued that even if he had served as Prime Minister for longer periods of time, he would not have achieved big changes in the country's foreign policy.

As a result, Pakistan escalated a skirmish between Indian and Pakistani forces in the Rann of Kutch into a full-fledged war in 1965. In such a situation, Shastri shown remarkable heroism in boosting the morale of a demoralized Indian army, resulting in India's decisive victory in the war. Though the postwar peace talks in Tashkent did not go well for India, and Shastri died on foreign soil, his ruthless leadership of India throughout the war was legendary.

During Indira Gandhi's leadership, important departures with the Nehruvian Consensus, such as non-alignment and panchsheel, occurred in Indian foreign policy. Indira Gandhi proceeded with the conventional

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structure of conducting India's foreign relations after succeeding Shastri as Prime Minister of India. However, amid the unrest in then-East Pakistan and India's tactical response to those conditions, she became acutely aware of the limitations of Nehruvian mores in Indian foreign policy.

In 1971, India and the Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship. In accordance with the Treaty's stipulations, the Soviet Union came to India's aid during the Indo-Pakistan War and in the UN Security Council. Thus, Indira Gandhi ushered in a paradigm shift in Indian foreign policy by adjusting it to accommodate the country's national interests and moving away from Nehruvian idealism.

In terms of the country's foreign policy, the Janata Party's two years in power under Prime Ministers Morarji Desai and Charan Singh were mostly unremarkable. Although the Desai government declared its opposition to the policy of non-pro-Soviet alignment's bent after assuming power, it was unable to make any significant changes to India's foreign policy.

Similarly, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Charan Singh's government failed to take a firm stance on the issue since his own government's stability was in jeopardy. As a result, the conduct of Indian foreign policy during the Janata years followed the same lines as during the Indira Gandhi administration. Naturally, after regaining power in 1980, Indira Gandhi's foreign policy remained unchanged from her previous tenure. With Rajiv Gandhi's appointment as Prime Minister following his mother's assassination in 1984, India's foreign policy saw some cosmetic modifications. In reality, Rajiv Gandhi seemed to have a knack for resolving long-standing ethnic tensions both within India and in its immediate surroundings. While his term has been remembered for peace agreements such as the Assam Accord, Mizo Accord, and the 1985 Rajiv-Longowal pact to restore peace in Punjab, among other things.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY DURING 1990s

The 1990s were a decade marked by substantial changes in the worldwide landscape, which had significant ramifications for the evolution of Indian foreign policy. It began with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the shift from a bipolar to a unipolar world political environment.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty has given India with a security shield. With the Soviet Union defunct, P V Narasimha Rao's administration faced intense US pressure to destroy its nuclear and missile programmes. Thus, during Narasimha Rao's term, India's foreign policy was constantly pressed by the United States, to which it yielded more often than not. Globalization had

become universal; countries were liberalizing their economies and allowing more market forces to play a role through the privatization process. There was no other option for India than to drive its economy forward through Liberalization, Privatization, and Globalization (LPG).

The Rao government took a huge stride forward in foreign economic strategy when it announced the "Look East" policy. A liberalizing Indian economy needed to engage closely with the dynamic economies of Southeast Asia and East Asia in the age of economic globalization.

India was likewise pressured to scale back its nuclear development. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Fissile Material Control Treaty (FMCT) were co-sponsored by India and the United States (FMCT). Rao's term is significant since it marked the first time that India and the United States collaborated on defence issues.

In India, the second half of the 1990s was marked by coalition governments. The May 1996 general election resulted in three unstable coalition governments led by three prime ministers. As a result, this period could be considered a period of exceptional continuity in India's foreign policy. In May 1996, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee created a government that lasted barely 13 days. Prime Ministers Deve Gowda (June 1996-April 1997) and I. K. Gujral (April 1997-March 1998) led united front governments that lasted fewer than two years. They allegedly lacked the understanding or natural intelligence to effect any creative changes in the country's foreign policy. Foreign policy has followed the same routines as in the past, with the same goals in mind.

As Prime Minister, he proposed the euphemistically named Gujral Doctrine, a revolutionary concept in Indian foreign policy. The Gujral Doctrine's basic principle was the non-reciprocal extension of advantages to neighbours, excluding Pakistan. There were five guiding concepts in the doctrine: (i) India will not expect for reciprocity from neighbours such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, the Maldives, and Sri Lanka, but would give everything it can in good faith. (ii) No country in South Asia would allow its territory to be used against the interests of another in the area. (iii) No country would meddle in another country's domestic affairs. (iv) Everyone would respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the other. (v) All disagreements would be settled through bilateral negotiations in a peaceful manner.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER NDA – I

In 1998, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and headed by experienced politician Atal Bihari Vajpayee came to power. Vajpayee headed three NDA governments in a