

- **What are Foreign Policies?**

- Foreign Policies are **a set of plan of action** for diplomatic dealings with International nations and bodies and regional grouping.
- George Modelski defined foreign policy as *“Foreign Policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.”*

- **The Constitutional Principles**

- The constitution of India lays down certain principles in **Article 51** under the Directive Principles of State Policy. These principles focus on the **promotion of international peace and security-**
- As per the principles laid down in Article 51, the state shall endeavor to-
- Promote international peace and security.
- Maintain just and honorable relations between nations.
- Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another
- Encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration

Basic Principles Governing India's Foreign Policy

- The principles have stood the test of time and are ingrained in international law and India's foreign policy practice.
- The principles of Indian foreign policy are as follows –
 - Panchsheel
 - The policy of Non-Alignment
 - The policy of Anti- Colonialism and Anti Racism
 - Peaceful settlement of International Disputes
 - Foreign Economic Aid – Support to UN, International Law and a Just and Equal World Order

- **A. Panchsheel**

- Indian Policymakers understood the linkage between peace and development and the survival of mankind.
- Without global peace, social and economic development is likely to be pushed to the background.
- In view of the destruction caused by two world wars, they realized that for the progress of a nation a durable world peace was needed.
- Thus, the founder of India's foreign policy, Nehru gave utmost importance to world peace in his policy planning.

- Panchsheel also called the **Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence** was signed on **29p April 1954** and since then it has become a guiding principle of India's bilateral relations with other countries.
- Panchsheel includes the following five principles of foreign policy:
- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- Non-aggression against each other.
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
- Equality and mutual benefit.
- Peaceful co-existence.
- These principles of Panchsheel were later incorporated in the **Bandung Declaration, signed in the Afro-Asian Conference held in 1955** in Indonesia.
- They are the core principles of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) and still guide the conduct of India's foreign policy.

B. Policy of Non-alignment

- 1. Non-alignment is the most important feature of India's foreign policy.
- Its core element is to maintain independence in foreign affairs by not joining any military alliance formed by the USA and the Soviet Union, which emerged as an important aspect of Cold War politics after the Second World War.

- 2. Non-alignment was neither neutrality nor non-involvement nor isolationism.
- It was a positive and dynamic concept.
- It postulates taking an independent stand on international issues according to the merits of each case but at the same time not committing to coming under the influence of any military bloc.
- Furthermore, Non-Alignment gained popularity in developing countries.
- Thus, keeping away from the military alliances and superpower blocks was important for the independence of Foreign Policy.

- 3 India played a lead role in popularizing and consolidating the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).
- India, under the leadership of [Jawaharlal Nehru](#), convened the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in 1947 to forge the idea of Asian solidarity.
- 4 Another Asian Relations Conference was convened by India in 1949 on the question of the independence of Indonesia as India stood firm-against the colonial rule in other countries.

- A larger Conference, known as the Bandung Conference of 29 countries of Asia and Africa was convened in Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955 to forge the Afro-Asian unit.
- The Bandung Conference was a precursor to the NAM, which held its **first Summit in 1961 at Belgrade**. Since then, the Non-Aligned Movement has not looked back.
- The **Seventh** NAM Summit was hosted by India in **New Delhi in 1983**.
- In this Summit, **India took up the cause of development, disarmament, and the Palestine issue**.

- The conference laid down ten fundamental principles of international relations.
- The leaders pledged to work together for colonial liberation, peace, cultural, economic, and political cooperation among developing countries.
- It provides all its members, regardless of their size and development, an opportunity to participate in the global decision-making process.

C. The policy of Anti – Colonialism, Racism and Imperialism

- The foundations of India's foreign policy were laid during [independence struggle](#) when our leaders fought the evils of colonialism and racism.
- India has been a victim of colonialism and imperialism and considers these as a [threat to international peace and security](#).
- It firmly believes in the [equality](#) of all human beings.
- Its policy is aimed at opposition to all forms of [racial discrimination](#).
- It is always opposed to it in any form.

- India was the first to bring the issue of **Apartheid in the UN in 1946**.
- India raised her voice for the **independence of Indonesia** and organized the Asian Relations Conference for this purpose.
- Due to India's consistent efforts through NAM and other international forums, **14 African** countries were **liberated from** the yoke of colonialism in **1964**.

- India firmly opposed the infamous apartheid policy in South Africa.
- Not only India had cut off diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1949 but also used her influence in the application of comprehensive sanctions (later) **against the white minority racist Regime of South Africa.**
- At India's initiative, NAM set up **the Africa Fund** (Action for Resisting Imperialism, Colonialism, and Apartheid) in 1986 to help the frontline states, which were victims of aggression of South Africa and for facing the brunt of Apartheid.
- India made a generous contribution to this fund.
- The **end of racialism in South Africa** was a great success for Indian policy.

D. Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes

- The unflinching faith in the peaceful settlement of international disputes is one of the core elements of India's foreign policy. This principle has been included in **the Constitution of India**, under the Directive Principles of State Policy as well as in **the Charter of the UN**.
- India has played a leading role in the **resolution of the Korean conflict** and supported **negotiated settlement of Palestine issue**, **border problems with neighboring countries**, and **other such disputes and** problems.
- India is always against **foreign military intervention for resolving international problems**. This principle continues to be the cornerstone of India's policy.
- At present, India is in favour of the resolution of peaceful settlement of **Iranian nuclear issues**, **the problem of the democratic upsurge in the Middle East**, and so on.

E. Foreign Economic Aid – Support to UN, International Law and a Just and Equal World Order

- India has a deep respect for the international law and/or the principles of sovereign equality of nations and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations as espoused by the UN.
- India has played a key role in preserving world peace by helping in the decolonization process, and through active participation in UN peacekeeping activities.
- India has supported the cause of disarmament pursued by the UN.
- In 1988, India proposed a very ambitious program of nuclear disarmament before the UN. Although the proposal was not accepted by the other members of the UN but India stands committed to the cause of universal disarmament even today.
- In order to make the composition of the Security Council more realistic and democratic, India has proposed and supported the reform of the Security Council and other UN agencies. India is one of the claimants of permanent membership of the Security Council.

- The foreign policy of India **aims** to maintain international peace and security,
- to oppose imperialism,
- to stand against the apartheid policy,
- to propagate the peaceful and political settlement of international disputes,
- to foster peaceful coexistence,
- to remain non-aligned and non-committed, and
- to maintain the unity and solidarity of the Third World.

- The important objectives of India's foreign policy include preservation of national interest,
- achievement of world peace,
- disarmament, independence for Afro-Asian nations.
- These objectives are sought to be achieved through some guiding principles such as **Panchsheel, NAM**, and others.

Major Objectives of India's Foreign Policy

- **The preservation of India's territorial integrity and independence of foreign policy:**
- The **territorial integrity** and protection of **national boundaries from foreign aggression** is the core interest of a nation.
- India had gained hard-earned independence from foreign rule after a long time. Thus, it was natural for her to give due emphasis on the independence of foreign policy.
- India's effort to **strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity** endorsement of principles of **non-interference**, in the internal affairs of other nations and finally the adoption of the policy of non-alignment should be seen in this light.

- To sustain the country's growth trajectory,
- India needs to **interact with its foreign** partners to bring in Foreign Direct Investments,
- financial assistance, and transfer of technology for schemes and programs like **Make in India**, **Skills India**, **Smart Cities**, infrastructure development, **Digital India**, Clean India etc.
- Therefore, it can be noted that in recent years, India's foreign policy adopted an approach **by integrating economic diplomacy with political diplomacy.**

- India has the largest diaspora in the world, comprising about **20 million Non-Resident Indians** and Persons of Indian Origin, spread all over the world.
- Therefore, one of the major objectives **is to engage them and derive maximum benefits from their presence abroad**, while at the same time protecting their interests to the extent possible.

- To summarise, four important goals of India's Foreign Policy are:
 - To protect India from traditional and non-traditional threats;
 - To create an external environment that is conducive for inclusive development of India so that the benefits of growth can reach the poorest of the poor in the country;
 - To make sure that India's opinions are heard on global platforms and that India is able to **influence world opinion** on issues of global dimensions such as **terrorism, climate change, disarmament, reforms of institutions of global governance**;
 - To engage and protect the Indian Diaspora.

- **Promoting international peace and security:**
- India as a 'newly independent and developing country rightly realized that international **peace and development** are correlated.
- Her emphasis on **disarmament** and the policy **of keeping away from military alliances** is intended to promote global peace.

- **The economic development of India:**
- The **fast development** of the country was the fundamental requirement of India at the time of independence.
- It was also required **to strengthen democracy and freedom in the country**
- In order **to gain financial resources** and **technology from both blocks** and to concentrate her energy on the development, India opted away from the power bloc politics, which was the defining feature of Cold War international politics.
- The foreign policy practice of India also reveals its **two other objectives:**
 - Elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination
 - Protection of the interests of people of Indian origin abroad.

- An official statement of the Ministry of External Affairs (2010) notes that India's foreign policy **seeks to safeguard her enlightened self-interest**.
- Its primary objective **is to promote and maintain a peaceful and stable external environment** in which the domestic tasks of inclusive economic development and poverty alleviation can progress rapidly.
- Thus, India seeks a **peaceful periphery** and works for **good neighborly relations** in her extended neighborhood.
- India's foreign policy also recognizes that issues such as **climate change, energy, and food security** are crucial for India's transformation. Since these issues are global in nature, they require **global solutions**.

Determinants I.F.P.

- **Introduction :-**
- India is one of the most **ancient civilizations** in the world and from ancient times, India's foreign policy remained independent whether it was the **Mauryan Empire, the Gupta Empire or the Mughal Empire**.
- The **British** were the determinants of India's foreign policy during the **colonial period**, who used India for their benefit.
- But **after independence**, India's foreign policy is again fulfilling Indian interests.
- Today, India is **in selected countries of the world in military field, space, religious culture** etc. and India has used them better in its foreign policy formulation.
- Many factors are responsible in determining the foreign policy of a country, in which **geopolitical, military** force etc. are important.

Determinants of India's foreign policy: -

- **Geographical factors: -**
- Geographical factors are important in determining foreign policy, which is called geopolitics.
- India occupies a **central position in Asia** and occupies **the largest area in South Asia**. In such a situation, any big incident in the whole of Asia affects India.
- The **Himalayas** are like sentinels of India which play an important role in **determining relations with other Himalayan countries such as Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar**.
- But the desire of **China** to maintain its dominance in the region continuously since 1962 has a clear impact on India's foreign policy, which has recently shown a change in relations with Nepal.

- Along with this, India has a natural edge in the **Indian Ocean**.
- India's **dominance** over the **Indian Ocean** is necessary to become an important power of the **Indian-Pacific region**. (Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Malaysia, Maldives, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand, US etc.)
- At present, the Indian Ocean region is an important **route of trade and communication for the whole world**. Hence, it also plays an important **role in determining the foreign policy of India**.

- **Population: -**

- India is currently the second most **populous and youngest** country in the world, so India is becoming **a consumption-oriented** country, in such a situation it will fulfill **the need of a big market for all the producing nations**, which is the determinant of foreign policy.
- But with such a large population, problems **like hunger, poverty are evident on India's foreign policy.**
- Many times there has been a **dispute in the World Trade Union between India and America about** the government's intervention in **agricultural subsidies.**

- **Government System: -**

- India has a **democratic** governance system that inspires many countries of the world **to accept Indian** ideology,
- for example, **ASEAN countries** contradict by China look towards India because India's democracy follows the principle **of peaceful coexistence.**
- But many times in the **parliamentary system**, the role of state governments is also important in determining foreign policy, it becomes more important if there **is a coalition government at the center, as was shown in the Tamil issue in Sri Lanka and the 2005 US Nuclear Deal.**

- **Economic Development :-**

- **Economic sovereignty** is of utmost importance in determining foreign policy. Like its policy, India had to open its **markets in 1991**, but after that India has become very strong financially.
- India's economic growth has attracted many countries.
- Today, India is an important **energy consumer**, with countries like **Turkmenistan, Iran ,Russia having economic** alliances with India.
- But still the **negative trade balance with China** remains India's main problem.

- **Culture :-**

- **History and culture** can be seen as important in the formulation of India's foreign policy.
- Kautilya's theory of a **powerful kingdom** with the ideals **of Buddha and Gandhi** shows the path of India.
- India's **civil-civilian religious** relationship is well established from many countries of the world where there **are Hindu, Islam, Christian, Buddhist majorities**.
- The basis of **India-Israel relations** is somewhere in the policy of all religions of India.
- Principles like **imperialism, colonialism, opposition to armaments** have been derived from the history of India which are seen in India's foreign policy today.

- **Regional Environment: -**

- Regional events are also important in determining foreign policy. For example, **in 1971**, the **alliance of China, US and Pakistan** brought a crisis situation for India, then **India got inclined towards** Russia.
- At present, the **increasing dominance of China** is also a reason for intensification of **India-US relations**.
- India has increased India's capacity and power with **Look East to Act East policies and China's rise in ASEAN**.

- **Global environment: -**

- After **globalization**, when the whole world connected with each other, global factors also became important in determining foreign policy.
- India may **oppose the move to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on environment issues**, even if there is cooperation between **India and America**.
- And this is also an example **of India wants democratic government in Afghanistan for the suppression of terrorism**.
- After the **Second World War**, the world order has changed in many ways, keeping in mind that **India tries to reform the UN Security Council**.

- **Military power :-**

- Today India is the third most powerful country in the Army,
- fourth in the Air Force and sixth in the Navy.
- At the same time, India is rich in nuclear power.
- Everyone knows India dominance in space.
- In such a situation, they play an important role in the foreign policy making of India.

- **Conclusions: -**

- These elements are present in today's foreign policy of India, but these elements change constantly.
- In modern times, it is necessary to determine **policies keeping the national interest in mind.**

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM),

- [international organization](#) dedicated to representing the interests and [aspirations](#) of developing countries. In the early 21st century the Non-Aligned Movement counted 120 member states.

- The Non-Aligned Movement emerged in the context of the wave of decolonization that followed World War II.
- At the 1955 Bandung Conference (the Asian-African Conference), the attendees, many of whose countries had recently gained their independence, called for “**abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.**”

- In the context of the [Cold War](#), they argued, countries of the developing world should abstain from allying with either of the two superpowers (the [United States](#) and the [U.S.S.R.](#)) and should instead join together **in support of national self-determination** against all forms of [colonialism](#) and [imperialism](#).
- The Non-Aligned Movement was founded and held its first conference (the Belgrade Conference) in **1961** under the leadership of [Josip Broz Tito](#) of Yugoslavia, [Gamal Abdel Nasser](#) of Egypt, [Jawaharlal Nehru](#) of India, [Kwame Nkrumah](#) of Ghana, and [Sukarno](#) of Indonesia.

- As a condition for membership,
- the states of the Non-Aligned Movement cannot be part of a multilateral military alliance (such as the [North Atlantic Treaty Organization](#) [NATO]) or have signed a bilateral military agreement with one of the “big powers” if it was “deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.”
- However, the idea of nonalignment does not signify that a state ought to remain passive or even neutral in international politics.
- On the contrary, from the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, its stated aim has been to give a voice to developing countries and to encourage their concerted action in world affairs.

- The main objective of the NAM at the beginning was
- to keep away the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa from the superpower rivalry and to protect and preserve their newly acquired independence.
- The other important objectives of the NAM are the following:
- To eliminate all those causes which could lead to war.
- To protect the nascent freedom of the new-born independent countries of Asia and Africa from colonial domination.
- To oppose colonialism imperialism and racial discrimination.
- To advocate sovereign equality of all states.

- To encourage friendly relations among countries.
- To advocate peaceful settlement of international disputes.
- To oppose the use of force and the use of nuclear weapons.
- To protect human rights and to protect the environment.

- **Basic Principles of the NAM**

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- Mutual non-aggression.
- Mutual non-interference in each other's affairs.
- Equality and mutual benefit.
- Peaceful co-existence.

NAM in Cold War Era

- **1 Against Apartheid:** The evil of apartheid was massively prevalent in **African countries** like South Africa, its was on the agenda of NAM right from first conference.
- During 2nd NAM conference at **Cairo** the government of South Africa was warned **against the discriminatory practices of apartheid**.
- **2 Disarmament:** The Non-aligned Movement repeatedly comes out for maintenance **of peace**, 'the cessation of arms race and the peaceful coexistence of all States.
- In the **General Assembly**, India submitted a draft resolution declaring that the **use of nuclear weapons would be against the charter of the United Nations and crime against humanity and should therefore be prohibited**.

- **3 UNSC reforms:** Right from its inception NAM was in the favour of UNSC reforms, it was **against the domination of US and USSR**.
- It wanted the **representation of third world** countries to make UNSC **more democratic**.
- Members echoed with same demand at **17th NAM** conference at **Venezuela**.
- **4 Failed to resolve regional tensions:** In the era of cold war the tension in South Asia escalated due to regional conflict between **India- China** and **India-Pakistan**.
- NAM failed to avoid tensions in the region, that further led to the **nuclearisation of the region**.

Emerging Global Order

- NAM has to adopt and change itself to suit the newly emerging **challenges and geopolitics** such as:
- World has again **moved towards bi-polarity**, one led by **US** and other by **China-Russia**. The war torn **syria** is prime example of this, where both US and Russia is **asserting power**.
- The escalating **tension in Indo-pacific** region due to China's assertion and **US acting** as a counterweight to check the **Chinese expansionist policy**.
- The large scale **migration in Europe and Asia** due to the unstable regimes and **ethnic conflict** in different parts of world.

- Issue of **global climate change** and occurrence of **catastrophic disasters** raising demand to form global consensus to deal with it.
- **Changing US policies**, protectionism, prevalent terrorism and nuclearisation of middle east.
- **Formation of multiple regional economic groupings** like TPP(The Trans-Pacific Partnership-12 states agreement) and RCEP(The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership ie agreement between member states of ASEAN) and fading away of multilateral bodies WTO from global arena.

Relevance of NAM

- NAM continues to hold relevance as a platform and due to its principles.
- **World peace** - NAM has played an active role in preserving world peace. It still stands by its founding principles, idea and purpose i.e. to establish the peaceful and prosperous world. It prohibited invasion of any country, promoted disarmament and a sovereign world order.
- **Territorial integrity and sovereignty** - NAM stands with this principle and proved its repeated relevance with the idea of preserving the independence of every nation.

- **Third World nations** - Third world countries fighting against socio-economic problems since they have been exploited for a long time by other developed nations, NAM acted as a protector for these small countries against the western hegemony.
- **Support of UN** - NAM's total strength comprises of 118 developing countries and most of them being a member of UN General Assembly. It represents two third members of general assembly, hence NAM members act as important vote blocking group in UN.
- **Equitable world order** - NAM promotes equitable world order. It can act as a bridge between the political and ideological differences existing in the international environment.

- **Interest of developing countries** - If disputes arise between developed and developing nation at any point of a concerned topic for example **WTO**, then NAM act as a platform **which negotiates and conclude disputes** peacefully securing the favorable decisions for each member nation.
- **Cultural diversity and human rights** - In the environment of gross human right violation, it can provide a platform to raise such issues and resolve the same through its principles.
- **Sustainable development** - NAM supported the concept of sustainable development and can lead the world toward sustainability. Can be used as larger platform to make consensus on global burning issues like **climate change, migration and global terrorism.**
- **Economic growth** - The countries of NAM has inherent assets, such as a **favourable demography**, demand and favourable location. The cooperation can lead them to higher and sustainable economic growth. Can be an alternative to regional groupings like TPP and RCEP.

Way Forward

- NAM as a concept can never be irrelevant, principally it provides a strong base to foreign policy of its members.
- It should be seen as “Strategic Autonomy”, which is the need of the hour of today’s world. The principles of NAM still can guide the nations towards it.
- NAM is a platform where India can assert its soft power and provide an active leadership and by being a torchbearer for smaller countries at multilateral platforms.
- The conference of Heads of the State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, often referred to as **Non-Aligned Movement Summit** is to be held in Azerbaijan(Baku-capital city) in June 2019.
- Platform should be used for consensus making on spectrum of global issues.

- It should be used as a platform to raise global issues like terrorism, climate change and trade protectionism and others.
- NAM platform can be used to garner support by South-East Asian countries like Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines against Chinese assertion in South China Sea and related island and border disputes.
- NAM can provide a platform for Afro-Asian cooperation and a strong position for poor African nation to have healthy negotiations with China and US for economic development without compromising the sovereignty of their land.