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India & World

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Chapter 1

Democracy in India

Democracy is a form of government in which people are governed by their own elected representatives. It is a government of the people, for the people and by the people. In this system of government, it is the people who are supreme and sovereign. They control the government. They are free to elect a government of their own choice. Freedom of choice is the core of democracy.

Democracy existed in ancient Greek and Roman republics but with little success. It had very little scope in ancient India. Democracy entered its golden stage in the twentieth century. Many countries in the world today follow the democratic form of government. Democracy depends on the following conditions (i) co-existence of ideas and of parties; (ii) the right to free discussion; (iii) universal adult suffrage; and (iv) periodic elections.

India is the largest democracy in the world. The Constitution of India was enforced on 26 January, 1950. It ushered in the age of democracy. India became a democratic republic infused with the spirit of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. The Preamble, the Directive Principles of State Policy and the Fundamental Rights reflect the Indian ideology as well as the caste, creed, religion, property, or sex have the right to cast their vote. After an election, the majority party or coalition forms the government and its leader becomes the Prime Minister.

Political parties are the vehicles of ideas. Parties act as the bridge between social thought and political decision in democracy. The Indian politics system is a multiparty system. However, gradually politics has become a game of opportunism and corruption. Most political parties are only interested in coming to power. Every party adopts different caste politics. Some try to influence the people through caste politics. Some try to raise the religious sentiments of the people. The Indian ideology today is replaced by caste and religion.

We enjoy every right in theory, but not in practice. Real democracy will come into being only when the masses are awakened and take part in the economic and political life of the country. There is inequality in every sphere- social, economic and political. Illiteracy is the main cause of inequality. The illiterate masses get easily lured by money during such an event. Also some of

our legislators have criminal records against them. The people who make the laws themselves break them.

Even after more than sixty years of Independence, one fourth of the population today goes to bed with an empty stomach, live below the poverty line without access to safe and clean drinking water, sanitation or proper health facilities. Governments have come and gone, politics have been framed and implemented, crores of rupees have been spent, yet many people are still struggling for existence.

Casteism today is more pronounced than it even was. Untouchability remains abolished only in theory with frequent newspapers reports of Dalits being denied entry to temples or other public places. Violence has been taken a serious turn in country, Bandhs, strikes and terrorist activities have become a common affair. Every sphere of national life is corrupted. Our democracy is capitalistic. Here, the rich exploit the poor who have no voice or share in the democratic structure. For a successful democracy, all these need to be checked.

But India, as a democratic country, has progressed in many aspects. It has achieved self-sufficiency in food grains as a result of the green revolution. People vote for change whenever a government fails to come up to the expectations of the people. India has been a successful democratic country only because the people are law-abiding, self-disciplined and have the sense of social and moral responsibilities.

For a democracy to be fully successful, the electorate should be literate and politically conscious. They should be fully aware of their rights and privileges. The illiterate masses of India should be given education so that they can sensibly vote for the right leaders. The U.S.A, Britain, Germany and Japan are successful democratic countries and have progressed in every sphere because the masses are literate.

There should be quality in every sphere of life. The politicians should also respect the true spirit of democracy. They should refrain from corruption caste and communal politics. The citizens should elect leaders with good moral values and integrity. People should be guided to choose their representatives. They should not be influenced by anyone in this respect. Individuals should learn tolerance and compromise and understand that freedom is not unbridled but dependent on not harming another individual's well being.

Democracy demands from the common man a certain level of ability and character, like rational conducts, an intelligent understanding of public affair, independent justice and unselfish devotion to public interest. People should not allow communalism, separatism, casteism, terrorism, etc to raise their heads. They are a threat to democracy. The government, the NGOs and the people together should work collectively for the economic development of the nation. Changes should come through peaceful, democratic and constitutional means. The talented youth of today should be politically educated so that they can become effective leaders of tomorrow.

India is the seventh largest (by area) and the second most populous country in the world, with roughly one-sixth of its population, of about a billion and a quarter. It is the world's largest democracy. It is one of the world's oldest civilizations yet, a very young nation. Elections to its Parliament are held once every 5 years. Currently, Prime minister Dr. Manmohan Singh is the head of the government, enjoying a majority in the Parliament, while President Pranab Mukherjee, is the head of state. India is a constitutional republic governed under the world's longest written constitution, federally consisting of 28 states and seven centrally administered union territories, with New Delhi as the nation's capital. The country has six main national parties: the Indian National Congress (INC), Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP). The Indian National Congress has governed the country for 3/4th's of the time since independence from Britain in 1947, under the de facto one party system and now, under the Dominant-party system. At the level of its states, many regional parties stand for elections to state legislatures, every five years. In rajya sabha elections will be held for every 6 years.

Factors affecting democracy

The success of democracy in India defies many prevailing theories that stipulate preconditions. Indian democracy is best understood by focusing on how power is distributed.

Religion

Religion as a major cultural influence plays an important role in politics. Political party support depends greatly on differentiating the electorate along religious lines. The major religious communities are those of the Hindus (although not a homogeneous block), the Muslims (again

they too are differentiated as Shias and Sunnis) and the Sikhs; and many political parties are identified by the religion of their supporters. Many national religious issues are the key points of the success in elections. Even some of the political leaders use religion for their own sake and as a medium for their political stability.

Caste

The caste system crosses religious boundaries to affect both Hindus people. Hindus have four main castes and hundreds of sub-castes. Many political parties draw supporters from specific castes or sub-castes. The four main castes are Brahmins, kshatriyas, vaishyas and shudras. Brahmins, historically, were the upper caste and presided over religious rituals. Kshatriyas were rulers and warriors. Vaishyas were merchants, businessmen etc. Shudras were the most oppressed and mostly worked for other castes and were involved in the so-called 'impure' professions like cleaning and handling of corpses.

Population

India is a second most populated country in the world, next only to China. The over a billion population poses a challenge to the state's ability to provide everyone with jobs, health-care, education and other public services. Slowing down the rate of population growth has been a major issue for governments, over time. India being a democratic country the ever increasing population can only be checked by voluntary means, with the informed consent of the people. With the current growth rate, India is set to leave China behind by 2020.

Development

India is still an emerging economy, setting the pace and shape of development. India began as an explicitly socialist nation and continues with a large public-sector and many constraints on private enterprise, although recent governments have reduced some of these restrictions. Their reward has been faster economic growth, particularly through the growth of trade-oriented industry. Some recent governments were voted out due to a sluggish economy.

Regions

India is very densely populated. Some advocate splitting some twenty eight states and seven union territories. It is the 2nd most populated country of the world.

Other factors

Factors such as education, corruption, women's issues, student politics, criminalization of politics, leadership strategies and the design of political institutions affect national and local politics. Some other factors such as the caste issue, environment policy, new long-term investment in the economy by foreigners etc., also have a bearing.

Thus, India's record on democracy can thus be fairly summarized as reasonably consistent. Her institutions have been mostly robust though they have also increasingly come under threat by personal greed and the collusion of powerful actors who seek to undermine the principles and robustness of these institutions. Yet, at the same time, in the wider society, ideas about democratic participation, the role of the electorate and the importance of a shared duty of citizenship are also vigorously articulated. In the end, it will be the challenges posed by this latter democratic politics of hope, mobilization, participation and justice that will need to overcome the demonic world of greed and power.

India's experiments of democracy have taught the world a number of lessons: the successful workings of coalition governments, the unpredictability of voter behavior, the importance of an autonomous and responsive electoral commission, and above all the possibility of political sophistication among the poorest people. It remains to be seen whether India can redistribute the fruits of its economic growth to the wider society and thereby serve as a unique model among the rising powers of combining economic democracy with a robust political one

Chapter 2

Indian Political System

Politics in India takes place within the framework of a constitution. India is a federal parliamentary democratic republic in which the President of India is head of state and the Prime Minister of India is the head of government. Nominally, executive power is exercised by the president and is independent of the legislature. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the two chambers of the Parliament of India, the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. Federal and state elections generally take place within a multi-party system, although this is not enshrined in law. The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature, the highest national court being the Supreme Court of India. India is the world's largest democracy in terms of citizenry.

India as a nation has been labelled as a "sovereign socialist secular democratic republic" which is "egalitarian secular". Like the United States, India has had a federal form of government since it adopted its constitution. However, the central government in India has greater power in relation to its states, and its central government is patterned after the British parliamentary system. The central government has the power to dismiss state governments under specific constitutional clauses or in case no majority party or coalition is able to form a government. The central government can also impose direct federal rule known as president's rule (or central rule). Locally, the Panchayati Raj system has several administrative functions and authorities.

For most of the years since independence, the federal government has been led by the Indian National Congress (INC).[1] The two largest political parties have been the INC and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Although the two parties have dominated Indian politics, regional parties also exist. From 1950 to 1990, barring two brief periods, the INC enjoyed a parliamentary majority. The INC was out of power between 1977 and 1980, when the Janata Party won the election due to public discontent with the promulgation of emergency by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975. In 1989, a Janata Dal-led National Front coalition, in alliance with the Left Front coalition, won the elections but managed to stay in power for only two years.[2]

As the 1991 elections gave no political party a majority, the INC formed a minority government under Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and was able to complete its five-year term.[3] The

years 1996–1998 were a period of turmoil in the federal government with several short-lived alliances holding sway. The BJP formed a government briefly in 1996, followed by the United Front coalition that excluded both the BJP and the INC. In 1998, the BJP formed the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) with several other parties and became the first non-Congress government to complete a full five-year term.[4] In the 2004 elections, the INC won the largest number of Lok Sabha seats and formed a government with a coalition called the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), supported by various parties.[5] In the 2009 Lok Sabha elections, the INC won with a majority of more than 200 seats and formed the government by creating a coalition with other parties which were willing to form alliance with it.

Indian democracy has been suspended once.[6] Nevertheless, Indian politics is often described as chaotic. More than a fifth of parliament members face some criminal charges and around 40 of them are accused with serious criminal charges.

Local governance

Panchayati Raj

On April 24, 1993, the Constitutional (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 came into force to provide constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj institutions. This Act was extended to Panchayats in the tribal areas of eight States, namely Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan from 24 December 1996.

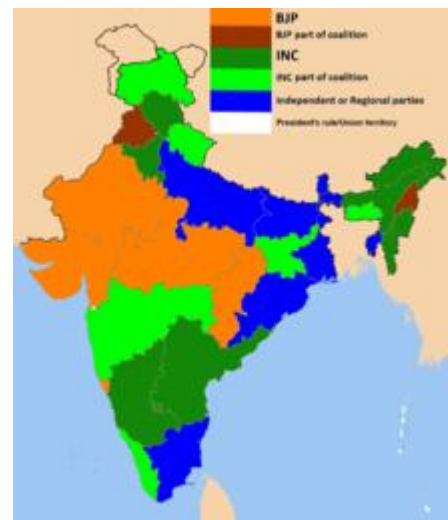
The Act aims to provide 3-tier system of Panchayati Raj for all States having population of over 2 million, to hold Panchayat elections regularly every 5 years, to provide reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Women, to appoint State Finance Commission to make recommendations as regards the financial powers of the Panchayats and to constitute District Planning Committee to prepare draft development plan for the district.

Role of political parties

For other political parties see List of political parties in India. An overview on elections and election results is included in Elections in India.

As with any other democracy, political parties represent different sections among the Indian society and regions, and their core values play a major role in the politics of India. Both the executive branch and the legislative branch of the government are run by the representatives of the political parties who have been elected through the elections. Through the electoral process, the people of India choose which representative and which political party should run the government. Through the elections any party may gain simple majority in the lower house. Coalitions are formed by the political parties, in case no single party gains a simple majority in the lower house. Unless a party or a coalition have a majority in the lower house, a government cannot be formed by that party or the coalition.

India has a multi-party system, where there are a number of national as well as regional parties. A regional party may gain a majority and rule a particular state. If a party is represented in more than 4 states, it would be labelled a national party. Out of the 66 years of India's independence, India has been ruled by the Indian National Congress (INC) for 53 of those years.



Indian state governments led by various political parties as of March 2009.

The party enjoyed a parliamentary majority save for two brief periods during the 1970s and late 1980s. This rule was interrupted between 1977 to 1980, when the Janata Party coalition won the election owing to public discontent with the controversial state of emergency declared by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The Janata Dal won elections in 1989, but its government managed to hold on to power for only two years.

Between 1996 and 1998, there was a period of political flux with the government being formed first by the nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) followed by a left-leaning United Front coalition. In 1998, the BJP formed the National Democratic Alliance with smaller regional parties, and became the first non-INC and coalition government to complete a full five-year term. The 2004 Indian elections saw the INC winning the largest number of seats to form a

government leading the United Progressive Alliance, and supported by left-parties and those opposed to the BJP.

On 22 May 2004, Manmohan Singh was appointed the Prime Minister of India following the victory of the INC & the left front in the 2004 Lok Sabha election. The UPA now rules India without the support of the left front. Previously, Atal Bihari Vajpayee had taken office in October 1999 after a general election in which a BJP-led coalition of 13 parties called the National Democratic Alliance emerged with a majority.

Formation of coalition governments reflects the transition in Indian politics away from the national parties toward smaller, more narrowly based regional parties. Some regional parties, especially in South India, are deeply aligned to the ideologies of the region unlike the national parties and thus the relationship between the central government and the state government in various states has not always been free of rancor. Disparity between the ideologies of the political parties ruling the centre and the state leads to severely skewed allocation of resources between the states.

Social issues

The lack of homogeneity in the Indian population causes division between different sections of the people based on religion, region, language, caste and race. This has led to the rise of political parties with agendas catering to one or a mix of these groups.

Some parties openly profess their focus on a particular group; for example, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's focus on the Dravidian population, and the Shiv Sena's pro-Marathi agenda. Some other parties claim to be universal in nature, but tend to draw support from particular sections of the population. For example, the Rashtriya Janata Dal (translated as National People's Party) has a vote bank among the Yadav and Muslim population of Bihar and the All India Trinamool Congress does not have any significant support outside West Bengal.

The Bharatiya Janata Party, the party with the second largest number of MPs in the 15th Lok Sabha, has a Hindu nationalist reputation. Such support from particular sections of the population affects the agenda and policies of such parties, and call into question their claims of being

universal representatives. The Congress may be viewed as the most secular party with a national agenda. Many political parties are involved in caste-, religion- or language-based politics.

The narrow focus and votebank politics of most parties, even in the central government and central legislature, sidelines national issues such as economic welfare and national security. Moreover, internal security is also threatened as incidences of political parties instigating and leading violence between two opposing groups of people is a frequent occurrence.

Economic issues

Economic issues like poverty, unemployment, development are main issues that influence politics. Garibi hatao (eradicate poverty) has been a slogan of the Indian National Congress for a long time. The well known Bharatiya Janata Party encourages a free market economy. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) vehemently supports left-wing politics like land-for-all, right to work and strongly opposes neo-liberal policies such as globalization, capitalism and privatization.

Law and order

Terrorism, Naxalism, religious violence and caste-related violence are important issues that affect the political environment of the Indian nation. Stringent anti-terror legislation such as TADA, POTA and MCOCA have received much political attention, both in favour and opposed.

Law and order issues, such as action against organised crime are issues which do not affect the outcomes of elections. On the other hand, there is a criminal-politician nexus. Many elected legislators have criminal cases against them. In July 2008, the Washington Times reported that nearly a fourth of the 540 Indian Parliament members faced criminal charges, "including human trafficking, immigration rackets, embezzlement, rape and even murder"

Chapter 3

Foreign Relations of India - Part 1

India has formal diplomatic relations with most nations; it is the world's second most populous country, the world's most-populous democracy and one of the fastest growing major economies. With the world's seventh largest military expenditure, ninth largest economy by nominal rates and third largest by purchasing power parity, India is a regional power, a nascent great power and a potential superpower. India's growing international influence gives it a prominent voice in global affairs. The Economist magazine argues, however, that underinvestment in diplomacy and a lack of strategic vision have minimised India's influence in the world.

India is a newly industrialised country, it has a long history of collaboration with several countries and is considered one of the leaders of the developing world along with China, Brazil, Russia and South Africa (the BRICS countries). India was one of the founding members of several international organisations, most notably the United Nations, the Asian Development Bank, G20 industrial nations and the founder of the Non-aligned movement. India has also played an important and influential role in other international organisations like East Asia Summit, World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and IBSA Dialogue Forum. Regionally, India is a part of SAARC and BIMSTEC. India has taken part in several UN peacekeeping missions and in 2007, it was the second-largest troop contributor to the United Nations. India is currently seeking a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, along with the G4 nations.

History

Even before independence, the Government of British India maintained semi-autonomous diplomatic relations. It had colonies (such as the Aden Settlement), who sent and received full diplomatic missions, and was a founder member of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. After India gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1947, it soon joined the Commonwealth of Nations and strongly supported independence movements in other colonies, like the Indonesian National Revolution. The partition and various territorial disputes, particularly that over Kashmir, would strain its relations with Pakistan for years to come. During the Cold War, India adopted a foreign policy of not aligning itself with any major power bloc.

However, India developed close ties with the Soviet Union and received extensive military support from it.

The end of the Cold War significantly affected India's foreign policy, as it did for much of the world. The country now seeks to strengthen its diplomatic and economic ties with the United States, the People's Republic of China, the European Union, Japan, Israel, Mexico, and Brazil. India has also forged close ties with the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the African Union, the Arab League and Iran.

Though India continues to have a military relationship with Russia, Israel has emerged as India's second largest military partner while India has built a strong strategic partnership with the United States. The Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement, signed and implemented in 2008, highlighted the growing sophistication of the Indo-American relations.

Policy

India's foreign policy has always regarded the concept of neighbourhood as one of widening concentric circles, around a central axis of historical and cultural commonalities. As many as 21 million people of Indian origin live and work abroad and constitute an important link with the mother country. An important role of India's foreign policy has been to ensure their welfare and well being within the framework of the laws of the country where they live.

Role of the Prime Minister

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, promoted a strong personal role for the Prime Minister but a weak institutional structure. Nehru served concurrently as Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs; he made all major foreign policy decisions himself after consulting with his advisers and then entrusted the conduct of international affairs to senior members of the Indian Foreign Service. He was the main founding fathers of the Panchsheel or the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

His successors continued to exercise considerable control over India's international dealings, although they generally appointed separate ministers of external affairs.

India's second prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964–66), expanded the Prime Minister Office (sometimes called the Prime Minister's Secretariat) and enlarged its powers. By the 1970s, the Office of the Prime Minister had become the de facto coordinator and supraministry of the Indian government. The enhanced role of the office strengthened the prime minister's control over foreign policy making at the expense of the Ministry of External Affairs. Advisers in the office provided channels of information and policy recommendations in addition to those offered by the Ministry of External Affairs. A subordinate part of the office—the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)—functioned in ways that significantly expanded the information available to the prime minister and his advisers. The RAW gathered intelligence, provided intelligence analysis to the Office of the Prime Minister, and conducted covert operations abroad.

The prime minister's control and reliance on personal advisers in the Office of the Prime Minister was particularly strong under the tenures of Indira Gandhi (1966–77 and 1980–84) and her son, Rajiv (1984–89), who succeeded her, and weaker during the periods of coalition governments. Observers find it difficult to determine whether the locus of decision-making authority on any particular issue lies with the Ministry of External Affairs, the Council of Ministers, the Office of the Prime Minister, or the prime minister himself.

The Prime Minister is however free to appoint advisers and special committees to examine various foreign policy options and areas of interest.[38] In a recent instance, Manmohan Singh appointed K. Subrahmanyam in 2005 to head a special government task force to study 'Global Strategic Developments' over the next decade.[39] The Task Force submitted its conclusions to the Prime Minister in 2006. The report has not yet been released in the public domain.

Ministry of External Affairs

The Ministry of External Affairs is the Indian government's agency responsible for the foreign relations of India. The Minister of External Affairs holds cabinet rank as a member of the Council of Ministers.

Salman Khurshid is current Minister of External Affairs. The Ministry has two Ministers of State Preneet Kaur and E. Ahamed. The Indian Foreign Secretary is the head of Indian Foreign Service (IFS) and therefore, serves as the head of all Indian ambassadors and high commissioners.[42] Sujatha Singh is the current Foreign Secretary of India.

Look East Policy

In the post Cold War era, a significant aspect of India's foreign policy is the Look East Policy. During the cold war, India's relations with its South East Asian neighbours was not very strong. After the end of the cold war, the government of India particularly realised the importance of redressing this imbalance in India's foreign policy. Consequently, the Narsimha Rao government in the early nineties of the last century unveiled the look east policy. Initially it focused on renewing political and economic contacts with the countries of East and South-East Asia.

At present, under the Look East Policy, the Government of India is giving special emphasis on the economic development of backward north eastern region of India taking advantage of huge market of ASEAN as well as of the energy resources available in some of the member countries of ASEAN like Burma.[43] Look-east policy was launched in 1992 just after the end of the cold war, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. After the start of liberalisation, it was a very strategic policy decision taken by the government in the foreign policy. To quote Prime Minister Manmohan Singh "it was also a strategic shift in India's vision of the world and India's place in the evolving global economy".

The policy was given an initial thrust with the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visiting China, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam and Singapore and India becoming an important dialogue partner with ASEAN in 1992. Since the beginning of this century, India has given a big push to this policy by becoming a summit level partner of ASEAN (2002) and getting involved in some regional initiatives such as the BIMSTEC and the Ganga–Mekong Cooperation and now becoming a member of the East Asia Summit (EAS) in December, 2005.

India's relations with the world have evolved since the British Raj (1857–1947), when the British Empire monopolised external and defence relations. When India gained independence in 1947, few Indians had experience in making or conducting foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress, had established a small foreign department in 1925 to make overseas contacts and to publicise its freedom struggle. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues. As a member of the interim government in 1946, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world.

India's international influence varied over the years after independence. Indian prestige and moral authority were high in the 1950s and facilitated the acquisition of developmental assistance from both East and West. Although the prestige stemmed from India's nonaligned stance, the nation was unable to prevent Cold War politics from becoming intertwined with interstate relations in South Asia.

In the 1960s and 1970s India's international position among developed and developing countries faded in the course of wars with China and Pakistan, disputes with other countries in South Asia, and India's attempt to balance Pakistan's support from the United States and China by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. Although India obtained substantial Soviet military and economic aid, which helped to strengthen the nation, India's influence was undercut regionally and internationally by the perception that its friendship with the Soviet Union prevented a more forthright condemnation of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. In the late 1980s, India improved relations with the United States, other developed countries, and China while continuing close ties with the Soviet Union. Relations with its South Asian neighbours, especially Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, occupied much of the energies of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, India has forged a closer partnership with Western powers. Shown here are Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with US President Barack Obama in 2009.

In the 1990s, India's economic problems and the demise of the bipolar world political system forced India to reassess its foreign policy and adjust its foreign relations. Previous policies proved inadequate to cope with the serious domestic and international problems facing India. The end of the Cold War gutted the core meaning of nonalignment and left Indian foreign policy without significant direction. The hard, pragmatic considerations of the early 1990s were still viewed within the nonaligned framework of the past, but the disintegration of the Soviet Union removed much of India's international leverage, for which relations with Russia and the other post-Soviet states could not compensate. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, India improved its relations with the United States, Canada, France, Japan and Germany. In 1992, India established formal diplomatic relations with Israel and this relationship grew during the

tenures of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government and the subsequent UPA (United Progressive Alliance) governments.

In the mid-1990s, India attracted the world attention towards the Pakistan-backed terrorism in Kashmir. The Kargil War resulted in a major diplomatic victory for India. The United States and European Union recognised the fact that Pakistani military had illegally infiltrated into Indian territory and pressured Pakistan to withdraw from Kargil. Several anti-India militant groups based in Pakistan were labeled as terrorist groups by the United States and European Union.

Overview

India has often represented the interests of developing countries at various international platforms. Shown here are Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with Dmitry Medvedev, Hu Jintao and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva during BRIC summit in June, 2009.

In 1998, India tested nuclear weapons for the second time (see Pokhran-II) which resulted in several US, Japanese and European sanctions on India. India's then-defence minister, George Fernandes, said that India's nuclear programme was necessary as it provided a deterrence to potential Chinese nuclear threat. Most of the sanctions imposed on India were removed by 2001.

After the 11 September attacks in 2001, Indian intelligence agencies provided the U.S. with significant information on Al-Qaeda and related groups' activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan. India's extensive contribution to the War on Terror, coupled with a surge in its economy, has helped India's diplomatic relations with several countries. Over the past three years, India has held numerous joint military exercises with U.S. and European nations that have resulted in a strengthened U.S.-India and E.U.-India bilateral relationship. India's bilateral trade with Europe and United States has more than doubled in the last five years.

India has been pushing for reforms in the UN and WTO with mixed results. India's candidature for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council is currently backed by several countries including France, Russia, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Brazil, Australia and UAE. In 2004, the United States signed a nuclear co-operation agreement with India even though the latter is not a part of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The US argued that India's strong nuclear non-proliferation record made it an exception, however this has not persuaded other

Nuclear Suppliers Group members to sign similar deals with India. During a state visit to India in November 2010, US president Barack Obama announced US support for India's bid for permanent membership to UN Security Council as well as India's entry to Nuclear Suppliers Group, Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group and Missile Technology Control Regime.

Strategic partners

India's growing economy, strategic location, friendly foreign policy and large and vibrant diaspora has won it more allies than enemies. India has friendly relations with several countries in the developing world. Though India is not a part of any major military alliance, it has close strategic and military relationship with most of the fellow major powers.

Countries considered India's closest include the Russian Federation, Israel, Afghanistan, France, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Russia is the largest supplier of military equipment to India, followed by Israel and France. According to some analysts, Israel is set to overtake Russia as India's largest military and strategic partner. The two countries also collaborate extensively in the sphere of counter-terrorism and space technology. India also enjoys strong military relations with several other countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, Singapore, Brazil, South Africa and Italy. In addition, India operates an airbase in Tajikistan and signed a landmark defence accord with Qatar in 2008.

India has also forged relationships with developing countries, especially South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico. These countries often represent the interests of the developing countries through economic forums such as the G8+5, IBSA and WTO. India was seen as one of the standard bearers of the developing world and claimed to speak for a collection of more than 30 other developing nations at the Doha Development Round. India's "Look East" Policy has helped it develop greater economic and strategic partnership with Southeast Asian countries, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. India also enjoys friendly relations with the Persian Gulf countries and most members of the African Union.

Chapter 4

Foreign Relations of India-Part 2

Bilateral and Regional relations

Burma/Myanmar

India was one of the leading supporters of Burmese independence and established diplomatic relations after Burma's independence from Great Britain in 1948. For many years, Indo-Burmese relations were strong due to cultural links, flourishing commerce, common interests in regional affairs and the presence of a significant Indian community in Burma. India provided considerable support when Burma struggled with regional insurgencies. However, the overthrow of the democratic government by the Military of Burma led to strains in ties. Along with much of the world, India condemned the suppression of democracy and Burma ordered the expulsion of the Burmese Indian community, increasing its own isolation from the world. Only China maintained close links with Burma while India supported the pro-democracy movement. However, due to geo-political concerns, India revived its relations and recognised the military Junta ruling Burma in 1993, overcoming strains over drug trafficking, the suppression of democracy and the rule of the military junta in Burma. Burma is situated to the south of the states of Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. and the proximity of the People's Republic of China gives strategic importance to Indo-Burmese relations. The Indo-Burmese border stretches over 1,600 kilometres and some insurgents in North-east India seek refuge in Burma. Consequently, India has been keen on increasing military cooperation with Burma in its counter-insurgency activities. In 2001, the Indian Army completed the construction of a major road along its border with Burma. India has also been building major roads, highways, ports and pipelines within Burma in an attempt to increase its strategic influence in the region and also to counter China's growing strides in the Indochina peninsula. Indian companies have also sought active participation in oil and natural gas exploration in Burma. In February 2007, India announced a plan to develop the Sittwe port, which would enable ocean access from Indian Northeastern states like Mizoram, via the Kaladan River.

India is a major customer of Burmese oil and gas. In 2007, Indian exports to Burma totaled US\$185 million, while its imports from Burma were valued at around US\$810 million,

consisting mostly of oil and gas. India has granted US\$100 million credit to fund highway infrastructure projects in Burma, while US\$ 57 million has been offered to upgrade Burmese railways. A further US\$27 million in grants has been pledged for road and rail projects. India is one of the few countries that has provided military assistance to the Burmese junta. However, there has been increasing pressure on India to cut some of its military supplies to Burma. Relations between the two remain close which was evident in the aftermath of Cyclone Nargis, when India was one of the few countries whose relief and rescue aid proposals were accepted by Burma's ruling junta. Both India and the PRC maintain embassies in Rangoon and Consulate-Generals in Mandalay.

China

A Chinese container ship unloads cargo at the Jawaharlal Nehru Port in India. Bilateral trade between the two countries is expected to surpass US\$60 billion by 2010 making China the single largest trading partner of India.

Despite lingering suspicions remaining from the 1962 Sino-Indian War and continuing boundary disputes over Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh, Sino-Indian relations have improved gradually since 1988. Both countries have sought to reduce tensions along the frontier, expand trade and cultural ties, and normalise relations.

A series of high-level visits between the two nations have helped improve relations. In December 1996, PRC President Jiang Zemin visited India during a tour of South Asia. While in New Delhi, he signed with the Indian Prime Minister a series of confidence-building measures for the disputed borders. Sino-Indian relations suffered a brief setback in May 1998 when the Indian Defence minister justified the country's nuclear tests by citing potential threats from the PRC. However, in June 1999, during the Kargil crisis, then-External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh visited Beijing and stated that India did not consider China a threat. By 2001, relations between India and the PRC were on the mend, and the two sides handled the move from Tibet to India of the 17th Karmapa in January 2000 with delicacy and tact. In 2003, India formally recognised Tibet as a part of China, and China recognised Sikkim as a formal part of India in 2004.

Since 2004, the economic rise of both China and India has also helped forge closer relations between the two. Sino-Indian trade reached US\$36 billion in 2007, making China the single

largest trading partner of India. The increasing economic reliance between India and China has also brought the two nations closer politically, with both India and China eager to resolve their boundary dispute. They have also collaborated on several issues ranging from WTO's Doha round in 2008 to regional free trade agreement. Similar to Indo-US nuclear deal, India and China have also agreed to cooperate in the field of civilian nuclear energy. However, China's economic interests have clashed with those of India. Both the countries are the largest Asian investors in Africa and have competed for control over its large natural resources. India and China agreed to take bilateral trade up to US\$100 billion on a recent visit by Wen Jiabao to India.

Nepal

Relations between India and Nepal are close yet fraught with difficulties stemming from geography, economics, the problems inherent in big power-small power relations, and common ethnic and linguistic identities that overlap the two countries' borders. In 1950 New Delhi and Kathmandu initiated their intertwined relationship with the Treaty of Peace and Friendship and accompanying letters that defined security relations between the two countries, and an agreement governing both bilateral trade and trade transiting Indian soil. The 1950 treaty and letters stated that "neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor" and obligated both sides "to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments". Which granted the Indian and Nepali People not mandatory to have Work permit for any economic activity such as work and business related activity. These accords cemented a "special relationship" between India and Nepal that granted Nepal preferential economic treatment and provided Nepalese in India the same economic and educational opportunities as Indian citizens.

Pakistan

Despite historical, cultural and ethnic links between them, relations between India and Pakistan have been plagued by years of mistrust and suspicion ever since the partition of India in 1947. The principal source of contention between India and its western neighbor has been the Kashmir conflict. After an invasion by Pashtun tribesmen and Pakistani paramilitary forces, the Hindu Maharaja of the Dogra Kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh, and its Muslim Prime

Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, signed an Instrument of Accession with New Delhi. The First Kashmir War started after the Indian Army entered Srinagar, the capital of the state, to secure the area from the invading forces. The war ended in December 1948 with the Line of Control dividing the erstwhile princely state into territories administered by Pakistan (northern and western areas) and India (southern, central and northeastern areas). Pakistan contested the legality of the Instrument of Accession since the Dogra Kingdom has signed a standstill agreement with it. The Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 started following the failure of Pakistan's Operation Gibraltar, which was designed to infiltrate forces into Jammu and Kashmir to precipitate an insurgency against rule by India. The five-week war caused thousands of casualties on both sides. It ended in a United Nations (UN) mandated ceasefire and the subsequent issuance of the Tashkent Declaration. India and Pakistan went to war again in 1971, this time the conflict being over East Pakistan. The large-scale atrocities committed there by the Pakistan army led to millions of Bengali refugees pouring over into India. India, along with the Mukti Bahini, defeated Pakistan and the Pakistani forces surrendered on the eastern front. The war resulted in the creation of Bangladesh.

In 1998, India carried out the Pokhran-II nuclear tests which was followed by Pakistan's Chagai-I tests. Following the Lahore Declaration in February 1999, relations briefly improved. A few months later, however, Pakistani paramilitary forces and Pakistani Army, infiltrated in large numbers into the Kargil district of Indian Kashmir. This initiated the Kargil conflict after India moved in thousands of troops to successfully flush out the infiltrators. Although the conflict did not result in a full-scale war between India and Pakistan, relations between the two reached all-time low which worsened even further following the involvement of Pakistan-based terrorists in the hijacking of the Indian Airlines IC814 plane in December 1999. Attempts to normalise relations, such as the Agra summit held in July 2001, failed. An attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001, which was blamed on Pakistan, which had condemned the attack[105] caused a military standoff between the two countries which lasted for nearly a year raising fears of a nuclear conflict. However, a peace process, initiated in 2003, led to improved relations in the following years.

Since the initiation of the peace process, several confidence-building-measures (CBMs) between India and Pakistan have taken shape. The Samjhauta Express and Delhi–Lahore Bus service are

two of these successful measures which have played a crucial role in expanding people-to-people contact between the two countries.[106] The initiation of Srinagar–Muzaffarabad Bus service in 2005 and opening of a historic trade route across the Line of Control in 2008 further reflects increasing eagerness between the two sides to improve relations. Although bilateral trade between India and Pakistan was a modest US\$1.7 billion in March 2007, it is expected to cross US\$10 billion by 2010. After the Kashmir earthquake in 2005, India sent aid to affected areas in Pakistani Kashmir and Punjab as well as Indian Kashmir.[107]

The 2008 Mumbai attacks seriously undermined the relations between the two countries. India alleged Pakistan of harboring militants on their soil, while Pakistan vehemently denies such claims. Relations are currently hampered since India has sent a list of 40 alleged fugitive in various terror strikes to Pakistan, expecting them to be handed over to India. Pakistan, on the other hand, has declared that it has no intentions whatsoever of carrying out their extradition.

Sri Lanka

Bilateral relations between Sri Lanka and India have been generally friendly, but were affected by the Sri Lankan civil war and by the failure of Indian intervention during the Sri Lankan civil war. India is Sri Lanka's only neighbour, separated by the Palk Strait; both nations occupy a strategic position in South Asia and have sought to build a common security umbrella in the Indian Ocean.

India-Sri Lanka relations have undergone a qualitative and quantitative transformation in the recent past. Political relations are close, trade and investments have increased dramatically, infrastructural linkages are constantly being augmented, defence collaboration has increased and there is a general, broad-based improvement across all sectors of bilateral cooperation. India was the first country to respond to Sri Lanka's request for assistance after the tsunami in December 2004. In July 2006, India evacuated 430 Sri Lankan nationals from Lebanon, first to Cyprus by Indian Navy ships and then to Delhi and Colombo by special Air India flights.

There exists a broad consensus within the Sri Lankan polity on the primacy of India in Sri Lanka's external relations matrix. Both the major political parties in Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the United Nationalist Party have contributed to the rapid development of

bilateral relations in the last ten years. Sri Lanka has supported India's candidature to the permanent membership of the UN Security Council.

Australia

The strongest ties between these two states is the commonwealth connexion. Cricketing and Bollywood ties also help foster relations as in the frequent travel for games, and, more importantly, the presence of Australian cricketers in India for commercial gain. This was further enhanced with the IPL, and, to a lesser degree, the ICL. Bollywood has also improved ties as with John Howard's visit to Mumbai to increase tourism to Australia. Furthermore, there is a going strategic connexion to forming an "Asian NATO" with India, Japan, the US and Australia. The bilateral agreements have worked out for all but the Indo-Australian angle, though this has been hurt by India's refusal to sign the NPT and Australia's consequent refusal to provide India with uranium until the latter do so. However Australia has now cleared uranium sales to India by Labour party decision in Australian parliament and by this development the relations between both the commonwealth nations are set to improve. The Australian and Indian militaries have already worked well together. Of late the relations between the two countries were jolted, with attacks on Indian Community students in Melbourne, Australia. Indian Government lodged strong protests with the Australian Government. Australian Prime Minister Mr. Kevin Rudd said that "Australia valued its education system and International Students are valued more here in Australia." Mr. Rudd though said that his Govt. has ordered a thorough probe into the attacks and also condemned it in strongest possible terms, but no significant break through has been achieved. Under the leadership of Incumbent Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard the relations between both the nations have significantly improved on part due to her holistic approach in relations.

Japan

Two Japanese Naval warships took part in Malabar 2007 off India's western coast, one of the few such multilateral exercises Japan has ever taken part in symbolising close military cooperation between India and Japan.

India-Japan relations have always been strong. India has culturally influenced Japan through Buddhism. During the Indian Independence Movement, the Japanese Imperial Army helped

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army. Relations have remained warm since India's independence. Japanese companies, like Sony, Toyota, and Honda, have manufacturing facilities in India, and with the growth of the Indian economy, India is a big market for Japanese firms. The most prominent Japanese company to have a big investment in India is automobiles giant Suzuki which is in partnership with Indian automobiles company Maruti Suzuki, the largest car manufacturer in India. Honda was also a partner in "Hero Honda", one of the largest motor cycle sellers in the world (the companies split in 2011).

According to Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's arc of freedom theory, it is in Japan's interests to develop closer ties with India, world's most populous democracy, while its relations with China remain chilly. To this end, Japan has funded many infrastructure projects in India, most notably in New Delhi's metro subway system. In December 2006, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Japan culminated in the signing of the "Joint Statement Towards Japan-India Strategic and Global Partnership". Japan has funded some major infrastructure projects in India, most notably the Delhi Metro subway system. Indian applicants were welcomed in 2006 to the JET Programme, starting with just one slot available in 2006 and 41 in 2007. Also, in 2007, the Japanese Self Defence Forces took part in a naval exercise in the Indian Ocean, known as Malabar 2007, which also involved the naval forces of India, Australia, Singapore and the United States.

In October 2008, Japan signed an agreement with India under which it would grant the latter a low-interest loan worth US\$4.5 billion to construct a high-speed rail line between Delhi and Mumbai. This is the single largest overseas project being financed by Japan and reflects growing economic partnership between the two. India and Japan signed a security cooperation agreement in which both will hold military exercises, police the Indian Ocean and conduct military-to-military exchanges on fighting terrorism, making India one of only three countries, the other two being the United States and Australia, with which Japan has such a security pact. There are 25,000 Indians in Japan as of 2008.

Americas

India's commonalities with developing nations in Latin America, especially Brazil and Mexico have continued to grow. India and Brazil continue to work together on the reform of Security

Council through the G4 nations while have also increased strategic and economic cooperation through the IBSA Dialogue Forum. The process of finalising Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) with MERCOSUR (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay) is on the itinerary and negotiations are being held with Chile.[151] Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva was the guest of honour at the 2004 Republic Day celebrations in New Delhi.[152]

Canada

Indo-Canadian relations, are the longstanding bilateral relations between India and Canada, which are built upon a "mutual commitment to democracy", "pluralism", and "people-to-people links", according to the government of Canada. In 2004, bilateral trade between India and Canada was at about C\$2.45 billion. However, the botched handling of the Air India investigation and the case in general suffered a setback to Indo-Canadian relations. India's Smiling Buddha nuclear test led to connexions between the two countries being frozen, with allegations that India broke the terms of the Colombo Plan. Although Jean Chrétien and Roméo LeBlanc both visited India in the late 1990s, relations were again halted after the Pokhran-II tests.

Canada-India relations have been on an upward trajectory since 2005. Governments at all levels, private-sector organisations, academic institutes in two countries, and people-to-people contacts—especially diaspora networks—have contributed through individual and concerted efforts to significant improvements in the bilateral relationship. The two governments have agreed on important policy frameworks to advance the bilateral relationship. In particular, the Nuclear Cooperation Agreement (signed in June 2010) and the current successful negotiations of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) constitute a watershed in Canada-India relations. The two governments have attempted to make up for lost time and are eager to complete CEPA negotiations by 2013 and ensure its ratification by 2014. After conclusion of CEPA, Canada and India must define the areas for their partnership which will depend on their ability to convert common interests into common action and respond effectively for steady cooperation. For example, during “pull-aside” meetings between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Stephen Harper at the G-20 summit in Mexico in June 2012, and an earlier meeting in Toronto between External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna and John Baird, the leaders discussed

developing a more comprehensive partnership going beyond food security and including the possibility of tie-ups in the energy sector, mainly hydrocarbon.

Europe

India was one of the first countries to develop relations with the Union, signing bilateral agreements in 1973, when the United Kingdom joined. The most recent cooperation agreement was signed in 1994 and an action plan was signed in 2005. As of April 2007 the Commission is pursuing a free trade agreement with India.

The Union is India's largest trading partner, accounting for 20% of Indian trade. However, India accounts for only 1.8% of the EU's trade and attracts only 0.3% of European Foreign Direct Investment, although still provides India's largest source. During 2005 EU-India trade grew by 20.3%.

There was controversy in 2006 when the Indian Mittal Steel Company sought to take-over the Luxembourg based steel company, Arcelor. The approach met with opposition from France and Luxembourg but was passed by the Commission who stated that were judging it on competition grounds only.

The European Union (EU) and India agreed on 29 September 2008 at the EU-India summit in Marseille, France's largest commercial port, to expand their cooperation in the fields of nuclear energy and environmental protection and deepen their strategic partnership. French President Nicolas Sarkozy, the EU's rotating president, said at a joint press conference at the summit that "EU welcomes India, as a large country, to engage in developing nuclear energy, adding that this clean energy will be helpful for the world to deal with the global climate change". Sarkozy also said the EU and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan pledged to accelerate talks on a free trade deal and expected to finish the deal by 2009. The Indian prime minister was also cautiously optimistic about cooperation on nuclear energy. "Tomorrow we have a bilateral summit with France. This matter will come up and I hope some good results will emerge out of that meeting", Singh said when asked about the issue. Singh said that he was "very satisfied" with the results of the summit. He added that EU and India have "common values" and the two economies are complementary to each other.

European Commission President José Manuel Barroso, also speaking at Monday's press conference, expounded the joint action plan on adjustments of EU's strategic partnership with India, saying the two sides will strengthen cooperation on world peace and safety, sustainable development, cooperation in science and technology and cultural exchanges.

Reviewing the two sides' efforts in developing the bilateral strategic partnership, the joint action plan reckoned that in politics, dialogue and cooperation have enhanced through regular summits and exchanges of visits and that in economy, mutual investments have increased dramatically in recent years, dialogue in macro economic policies and financial services has established and cooperation in energy, science and technology and environment has been launched. Under the joint action plan, EU and Indian would enhance consultation and dialogue on human rights within the UN framework, strengthen cooperation in world peacekeeping mission, fight against terror and non-proliferation of arms, promote cooperation and exchange in developing civil nuclear energy and strike a free trade deal as soon as possible. France, which relies heavily on nuclear power and is a major exporter of nuclear technology, is expected to sign a deal that would allow it to provide nuclear fuel to India.

Trade between India and the 27-nation EU has more than doubled from 25.6 billion euros (\$36.7 billion) in 2000 to 55.6 billion euros last year, with further expansion to be seen. "We have agreed to achieve an annual bilateral trade turnover of 100 billion euros within the next five years", Singh told reporters. A joint statement issued at the end of the summit said the EU and India would work to reach an agreement on climate change by the end of 2009.

Denmark

Denmark has an embassy in New Delhi, and India has an embassy in Copenhagen. Tranquebar, a town in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, was a Danish colony in India from 1620 to 1845. It is spelled Trankebar or Tranquebar in Danish, which comes from the native Tamil, Tarangambadi, meaning "place of the singing waves". It was sold, along with the other Danish settlements in mainland India, most notably Serampore (now in West Bengal), to Great Britain in 1845. The Nicobar Islands were also colonised by Denmark, until sold to the British in 1868, who made them part of their colony of British India.

After Independence in 1947, Indian prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Denmark in 1957 laid the foundation for a friendly relationship between India and Denmark that has endured ever since. The bilateral relations between India and Denmark are cordial and friendly, based on synergies in political, economic, academic and research fields. There have been periodic high level visits between the two countries.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, former Prime Minister of Denmark, accompanied by a large business delegation, paid a State visit to India from February 4 to 8, 2008. He visited Infosys, Biocon and IIM Bangalore in Bangalore and Agra. He launched an 'India Action Plan', which called for strengthening of the political dialogue, strengthening of cooperation in trade and investments, research in science and technology, energy, climate and environment, culture, education, student exchanges and attracting skilled manpower and IT experts to Denmark for short periods. The two countries signed an Agreement for establishment of a Bilateral Joint Commission for Cooperation.

In July 2012, Govt of India decided to scale down its diplomatic ties with Denmark after that country's refusal to appeal in their Supreme Court against a decision of its lower court rejecting the extradition of Purulia arms drop case prime accused Kim Davy a.k.a. Niels Holck. Agitated over Denmark's refusal to act on India's repeated requests to appeal in their apex court to facilitate Davy's extradition to India, government issued a circular directing all senior officials not to meet or entertain any Danish diplomat posted in India.

France

France and India established diplomatic relationships soon after India's independence from the United Kingdom in 1947. India's strong diplomatic ties with France facilitated the peaceful handover of Pondicherry to India on 1 November 1954 without any opposition from France.

France, Russia and Israel were the only countries that did not condemn India's decision to go nuclear in 1998.[206] In 2003, France became the largest supplier of nuclear fuel and technology to India and remains a large military and economic trade partner. India's candidacy for permanent membership in the UN Security Council has found very strong support from former French President Nicolas Sarkozy. The Indian Government's decisions to purchase French Scorpène class submarines worth \$3 billion USD and 43 Airbus aircraft for Air India worth \$2.5

billion USD have further cemented the strategic, military and economic co-operation between India and France.

France's decision to ban schoolchildren from wearing of head-dresses and veils had the unintended consequence of affecting Sikh children who have been refused entry in public schools. The Indian Government, citing historic traditions of the Sikh community, has requested French authorities to review the situation so as to not to exclude Sikh children from education.

Nicolas Sarkozy visited India in January 2008 and was the Chief Guest of the Republic Day parade in New Delhi. France was the first country to sign a nuclear energy co-operation agreement with India; this was done during Prime Minister Singh's visit, following the waiver by the Nuclear Suppliers Group. During the Bastille Day celebrations on 14 July 2009, a detachment of 400 Indian troops marched alongside the French troops and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was the guest of honour.

Chapter 5

Indian Constitution

The Indian constitution is the Constitutional supreme law of India. It lays down the framework defining fundamental political principles, establishes the structure, procedures, powers, and duties of government institutions, and sets out fundamental rights, directive principles, and the duties of citizens. It is the longest written constitution of any sovereign country in the world, containing 448 articles in 25 parts, 12 schedules, 5 appendices and 98 amendments (out of 120 Constitution Amendment Bills). Besides the English version, there is an official Hindi translation. Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is widely regarded as the father of the Indian Constitution.

The Constitution follows parliamentary system of government and the executive is directly accountable to legislature. Article 74 provides that there shall be a Prime Minister of India as the head of government. It also states that there shall be a President of India and a Vice-President of India under Articles 52 and 63. Unlike the Prime Minister, the President largely performs ceremonial roles.

The Constitution of India is federal in nature. Each State and each Union territory of India have their own government. Analogues to President and Prime Minister, the Governor in case of States, Lieutenant Governor for Union territories and the Chief Minister. The 73rd and 74th Amendment Act also introduced the system of Panchayati Raj in rural areas and Municipality in urban areas. Also, Article 370 of the Constitution gives special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Constitution was adopted by the India Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949, and came into effect on 26 January 1950. The date of 26 January was chosen to commemorate the Purna Swaraj declaration of independence of 1930. With its adoption, the Union of India officially became the modern and contemporary Republic of India and it replaced the Government of India Act 1935 as the country's fundamental governing document. To ensure constitutional autochthony, the framers of constitution inserted Article 395 in the constitution and by this Article the Indian Independence Act, 1947 was repealed. The Constitution declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic, assuring its citizens of justice,

equality, and liberty, and endeavors to promote fraternity among them. The words "socialist" and "secular" were added to the definition in 1976 by constitutional amendment (mini constitution). India celebrates the adoption of the constitution on 26 January each year as Republic Day.

The major portion of the Indian subcontinent was under British rule from 1857 to 1947. The impact of economic, political and social development during this period helped the gradual rise of the Indian independence movement to gain independence from foreign rule. The movement culminated in the formation of the Dominion of India on 15 August 1947, along with the Dominion of Pakistan. The Constitution of India was adopted on 26 November 1949 and came into effect on 26 January 1950, proclaiming India to be a sovereign, democratic republic. It contained the founding principles of the law of the land which would govern India after its independence from British rule. On the day the constitution came into effect, India ceased to be a dominion of the British Crown. The Indian constitution is the world's longest constitution. At the time of commencement, the constitution had 395 articles in 22 parts and 8 schedules. It consists of almost 80,000 words and took 2 years 11 months and 18 days to build.

In the United Kingdom the office of the Secretary of State for India was the authority through whom Parliament exercised its rule (along with the Council of India), and established the office of Viceroy of India (along with an Executive Council in India, consisting of high officials of the British Government). The Indian Councils Act 1861 provided for a Legislative Council consisting of the members of the Executive council and non-official members. The Indian Councils Act 1892 established provincial legislatures and increased the powers of the Legislative Council. Although these Acts increased the representation of Indians in the government, their power still remained limited. The Indian Councils Act 1909 and the Government of India Act 1919 further expanded participation of Indians in the government.

Government of India Act 1935

The provisions of the Government of India Act 1935, though never implemented fully, had a great impact on the Constitution of India. Many key features of the constitution are directly taken from this Act. The federal structure of government, provincial autonomy, a bicameral central legislature consisting of a federal assembly and a Council of States and the separation of

legislative powers between the centre and states are some of the provisions of the Act which are present in the Constitution of India.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

In 1946, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee formulated a cabinet mission to India to discuss and finalize plans for the transfer of power from the British Raj to Indian leadership as well as provide India with independence under Dominion status in the Commonwealth of Nations.[9][10] The Mission discussed the framework of the constitution and laid down in some detail the procedure to be followed by the constitution drafting body. Elections for the 296 seats assigned to the British Indian provinces were completed by August 1946. The Constituent Assembly of India first met and began work on 26 November 1946.

The mission consisted of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty. However, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, did not participate.

Indian Independence Act 1947

The Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament on 18 July 1947, divided British India into two new independent states, India and Pakistan, which were to be dominions under the Commonwealth of Nations until they had each finished drafting and enacted a new constitution. The Constituent Assembly was divided into two for the separate states, with each new Assembly having sovereign powers transferred to it for the respective dominion. The Act also terminated British suzerainty over the princely states, each of which was left to decide whether to accede to one or other of the new dominions or to continue as independent states in their own right. However, in most cases the states were so dependent on central institutions that they were widely expected to accede to a dominion.

When the Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950, it repealed the Indian Independence Act. India ceased to be a dominion of the British Crown and became a sovereign democratic republic. 26 November 1949 is also known as National Law Day.

Constituent Assembly

The Constitution was drafted by the Constituent Assembly, which was elected by the elected members of the provincial assemblies. Dr B.R. Ambedkar, Sanjay Phakey, Jawaharlal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Kanaiyalal Munshi, Purushottam Mavalankar, Sandipkumar Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Nalini Ranjan Ghosh, and Balwantrao Mehta were some important figures in the Assembly. There were more than 30 members of the scheduled classes. Frank Anthony represented the Anglo-Indian community, and the Parsis were represented by H. P. Modi. The Chairman of the Minorities Committee was Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, a distinguished Christian who represented all Christians other than Anglo-Indians. Ari Bahadur Gururung represented the Gorkha Community. Prominent jurists like Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, Benegal Narsing Rau and K. M. Munshi, Ganesh Mavlankar were also members of the Assembly. Sarojini Naidu, Hansa Mehta, Durgabai Deshmukh, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Vijayalakshmi Pandit were important women members.

The first temporary 2-day president of the Constituent Assembly was Dr Sachidanand Sinha. Later, Rajendra Prasad was elected president of the Constituent Assembly. The members of the Constituent Assembly met for the first time on 9 December 1946.

Drafting

On the 14 August 1947 meeting of the Assembly, a proposal for forming various committees was presented. Such committees included a Committee on Fundamental Rights, the Union Powers Committee and Union Constitution Committee. On 29 August 1947, the Drafting Committee was appointed, with Dr B. R. Ambedkar as the Chairman along with six other members assisted by a constitutional advisor. These members were Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi (K M Munshi, Ex- Home Minister, Bombay), Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer (Ex- Advocate General, Madras State), N Gopaldaswami Ayengar (Ex-Prime Minister, J&K and later member of Nehru Cabinet), B L Mitter (Ex-Advocate General, India), Md. Saadullah (Ex- Chief Minister of Assam, Muslim League member) and D P Khaitan (Scion of Khaitan Business family and a renowned lawyer). The constitutional advisor was Sir Benegal Narsing Rau (who became First Indian Judge in International Court of Justice, 1950–54). Later B L Mitter resigned and was replaced by Madhav Rao (Legal Advisor of Maharaja of Vadodara). Owing to death of D P Khaitan, T T Krishnamachari was chosen to be included in the drafting committee. A Draft Constitution was prepared by the committee and submitted to the Assembly on 4 November

1947. Draft constitution was debated and over 2000 amendments were moved over a period of two years. Finally on 26 Nov. 1949, the process was completed and Constituent assembly adopted the constitution. 284 members signed the document and the process of constitution making was complete.

The Assembly met in sessions open to the public, for 166 days, spread over a period of 2 years, 11 months and 18 days before adopting the Constitution, the 308 members of the Assembly signed two copies of the document (one each in Hindi and English) on 24 January 1950. The original Constitution of India is hand-written with beautiful calligraphy, each page beautified and decorated by artists from Shantiniketan including Beohar Rammanohar Sinha and Nandalal Bose. Two days later, on 26 January 1950, the Constitution of India became the law of all the States and territories of India. Rs.1,00,00,000 was official estimate of expenditure on constituent assembly. The Constitution has undergone many amendments since its enactment.

PARTS

The individual Articles of the Constitution are grouped together into the following Parts:

Preamble

Part I – Union and its Territory

Part II – Citizenship.

Part III – Fundamental Rights.

Part IV – Directive Principles of State Policy.

Part IVA – Fundamental Duties.

Part V – The Union.

Part VI – The States.

Part VII – States in the B part of the First schedule(Repealed).

Part VIII – The Union Territories

Part IX – The Panchayats.

Part IXA – The Municipalities.

Part IXB – The Co-operative Societies.[24]

Part X – The scheduled and Tribal Areas

Part XI – Relations between the Union and the States.

Part XII – Finance, Property, Contracts and Suits

Part XIII – Trade and Commerce within the territory of India

Part XIV – Services Under the Union, the States.

Part XIVA – Tribunals.

Part XV – Elections

Part XVI – Special Provisions Relating to certain Classes.

Part XVII – Languages

Part XVIII – Emergency Provisions

Part XIX – Miscellaneous

Part XX – Amendment of the Constitution

Part XXI – Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions

Part XXII – Short title, date of commencement, Authoritative text in Hindi and Repeals

Schedules

Schedules are lists in the Constitution that categorize and tabulate bureaucratic activity and policy of the Government.

First Schedule (Articles 1 and 4)- This lists the states and territories of India, lists any changes to their borders and the laws used to make that change.

Second Schedule (Articles 59(3), 65(3), 75(6), 97, 125, 148(3), 158(3), 164(5), 186 and 221)- – This lists the salaries of officials holding public office, judges, and Comptroller and Auditor General of India.

Third Schedule (Articles 75(4), 99, 124(6), 148(2), 164(3), 188 and 219)—Forms of Oaths – This lists the oaths of offices for elected officials and judges.

Fourth Schedule (Articles 4(1) and 80(2)) – This details the allocation of seats in the Rajya Sabha (the upper house of Parliament) per State or Union Territory.

Fifth Schedule (Article 244(1)) – This provides for the administration and control of Scheduled Areas[Note 5] and Scheduled Tribes[Note 6] (areas and tribes needing special protection due to disadvantageous conditions).

Sixth Schedule (Articles 244(2) and 275(1))— Provisions for the administration of tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram.

Seventh Schedule (Article 246)—The union (central government), state, and concurrent lists of responsibilities.

Eighth Schedule (Articles 344(1) and 351)—The official languages.

Ninth Schedule (Article 31-B) – Validation of certain Acts and Regulations.[25]

Tenth Schedule (Articles 102(2) and 191(2))—"Anti-defection" provisions for Members of Parliament and Members of the State Legislatures.

Eleventh Schedule (Article 243-D)—Panchayat Raj (rural local government).

Twelfth Schedule (Article 243-W)—Municipalities (urban local government).

Appendices

Appendix I—The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954.

Appendix II— Re-statement, with reference to the present text of the Constitution, of the exceptions and modifications subject to which the Constitution applies to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Appendix III—Extracts from the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1978.

Appendix IV—The Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002.

Appendix V— The Constitution (Eighty-eighth Amendment) Act, 2003.

Chapter 6

Union Government

The Government of India (GoI), officially known as the Union of India, and also known as the Central Government, was established by the Constitution of India, and is the governing authority of the union of 28 states and seven union territories, collectively called the Republic of India. It is based in New Delhi, the capital of India.

The basic civil and criminal laws governing the citizens of India are set down in major parliamentary legislation, such as the Civil Procedure Code, the Indian Penal Code, and the Criminal Procedure Code. The union and individual state governments all each consist of executive, legislative and judicial branches. The legal system as applicable to the federal and individual state governments is based on the English Common and Statutory Law. India accepts International Court of Justice jurisdiction, albeit with several reservations. By the 73rd and 74th amendments to the constitution, the Panchayati Raj system has become an institution for local governance.

The GoI has recently taken a new initiative by launching a public grievance website, wherein citizens can expect their grievances to be addressed. Alternatively, one can also visit the President of India's official website and register his/her grievance via the President's Secretariat. Hence, twofold paths are provided by the GoI to address citizen's grievances.

Legislature

Legislative power in India is exercised by the Parliament, a bicameral legislature consisting of the president of India, the Rajya Sabha, and the Lok Sabha. Of the two houses of Parliament, the former is considered to be the upper house and consists of members appointed by the president and elected by the state and territorial legislatures. The latter is considered the lower house, and its members are directly elected by the people of India. Unlike in many parliamentary democracies, members of either house of parliament are referred to as members of parliament, or MPs.

The Parliament does not enjoy complete sovereignty, as its laws are subject to judicial review by the Supreme Court of India. However, it does exercise some control over the executive branch. The members of cabinet, including the prime minister and the Council of Ministers, are either chosen from parliament or elected thereto within six months of assuming office. The cabinet as a whole is responsible to the Lok Sabha. The Parliament may dissolve a government and induce the formation of a new government by passing a motion of no confidence.

Executive branch

The executive branch of government is the one that has sole authority and responsibility for the daily administration of the state bureaucracy. The division of power into separate branches of government is central to the republican idea of the separation of powers. The separation of powers system is designed to distribute authority away from the executive branch – an attempt to preserve individual liberty in response to tyrannical leadership throughout history.

President

The executive power is vested mainly in the President of India, as per Article 53 (1) of the constitution. The President enjoys all constitutional powers and exercises them directly or through officers subordinate to him as per the aforesaid Article 53(1). The President is to act in accordance with aid and advice tendered by the head of government (Prime Minister of India) and his or her Council of Ministers (the cabinet) as described in Article 74 (Constitution of India).

The Council of Ministers remains in power during the 'pleasure' of the President. However, in practice, the Council of Ministers must retain the support of the Lok Sabha. If a President were to dismiss the Council of Ministers on his or her own initiative, it might trigger a constitutional crisis. Thus, in practice, the Council of Ministers cannot be dismissed as long as it holds the support of a majority in the Lok Sabha.

The President is responsible for making a wide variety of appointments. These include:

Governors of States

The Chief Justice, other judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts of India

The Attorney General

The Comptroller and Auditor General

The Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners

The Chairman and other Members of the Union Public Service Commission

The President's Officer

The Cabinet Secretary, whose position is equivalent to the Ministers in Central Government. His work is to facilitate smooth transaction of business in Ministries/ Departments of the Government. The Secretariat held by Cabinet Secretary is termed as Cabinet Secretariat and assists in decision-making in Government by ensuring Inter-Ministerial coordination, ironing out differences amongst Ministries/ Departments and evolving consensus through the instrumentality of the standing/ adhoc Committees of Secretaries.

Ambassadors and High Commissioners to other countries

The President, as Head of State also receives the credentials of Ambassadors from other countries, whilst the Prime Minister, as Head of Government, receives credentials of High Commissioners from other members of the Commonwealth, in line with historical tradition.

The President is de jure the Commander in Chief of the Indian Armed Forces. The President of India can grant a pardon to or reduce the sentence of a convicted person for one time, particularly in cases involving punishment of death. The decisions involving pardoning and other rights by the President are independent of the opinion of the Prime Minister or the Lok Sabha majority. In most other cases, however, the President exercises his or her executive powers on the advice of the Prime Minister.

Vice President

The Vice-President of India is the second-highest ranking government official in the executive branch of the Government of India, following the President. The Vice-President also has the legislative function of acting as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

Cabinet, executive departments and agencies

The Cabinet of India includes the Prime Minister and 35 Cabinet Ministers.[9] Each Minister must be a member of one of the houses of India's Parliament. The Cabinet is headed by the Prime Minister, and Cabinet Secretary acts as advisor - who is also acting as the head of the Indian Administrative Service. Other Ministers are either as Union Cabinet Ministers, who are heads of the various Ministries; Ministers of State, who are junior members who report directly to one of the Cabinet Ministers, often overseeing a specific aspect of government; and Junior Ministers of State (Independent Charges), which do not report to a Cabinet Minister.

Civil Services

The Civil Services of India is the civil service and the permanent bureaucracy of the Government of India. The executive decisions are implemented by the Indian civil servants. Civil servants are employees of the Government of India and not Parliament of India. Not all employees of the Government of India are civil servants.

In the parliamentary democracy of India, the ultimate responsibility for running the administration rests with the elected representatives of the people which are the ministers. These ministers are accountable to the legislatures which are also elected by the people on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The ministers are indirectly responsible to the people themselves. But the handful of ministers are not expected to deal personally with the various problems of modern administration. Thus the ministers lay down the policy and it is for the civil servants to enforce it.

Cabinet Secretary

The Cabinet Secretary of India is the most senior civil servant in the country. The Cabinet Secretary is the ex-officio Chairman of the Civil Services Board of the Republic of India; the chief of the Indian Administrative Service and head of all civil services under the rules of business of the Government of India. The Cabinet Secretary is arguably India's most powerful bureaucrat and right hand of Prime Minister of India.

The Cabinet Secretariat is responsible for the administration of the Government of India Transaction of Business Rules, 1961 and the Government of India Allocation of Business Rules 1961, facilitating smooth transaction of business in Ministries/Departments of the Government

by ensuring adherence to these rules. The Secretariat assists in decision-making in Government by ensuring Inter-Ministerial coordination, ironing out differences amongst Ministries/Departments and evolving consensus through the instrumentality of the standing/ad hoc Committees of Secretaries. Through this mechanism new policy initiatives are also promoted.

The Cabinet Secretariat ensures that the President of India, the Vice-President and Ministers are kept informed of the major activities of all Departments by means of a monthly summary report of their activities. Management of major crisis situations in the country and coordinating activities of the various Ministries in such a situation is also one of the functions of the Cabinet Secretariat.

Judicial branch

Supreme Court of India

India's independent judicial system began under the British raj, and its concepts and procedures resemble those of Anglo-Saxon countries. The Supreme Court of India consists of a Chief Justice and 30 associate justices, all appointed by the President on the advice of the Chief Justice of India. The jury trials were abolished in India in early 1960s, after the famous case *KM Nanavati v State of Maharashtra*, for reasons of being vulnerable to media and public pressure, as well as to being misled.

Unlike its United States counterpart, the Indian justice system consists of a unitary system at both state and federal level. The judiciary consists of the Supreme Court of India, High Courts of India at the state level, and District Courts and Sessions Courts at the district level.

The Supreme Court of India has original, appellate and advisory jurisdiction. Its exclusive original jurisdiction extends to any dispute between the Government of India and one or more states, or between the Government of India and any state or states on one side and one or more states on the other, or between two or more states, if and insofar as the dispute involves any question (whether of law or of fact) on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends.

In addition, Article 32 of the Indian Constitution gives an extensive original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court in regard to enforcement of fundamental rights. It is empowered to issue

directions, orders or writs, including writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari to enforce them. The Supreme Court has been conferred with power to direct transfer of any civil or criminal case from one State High Court to another State High Court, or from a court subordinate to another State High Court and supreme court.

Public interest litigation (PIL)

Although the proceedings in the Supreme Court arise out of the judgement or orders made by the subordinate courts, of late the Supreme Court has started entertaining matters in which interest of the public at large is involved, and the Court may be moved by any individual or group of persons either by filing a Writ Petition at the Filing Counter of the Court, or by addressing a letter to Hon'ble The Chief Justice of India highlighting the question of public importance for invoking this jurisdiction.

Elections and voting

India has a quasi federal government, with elected officials at the federal (national), state and local levels. On a national level, the head of government, the Prime Minister, is elected indirectly by the people,[citation needed] through a general election where the leader of the majority winning party is selected to be the Prime Minister. All members of the federal legislature, the Parliament, are directly elected. Elections in India take place every five years by universal adult suffrage.

State and local governments

State governments in India are the governments ruling States of India and the chief minister heads the state government. Power is divided between central government and state governments. State government's legislature is bicameral in 6 states and unicameral in the rest. Lower house is elected with 5 years term, while in upper house 1/3 of the total members in the house gets elected every 2 years with 6 year term.

Local government function at the basic level. It is the third level of government apart from central and state governments. It consists of panchayats in rural areas and municipalities in urban areas. They are elected directly or indirectly by the people.

Finance

India has a three-tier tax structure, wherein the constitution empowers the union government to levy income tax, tax on capital transactions (wealth tax, inheritance tax), sales tax, service tax, customs and excise duties and the state governments to levy sales tax on intrastate sale of goods, tax on entertainment and professions, excise duties on manufacture of alcohol, stamp duties on transfer of property and collect land revenue (levy on land owned). The local governments are empowered by the state government to levy property tax and charge users for public utilities like water supply, sewage etc. More than half of the revenues of the union and state governments come from taxes, of which 3/4 come from direct taxes. More than a quarter of the union government's tax revenues is shared with the state governments.

The tax reforms, initiated in 1991, have sought to rationalise the tax structure and increase compliance by taking steps in the following directions:

Reducing the rates of individual and corporate income taxes, excises, customs and making it more progressive

The non-tax revenues of the central government come from fiscal services, interest receipts, public sector dividends, etc., while the non-tax revenues of the States are grants from the central government, interest receipts, dividends and income from general, economic and social services.

Inter-state share in the federal tax pool is decided by the recommendations of the Finance Commission to the President.

Total tax receipts of Centre and State amount to approximately 18% of national GDP. This compares to a figure of 37–45% in the OECD.

Central Board of Direct Taxes

The Central Board of Direct Taxes (CBDT) is a part of the Department of Revenue in the Ministry of Finance, Government of India. The CBDT provides essential inputs for policy and planning of direct taxes in India and is also responsible for administration of the direct tax laws through Income Tax Department. The CBDT is a statutory authority functioning under the Central Board of Revenue Act, 1963. It is India's official Financial Action Task Force on Money

Laundering (FATF) .The Central Board of Revenue as the Department apex body charged with the administration of taxes came into existence as a result of the Central Board of Revenue Act, 1924. Initially the Board was in charge of both direct and indirect taxes. However, when the administration of taxes became too unwieldy for one Board to handle, the Board was split up into two, namely the Central Board of Direct Taxes and Central Board of Excise and Customs with effect from 1.1.1964. This bifurcation was brought about by constitution of the two Boards u/s 3 of the Central Boards of Revenue Act, 1963.

Organisational structure of the Central Board of Direct Taxes

The CBDT is headed by Chairman and also comprises six members, all of whom are ex officio Special Secretary to Government of India.The Investigation Division of the Central Board of Direct Taxes is also headed by a member of the CBDT.

The Chairman and Members of CBDT are selected from Indian Revenue Service (IRS), a premier civil service of India, whose members constitute the top management of Income Tax Department and other various departments.

General budget

The Finance minister of India presents the annual union budget in the Parliament on the last working day of February. The budget has to be passed by the Lok Sabha before it can come into effect on 1 April, the start of India's fiscal year. The Union budget is preceded by an economic survey which outlines the broad direction of the budget and the economic performance of the country for the outgoing financial year. This economic survey involves all the various NGOs, women organisations, business people, old people associations etc.

The 2009 Union budget of India had a total estimated expenditure for 2009–10 was INR10208.38 billion (US\$163 billion), of which INR6956.89 billion (US\$111 billion) was towards Non Plan and INR3251.49 billion (US\$52 billion) towards Plan expenditure. Total estimated revenue was INR6198.42 billion (US\$99 billion), including revenue receipts of INR6144.97 billion (US\$98 billion) and capital receipts of INR53.45 billion (US\$855 million), excluding borrowings. The resulting fiscal deficit was INR4009.96 billion (US\$64 billion) while revenue deficit was INR2827.35 billion (US\$45 billion).The gross tax receipts were budgeted at

INR6410.79 billion (US\$103 billion) and non-tax revenue receipts at INR1402.79 billion (US\$22 billion).

India's non-development revenue expenditure has increased nearly fivefold in 2003–04 since 1990–91 and more than tenfold since 1985–1986. Interest payments are the single largest item of expenditure and accounted for more than 40% of the total non development expenditure in the 2003–04 budget. Defence expenditure increased fourfold during the same period and has been increasing due to India's desire to project its military prowess beyond South Asia. In 2007, India's defence spending stood at US\$26.5 billion.

Chapter 7

Indian Political Economy

Political economy refers to the distribution of political and economic power in a given society and how that influences the directions of development and policies that bear on them. In India where the vast masses of the people are poor and often socially disadvantaged, a relatively small minority holds much of the power, although in recent years democratic expansion has started to loosen the grip of elite control. In terms of economic interests the groups which have often been identified as powerful include large and medium business houses, large and medium sized farmers, the upper echelons of the salaried class, and the top layer of unionised labor. There have been learned, and sometimes intense, debates, particularly among Marxist scholars on the nature of class formation and mode of production in India. Since empirical data on different categories are often limited to size groups of land holdings, or to asset holding groups and to corporate market shares, it is not easy to clearly demarcate the different economic interest groups, and it is even more difficult to delineate the cross-cutting cleavages of economic and social stratification. And on how the groups get organised and exercise their power, we usually have mostly anecdotal and case-study evidence. We have more quantitative evidence on wealth distribution, which, of course, is highly unequal in India. According to National Sample Survey data, in 1991 while more than half of the households had less than Rs. 50 thousand in assets (physical, including land, and financial), only about 10 per cent of rural households and 14 per cent of urban households had assets exceeding Rs. 2.5 lakhs. (The Market Information Survey of Households carried out by National Council of Applied Economic Research, NCAER, suggests that in terms of income, about 12 per cent of households in India in 1998-9 had annual income of above Rs. 1.05 lakh, while 40 per cent of households had less than Rs. 35 thousand of annual income). But the inequality in human capital (e.g. education) is much more than in physical or financial capital. According to World Bank estimates, inequality in adult schooling years among people in India is much higher than that in not just Sri Lanka, China, Vietnam or Indonesia, but also than in most Latin American countries including Brazil and Mexico. The gulf between the

educated and the uneducated in India is largely reflected in the social and economic disparity between those who do manual work and those who do not.

This is the big dividing line in India, and is much too frozen over time, as education (particularly, at secondary levels and above), which is the main route of intergenerational mobility is available (or affordable) to a small group of people, whose boundaries expand much too slowly. In terms of occupation categories, the above-mentioned NCAER data suggest that salary-earners, professionals and businessmen constituted the heads of about 22 per cent of households in 1998-9 (since this excludes some unmeasured number of those described as cultivators who may also avoid manual work, the actual proportion of households with heads in non-manual occupations is likely to be higher). Since the overwhelming majority of manual workers are not organised, they hold little political power as workers. Of course, they are at election times often mobilised as social groups (divided on caste, community, religion or regional lines) which give them some intermittent collective electoral power. Even when social and economic interest groups (belonging largely, say, to the top two deciles of the population) are influential, their influence is somewhat dissipated by extreme fragmentation. In terms of social and economic divisions the Indian elite may be more fragmented than the elite in most other countries, reflecting the fact that India has one of the world's most heterogeneous societies. This gives rise to what political scientists call a 'collective action' problem, i.e. the actors find it difficult to get their act together. It is more difficult for them to agree on a goal, and even when they agree on a goal, it is difficult for them to coordinate their actions to achieve that goal. This becomes a particularly acute political-economic problem in the matter of long-term public investment in infrastructure (power, roads, transport, telecommunication, ports, irrigation, etc.). Infrastructure is widely regarded as the crucial bottleneck for Indian economic growth, and the Indian elite is to largely benefit from any improvement in infrastructure. Yet substantial public investment in infrastructure which takes a relatively long time to fructify may require, in the current situation of fiscal deficits, giving up on the part of the elite on government subsidies or benefits of underpriced public goods and services (like water, electricity, fertilizer, cooking gas, university education, and so on), or on major raises in salary or perks in government jobs. But coordinating on short-run sacrifices or curbing particularistic demands on the public fisc (it has been estimated that about twothirds of all government subsidies go to the relatively rich) for the sake of long-term elite goals has been very difficult to achieve in India. Over the years this collective action

problem has become more severe. As more and more of hitherto subordinate social groups have come up to be politically important particularly at the state level (in a welcome expansion of political equality and democracy in India), the sources of demands on the polity have become more diverse. In the first two decades after Independence the massive country-wide organization of the Congress Party used to coordinate the transactional negotiations among different groups and leaders in different parts of the country. That organization has fallen into disarray. The proliferation of small and regional parties and their increasing importance for the survival of coalition governments at the centre have often meant that catering to particularistic demands overrides coordination for the long haul. At any given moment an important election somewhere in the country is never too far-off, and the short-run issues trump the long-run ones.

When the interest groups are socially and economically fragmented, pulling in different directions with none dominating the whole show, state policies get buffeted around, and any steps towards economic reform are likely to be halting and hesitant. But such fragmentation may also give the state somewhat more autonomy, in the sense that it does not have to march to the tune of one dominant interest group, and an astute political leadership can play off one group against the other to some extent and earn its own rent in the form of special power and privileges. In any case as the old debates among Marxist.

The spectacular economic resurgence of East and South Asia in recent decades has been the most important global development of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, roughly on a par with the West European 'industrial revolution', and even more important than the collapse of Europe's Communist regimes in 1989-91, the al-Qaeda attacks on the New York World Trade Centre and the Washington Pentagon on 11 September 2001, the US-led invasions of Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraq in 2003, and the Arab Spring of 2011-12. 'The phenomenal growth of China and India in recent years has set in motion a process of social change that is, in its scale and speed, unprecedented in human history' (Partha Chatterjee 2011: 16). 'Economic growth at a pace that doubles an economy's size every seven or eight years is not a process that simply requires a country to maintain a steady course [...] It is a process that requires a country to maintain itself in a constant state of radical transformation' (Emmot 2009: 22), arguably one that is in many ways even more radical and pervasive than the old Trotskyist concept of 'permanent revolution'.

This upsurge is quite rapidly bringing into being a new world economy in which, for the first time in human history, the biggest players will not be the world's richest countries, but two of the world's poorest countries: China and India. By 2040 India's population will have overtaken China's, and these two countries will have become the world's two largest economies mainly by sheer weight of numbers (albeit increasingly harnessed to ever-rising levels of education and technology). This ongoing economic resurgence of China and India represents a 'return to normality', rather than an historical aberration or novelty. During most of the last 2000 years, 'greater China' and 'greater India' have each represented between 22% and 33% of global GDP (Maddison 2007: 381), and they have accounted for most of the world's scientific, mathematical and technological innovations (Hobson 2004).

At least until the recent Indian economic boom sharply decelerated and threatened to stall in 2011 and 2012, it seemed that India – in common with many other Asian countries – had 'locked into' a trajectory of ever-accelerating technological, structural and organizational change and dizzying rates of economic growth. Overall, the per capita GDP of East and South Asia rose roughly seven-fold between 1950 and 2003 (Maddison 2007: 176; and Emmott 2009: 16). This boom can be seen primarily as the culmination of successive accelerations in the long-term rates of economic growth in the two largest Asian countries and as a resurgence from their respective economic nadirs during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

It has been estimated that India's annual rate of GDP growth averaged only c. 0.2% per annum between 1500 and 1820, c. 0.4% p.a. between 1820 and 1870, c. 1.0% p.a. between 1870 and 1913, and c. 0.2% p.a. between 1913 and 1950 (in each of these periods failing to keep pace with population growth), before moving onto a considerably higher growth trajectories of c. 3.5 % between 1950 and 1973 (a substantial 'growth dividend' from the greatly increased autonomy conferred by Independence) and c. 5.2% p.a. between 1970 and 2003 (Maddison 2007: 280). India's annual rate of GDP growth surged even higher, to 6.0% between 1994 and 2003, 7.6% in 2004, 9.0% in 2005, 9.5% in 2006 and 10.0% in 2007, decelerated to 6.9% in 2008 and 5.9% in 2009 (under the impact of the Western economic crises of 2008-09), briefly rebounded to 10.1% in 2010, and then decelerated again to 6.8% in 2011 and 4.9% in 2012 (IMF 2012: 194).

For comparison, Angus Maddison has also estimated that China's GDP grew by only c. 0.4% per annum on average between 1500 and 1820 and by only c. 0.6 % p.a. between 1870 and 1913,

and that it actually contracted slightly between 1820 and 1870 and between 1913 and 1950, before China lifted itself onto much higher economic growth trajectories of c. 4.9% p.a. between 1950 and 1973 and c. 7.3% p.a. between 1970 and 2003 (Maddison 2007: 280). China's GDP growth reached 10.1% in 2004, 11.3% in 2005, 12.7% in 2006 and 14.2% in 2007, decelerated very slightly to 9.6% in 2008 and 9.2 % in 2009 (under the impact of the Western economic crises of 2008-09), rebounded to 10.4% in 2010, and then decelerated to 9.2 % in 2011 and 7.8% in 2012 (IMF 2012: 194).

Since the 1980s, the world's major multinational companies have been steadily relocating low and medium technology manufacturing activities and 'dirty' polluting industries away from relatively high-waged advanced capitalist countries (the West plus Japan, Australasia and, more recently, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) to relatively low-waged countries in East Asia and more recently to India and Bangladesh, mainly in order to supply Western and Japanese markets as cheaply and profitably as possible, but also in order to help them penetrate more deeply into the markets of the much faster-growing 'emerging economies' of mainland Asia, Indonesia, Latin America and Africa. However, it needs to be kept in mind that the bulk of the gains from this relocation of manufacturing activity to mainland Asia accrue, not to the increasingly industrialized but still very low-waged Asian countries which account for ever-growing shares of global manufacturing, but to the Western companies which still supply and control most of the technology, design, R &D, finance, insurance, marketing and transport and distribution networks involved in delivering these manufactures to mainly Western and Japanese customers, and to the hundreds of millions of Western and Japanese consumers whose real incomes are ever-increasingly boosted by the ever-growing availability of ever-cheaper manufactured goods made in mainland Asia (see Jacques 2012: 213-215). So long as the main benefits from the dizzying expansion of mainland Asian manufacturing continue to accrue to Western and Japanese companies and consumers, the further development of manufacturing per se in mainland Asian countries is unlikely to enable these countries ever to catch up fully with the high-income West and Japan. They are liable to remain trapped in a situation of 'perpetual catch up', for ever hanging onto the technological, financial and infrastructural coattails of the high income economies. In order to overcome or escape from this latest form of dependency, they will have to move beyond mere manufacturing, which is increasingly one of the least remunerative parts of the design, production and marketing chain, and gradually take over control of the associated

(and still highly remunerative) design, R&D, finance, marketing, transport, distribution, and logistical functions which are still mainly controlled by Western and Japanese companies and some of their employees.

However, even more dramatic and remunerative developments and innovations have been taking place in the service sector, especially financial services, capital markets, and information and communication technology (ICT), especially in India and Sri Lanka. The ICT-driven revolution in financial services and capital markets has fostered ‘financialization’, ‘finance capitalism’ and ever-increasing scope for capitalists to make vast fortunes out of ‘dealing’ (buying and selling, rather than producing), whether it be in money, stocks and shares, futures, patents, licenses, commodities, or real estate. Advances in ICT have also contributed to the development of new products and activities in the media, leisure, recreation and entertainments industries, as well as to the commoditization of knowledge, information and know-how. What are often still misleadingly referred to as ‘non-tradable’ outputs or activities of the service sector have in fact increasingly been converted into internationally tradable commodities. Service provision in high-income capitalist countries is increasingly being digitized and ‘outsourced’ to low-income countries, above all India. As a low-waged but English-speaking country with a 30 to 40 million strong diaspora which is increasingly well integrated into Western as well as Asian and African host countries, India has been extraordinarily successful in these ‘new economy’ activities. Largely for this reason, service activities now make up 59% of India’s GDP (Roberts 2012: 10). Manufacturing contributes only 15 % of India’s GDP, and agriculture (despite occupying 52 % of the workforce) contributes only 17%, and construction, mining and transport account for the remaining 9%.

If India were to accomplish the ambition of outperforming China economically over the next three decades, this would be widely seen as at least a partial vindication of the arguments put forward by Amartya Sen and other eminent Indian economists that liberal democracy, free media, the rule of law and respect for human rights ought not to be treated as luxury ‘add-ons’ which developing countries can only ‘afford’ after they have achieved relatively high levels of development, but ought to be prized in their own right and as very valuable (even crucial) inputs into broader and ultimately much sounder and healthier conceptions of development.

Why these differences? Until the 2000s, savings rates were much lower in India (at around 22% of GDP) than in China (between 40 and 50% of GDP), and capital was therefore much scarcer and dearer in India than in East Asia (Sanyal 2008: 75- 76). Furthermore, because the service sector was initially of relatively little interest or concern to most Indian economists and economic policy-makers, it was largely ignored/neglected. Consequently, it was left relatively unfettered by the kinds of restrictive labour laws and bureaucratic over-regulation (the notorious ‘licence raj’) and official extortion rackets which had stymied most of India’s manufacturing industries and agriculture under Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-64) and his daughter Indira Gandhi (1965-77, 1980-84) (Sanyal 2008: 76-77). “The third and possibly most important factor was the kind of human capital available. Most other Asian countries had tended to expand primary education first, then secondary and finally tertiary. Thus they had [comparatively] high literacy levels at their “take-off” but a relatively small pool of high-skill workers. It was the opposite in India. Even in the [1990s], almost half the [Indian] population was illiterate.” (Sanyal 2008: 77).

In addition, the voracious investment needs/appetites of the producer goods industries prioritized by the highly centralized Soviet-style planning model established by Nehru and Professor P.C. Mahalanobis and continued under Indira Gandhi resulted in the country having ‘invested heavily in tertiary education and built up a handful of world-class institutions such as Delhi University, the Indian Institutes of Management and the Indian Institutes of Technology’, while the primary education needs of the mass of the population remained relatively neglected (Sanyal 2008: 77).

Moreover, ‘technological changes (telephone and internet) and splintering and disembodiment of services have made many services tradable, just like manufactured goods. These services, called modern impersonal progressive services include communication, banking, insurance and business-related services. They are being built by technology, transportability and tradability – the 3 Ts. The third T, tradability, refers to the fact that many modern services, which are transported digitally, face few government barriers when they are moved from one country to another.’ ‘The 3 Ts have unleashed a services revolution riding on the wave of the internet [...]Service exports from developing countries almost tripled in the last ten years, growing by 11 per cent annually’

At the same time, Asia is ‘becoming more like Europe in the way in which its economies are integrated with one another. It is also becoming more like Europe in the way in which its biggest countries interests – both political and economic – are spreading across the continent and overlapping with each other.’ (Emmott 2009: 42). ‘Economics, rather than nomadic horsemen, is the force that is turning Asia into a coherent entity.... The commercial links that are emerging inside Asia are producing the deepest and most extensive integration that Asia has ever seen. They are bringing about the very creation of Asia. They are, in effect, creating a new continent.’ (Emmott 2009: 25). The parallels with European integration are striking and suggestive. Jean Monnet, the chief architect of the European Communities established in the 1950s, stressed that until the launching of the European Communities in the 1950s, ideas and conceptions of Europe had remained just that – ideas and conceptions – and that ‘Europe’ had never previously assumed a more concrete form (Lee and Bideleux 2009: 163). Likewise, the new ‘facts on the ground’ of Asian integration are finally beginning to transform mere ideas and conceptions of Asia (mostly products of overheated Western imaginations!) into something more concrete and consequential. By at least partially ‘de-coupling’ Asian economies from their Western counterparts and from the West’s fluctuating economic fortunes, such changes have helped to gradually ‘liberate’ many educated Asians from the former excessive, asymmetric, debilitating and demeaning (and often misplaced) dependence on and faith in Western ideas, technology and ‘know how’, Western markets and marketing and distribution networks, and Western hi-tech products and industrial producer goods.

Chapter 8

Foreign Policy of India

India's foreign policy has undergone a dramatic transformation since the country's emergence as an independent state from the collapse of the British Indian Empire in 1947. This paper will locate the sources of the shifts that have taken place in the country's foreign policy over the past six decades. To that end it will argue that the origins and evolution of India's foreign policy can be best traced to an interaction between the structure and agency.

Specifically, it will argue that the country's post-independence political leadership had initially embarked upon an attempt to transform the texture of international politics through the pursuit of an ideational foreign policy. It will then show how the policy underwent a significant, though incomplete, transformation in the aftermath of the disastrous Sino-Indian Border War of 1962. After this rude awakening, India's post-Nehru political leadership decided to acquire sufficient military capabilities to defend the country's territorial integrity. However, it refused to entirely abandon the Nehruvian legacy. Accordingly, the country did not dispense with the strategy of nonalignment and continued to support a range of global causes, on occasion to the detriment of its own national interests. Indeed it will be demonstrated that it was only the end of the Cold War that induced India to finally abandon its commitment to nonalignment. Faced with the Soviet collapse, the emergence of the United States (US) as the dominant global power and confronted with the dramatic rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC), India's policymakers were left with little choice, but to do away with the last trappings of the ideational world view.

Nevertheless, key individuals within India's attentive public as well as its foreign policy establishment, continued to argue the case for adhering to India's ideational foreign policy orientation.³ In effect, the structural features of the global order ultimately induced India's policymakers to abandon their transformational agenda and adopt policies best suited to advancing India's core strategic and security interests.

The Nehruvian Era: 1947-1964

The principal architect of India's foreign policy, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, had developed and pursued the strategy of nonalignment, as is well-known. The full dimensions of his foreign policy, however, are not adequately appreciated or understood, for the most part. Imbued with anti-colonial zeal and an ideational world view, he sought to bring about a transformation of the emergent global order. Under these circumstances, he campaigned for decolonisation, disarmament and the redistribution of global resources on a more equitable basis. He also reposed considerable faith in multilateral organisations and in their capacity to limit international conflicts.

The nascent quality of India's domestic foreign policy making institutions had given Nehru considerable leeway to pursue his transformational agenda at the global level. Two particular concerns had animated Nehru in his pursuit of an ideational foreign policy. At one level he was deeply concerned about the possible militarisation of Indian society. He feared that involvement in the emergent superpower conflicts and pacts would invariably lead to a distortion of India's domestic political and economic priorities. Critical and scarce resources, he feared, would then be directed toward the military enterprise with considerable opportunity costs. At another level, Nehru abhorred the use of force in international politics and had profound reservations about the profession of arms.

Not surprisingly Nehru sought to bolster the nascent United Nations (UN) and made India an active participant in UN peacekeeping operations. For this reason he sought to play a mediatory role in concluding the Korean War. India helped bring about the neutralisation of Laos and subsequently, along with Poland and Canada, served as members of the International Control Commission in Vietnam.⁷ Among other episodes, India played a vital role in the UN attempts to defuse the crisis in the Congo in the shambolic aftermath of Belgian colonial withdrawal from the country.

Owing to Nehru's passionate opposition to nuclear weapons, India also introduced a resolution in the UN General Assembly as early as 1953, calling for a 'standstill' agreement on the testing of nuclear weapons. Nehru also commissioned the first public study of the radiological, blast and other effects of nuclear weapons.

His preoccupation with these global and multilateral initiatives, however, was not without cost to India's national security. He largely ignored the warnings of his Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel about the possible dangers that India might face from its behemoth northern neighbour, the PRC.⁹ This neglect, in the late 1950s, would have significant adverse consequences for India's defence policies and ultimately culminate in the military debacle of 1962.

In the Aftermath of Nehru

On a personal level, the disastrous border war left Nehru a broken man and for all practical purposes spelled the doom of his ideational world view. His immediate successor, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, though a competent politician, lacked Nehru's grand visions of domestic and international transformation. Furthermore, he faced more compelling quotidian tasks, including the urgent need to address India's severe conventional military deficits.

On a national level, his government undertook a drastic and much overdue modernisation of India's armed forces to render them suitable to cope with a future military threat from the PRC. India was in the early stages of revamping its conventional military capabilities when the PRC tested its first nuclear weapon in 1964. The nuclear test generated a political firestorm within India and contributed to an important parliamentary debate about India's ability to cope with this new threat.¹²

Finally, on a global level, India embarked on an abortive quest to obtain a nuclear guarantee from the great powers.¹³ In the wake of this failure and aware that the global nuclear order would

be shaped dramatically with the passage of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which was under discussion at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva, India's policymakers authorised the Subterranean Nuclear Explosions Project (SNEP). The project proceeded apace, though not without setbacks and culminated in the first Indian nuclear test of 1974.

The country had barely recovered from the shock of the Chinese nuclear tests when another war erupted with Pakistan in 1965. The conflict, which was of a short duration and fought over the question of the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir, ended mostly in a stalemate. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri negotiated a post-war agreement at the then Soviet Central Asian city of Tashkent under the terms of which the two sides agreed to return to the status quo ante.

Almost immediately after the formal completion of this accord, Shastri died of a heart attack. Following Shastri's abrupt demise the ruling Congress Party chose to install Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, as the new prime minister. Indira Gandhi, unlike her father, had no intellectual proclivities and had little interest in pursuing any sweeping designs to transform India's domestic political order, let alone the global arena. Indeed, in retrospect, it is more than apparent that she had no viable, coherent vision for India's foreign policy, barring some crude notion of enhancing India's national interests as she and a handful of close advisers construed them. As one observer of her foreign policy has written, 'Where Nehru had articulated India's national interests in highflown

phrases of world peace and cooperation, Indira stressed security, territory and prestige as integral parts of national interest.'¹⁶

As a consequence, her foreign policy was one that was mostly ad hoc, reactive and lacking in strategic vision. When faced with a severe domestic economic crisis, she demonstrated little diplomatic finesse in negotiating with the US and multilateral donors.¹⁷ Indeed her inept handling of the issue, including her strident (and ineffectual) criticism of the US conduct of the war in Vietnam, led to a significant rift in Indo-US relations.

In fairness, however, she did manage the Indo-Pakistani crisis in 1971 in the subcontinent with consummate skill. The difference in her handling of these two crises requires a word of explanation. During the first crisis she had just assumed office, was (and remained) unfamiliar with key questions of economics and very possibly unsure about her standing at home and abroad. Five years later she had managed to strengthen her domestic position. Also, the 1971 crisis, unlike the one in 1966, was both political and strategic.

India at the Margins

During much of the next two decades, systemic, national and decision-making factors contributed to India's near-complete marginalisation in the global order. At a global level, between 1966 and 1971, India's material weakness enabled the US to mostly ignore it. The Soviets also evinced limited interest in India. Indeed it was not until the 1971 crisis that they paid much heed to India. Ironically, despite India's limited material capabilities, they chose to court India because of a common concern about the PRC and the emergence of a PRC-US nexus, which had an underlying anti-Soviet orientation.

India also felt compelled to move closer to the Soviets because of on-going fears about a

revanchist PRC, the US support for Pakistan during the 1971 war, and because it suited the Congress regime's left-wing orientation. Finally, the Indo-Soviet treaty of 'Peace, Friendship and Cooperation' signed in August 1971 provided the country with a tacit security guarantee. Finally, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's own predilections cannot be entirely discounted. Nixon and Kissinger sought to cow her during the 1971 crisis. Not surprisingly she developed a personal animus toward the US and particularly towards the Nixon administration.¹⁹ This hostility combined with the material benefits that accrued from the Indo-Soviet relationship, especially significant arms transfers, led her to tilt toward the Soviet Union all the while professing nonalignment.

The most significant test of this relationship came after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Contrary to popular belief, there is little questioning that Indira Gandhi cared little for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.²⁰ Her concerns were mostly based upon pragmatic security considerations. The Soviet invasion, as she feared, would bring the US into South Asia, renewing an arms transfer and security relationship with Pakistan. In the event, her concerns proved to be entirely justified as the Reagan administration in a strategy to dislodge the Soviets from Afghanistan came to utilise Pakistan as a conduit for training, organising and supplying the Afghan resistance.²¹ The US obtained access to Pakistan through a program of significant economic and military largess that inevitably affected the conventional force balance in the subcontinent. Not surprisingly, India immediately turned to the USSR for military assistance to restore the conventional balance in its favour. The Soviets, keen on ensuring India's public acquiescence on the Afghan question, unhesitatingly complied with India's requests for arms transfers.

Under the circumstances, Indo-US relations simply could not dramatically improve. Some minor, and mostly cosmetic, changes did take place after President Reagan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met at a North-South summit in Cancun, Mexico. In an effort to wean India away from the Soviet Union, the Reagan administration did make some limited overtures. To that end, it allowed the transfer of some high-technology items which India desperately needed to boost its indigenous weapons industries.

In the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984, her son, a political neophyte, assumed office. Since he had belatedly entered politics after a career as an airline pilot, he lacked the necessary political acumen to bring about substantial changes in India's foreign policy.

Consequently, in the absence of bold new initiatives at the level of India's political leadership, there was a substantial continuity in India's foreign and security policies.

National-level factors also militated against significant changes. Given the Reagan administration's willingness to work with and support the military dictatorship of General Zia-ul-Haq, India could ill-afford to weaken, let alone end its on-going relationship with the Soviet Union. It relied on the Soviets for diplomatic support on the Kashmir question, for arms transfers and for substantial markets.

Finally, the global distribution of power was such that India benefited from its quasi-alignment with the Soviet Union as it inhibited any serious prospect of Chinese revanchism. In effect, forces at all three levels offered few incentives for any dramatic shifts in Indian foreign policy. What did change, however, was the regional security situation in South Asia. The changes in the regional security order stemmed mostly from the exigencies of India's domestic politics and more specifically from the shortcomings of India's federalism. As a consequence, the country faced ethno-religious insurgencies in both the Punjab and Kashmir in the early and late 1980s, respectively.²³ Though both uprisings had quintessentially domestic origins, Pakistan quickly became involved in both. Pakistani involvement in both rebellions increased their intensity, prolonged their duration and made their resolution more difficult. Throughout much of the decade, India remained preoccupied with the suppression of the Punjab insurgency and then had to devote substantial efforts to the containment of the uprising in Kashmir.

Despite these domestic preoccupations because of geopolitical, national and leadership considerations, India also became embroiled in the civil war in Sri Lanka in the mid-1980s. At a geopolitical level, India looked askance toward Sri Lanka's increasing closeness with the US. At a national level, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi felt compelled to intercede in Sri Lanka's domestic conflict because of the growing concerns about the plight of the country's Tamil minority within the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Finally, he also visualised a more active role for India within the region. Unfortunately, his decision to send in an Indian military contingent to enforce the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, which had been designed to end a fratricidal civil war, ended mostly in a fiasco.²⁴

The Post Cold War Era

It was not until the end of the Cold War that all three forces again converged to contribute toward a fundamental re-appraisal and eventual transformation of India's foreign policy. A leadership change came about as a consequence of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination on the campaign trail in May 1991. A stalwart of the Congress Party, Narasimha Rao, became the new prime minister. Quite early in his term, he confronted an unprecedented national financial crisis.

A number of factors contributed to this crisis. First, under Rajiv Gandhi, India had pursued a policy of piecemeal economic liberalisation. As a consequence, it had loosened regulations on imports and had also engaged in considerable deficit spending. Resultantly, it had amassed considerable external debts with multilateral institutions payments on which came due at a most inopportune moment.

Second, the timing of these debt payments was less than propitious for India because they coincided with the aftermath of the first Gulf War. The war had a disproportionate impact on India because over a hundred thousand Indian expatriate workers in the region had to be repatriated. Third, the Indian exchequer also faced an abrupt loss of their remittances. The severity of the crisis was such that at one point India had only two weeks' worth of foreign exchange available to purchase essential edible oils on the global market.

Fortunately, the Indian political leadership under Prime Minister Narasimha Rao along with his Finance Minister Manmohan Singh used this crisis to dramatically alter the orientation and content of India's domestic and foreign economic policies.²⁶ In effect, India steadily abandoned its commitment to import-substituting industrialisation (ISI) with its emphasis on high tariff walls. Simultaneously, it started to dismantle the labyrinthine set of controls, quotas and licenses that had throttled economic growth, stifled innovation and curbed competition.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao not only showed considerable dexterity in handling this crisis, but also managed to change the direction of India's foreign and security policies in the wake of the Soviet collapse. He was acutely aware that the principal successor state to the Soviet Union, Russia, was simply unwilling and unable to assume the same role that the Soviets had played visà-vis India during the Cold War.²⁷ Yet important differences remained with the US on questions of human rights in Kashmir, on international trade and on nuclear proliferation. Consequently, while attempting to mend fences with the US, he nevertheless emphasised India's

preference for a multi-polar world order, a sentiment echoed both in France and Russia, albeit for their own reasons.

In his attempt to improve Indo-US relations, Rao changed India's long-standing policy of keeping Israel at some distance. The successful conclusion of the secret Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in Madrid also provided him sufficient political cover at home and abroad to pursue a new relationship with Israel. Such political protection was deemed vital because virtually all political regimes in India had long been staunch supporters of the Palestinian movement for self-determination and were acutely sensitive to Muslim political opinion at home.

In addition to his attempts to improve relations with the US and Israel, Rao initiated what came to be known as India's 'Look East' policy. This policy entailed engaging the dynamic economies of Southeast Asia after a long period of neglect.²⁹ Despite India's early and initial engagement with the region, during much of the Cold War, it had been at odds with most of the states of the region because it had seen their regimes as little more than stooges of American global power. The liberalisation of the Indian economy made it imperative to end the ideologically-based neglect of this economically vibrant region of the world.

Apart from these initiatives, the Rao regime also continued support India's nuclear weapons program. The program had received a significant boost in 1989 under Rajiv Gandhi, when he had been advised of the growing threat to India's conventional capabilities because of the growth of the PRC-aided Pakistani nuclear weapons program. Rao's willingness to support the nuclear weapons program was not difficult to fathom. India, for all practical purposes, had lost the tacit security guarantee from the Soviet Union that it had enjoyed since 1971. Consequently, it made much sense for the country to acquire a viable nuclear deterrent to ward off possible nuclear blackmail at the hands of the PRC. In fact, it is now known that Rao had authorised a nuclear test in 1995. However, American spy satellites had detected the preparations at the Pokhran test site leading Ambassador Frank Wisner to confront Rao with the evidence thereof. Fearing significant American and multilateral sanctions which could have derailed his careful program of economic reform, Rao chose to defer the tests.³⁰

Despite the emergence of a Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led regime following the Indian general elections of 1998, the foreign and security policies of the country did not undergo a fundamental transformation. Such continuity was remarkable given that much of the BJP's leadership were

known for their hawkish dispositions. The BJP-led government, however, did lead India to cross the nuclear Rubicon. Once again the explanation underlying the decision to test nuclear weapons can be found at three distinct levels. First, India's policymakers were alarmed at the ease with which the US managed to ensure the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1995. Shortly thereafter, they failed to prevent the preferred draft text of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) from being reported to the UN General Assembly from the Conference in Disarmament (CD) in Geneva. They were especially concerned that a clause in the draft treaty would require some 44 states with on-going nuclear power programs to ratify the treaty before it entered into force. In turn, they were acutely aware that the global community cared little about the vast majority of the 44 states. The real object of pressure, indubitably, was going to be India.

Confronted with the possibility of encountering significant constraints on its on-going nuclear weapons program, the BJP-led coalition chose to conduct a series of five nuclear tests on 11 and 13 May 1998, thereby effectively ending India's posture of nuclear ambiguity. In the wake of the tests, a spate of the US-led multilateral sanctions followed. However, the bulk of them were lifted in about a year as their efficacy proved questionable as India managed to deftly weather their impact.

Was the decision to cross the nuclear Rubicon solely a function of the hawkish BJP's presence as the dominant partner of the ruling coalition as some have alleged? The evidence does not seem to support that facile conclusion. Narasimha Rao had actually contemplated a set of tests but faced with American pressure had chosen to defer them. Consequently, the tests cannot be attributed primarily to the BJP's assumption of political office.

The BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) lost the national elections in 2004 and a Congress-dominated United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government came into office. The UPA regime did little or nothing to alter the course of India's nuclear weapons program. Indeed the UPA regime expended significant domestic political capital to negotiate and successfully reach a civilian nuclear accord with the US which all but recognised India as a de facto nuclear weapons state.

The Challenges Ahead

India's foreign policy has undergone nothing short of a fundamental transformation since the end of the Cold War. It has, for all practical purposes, abandoned its hoary commitment to

nonalignment though some elements of India's political leadership deem it necessary to continue to pay public homage to the doctrine. In practice, however, the country has adopted a policy that is mostly pragmatic and designed to promote its conception of key national interests.

The abandonment of the pursuit of world order on an ideational basis is, without question, a move that will facilitate India's long-held dream of achieving great power status. Despite this welcome development, the country still confronts a set of challenges in its efforts to transcend the region and emerge as a significant actor in global politics. Four challenges in particular can be identified. First, India's policymakers have not been able to articulate an alternative grand strategy for the country to replace its prior commitment to nonalignment. At best, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has stated that India's foreign policy is based upon 'enlightened self-interest'. This formulation, however, does not amount to even a semblance of a grand strategy. A country that hopes to play a major role in global affairs cannot be so bereft of ideas to guide its foreign policy. In effect, India's policymakers need to spell out a new vision of a global order barring a vague preference for multi-polarity.

Second, India's institutions of foreign policy making are not adequately equipped to deal with the demands of the enhanced role that it hopes to play in the international order. As it has been commented on elsewhere, even the size of the Indian diplomatic corps is miniscule given the tasks that it is increasingly expected to perform. A country of India's size and significance cannot operate an effective foreign policy with a diplomatic service, which has a mere 700 odd officers.³³ Additionally, the diplomatic corps does not have sufficient numbers of personnel with adequate training in either functional issues or regional knowledge. Such a paucity of adequate training is bound to hobble the country's efforts to effect changes in the global system.

In a related vein, India also lacks a cadre of university professors, independent analysts in think tanks and analysts who can proffer timely, reliable and policy-relevant advice to the foreign policy making apparatus. High quality training institutions in international relations and strategic studies are sorely lacking in the country and so the products of even major universities are, for the most part, downright mediocre. Few of these individuals possess the requisite training to provide careful, considered alternative perspectives, based upon thorough research, to policymakers. Consequently, even if the policymaking apparatus were so inclined its ability to tap into external sources of knowledge and advice are sorely limited.

Third, this inadequacy of functional competence and regional expertise will also adversely affect the country's ability to influence, let alone shape, at least three vital emergent global regimes. These are in the realms of non-proliferation, international trade and climate change. Negotiations over the future of all these three regimes will require extremely skilled, knowledgeable and professional personnel. It is far from clear that India has a surfeit of negotiators of such quality. Fourth and finally, on a more substantive note, India will have to fashion long-term strategies to handle its fractious neighbour Pakistan, deal with its nettlesome smaller neighbours, cope with the rise of the PRC and fashion a stable relationship with the US. The successful management of these relationships is nothing less than pivotal for India's rise to great power status. The reasons thereof are not far to seek. In the absence of a working Indo-Pakistani rapprochement, the continuing differences will dissipate a significant amount of India's time and some material resources. Similarly, contentious relations with its smaller neighbours, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal will also keep India mostly confined to the region. Also, on-going differences with the PRC on the long-standing border dispute, competition with it over hydrocarbons in distant parts of the world and the quest for influence in Southeast Asia will require the forging of a coherent strategy and not a series of ad hoc and idiosyncratic responses. Eventually, no relationship, for good or ill, is more important to India than that with the US. Despite hasty and ill-considered analyses of imminent US decline it will, in all likelihood, remain one the most significant actors in global politics over the foreseeable future. Fortunately, thanks to India's willingness to dispense with its tired and rank anti-Americanism the relationship has acquired some ballast. Unlike during the Cold War, when it was all but bereft of substance, today it has important military, diplomatic and economic foundations. Changes in regimes in New Delhi or Washington, D.C. may well propel the relationship forward or retard its progress. However, barring some unprecedented setback, it is now hard to visualize how it could revert to the past. That said, a productive working relationship with the US on a host of global issues can facilitate India's rise.

Chapter 9

International Relations: An Historical Overview

An Overview of the Field of International Relations

As an academic field of study, International Relations (IR) became an area of inquiry in 1919 when the University of Wales created its department of International Politics and Georgetown created its department of International Relations. The field is devoted to the explicit study of how the system of states could be made to work more effectively to enhance the power of law, peacefully manage interstate affairs, preserve order and minimize the prospects of war. The words "relations" or "affairs" (as in foreign affairs) are meant to signify that the field encompasses more than just politics. The field is closely tied, administratively if not academically, to political science departments (and in some cases, history or law departments, from which IR can be said to have originated, particularly from the subfields of diplomatic history and international law, but international economics might also be added to the chronology). The inclusion of law and economics (e.g., international law is part of international relations but not international politics, and economics and politics have different analytical methods) is one of the things that should (but does not) make IR a complete "breakaway" discipline from political science. Too many careers are at stake to accomplish the needed reform in academe to say that IR is an independent field of study not dominated by political scientists.

There are only about 25 or so independent, top-ranked academic IR departments in the world. In most places, IR is simply treated as a sub-discipline of political science, or is part of a policy studies program, a public administration program, a peace studies program, or a security studies program. Sometimes the labels of foreign affairs or international affairs are preferred by those who shun the IR label as not being interdisciplinary enough. It is probably fair to say that IR is an heterogeneous area of study (Evans & Newnham 1998). It always has and will continue to borrow ideas from fields as diverse as sociology, philosophy, psychology, cultural studies, anthropology, and justice studies.

From the start, IR has been a policy-oriented discipline. There is no agreed-upon methodology for it (other than taking a normative perspective), but the field seeks to not only analyze foreign policy but to help formulate it. This has led, as one might imagine, to various debates (called theoretical debates) about ways of thinking in international relations. The content and character of those debates have shaped the field into what might be called the following "Schools of Thought" which roughly followed one another chronologically, despite overlap: (1) Realism; (2) Behavioralism; (3) Neorealism; (4) Neoliberalism; (5) World Systems Theory; (6) Critical Theory; and (7) Postmodernism. The two dominant perspectives today are neorealism and neoliberalism. These two dominant perspectives will be explained below, in the context of elaborating on the meaning of Realism, Neorealism, Liberalism, and Neoliberalism. Space will also be reserved for attempting to explain the other perspectives.

Realism

The theory of classical realism (sometimes called the power-politics school) is derived from the following works: Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (written approximately 500 BC); from the ancient Greeks, Thucydides (*History of the Peloponnesian War* 431 BC); from Machiavelli (*The Prince* 1513); from Hobbes (*Leviathan* 1651); from Rousseau (*The State of War* 1755); from Clausewitz (*On War* 1827); from E.H. Carr (*The Twenty Years Crisis* 1939); and from Hans Morgenthau (*Politics Among Nations* 1948). Other contributors of note would include: Cardinal de Richelieu who coined the phrase "raison d'etat" during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), a French term meaning a nation's goals and ambitions and today somewhat synonymous with the phrase "national interest" and Otto von Bismarck who coined the term "realpolitik" (German for "politics of reality") as the Iron Chancellor of Germany from 1871 to 1890. Famous phrases include: "The strong do what they can and the weak do what they must" (Thucydides) and "Better feared than loved" (Machiavelli). Most conservative as well as hard-core Marxist approaches are ultimately derived from classical realism. Morgenthau's (1948) book is regarded as the "Bible of International Relations" on the subject, and Henry Kissinger is usually credited with introducing classical realism into American foreign policy from 1969 to 1977 as national security advisor and secretary of state. Morgenthau's (1948) definition of "power" is probably the most commonly cited meaning of the term across all social sciences -- power as the possession of control or command over others, the will to make others do what one desires.

Morgenthau's theory of realism in international relations is based on a synthesis of six (6) principles, as follows:

International relations is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature

The main signpost of political realism is the concept of interest defined in terms of power

Interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid, although its exact meaning may change with time and circumstance

Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action, and it is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action

The moral aspirations of a particular nation cannot be identified with the moral laws that govern the universe

Realist politics is an autonomous sphere that needs to be analyzed as an entity, without being subordinated to any other sphere of human concern

Realism makes several important assumptions. It assumes that the international system is anarchic, in the sense that there is no authority above states capable of regulating their interactions, which is to say that states must arrive at relations with other states on their own, rather than being dictated to by some higher entity (i.e., no true authoritative world government exists). Realism also assumes that sovereign states, rather than international institutions, non-governmental organizations, or multinational corporations, are the primary actors in international affairs. Each state is seen as a rational actor who always pursues self-interest, and the primary goal of each state is to ensure its own security. In the pursuit of that security, states will attempt to amass resources, and relations between states are determined by their relative level of power in terms of military and economic capabilities. Military capabilities must be at least sufficient to deter attack, and strategic planning should be along lines of the worst-case scenario.

There are two main subschools of realism: maximal realism and minimal realism. The theory of maximal realism holds that the most desirable position to be in is that of the hegemon, the most powerful entity in the world (i.e., superpower or hyperpower). Under this theory, a situation

where there is more than one superpower is an inherently unstable situation and one which will inevitably collapse into a more stable system where one nation eventually becomes the most powerful. The theory of minimal realism holds that it is possible to have two or more superpowers because of all the strategies possible in the alliances which can be made between non-hegemonic states who frequently enact policies of the moment (e.g., playing both sides against the middle).

Neorealism

Waltz' neorealism (Waltz 1979), or what is sometimes called structural realism, is the most well-known version of neorealism, although some might say Buzan's (1993) version is a better refinement. Neorealism is widely regarded as a more scientific approach than classical realism because it is capable of explaining puzzling behavior by states. The "neo" in the name of the theory reflects a belief that the structure of the international system itself (rather than the power and status characteristics of actors in the system) has the most influence on behavior, like the way market forces condition thinking, behavior, and interactions. Waltz (1979) is also concerned with explaining why the anarchic international system tends to reproduce itself, and he provides three (3) reasons:

The ordering principle of the system is anarchical not hierarchical, and the absence of a central authority leads to a self-help system where states compete for survival and security through military power, regardless if they want to or not.

The functional differentiation of the anarchic system is such that each state is a separate and autonomous unit, forced to realize its interests on its own because "no one else can be counted on," hence all the important societal functions must be performed by each state on its own.

The distribution of capabilities is unequal and shifting, defining the relative power of the states and predictive of variation in balance of power behavior

Under conditions of ubiquitous anarchy (like the assumption of continuous competition and conflict in realism), states only have two choices: balance or bandwagon, and states almost always choose balance in the long term (they bandwagon in the short term) whenever the system grows calm. This is because for nations, the power of others is always a threat, not a lure, and

times when the system grows calm is the time they move their pieces to balance the power of more powerful states.

Although both realism and neorealism share a fundamental belief that actors will act competitively, realism and neorealism have different implications for national security policy-making. Realism leads to power-oriented strategies with power as an end in itself. Neorealism leads to security-oriented strategies based on the need to compete for security. There are differences, also, between the two theories in terms of the role of uncertainty for war and peace. For realism, certainty leads to war since rational pursuit of power simplifies calculations for war. Also, since bipolarity gives more certainty than multipolarity, multipolarity leads to peace in classical realist theory. For neorealism, certainty leads to peace since with balance of power shifts, the world is made more anarchic and states tend to take more drastic measures (such as peace) to avoid miscalculation and reduce insecurity. According to neorealism, the term “security dilemma” describes the condition in which states, unsure of others’ intentions, arm for the sake of security, setting in motion a vicious circle of response and counter-response. Security dilemmas result from situations, not from the states’ desires, goals, or ambitions.

Liberalism

The theory of classic liberalism (to most Americans) is most directly traceable to John Locke (1632-1704), the French philosopher Voltaire (1694-1778), and American founding father Thomas Paine (1737-1809) who believed in the following idea -- that if you just give people as much freedom and liberty as possible, authoritarian political patterns would disappear, democracies would flourish, wars would never be fought, and world peace and prosperity would surely follow. Numerous proto-liberals exist, and the precise heritage of liberalism is debatable (Renaissance rational humanism or Enlightenment ideology), but most scholars would agree that Locke should probably come first in importance. (In contrast to conservative) the meaning of the word “liberal” traditionally refers to someone who is free, noble, and generous, and has a commitment to tolerance and the right of self-determination by individuals. Most dictionary definitions suffice, but connotations vary. In general and perhaps as more an ideal-type, liberals usually favor constitutional government, representative democracy, and collective rule of law.

Core beliefs tend to derive primarily from Lockean theory that free individuals themselves (if given economic and intellectual liberty) can and should form the basis of political order, without the need for government regulation, other than the government's responsibility to protect and promote the individuals making up that order. Adam Smith (1723-1790) expressed Lockean theory as "laissez-faire" economics where individuals structure moral and economic life without direction, enlightened self-interest harmonizes with the public good (the "invisible hand"), and nations which leave individuals free to follow their own initiative would be the strongest.

The German philosopher Kant is sometimes brought into classic liberalism for his ethics of the categorical imperative (a categorical imperative is something that "commands" action without reference to any purpose or consequence), and also included are natural (human) rights theory and portions of Rousseau's Social Contract theory. Liberalism usually defines itself by contrast, and Marxist ideas are not usually incorporated, except selectively, if at all. Libertarianism is the name given to an opposing (yet derived from the same heritage) philosophy of minimal government regulation in freedom and where the government is held to the same moral standards as individuals. Neoliberalism is the name given to strands of thought separate from (yet connected with) "commercial" liberalism (the linking of free trade with peace), "republican" liberalism (the linking of democracy and peace), "sociological" liberalism (theories of international integration), and (opposed to) anti-capitalist ideologies (like Marxism, socialism, anarchism, and fascism). Neoconservatives are conservatives who were once liberals. The four (4) core beliefs of classic liberalism in international relations have been aptly summarized by Evans & Newnham (1998) as including the following:

- 1 peace can best be secured through the spread of democratic institutions on a world-wide basis
- 2 a natural harmony of interests (the "invisible hand") will ensure people and states make rational calculations which make national interest and international interest one and the same
- 3 if disputes occur, they should be settled by established judicial procedures under the rule of law
- 4 collective security would replace notions of self-help

These core beliefs may need some elaboration. First of all, it should be noted that some IR scholars refer to classic liberalism (and neoliberalism) as "institutional" liberalism precisely because of the focus on spreading democratic institutions. Regime theory is also a liberal (and pluralist or consensus-oriented) strand of thought. Secondly, liberalism holds that state preferences, rather than state capabilities, are the primary determinants of state behavior, and the analogy is carried over into the domestic level regarding individual motivations. What makes the "invisible hand" work is tolerance of preferences, along with democratic institutions like "enlightened" educational institutions which promote rational calculations among both individuals and states that "war doesn't pay."

Preferences may vary from state to state, depending on culture, economic system, and type of government. Governments make war, however, not people, so the best hope for peace is democracy (as the highest form of expressing the popular will of the people who will surely choose peace - a self-evident proposition based on reason and natural law). Thirdly, the rule of law is just as applicable to states as it is to people, and a voluntary system of international organizations ought to exist fulfilling the functions of a legislature, an executive, and most of all, a judiciary while preserving tolerance for as much freedom and independence among states as possible. Fourthly, just as it is always possible to identify aggressors and belligerents, it should always be possible to put together an effective coalition of law-abiding states to oppose such violators. Collective security is a Kantian idea as much a part of classic liberalism in this regard, and one can easily see that liberalism is part of the theoretical foundation upon which organizations known as the League of Nations and the United Nations were built.

Liberals can be distinguished as to whether they are (a) interventionist; or (b) non-interventionist. The first school, interventionists, believe, as Woodrow Wilson, American President from 1913 to 1921, did that war on behalf of the liberal ideal may occasionally be necessary to rid the world of illiberal and persistent opponents. Although progress is historically inevitable, sometimes it is necessary to help it out. Liberal interventionists are especially opposed to totalitarianism in all its forms, and justify war mainly in terms of just war theory.

A related strand is "positive" liberalism, where the concern is whether people have "positive" freedoms (freedom to, expression e.g.) as well as "negative" freedoms (freedom from, crime e.g.), but it is unclear, on the basis of theory alone, whether intervention is justifiable in this case.

The second school, non-interventionists, believe that liberalism should spread on the basis of historical inevitability alone, without any help by its adherents, particularly its most prominent proponent, the United States of America.

Non-interventionism should not be confused with isolationism, whereby the latter is technically the avoidance of alliances altogether. Instead, non-interventionists usually advocate containment -- a middle ground between the two schools -- for the ultimate defeat of liberalism on moral and/or economic grounds. Neoliberalism in many ways is an extension of this idea that the appropriate battlefield is the marketplace and/or moral high ground.

Critics of liberalism (and there have been many) generally zero in on the ambivalence in almost all liberal theories over coming to terms with the use of force (for exactly what reasons and for what ends). Other critics challenge the spirit of moral omnipotence and self-righteousness that is prevalent in much liberal thinking. The second line of criticism makes for a lot of stalemate and anti-Americanism in the world, especially among competitive superpower players.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is institutional liberalism that distinguishes itself by contrast and/or selective inclusion with the ideas of "commercial" liberalism (the linking of free trade with peace), "republican" liberalism (the linking of democracy and peace), and "sociological" liberalism (theories of international integration). The more inclusive theories, according to Baldwin (1993), tend to be the best challengers to realist/neorealist orthodoxy, and neoliberalism is best understood as opposed to realism/neorealism orthodoxy (its war-mongering and militaristic thrusts).

According to Kegley (1988), the classical realist world view places moral standards subservient to the power concerns of international actors. In their favor, some realists sometimes address the issue of morality with seriousness and concern. However, neorealist thinking embraces the ultimate conclusion of realist premises that statesmen never act according to moral precepts thus such concerns need not be addressed by a political theory. Strongly opposed to this is the neoliberal position (sometimes called the neoidealist position) that states consistently act according to values more than power concerns. Neorealism ignores these factors, and

neoliberalism (or neoidealism) seeks to expand the notion of self-interest to include the moral sphere.

Neoliberalism defines "security" in broad terms, often arguing that factors such as health, welfare, and environmental issues need to be included in institution-building efforts, whether passive (non-interventionist) or active (interventionist). Thompson (1989) points out that the literature on "declinism" (the idea that nation-states have declined in importance as actors) is a fundamental underpinning of neoliberalism. The result of declinism is a quasi-anarchic system where "absolute" (rather than relative) gains need to be advocated as mitigating strategies in order to get nation-states to fulfill the essential functions they ought to be fulfilling for their citizens.

Keohane & Nye (2000) point out that most neoliberals advocate a mixed-actor model called the theory of interdependence. This theory is based on the complex spillover effects possible for change toward world governance (by norms, rules, processes, and institutions) when one-dimensional militaristic solutions are abandoned and reliance is, instead, placed upon the possibilities when other actors are involved, like international organizations, transnational organizations, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), and MNCs (multinational corporations).

Other Perspectives IR Theory

So far, this has only been a brief overview of the dominant perspectives in the field. "Other" perspectives include behavioralism (the social science approach), world systems theory, critical theory, postmodernism, and feminism. Such perspectives have made, and continue to make, valuable contributions and/or inroads to the field. For example, the following points can be made toward an elaboration of these other perspectives.

Behavioralism—Behavioralism is the term commonly used (but not always) for when interdisciplinary borrowing takes place (of ideas, concepts, models, theories, or methods) from one of the other fields in social science; e.g., sociology, psychology, anthropology, etc. Usually, the purpose is to develop an IR theory which better explains some phenomenon, some aspect of a phenomenon, or sheds better light on a level of analysis like the macro (system, subsystem, unit) or micro (bureaucracy, individual) dimension (Singer 1969) where unit refers to the nation-state level of analysis only.

Behavioralist theories tend to be eclectic, cross-level, and some are cutting-edge while most are at least an attempt to expand the boundaries of the discipline. They are distinguishable by either a heavy empirical research thrust and/or a heavy discursive critique of the "classical" tradition in IR (the philosophy-political theory tradition that doesn't really reach out to disciplines other than history, philosophy, and political theory for insight). The behavioralist critique, as a movement, reached its peak in the 1960s as an "American School" of IR in contrast to the "English School" of IR. Some fresh ideas, or paradigms, were developed, and some lasted while others didn't (Groom & Light 1994). In the 1990s, behavioralism resurfaced, and Walker (1993) is typical of modern behavioralists who jumped on the 1989 bandwagon, explained below.

Nineteen eighty-nine (1989) was a year of historical ruptures that altered the map of international relations forever. In that year, the two halves of Germany were reunited, and communism collapsed. By the way, Evans & Newnham (1998) claim that most IR scholars believe communism collapsed of its own accord rather than due to the resolute determination of U.S. foreign policy and this point may be debatable. In retrospect, it can be argued, of course, that the writing was on the wall with Solidarity movements in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and with the Gorbachev Doctrine of openness and non-intervention, but political (conservatism) and cultural trends toward a more accelerated lifestyle in America may have played a part.

A focus on cultural factors that are not the properties of states but produced by interactions, institutions, norms, and cultures is called constructivism in IR theory and is normally a part of the "English School" along with regime theory (see Wendt 1992). The ending of bipolarity with dissolution of the Cold War had numerous repercussions. The U.N., for example, enjoyed a resurgence (and was able to launch an effective coalition against Iraq's attempted annexation of Kuwait in 1990 - the "Mother of all battles" or the First Gulf War).

The year 1989 provided much intellectual fodder for IR theory, and the concept of "New World Order" (President Bush's speech in September 1990) provided the opportunity for dramatic changes in political thought. The concept of New World Order is not new. Similar speeches were made in 1815, 1918, and 1946, but President Bush in September 1990 was promising "a new era, freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace, an era in which nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony."

World Systems Theory—World systems theory (Wallerstein 1974) is a grand sociological, Marxist-inspired, dependency theory (Chirot & Hall 1982) approach to the study of world politics, although some would say it's only a perspective for looking at the world. From Marxism, the influences are historical materialism, the concern for totality, the transitory nature of some social forms, the centrality of competitive class struggle, and the dialectics of contradiction. From dependency theory, the influences are a neo-Marxist critique of economic development, particularly in Third World countries, and Latin American liberation theology.

The critique is primarily against the world capitalist system where the processes behind this kind of economic development are seen as being the structural causes of inequalities, asymmetries, an exploitative international division of labour, and exploitation between relations among core, periphery and semi-periphery states. The unit of analysis is the world-system rather than unit states, which is what distinguishes world-systems analysis from other approaches that are less global and less longitudinal.

Wallerstein (1974: 347) defines a world system as: "a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning."

Critical Theory—There are a variety of critical approaches in IR, but almost all "critical theorists" hold to the belief that all theories are for someone and for some purpose. Critical theorists, therefore, try to merge or connect knowledge and practice (called praxis), fact and value, and the knower and the known. Such epistemological contributions are not only an alternative to traditional positivist methods of problem solving, but reflect a commitment to emancipation, peace, freedom, and cooperation as core concepts and/or variables of interest.

Feminist Theory—There are a variety of feminist approaches in IR, but almost all feminist theories hold that gender is of cardinal importance and it matters that almost all IR theories have been constructed by men. Realism, for example, is the frequent target of feminist critique

because, among other things, it is seen as a male-dominated theory about the aggressive world of states controlled by aggressive men (Tickner 1992).

Non-violence is therefore an important part of the feminist commitment to world peace. Feminists in IR sometimes claim that the world would be a less competitive and less violent place if women gained dominance in positions of power. The feminist approach attempts to critique IR theory at its core (attacking basic concepts like sovereignty, boundaries, and the meaning of being "civilized"), and it also attempts to open up new topics and horizons (e.g., the problems of women facing system transformations).

A couple of important underpinning feminist arguments are that unity can be found in difference and that the personal is the political. A few feminists are postmodernists or deconstructionists, but the approach is so diverse and new that it is safer to say that there are as many feminisms as there are feminist people.

Chapter 10

Identity Politics In India

(Caste, Religion, Language And Ethnicity)

India is a Union of States and the bounds between the Union, or the Centre and the States are prescribed by the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution which gives the exclusive jurisdiction of Parliament and of the State Legislatures within their respective domains and the concurrent jurisdiction for both regarding those items which fall within the Concurrent List. Within the framework of the States by the 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Constitution have been constituted rural and urban local bodies, which form the third tier of government. The Preamble makes India a democratic republic and government at all levels is to be conducted by democratically elected people who will then elect the Council of Ministers in the Centre and the States and will constitute the village or town council, as the case may be. The execution and implementation of decisions of the elected representatives of the people would be done by officers appointed by the President or the Governor, as the case may be and they, too, will function independently as per the Rules of Business under Article 77 in the case of the Government of India and Article 166 framed for the Government of a State. Every Indian above the age of eighteen is entitled to be included in the electoral roll and cannot be excluded on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them under Article 325. There will be a single electoral roll and the Constitution specifically prohibits the preparation of a special electoral roll. Under Article 326 election to the House of the People of Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies of States is to be on the basis of adult franchise, which is universal. The Constitution specifically prohibits any discrimination on any grounds whatsoever in the matter of elections, which are the very basis for the formation of government. From this one can infer that the theme of the Constitution is that we move towards a casteless, classless, secular society in which neither religion, nor sex, nor domicile will in any way influence or determine the course of elections.

Having said this one would also have to look at the ground reality. The State of Karnataka has two dominant castes, the lingayats and the vokkaligars. Deve Gowda, former Prime Minister and

Sadanand Gowda, the outgoing Chief Minister of Karnataka are vokkaligars, BSR Yeddiyurappa, on the other hand, is a lingayat. Yeddiyurappa had to resign as Chief Minister because he was arrested in a case of corruption and is even now facing investigation on charges of corruption framed by the Supreme Court of India. When he was removed from office, virtually kicking and screaming, he insisted that Sadanand Gowda be made Chief Minister. The BJP national leadership conceded this demand. Thereafter Yeddiyurappa wanted to return to office and when this was not allowed he sulked and instigated a revolt in BJP. Instead of expelling him BJP once again succumbed to his demand that Sadanand Gowda should be removed and Jagadish Shettar, a lingayat be made Chief Minister. The top leadership of BJP again gave in and Gowda is out and Shettar is in. Neither the merit of Gowda nor of Shettar has been the determinant of who should be Chief Minister. What has triumphed is caste equations. One can now look forward to a vokkaligar revolt. What happens to good government in Karnataka is one one's concern.

Let us move to Uttar Pradesh and the elections held earlier this year. This is one State, in population India's largest State, where caste has been the determinant of electoral politics and equations. The Samajwadi Party has Yadavs, Gujjars and Ahirs as its solid vote base. The BJP and the Congress are considered upper caste parties, though Mayawati and BSP did play the spoiler by deliberately giving seats in substantial numbers to the Brahmins and Rajputs. The fairly sizable population of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh was wooed by the Congress and the Samajwadi Party. The Congress has always looked upon the Muslims as creatures of its own backyard, whose votes could be taken for granted. However, there is such total disillusionment with the Congress among the Muslims that in Uttar Pradesh they have substantially drifted towards the Samajwadi Party and in Bihar towards the Janata Dal (United). The Congress has been left high and dry. That the Congress is quite happy to play the religious card is proved by the fact that during the entire election campaign Rahul Gandhi was paraded in the Muslim dominated areas sporting an emerging beard of a fortnight's growth which gradually thickened as the days passed. If a beard makes one a Muslim, then many of the Syrian Orthodox priests of Kerala and people such as Acharya Giriraj Kishore would win hands down because their beards compete with the best that a Mullah can sport. Crocodile tears over the Batala House encounter, false promises about what Congress will do for the Muslims failed because the Muslim refuses to be considered part of a homogenous group whose only desire is to be appealed to as a Muslim.

He refuses to be a vote bank which can be taken for granted. He is an Indian, a human being and an individual and wants to be treated as such.

The Indian Muslim of 2012 is not the same person as the Muslim of 1947. Because India is secular and because its leadership, by and large, is committed to secularism, the majority of Indian Muslims has voted with their feet to be Indians and have refused to migrate to Pakistan. In population India is the second largest Islamic country in the world after Indonesia. The Muslim population is so large that it cannot really be called a minority and the Muslim is asserting his rights in the same manner as any other citizen of India. He wants security, justice, equality of opportunity, he wants his children to be educated, he wants his cut of the development pie and he wants a share of power. These are the legitimate aspirations of every Indian and any party which fails to recognise this has no business to be in the game of politics in India. This lesson the Congress has not learnt and it will never learn. Even Gujarat, whose name is anathema of all our neoliberals, has reached the stage where many Muslims are prepared to move forward from the horrors of 2002, because the results of purposive government has been that the Muslims are now beginning to feel physically secure and certainly they are not left untouched by the economic development of that State. Paradoxically, the very State which conjures up vision of the horrors of 2002 is also the State where about 150 Muslims were elected on a BJP ticket in the local government elections. In Gujarat the Muslim community is moving forward in the matter of education and economic development. A secular party such as the Congress can surely do much more than this. It can prove that it no longer thinks of the Muslims as a collective vote bank and instead desires to move forward to treat the Muslims as individual citizens whose support it seeks.

What is preventing this? It is Congress which set up the Sachar Committee, whose mandate was to look at the position of the minorities in India. But the said committee ended up with only looking at the position of Muslims. The committee has remarked that in the matter of education, employment, holding of political office and economic development the Muslim is far behind the Hindu and that he needs special assistance to be able to catch up. The tenor of the report is that government and the majority community have both discriminated against Muslims, denied them equal opportunity in the matter of education and employment and, therefore, the Muslim is virtually a second class citizen in India. Justice Rajinder Sachar never really asked the question,

“Why are the Muslims backward?” The Committee’s report itself states that compared to the majority community the level of education amongst Muslims is low. In every State of India the female literacy rate of Muslims is lower than the average of female literacy in that State. Fewer Muslim girls go to school than, for example, Hindu or Christian girls. Even when we were in the throes of the horrors of partition, no one in India had said that Muslim children, especially girls, should not be educated. Because there was no legal compulsion to educate, because India had no Truancy Act whereby absence from school could invite a penalty for the parents, school enrolment of Muslims, especially girls, definitely lagged behind the admission rate for other communities. Naturally Muslims lag behind other communities in the matter of higher and technical education also and this directly affects their employment profile because so many of them are unemployable. This has to be corrected very fast if Muslims are to keep on par with other communities. Certainly reservation in jobs will not give the desired results because the few Muslims who are already educated would monopolise jobs, leaving the needy in the community high and dry.

The parties which call themselves secular, the Congress, Samajwadi Party, Trinamool Congress, etc., should have launched a campaign for bringing Muslim children to school and ensuring that they completed their education. An educated person cannot be denied employment because if India cannot employ him or her, jobs would be found somewhere else in the world. From 1923 the Madras Presidency, which included Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh minus Telangana and Hyderabad, Malabar District in Kerala and Mangalore in Karnataka, had a reservation policy which virtually denied Brahmins an entry into higher education and government jobs. There was no Sachar Committee to look at the plight of the Brahmins, but the community collectively decided that regardless of what happened to the then current generation, the children would be educated. Denied admission in Tamil Nadu they migrated in large numbers to wherever they could be admitted in India. Universities in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh were flooded with Tamil students and today children of the community virtually rule Silicon Valley in the United States of America. The way to eliminate religion as a determinant of politics is to make the Muslims take the educational path to progress and instead of appealing to narrow religious sentiments the parties which seek power should persuade backward communities like the Muslims take advantage of what the education system has to offer. In the long run this would pay rich dividends to the community, the country and our political parties.

The use of religion, caste and class as a political weapon is potentially fraught with danger. When differences are highlighted base passions are ignited and caste wars in India are endemic. The result of the caste divide in Bihar was utter lawlessness in the State and this has pushed Bihar's progress back by half a century. Nitish Kumar's greatest achievement is that he is able to cut through caste barriers and has launched Bihar on a development path which unites rather than divides. The significant improvement in law and order in Bihar is not necessarily because of better policing but because of more impartial policing and the Chief Minister's efforts to put development above caste considerations.

The most dangerous form of divisiveness is religion. The post Godhra riots in Gujarat in 2002 were by no means the worst in that State's history. The 1969 riots lasted longer and took a larger toll of life. Maharashtra, especially the city of Bombay, has experienced some of the bloodiest communal riots in India, almost all of them under a Congress regime. What set the Gujarat riots apart is the allegation of State patronage of the riots. This has not been proved and at least in North Gujarat and Saurashtra either there were no riots or the district administration acted firmly and promptly to nip the trouble in the bud. In Central and South Gujarat, on the other hand, there was a real communal divide and there the riots were more prolonged. The fact that since 2002 there have been no major riots in Gujarat shows that the Chief Minister has since encouraged effective law enforcement and that the 2002 riots were an unfortunate episode which is being blown out of proportion. However, the fact remains that in Central and South Gujarat there is a Hindu-Muslim divide and that is the principal cause of riots in that part of the State. The lesson to us is that if the divide continues it is inevitable that violence will occur. Why blame the Muslim League and Jinnah for partition of the country when right from Gram Panchayat up to Parliament all our politicians are busy playing the game of setting caste against caste, religion against religion, all for the sake of a few votes. The Indian State is capable of containing and eliminating separatist movements, terrorism, militancy and even violent Naxalism. It is not these factors which will destroy India. It is the politics of divisiveness, religion, caste, class, regionalism which is posing the real danger to the integrity of our nation. If the political parties decide to fight elections on the basis of ideology, programmes and plans instead of flaunting the caste and religious factors, most of the problems of India will disappear and certainly the country will no longer be split apart by religion, caste, class, or region.

How deeply is caste entrenched? In the upcoming presidential election one candidate, P.A. Sangma, is projecting himself as a tribal, a Christian and a North Easterner. The BJP is doing the same for Sangma. There is not a word about how as Chief Minister of Meghalaya, as an Union Minister and Speaker of the Lok Sabha Sangma put in a sterling performance which is no less than that of Pranab Mukherji. Ethnicity in this case rather than caste, minority status as a Christian and the regional appeal of the North East are the dominant factors in the election campaign. Does this promote equality, secularism and rational politics? The whole campaign for reservation for other backward classes, which is a thinly disguised cover for intermediate castes, is directly aimed at further entrenching the caste system in our psyche. When we take a highly competitive examination like the Civil Services Examination, ultimately the selection is of fifty percent of those who are neither SC, nor ST, nor OBC. The general category, therefore, becomes another caste. The OBCs are resented by SC and ST people because reservation for OBCs cuts into their own employment opportunities. To this witch's brew we now want to add reservation for Muslims. There is already a demand from Christian groups that members of the SC who lost their status on conversion to Christianity should be recognised as Christian dalits and given all the concessions available to a scheduled caste, notwithstanding the fact that caste is a function of the Hindu religion and does not apply to any other religion.

They say that a house divided cannot stand. Our politicians are using a sledge hammer, a battering ram to cause our house to splinter so that the whole nation gets divided and sub-divided between religion, caste and region. Let us not discount regionalism because it is this which has led the movements such as those for Vidarbha, Telangana, Bodoland, Gurkhaland, separatism as in Kashmir and other forms of violent militancy in different parts of the country. Such fissiparous tendencies can only be combated if we pull ourselves back from the brink of fragmentation caused by religion, caste, class and regionalism.

Chapter 11

India's New Foreign Policy Strategy

Introduction

Most nations and large ones at that do not easily alter their international orientation. States tend to be conservative about foreign policy. Fundamental changes in foreign policy take place only when there is a revolutionary change either at home or in the world. Much as the ascent of Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s produced radical changes in Chinese foreign policy, India's relations with the world have seen a fundamental transformation over the last decade and a half. A number of factors were at work in India. The old political and economic order at home had collapsed and externally the end of the Cold War removed all the old benchmarks that guided India's foreign policy. Many of the core beliefs of the old system had to be discarded and consensus generated on new ones. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the new wave of economic globalization left India scrambling to find new anchors for its conduct of external relations. This paper examines the origin, dynamics and the implications of India's new foreign policy strategy.

Most Indians agree that its first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had defined a unique foreign policy for India at the very dawn of its independence. Despite many critics of his world view, a broad national consensus had emerged around Nehru's ideas on independent foreign policy, non-alignment, and third world solidarity. Since the 1990s, though, the challenge for the Indian leaders has been to reinterpret Nehru's ideas to suit the new political context that had confronted it. The new Indian leaders could neither denounce Nehru nor formally reject Nehru's ideas, for that would have invited serious political trouble. Yet they had to continually improvise and refashion India's foreign policy to suit the new requirements. This has not been easy. The tension between the imperative of the new and the resistance of the old ideas on how to conduct foreign policy is real and is unlikely to end in the near future. The fear of the new and fondness for the old continue to be reflected in all aspects of Indian diplomacy from engaging the United States to an optimal strategy towards the smallest of the neighbours. The "new" foreign policy of India is indeed work in progress. Yet it is not difficult to see that the direction of Indian diplomacy has changed substantially since the end of the cold war amidst internal and external impulses.

II. Structural Changes in India's World View Underlying India's current foreign policy strategy are a set of important transitions in India's world view. Not all of these were articulated self-consciously or clearly by the Indian political leadership. A few of those changes stand out and are unlikely to be reversed. The first was the transition from the national consensus on building a "socialist society" to building a "modern capitalist" one. The socialist ideal, with its roots in the national movement, had so dominated the Indian political discourse by the early 1970s, that a Constitutional amendment was passed in 1976 to make the nation into a "socialist republic". But 1991 saw the collapse of the Soviet Union, the veritable symbol of socialism, and the edifice of India's state-socialism began to crumble.

Adapting to the new challenges of globalization now became the principal national objective. The change in the national economic strategy in 1991 inevitably produced abundant new options on the foreign policy front. Implicit in this was the second transition, from the past emphasis on politics to a new stress on economics in the making of foreign policy. India began to realize in the 1990s how far behind it had fallen the rest of Asia, including China, in economic development. With the socialist strait jacket gone, and the pressures to compete with other emerging markets, Indian diplomacy now entered uncharted waters. In the past, foreign for aid was so symbolic of Indian diplomacy that sought to meet the government's external financing requirements as well as developmental needs. India was now seeking foreign direct investment, and access to markets in the developed world. The slow but successful economic reforms unleashed the potential of the nation, generated rapid economic growth and provided a basis to transform its relations with great powers, regional rivals Pakistan and China, and the neighbourhood as a whole.

A third transition in Indian foreign policy is about the shift from being a leader of the "Third World" to the recognition of the potential that India could emerge as a great power in its own right. While independent India always had a sense of its own greatness, that never seemed realistic until the Indian economy began to grow rapidly in the 1990s. In the early decades of its independent existence, India viewed many of the international and regional security issues through the prism of the third world and "anti-imperialism". The 1990s, however, brought home some painful truths. There was no real third world trade union, that India believed it was leading. After a radical phase in the 1970s, most developing nations had begun to adopt pragmatic

economic policies and sought to integrate with the international market. Much of the developing world had made considerable economic advances, leaving the South Asia way behind. While the rhetoric on the third world remained popular, the policy orientation in India's external relations increasingly focused on India's own self interest. There was a growing perception, flowing from the Chinese example, that if India could sustain high growth rates it had a chance to gain a place at the international high table. The 1990s also saw India begin discarding the "anti-Western" political impulses that were so dominant in the world view that shaped Indian diplomacy right up to 1991.

Rejecting the "anti-Western" mode of thinking was the fourth important transition of Indian foreign policy. As the world's largest democracy, India was the most committed to Western political values outside the Euro-Atlantic world. Yet the Cold War saw India emerge as the most articulate opponent of the Western world view. A strong antiWestern bias crept into Indian foreign policy supported by the left as well as the right and underwritten by the security establishment. The disappearance of the Soviet Union and China's rise as a great power demanded that India to break the decades old anti-Western approaches to foreign policy.

Finally, the fifth transition in Indian foreign policy in the 1990s was from idealism to realism. Idealism came naturally to the Indian elite that won independence from the British by arguing against colonialism on the basis of first principles of Enlightenment. The new leaders of India had contempt for "power politics".

Identity Politics has become a prominent subject in the Indian politics in the past few years. Rise of low castes, religious identities, linguistic groups and ethnic conflicts have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India. The discourse on Identity, many scholars feel, is distinctly a modern phenomenon. Craig Calhoun aptly describes the situation when he argues that it is in the modern times we encounter intensified efforts at consolidating individual and categorical identities and reinforce self-sameness. This is primarily a modern phenomenon because some scholars feel that emphasis on identity based on a central organising principle of ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual preferences, or caste positions, etc, are a sort of "compelling remedy for anonymity" in an otherwise impersonal modern world. It is thus said to be a "pattern of belonging, a search for comfort, an approach to community." However, the complex social changes and the imbrications of various forces, factors and events in this modern

world have rendered such production and recognition of identities problematic. This is to say that any search for an ‘authentic self or identity’ is not an innocent and unnuanced possibility; it involves negotiating other, often overlapping and contested, heterodox or multiple ‘selves’. Cascardi succinctly elucidates this by observing, “the modern subject is defined by its insertion into a series of separate value-spheres, each one of which tends to exclude or attempts to assert its priority over the rest”, thereby rendering identity-schemes problematic.

Nonetheless, the concerns with individual and collective identity that simultaneously seeks to emphasise differences and attempt to establish commonality with others similarly distinguished, have become a universal venture.

What is identity politics?

But the question is how do discourses on identity fit into the political landscape? What are the political underpinnings of these discourses on identity? What are the organising principles of movements that characterise themselves as those based on identity concerns? Can we define movements of workers as an instance of identity politics? In short what is the politics of identity and what are its organising principles?

Identity Politics is said to “signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups”. As a political activity it is thus considered to signify a body of political projects that attempts a “recovery from exclusion and denigration” of groups hitherto marginalised on the basis of differences based on their ‘selfhood’ determining characteristics like ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, etc. Identity politics thus attempts to attain empowerment, representation and recognition of social groups by asserting the very same markers that distinguished and differentiated them from the others and utilise those markers as an assertion of selfhood and identity based on difference rather than equality. Contrastingly placed, it is to imply that adherents of identity politics essentialise certain markers that fix the identities of social groups around an ensemble of definitional absolutes. These markers may be those of language, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, religion, tribe, race, etc. institutionalised in jargons, metaphors, stereotypes, and academic literature and reinforced through practices of positive discrimination or affirmative action. The proponents of identity politics thus, assign the primacy of some

“essence” or a set of core features shared only by members of the collectivity and no others and accepts individual persons as singular, integral, altogether harmonious and unproblematic identities. These core markers are different from associational markers like those of the workers who are defined more by their common interests rather than by certain core essential naturally ‘given’ identity attributes of the groups engaged in identity politics. Though many would argue that “worker” was an identity deserving legitimacy and as a group, its movements can be referred to as identity Politics, but probably the term “identity politics” as a body of political projects implied to in contemporary discourses refers to certain essential, local and particular categorical identities rather than any universalizing ideals or agenda. The adherents of identity politics utilise the power of myths, cultural symbols and kinship relations to mould the feeling of shared community and subsequently politicize these aspects to claim recognition of their particular identities.

The strongest criticism against Identity Politics is that it is often challenged by the very same markers upon which the sense of self or community is sought to be built. It is despite the fact that identity politics is engaged in numerous aspects of oppression and powerlessness, reclaiming and transforming negative scripts used by dominant groups into powerful instruments for building positive images of self and community. In other words the markers that supposedly defines the community are fixed to the extent that they harden and release a process of ingroup essentialism that often denies internal dialogicality within and without the group and itself becomes a new form of closure and oppression.

Identity Politics as a field of study can be said to have gained intellectual legitimacy since the second half of the twentieth century, i.e., between 1950s and 1960s in the United States when large scale political movements of the second wave-feminists, Black Civil Rights, Gay and Lesbian Liberation movements and movements of various Indigenous groups in the U.S. and other parts of the world were being justified and legitimated on the basis of claims about injustices done to their respective social groups. However, as scholars like Heyes point out that although “‘Identity Politics’ can draw on intellectual precursors from Mary Wollstonecraft to Frantz Fanon, writing that actually uses this specific phrase—Identity Politics—is limited almost exclusively to the last 15 years.

Identity Politics In India

In India we find that despite adoption of a liberal democratic polity after independence, communities and collective identities have remained powerful and continue to claim recognition. In fact, Beteille has shown that the Indian polity has consistently tried to negotiate the allegiance to a liberal [individual] spirit and the concerns and consciousness of community. According to Bikhu Parekh this process has recognised a wide array of autonomous and largely selfgoverning communities. It has sought to reconcile itself as an association of individuals and a community of communities, recognising both individuals and communities as bearer of rights.

It was probably this claim for and granting of recognition of particular identities by the postindependence state of India that led many scholars to believe that a material basis for the enunciation of identity claims has been provided by the post-independent state and its structures and institutions. In other words the state is seen as an “active contributor to identity politics through the creation and maintenance of state structures which define and then recognize people in terms of certain identities”. Thus, we find identity politics of various hues abound in India, the most spectacular however, are those based on language, religion, caste, ethnicity or tribal identity. But having said this it would be wrong on our part to assume that each of these identity markers operate autonomously, independent of the overlapping influence of the other makers. In other words a homogenous linguistic group may be divided by caste affiliations.

Chapter 12

Determinants of Foreign Policy

Introduction

Development of Nation-States and increasing interactions among them has resulted into formation of foreign policy in the modern times. Establishment of United Nations and process of decolonization that has liberated many states into sovereign entities have further provided impetus to interrelationships among states. There is certain unanimity among scholars and statesmen on necessity of a foreign policy for each state, since no state will like to function in complete isolation from rest of the world. Feliks Gross said that even a decision to have no relations with a particular state is also a foreign policy or, in other words, not to have a definite foreign policy is also a foreign policy. For example, India's decision to have no diplomatic relations with Israel up to 1992 was integral part of its foreign policy. India wanted to continue good diplomatic and trade relations with Israel's adversaries, i.e. the Arab states, whose support on Kashmir was crucial for India, along with access to crude oil.

A state without foreign policy will look like a team playing football without any strategy to post the goals, hence all eleven players being clueless about their role and functions on the playground. Thus, in a modern state that lacks foreign policy; the External Affairs Ministry will have no priorities in developing bilateral relations or participating in multilateral forums. The Defence Ministry will have no clear cut ideas about armed preparations of country's military, since no criteria have been set up before it to define friends and to recognize enemies in the international sphere. The Finance as well as Commerce Ministry will struggle to take stand on issues of import-export during bilateral or multilateral trade negotiations. A state without a foreign policy can be compared to a ship in the deep sea without knowledge of directions. As the radar on the ship navigates it towards land destination, foreign policy leads the state in fulfilling its national interest and acquiring rightful place among comity of nation-states. Therefore, it can be said that foreign policy will exist as long as sovereign states operate in international sphere.

Definitions of Foreign Policy

One comes across variety of definitions of foreign policy offered by different scholars. Scholars differ on definition of foreign policy; however, they are certain that it is concerned with behavior

of a state towards other states. According to George Modelski, "Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.... Foreign Policy must throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behavior of other states." (George Modelski, A Theory of Foreign Policy, (London, 1962))

Behaviour of each state affects behavior of every other state in one form or the other, directly or indirectly, with greater or lesser intensity, favorably or adversely. Function of foreign policy is to try to minimize the adverse effects and maximize the favorable effects of actions of other states. The objective of foreign policy is not only to change but also to regulate behavior of other states by ensuring continuity of their favourable actions. For example, Great Britain's stand on Kashmir was vague during cold war period. Here, Indian foreign policy attempted to change Great Britain's position in India's favour. On the other hand, the erstwhile USSR supported

India on the Kashmir question for many years. In this case, Indian foreign policy's objective was to ensure continuity of USSR's favourable position. Foreign policy is a complex and dynamic political interaction that a state gets involved in pursuing relations with other states and entities outside the purview of its own jurisdiction. As Joseph Frankel puts it, "Foreign Policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others." (Joseph Frankel, The Making of Foreign Policy) It implies that foreign policy involves set of actions by the forces working within state's borders and intended towards forces existing outside the country's borders. It is a set of tools employed by the state to influence exercise of law making power by other states as well as actions of non-state actors outside the purview of its jurisdiction. It comprises of formulation and implementation of a set of ideas that govern the behavior of state actors while interacting with other states to defend and enhance its interests.

Huge Gibson says, "Foreign policy is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations. This calls for a clear understanding of what those interests are and how far we hope to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this falls short of being a foreign policy." (Huge Gibson, The Road to Foreign Policy).

A doctrine of foreign policy can be simple and succinct; or it may be complicated and vague. One thing is sure that foreign policy is much more than meetings of diplomats, formal statements proclaimed by statesmen, and public statements of state leaders. On the other hand, foreign policy definitely includes current nature of state's objectives and interests and principles of self-perceived right conduct in dealing with other states. Padelford and Lincoln defines it as, "A State's Foreign Policy is totality of its dealings with the external environment.....Foreign Policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objective and preserve its interest." (Norman J Padelford and George A Lincoln, *The Dynamics of International Politics*, p.195) In view of such variety of definitions, we can conclude that core of foreign policy consists of achieving the national objectives through the available national means by interacting with other states. Foreign policy can not exist in a vacuum. Foreign policy of a particular state evolves from historical events responsible for creation/strengthening of the statehood, principles and ideological foundations of nation-building, and purpose and interests of the State. Foreign policy can be comprehended only in the greater milieu of form of the government, economic situation, political conditions, geographical situation and general culture of the country. All the foreign policy decisions aim at achieving either co-operation/co-existence or conflict or neutrality towards a particular state or group of states or rest of the world.

National Interest And Foreign Policy

In modern times, for consistency and continuity of a foreign policy, it has to gain legitimacy with domestic audience, i.e. citizens of a country. This is achieved by relentless pursuit of perceived national interest through country's foreign policy. National interests are needs, aims or desires conveyed to policymakers by the citizens of a country. Such aims, needs and desires vary enormously from State to State and time to time. State conducts its international relations for attainment of national interests, which are general and continuing ends. State seeks to achieve or protect national interest in relations with other states. National interest is defined in various terms such as defence against aggression, developing higher standard of living or seeking rightful place at international organizations such as United Nations. Charles Lerche and Abdul Said define national interest as, "The general long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving."

National Interests are divided into two categories; vital or core interests and less than vital or secondary interests. Vital interests are most important from the point of view of country's foreign policy. The state is most unwilling to make any compromise with vital interests and is sure to wage war in its defence. India says Kashmir is an issue of vital interest for it. China proclaims Taiwan and Tibet are of vital interests to it. United States considered toppling of Taliban regime in Afghanistan as an issue of vital interest to it. Vital interests of a state are so basic that they acquire near-permanent place on its foreign policy agenda and often create emotional appeal among the masses.

On the other hand, less than vital or secondary interests are those aims of a state that they make efforts to fulfill, but refrain from going to war or creating animosity with other states. For India, a permanent seat at U.N. Security Council, or extradition of main accused of Bhopal Gas Tragedy are issues of national interests. But, India will not go to war to achieve these goals nor will it use any other kind of coercion to the extent of creating animosity with other states. Vital interests are termed as goals of foreign policy, while the secondary interests are termed as objectives of foreign policy.

Further, objectives can be divided into specific and general objectives. The specific objectives are concerned with each individual state and hence differ from state to state and time to time. The above stated objectives of permanent seat at U.N.S.C. and extradition of culprits of industrial accident are India's specific objectives rather than of every state's concerns. On the other hand, general objectives of foreign policy make sense with almost every state.

Objectives of Foreign Policy

Following are some of the key general objectives that we can locate in foreign policy of almost every country:

1. A foreign policy protects unity and integrity of a country. For example, a major focus of India's relations with China is to ensure country's territorial integrity by rejecting Chinese claims on Indian terrains. It takes note of incorrect map of India issued by foreign countries and agencies, and asks to make appropriate amends in it.

2. A foreign policy defends interests of its citizens. For example, successive Indian governments keep in mind interests of farmers while negotiating bi-lateral and multi-lateral trade agreements. A primary interest of any country is in selfpreservation and well-being of its citizens. In international arena, interests of various countries often clash with each other and the states have to protect their own interests vehemently. A foreign policy aims at promotion of economic progress of the country. In modern times, economic development is one of the key factors in determining state's international status. Thus, the treaties and agreements concluded with other states are drafted in a way to protect and promote economic interests of its own.

3. A foreign policy also protects interests of its citizens beyond the borders. For example, the External Affairs Ministry takes up issue of racial discrimination and harassment of Indian students in Australia with the Australian government in order to protect its citizens in that country.

4. A foreign policy also protects dignity and sentiments of the people of Indian origin throughout the world. For example, Indian government had asked its French counterpart to reconsider ban on Sikh's turbans in that country even though the Sikhs there may not be Indian citizens anymore and had accepted French citizenship.

5. A foreign policy tries to maintain contacts and develop good relations with all other states in order to enhance economic and technological co-operation with them with a view to promote its own interests. Indian government lost no time in recognizing newly independent African and Asian countries and immediately established diplomatic relations with them to create its sphere of influence and good will in those countries. On the contrary, diplomatic cut-off with a particular country on issues of ideology or national interest can also be part of state's foreign policy. India had not only boycotted the racist South African regime in the past, but also led the international imbroglio against it as a matter of its principled stand against racism in the world. Although above mentioned examples are Indian foreign policy centric, foreign policies of almost all the states are full of similar.

Bibliography

Home to the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation and a region of historic trade routes and vast empires, the Indian subcontinent was identified with its commercial and cultural wealth for much of its long history. Four world religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism—originated here, whereas Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam arrived in the 1st millennium CE and also helped shape the region's diverse culture. Gradually annexed by and brought under the administration of the British East India Company from the early 18th century and administered directly by the United Kingdom from the mid-19th century, India became an independent nation in 1947 after a struggle for independence that was marked by non-violent resistance led by Mahatma Gandhi.

Swami Vivekananda was a key figure in introducing Vedanta and Yoga in Europe and USA raising interfaith awareness and making Hinduism a world religion.

The Following market-based economic reforms in 1991, India became one of the fastest-growing major economies; it is considered a newly industrialised country. However, it continues to face the challenges of poverty, corruption, malnutrition, inadequate public healthcare, and terrorism. A nuclear weapons state and a regional power, it has the third-largest standing army in the world and ranks eighth in military expenditure among nations. India is a federal constitutional republic governed under a parliamentary system consisting of 28 states and 7 union territories. India is a pluralistic, multilingual, and a multi-ethnic society. It is also home to a diversity of wildlife in a variety of protected habitats.

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9, Km Milestone, NH-65, Kaithal - 136027, Haryana
Website: www.niilmuniversity.in