

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA : AN OVERVIEW

(Special Reference to the Narendra Modi Government)

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Abstract :

The foreign policies decided upon the political leaders' assumptions about the objectives of welfare of that nation. The Prime Minister of the India have been playing a very important role in deciding foreign policies of India. Whatever changes that have been made in objectives of foreign policies of India, are the results of the transformations in Prime Ministers and their understanding of the changing global situations. In results, the foreign policy of India has changed its form from the election of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister in 2014. Though, not many differences are seen in it since the post-independent times, some noticeable differences are seen in it. The priority in Indian foreign policy is changed. Since last four years, the interest shown by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the foreign policy, the time for it and plans made for it are certainly going to give new direction to a Indian foreign policy.

Keywords: *Strategic Planning, External Affairs, Territory, Alliance, Commonwealth, Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, Non-Aligned Movement, Unipolar, Diplomacy*

India's foreign relation reflect a traditional policy of non-alignment, the exigencies of domestic economic reform and development, and the changing post cold war international environment. India's relations with the world have evolved considerably since British colonial period, when a foreign power monopolized external relations and defence relations. At the time of independence in 1947, few Indians had experience in making foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress had established a small foreign department in 1928 to make overseas contacts. From the late 1920s onwards, Pandit Nehru who had the most standing interest in world affairs among independent leaders, formulated the congress stance on international issues. He has successfully established the foundation of foreign policy of India. Nehru's successors Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi proved the world that India could not be soft target. In fact Indira Gandhi and Atal Bihari Vajpayee has established country as a Nuclear Power. Contemporary leadership has emphasized on establishing dialogue towards Big Powers. Afterwards Prime Minister Narendra Modi has also given realistic touch to the Indian foreign policy.

Determinants of Foreign Policy :

The foreign policy of a country is influenced by various factors. Some of the major influential factors of a country's foreign policy are mentioned below. For the sake of convenience, they are divided into 'Internal Factors' and 'External Factors'.

Internal factors which influence a country's foreign policy:

1. **Size of the Territory :** The population and size of a country greatly influence the foreign policy of a country. The vastness of territory and big population results into high expectations from external affairs. On the other hand, small countries do not carry such burden.
2. **Geographical Structure :** A country's wealth is also in the form of resources available. These resources are in the form of climate, location, fertility of available land, water related businesses and the connected masses. Availability or non-availability of such elements determine the self-sufficiency of a country and hence affect the foreign policy.
3. **Historical and Cultural Background :** The historical and cultural uniformity or diversity certainly affect a country's foreign policy. Uniformity in historical and cultural background usually results into effective foreign policy while diversity in such factors may lead to not-so-effective foreign policy.
4. **Economic Development:** The economic development of a country is usually based on its import and export of the goods and technology. Therefore, to maintain the economic stability and vested interests, a country has to modify foreign policy. In result, economic development becomes one of the most crucial factors affecting the foreign policy.
5. **Technological Advancement :** This factor is important for military and economic strength of a country. The advanced countries are generally advanced 'technologically'. This also influences the other nations which indirectly influences the foreign policy of the advanced country.
6. **Ability :** The military preparedness, economic progress and technical advancements easily influence, a nation foreign policy. Ability of a nation is defined through above mentioned advancement.

7. **Building of the Society:** If the society in the nation is free from divisive factors like caste, religion, sect, language, wealth or at least not rigid about it, it can result into a homogenous group of society having a strong emotion of national integrity. The emotion of nationalism also springs out from it. In this way social structure or social construction also plays a vital role in deciding a nation's foreign policy.
8. **Role of Media :** Media conveys information to the citizens of a nation. Such information shapes the mindset and attitude of the people in that country. Many times international news is also provided to them which results into their understanding of current international affairs, their place on the global platform. A nation's foreign policy is also conveyed to the citizens through media in the form of press, new channels, social networking sites, etc.
9. **Political Organization of the Country :** Foreign policy of a country is greatly shaped by its political organization. Wherever the authoritarian system exists, the operationalisation of the foreign policy may suffer from discrepancy. Due to its centrality of decision, the trickling down of the information from superiors to subordinates can result into altogether different implementation.
But in the democratic system, the difference in political structure makes an impact on a nation's foreign policy. In parliamentary democracy, the foreign policy gets affected by co-ordination between the legislature and the executive wings. On the other hand, in presidential democracy, because of separation of powers, the relation between the two wings. On the other hand, in presidential democracy, because of separation of powers, the relation between the two wings are mostly strained and it results into affecting ambiguity or continuity of foreign policy.
10. **Political Accountability :** A country's foreign policy is influenced by the nature of political accountability prevailing in the system. Due to the openness in the political system, the shaping of a country's foreign policy gets affected by demands of citizens and cultural or political or economical groups.
11. **Nature of the Public :** This is also an important determinant of a nation's foreign policy. Nature of a public is shaped by the foreign policy and foreign policy is also shaped by nature of the people in a country. Determination of a country's foreign policy is the result of the mood, nature and requirements of public in that country.
12. **Leadership :** Leadership is an obvious factor which affects the formulation of a country's foreign policy.

External factors which influence a country's foreign policy :

External factors are important in formulation of a country's foreign policy. Today the world has come so close that the events in one country certainly influence (positively or negatively) to the other country. For example, the events of nationalization of oil-company-sector in the Middle East, the increasing closeness of India with Japan, etc events economically and politically affect other countries. The following external factors do affect the formulation of external affairs/foreign policy of a country:

1. **International Organization :** International organizations are crucially influencing factors in formulation of foreign policy of a country. A country has to consider the international laws made by such organizations as well as treaties and agreements signed while formulating her foreign policy. A country cannot threaten these elements for her own interests.
2. **International Interests :** This factor plays a crucial role because a country cannot pursue her own interest in isolation or by ignoring or by threatening interests of all the world. The narrow national interests may result into a foreign policy which may invoke a strong reaction from the countries which are adversely affected by the policy.
3. **Power Structure :** The constitution of the power structure prevailing across the globe greatly influences the foreign policy of a country. A country has to formulate her foreign policy according to her status in the global power-structure. If the country is a great power, it formulates the relations of balance of power in its policy. Sometimes it has to act according to the needs of bipolar or multipolar global power structures. All such conditions influence the forming of a nation's foreign policy.
4. **Global Opinion :** This factor may affect the forming of foreign policy in many ways. The opinion of the global citizens, their attitude towards the country results into inclusion or exclusion of certain clauses in the foreign policy. But the factor is also dependent on occasional issues.
5. **Alliance :** Forming alliance with other countries affects a country's foreign policy deeply. A country has to respond to the request and demands of its allies and avoid forming foreign policy which may harm them socially, economically and politically.

Salient Features of Indian Foreign Policy :

Following are the salient features of India's foreign policies.

1. Principle of non-alignment :

The first upholder of the principle of non-alignment is India. It means the aloofness from military alliances and trust in solving problems of conflicts through co-operation and discussion. India adopted the policy for the sake of global – peace. Nehru was a determined supporter of the principle of non-alignment. His stance about alignment was “By aligning ourselves with any other power, you surrender your opinion, give up the policy you would normally pursue because somebody else wants you to pursue another policy. I do not think that it would be a right policy for us to adopt. We will neither be following the policy based on our ideals inherited from our past or the one indicated by our present nor will be able easily to adopt ourselves to the new policy consequent on such alignment.”

India's geographical consideration also needs the favour for non-alignment policy. Because of the geographical proximity to two communist powers (China and Soviet Union), it would be unfriendly to them to act friendly with western alliance. While alliance with communist countries is not possible today because of complex Indian tradition which does not approve of the revolutionary ideology of communism.

Non-alignment does not mean the rejection of friendly co-operation with other countries or pure neutrality. India's principle of non-alignment is not a policy of neutrality because India has been vocal about various international issues. The

instances of India's expressions over various non-India related issues are found in the history since independence.

2. **Stance Against Imperialism and Colonialism :**

This is one of the most important features of India's foreign policy. India has been constantly standing against the colonial and imperial powers and protected the causes of the exploited nations. Pandit Nehru's stance about it can be seen through his speech delivered before the UN General Assembly. In it he says, "We in Asia who have ourselves suffered all these evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country. There are neighboring countries of ours in Asia with whom we are intimately allied. We look them with sympathy : we look at their struggle with sympathy. Any power great or small, which in that way prevents the attainment of the freedom of these peoples does an ill than to world peace. Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule."

India actually reacted against the colonialism and imperialism which can be seen through the examples of the Dutch attempt to re-establish colonial rule in Indonesia which was opposed by India. India also supported the independence of Libya and opposed south Africa. Tunisian and Algerian freedoms were supported, too.

3. **Support to Racial Equality :**

India has been a great supporter of the racial equality and has condemned the racial discrimination. Pandit Nehru was a firm believer in everybody's claim for equal and honourable treatment. He claimed that we repudiate the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practiced. India has reacted against the racial discrimination followed towards Indian in South Africa, supported the course of Negroes in the United States. The UN General Assembly Condemned the Union of South Africa for its Apartheid Policy.

4. **Panchasheel :**

India's foreign policy gives value to the peaceful co-existence and co-operation. The multipolar existence of thoughts, principles and countries is the inspirations behind it '*Panchasheel*' means 'Five Principles' which are incorporated in an agreement between India and China. These five principles are listed below:

1. Respect of each other for regarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Principle of non aggression
3. No involvement in each other's internal matters
4. Equality and benefit of each other
5. Peaceful co-existence

These are the important principles in India's foreign policy.

5. **Support to United Nations :**

India has a firm belief in United Nations and supports UN for peaceful settlement of international disputes. Therefore, the issue of Kashmir is also taken to the UN. The examples of India's role about Korea and Indo-China are the best example of India's faith in UN. But within UN, India refuses to follow the UN's swing between the two powers. India has belief in the world's peace and therefore she understand the role of UN in keeping of it. India was accused of bypassing the UN when she summoned the Asian countries for a conference at New Delhi in January 1949. But at that time Nehru made it clear that India doesn't have any hostility towards any country or group and this conference is nothing but his attempt to promote peace through the extension of freedom. India has been supplying necessary personnel to the UN in its endeavors.

6. **Favour for Asia :**

Though India supports global peace, co-existence and co-operation, she has a special soft corners for Asian matters (and African, too, in many cases) because of the likeness in point of views. India has always tried to unite Asian countries for solving their own issues. The first attempt of such was made in 1947 and then in 1949 by organizing a conference at New Delhi. It is usually accused that holding such attempts by India are her attempts of leadership of East Asia but India has always refused the claim. Despite of it, it is always seen that India is first in championing Asia's cause at world affairs.

7. **Sympathetic towards Partition- suffering Countries:**

Due to her own experience of partition and its consequences, India's foreign policy sympathizes for the countries suffering from divisions or partitions. Indo- Pakistan partition was a delirium for India and it caused India the instances of sufferings. In result, India has tried to establish unity among the partition-favoured parts of countries like Korea and Vietnam. India has also supported German unification.

8. **Support to Commonwealth :**

Commonwealth was joined by India through a treaty on the onset of independence. At that time India needed British naval support as well as economic benefits coming to it from the Commonwealth. It had also created a dispute as Commonwealth, initially, supported Pakistan. But taking into consideration that the Commonwealth was mostly composed of Asian and African countries, India remained its member. As there are many likeminded nations in the Commonwealth, India supports Commonwealth in his foreign policy.

The world has undergone through drastic change since Second World War. Once the superpowers have become strugglers and new superpowers are arising and challenging the previous global background. Cold-war has ended with inglorious results and the powerful sovereignty union has disintegrated. It is unconceivable that the powerful security alliances which were so carefully built up since second world war have fallen to dust and development in economic have dominated the international relations during past few years.

It is a proven irony that millions of dollars were spent on research and development of the strategic weapon system in strategic defence initiative as well as the grand theories regarding world in motion all are falling to dust. It is also seen that the unions of countries, their alliances, etc are losing their significance gradually and the present day international politics is being hijacked by religious fundamentalists, multinationals, during barons and cross- country- terrorists.

In this post- modern world, the political geography is being redrawn by ethnic conflicts and fundamental groups. Along with this, the previously non- existing issues like protection of global environment, human rights, sustainable development and other social issues regarding women, tribes and indigenous culture are becoming strong in the reconstruction of agenda for international relations. The linkage politics is arriving at its conclusion due to rapidly changing global atmosphere.

After the Second World War, when India got his freedom, the world was the platform for two blocs. But the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, chose the international policy of the 'Middle Path'. Such a non- alignment policy was India's path for independent thinking, in reality. This kept India secure from getting entangled by any ideological or military alliances.

During the next years, India's foreign policy went through evolution. Initially it was careful about preserving its national interests and independence of choice. But after awakening from the slumber of colonial exploitation, India did need the support of either western capitalistic bloc lead by the USA or the socialist bloc lead the Soviet Union. Therefore, to overcome the abject poverty in the country, India had to take support of both the blocs and proceed towards the economic and industrial development. In result, India has accepted a policy of mixed economy. Today, India has emerged as a major third world country which wants to play role of supporter of world- peace. She also supports the settlement of international disputes through peaceful ways. Though, India's foreign policy has never been passive- it went through a setback in Sino- Indian border conflict in 1962. India was neglected by both powers at that time and it resulted into humiliating defeat and blotting of its glorious international past. Regardless of this set back, India played a important role in super heading the Afro- Asian movement and crystallized the third world solidarity at various global platforms like UN and the Commonwealth of Nations. India's role against the practices of imperialism and colonialism is crucial.

At the early stages, India wanted to improve his relations with neighbors which can be seen through attempts of *Panchasheel*. But those attempts proved absurd. India is still being tensed by Pakistan and China. Although neighbors like Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka remain cordial. Few issues had created the milieu of agitation in Sri Lanka and affected our relations for some time.

The development of foreign policy of India is seen undertaking the following three stages:

1. The foreign policy of Indian National Congress(1885-1947)
2. The foreign policy during the Post Independence Era (During the cold war or foreign policy of Nehru, 1947-1990)
3. India's foreign policy after the cold war (1990- today)

During the time of the cold-war, India's relations with other nations were established on bipolar and multi-polar levels. Along with this, divisional and international organizations, traders' organizations assisted in setting the direction of foreign policies gradually.

Stage – I

The Foreign Policy of Indian National Congress (1885 - 1947):

Indians started to express opinions as soon as the Indian National Congress was established. Especially started to criticize the defence policies of Great Britain.

The British Government had started to interfere in the internal processes of the adjoining countries like Afganistan and Tibet. Indian National Congress did not approved of it. They had also criticized the dictatorship came into existence in the nations like Germany and Italy after the first world war.

The world view of Indian National Congress during the first phase of pre-independent era was limited to India and the countries adjoining her. And during the second phase, the world view of the Indian National Congress is seen broadened. The Indians initiated to express their opinions over various international issues. The various resolutions were made for this. In 1921, the All India Congress Committee resolved that instead of maintaining good relations only with adjoining countries, India will develop and maintain peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations with each and every country in the world. After it, India started to participate in various international conferences and meetings. For

example opium convention, resolution of boycott of slavery, illegal trading of women, etc. As a next step , the Indian National Congress resolved to form a separate foreign policy department in 1928 and the foreign policies were fixed through it. Pandit Nehru declared that there will be a complete support to the United Nations Organization established at 1945 in a press conference on 'Basic Principles of Indian Foreign policy' held in 1946. Following are the important decision regarding foreign policies taken during pre-independence era:

1. Opposition of the British attack done on Myanmar (1885)
2. Opposition to the activities done by the British on the geographical boundaries of India (1892)
3. Participation in the peace treaty of Versailles.
4. Demand of Indian National Congress of non- interference of the British in the internal matters of adjoining countries.
5. Accepted membership of UNO
6. Accepted membership of India in the world Labour Organisation (1920).
7. Indian National Congress resolved to support and co-operate every country and people struggling against colonialism.
8. Formation of a separate Foreign Affairs Department by the Indian National Congress (1928)
9. In the conference of Indian National Congress held at Tripura it was demanded that India must have his own foreign policy (1939)
10. Participation of India in San Francisco International Conference (1945)
11. Organisation of 'Asian Relations Conference' at New Delhi (1947)

The Ideology of Indian Foreign Policy:

The Indian foreign policy is influenced by the non-violence principle of Mahatma Gandhi and spiritual principle of Aurobindo Ghosh and Ravindranath Tagore. The same thought process resulted into India's attitude towards world politics. The non-violence, peace and co-operation became the basis of India's foreign policy. Opposition to the war through non-violence, peaceful co-existence through co-operation became the founding principles of Indian foreign policy. Gandhism, Spiritualism, and Internationalism influenced Nehru's Democratic Socialism. The Democratic Socialism of Nehru became not only the tool of India's socio-economic development but it also provided a theoretical framework to India's foreign policy.

The process of forming of Indian foreign policy had a deep influence of British tradition during post-independence era. But Pandit Nehru tried to give a different from through non – aligned movement. Even the opinion of people was also made in favour of it for this purpose. In result, he could develop the foreign policy during the time of cold war by balancing both the superpowers through co-operation. There was a great impact of liberal thoughts in post- independence era. Therefore, India accepted the membership of the Common Wealth nations.

The first three decades after the independence were of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence, Aurobindo Ghosh and Ravindranath Tagore's spiritualism and internationalism on foreign policy. The post independence struggles made to look the international politics with various perspectives. The principles of non-violence, peace and co-operation came forward through these perspectives. Gandhism, spiritualism and internationalism influenced the democratic socialism of Nehru. The democratic socialism of Nehru is developed through this frame. Resultantly the impression of thoughts on Gandhi, Tagore and Ghosh is seen on Indian foreign policy in the times of Nehru. These thoughts provided a universal theoretical basis to the Indian foreign policy. Nehru's socialism in the foreign policy was based on two principles 1. Freedom of decision 2. Self-reliance. This provided the basis for development of Nehru's foreign policy. The reflection of these principles is clearly seen in Nehru's non-aligned policy.

Most of the nations which got freedom just after the Second World War had many similar economic and social issues. All these countries were exploited through colonialism. These countries were in need of social, economic development and self - reliance within themselves. To become a part of the two superpowers would have provide them some security. But what about other aspects? This was an another issue. But the non-aligned movement has given the self-reliance. The platform of mutual co-operation among the Asian and African countries was provided because of thoughts of Nehru and others through the medium of non-aligned movement. The socialism of Nehru gave first place to the achievement of socio-economic development through international co-operation. The non-aligned was developed through the same objective. While describing the importance of principle of non-aligned movement regarding Indian foreign policy I.K. Gujral said that “The Non-Aligned movement figures firmly in India's world view and constitute an Important plan in our foreign policy, we remain firmly committed to the philosophy and values of the Non-Aligned Movement.”

While thinking about Indian foreign policy which is developed out of Gandhiji's non-violence, Tagore's internationalism and Ghosh's spiritualism following basic tents come forward:

1. Opposition to colonialism and neo-colonialism
2. Acceptance of independent foreign policy
3. The principle of peaceful co-existence is related to the principle of 'live and let live'.
4. Opposition to the attitude and thought of racism which is the foundation of colonialism.
5. Along with achievement of socio-economic development through international co-operation, the resolution of conflicts and struggles among the nations.
6. Supporting UNO because of its impartial nature.
7. To provide a common and equal platform to the poor and developing countries in Asia and African continents. For instance, the birth of non-aligned nations' movement.
8. Not to interfere in the internal matters of neighboring countries.
9. Making independent decision and forming foreign policies without falling prey to pressure of other nations.
10. Supporting process of total disarmament for perpetuation of international peace and security by avoiding the danger of conflicts among nations.

Stage II :

Foreign Policy of Nehru (1947 to 1990) :

This is also called as the foreign policy of post independence period of India or the foreign policy during cold war. Pandit Nehru was the Prime Minister and the minister of External Affairs for continuous 16 years. Pandit Nehru had played a important role in formation of new foreign policy of independent India. Therefore, Pandit Nehru is called as the 'architect of Indian foreign policy. ' Pandit Nehru participated in many international conferences and meetings. Therefore he was welaware of the international problems. After recognizing the knowledge of Pandit Nehru about the international politics Mahatma Gandhi had said in 1942 that “In international affairs Nehru is my Guru.” Mahatma Gandhi then always supported the plans of foreign policies designed by Pandit Nehru.

Nehru's foreign policy was dependent on some idealist principles. Values had more importance in it. It was dependent upon democratic socialism. Nehru tried to achieve two things through his foreign policy.

1. Comprehensive Security Policy
2. Human Security

He gave value to the human security along with the national security. He valued internal security as equally as the external security. A common man should be able to fulfill his basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. This was his firm opinion.

Pandit Nehru did not only thought about Indian foreign policy but also about India's foreign policy by keeping in mind

the politics of entire Asian continent. He was more inclined towards keeping secure the vested interest of entire Asia. His idea of collective foreign policy was originated through this thought. Many countries were freed from the shackles of colonialism. All these countries had similar socio-economic and political problems. And India had got the independence earlier than others. Therefore, he thought that leading such countries was important.

Following are the important objectives of Nehru's Foreign Policy:

1. To achieve the collective vested interest of the third world countries. (countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America)
2. To form a common public opinion against colonialism, racism and armament competition.
3. To oppose the military organizations and polarization based due to the backdrop of cold-war.
4. To achieve international justice.

Limitations in Nehru's Foreign Policy:

1. Nehru's foreign policy became personal instead of becoming institutional. Instead of reflection of desires, ambitions of Indian citizen, the personal thoughts of Nehru reflected from his foreign policy. This happened only in India.
2. The foreign policy and internal policy of Nehru did not have much difference. In reality, the internal policy and external policy of any country is different. For example, America has democracy internally but her foreign policy is always of interference of monopoly.
3. Instead of looking at with realist attitude, we looked at with emotional attitude towards the foreign policy.

Article 50A of guiding principle of Indian Constitution mention that India will never attack on any country, international issues will be handled through peace will not interfere in the internal matters of other countries. Therefore, our foreign policy remained idealist instead of remaining different. In reality, it should secure the vested interests and dependant on professionalism principles.

4. Because of India's non-professional foreign policy, we are not inclined to forming of any alliance.

Our image of foreign policy remained dreamy but the international situations underwent many changes. Not developing atomic weapons, opposing the armour competition such were the chief principles of Nehru's foreign policy. But at the same time, the reality of south asia was different. China openly while Pakistan secretly were using atomic weapons. In result, the defence system of India was threatened and during the later period we had to accept the realist policy.

5. Due to the non-aligned policy, formation of strategic alliance did not happen.

During the times of Nehru, India accepted a non-aligned principled policy and in result we committed next mistake of understanding non alignment movement as the chief principle of our foreign policy. Because of it, our social vested interest were not secured. The balance of power, social security cannot be achieved by remaining aloof from international politics. In reality, the chief aim of non – alignment was to keep India secure from the politics of the cold war. But not keeping India's military vested interest suffered damage.

Along with this, the foreign policy of India was not designed systematically. For example, America has systematically planned her foreign policy to be implemented during and after the cold war. But India never planned and designed such a policy. Resultantly, the foreign policy went on changing according to the changes in government. Therefore, the foreign policies of each Prime Minister is separately seen from Pandit Nehru to Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Morarji Desai, P. V. Narasimha Rao, I. K. Gujral, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Manmohan Singh and now Narendra Modi.

The foreign policy and security are still neglected in India. Same is the case about nuclear weapon policy. Nehru had stance of not making nuclear weapons. But during the times of Indira Gandhi's prime ministership India held the nuclear test in Pokharan. But India did not pay attention to development of nuclear weapons at that time, today India would have been the part of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. But again we got trapped in to the attempt of image formation The Indian foreign policy remained soft and the situations remained 'as it is'. India could not form any military alliance. This is a reality. All the problems pertaining to the foreign policy could be eradicated during the time of cold war. But this did not happened.

Foreign Policy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi:

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, while attempting to achieve unity within the boundaries of the nation, paid more attention towards defence accomplishments. She attempted to make our foreign policy more practical. She added realist dimension to Nehru's idealist foreign policy. The 'as it is' situation was maintained about big nations and China and Pakistan. Because of establishment of Bangladesh by support of India in 1971 and the decisive military victory, the image of India is brightened in the world. During these happenings India was supported and co-operated by Russia. The anti India attitude of America, Pakistan and China was also revealed. The Pokharan nuclear test of 1974 made the world known about India's technical advancements. Along with this India got a place of honour in Asian politics. India established the relations of friendship with the neighbouring countries like Srilanka, Afghanistan, Nepal, Myanmar. India supported the side of Arabs in the Arab- Israel war and

also clearly posed that Israel should abandon the Arab land in her captivity. India supported and co-operated the freedom struggle of African nationalists. The political relations began to be developed between India and China since the middle of 1976.

Stage III :

India's Foreign Policy After the Cold war (1990-Today)

The period of foreign policy after the cold war is a tremendous importance. This is also called as the 'Post Nehru Policy'. The conflict between America, Russia, Europe, West Europe dependent on ideologies ended. This gave way to the co-operation and all the countries began to think about co-operation.

During the same time, the process of globalisation has started. Many trade groups were established. The countries worldwide opened their economics. Started to stress on economic development and economic co-operation. This economic co-operation increased the economic interdependence. Resultantly, the struggles among the countries decreased and

possibilities of war also ended. These days, The importance of war is decreased and the economic unification is growing. The world has seen the Iraq – Kuwait war in 1990 – 91. No other big war is seen during last 25 years except this one. Every country is thinking about economic development today. The ideology of nations is lagging behind. And through it, the use of foreign policy is used for the development of economic vested interests. Along with it, the spread of democracy is on increase since 1990. Because of spread of democracy, the growth of milieu of war is stunned and the milieu of economic development is received impetus.

Changing Nature of Foreign Policy of India:

After 1990 when the process of globalization started P. V. Narasimha Rao was the prime minister of India. He started to change our foreign policy. The important change in our foreign policy was that he decided to protect the economic vested interest through the foreign policy. The objective decided by P. V. Narasimha Rao of the foreign policy of India included the continuation of the objectives existing in the time of Nehru. The new objectives included are as follows :

1. To protect the economic and mercantile vested interest of India
2. To improve the relations with America
3. To create public opinion towards the support of Pakistan to the terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.
4. To strengthen the economic and mercantile relations with Japan, Gemany, South –East Asian countries.
5. To strengthen the India's economic diplomacy.
6. To be a member of trade organization like ASEAN
7. To strengthen UNO and to stress on its democratization.
8. To attempt for multipolar global structure

A new direction is given to Indian foreign policy through the above mentioned objectives.

Gujral Doctrine :

During June 1996 to March 1998, India had a coalition government formed through the alliance of thirteen parties. At this moment , the external affairs minister I.K. Gujral gave a new direction to Indian foreign policy through Gujral Doctrine. He became the Prime Minister in 1997 and by keeping the external affairs ministry to himself he influenced India's foreign policy. First of all, he tried to theories the foreign policy. In the Gujral Doctrine, following three points were thought about:

1. To Indo-Pak relations
2. To protect India's economic and trade vested interests
3. To improve co-operation among the SAARC countries on South Asian level.

For the improvement of India- Pakistan relations, he talked about Core- Periphery Principle. He opined that both the countries should stress on bipolar co-operation by keeping aside the issue of Kashmir. This resulted into mutual give and take of many fields between India and Pakistan. Gujral thought that being the biggest country among south Asian nations, India should play crucial role in the development of SAARC and lead it. For this purpose, India should help the south Asian countries economically without expecting any economic returns or any other help. This is called as the Principle of Non-Reciprocity. This policy gave way to a fresh beginning of a new era of co-operation among the south Asian nations.

During the post cold war period, India had started to do conscious attempts of improvement of relations with south –east Asian nations. I.K. Gujral had understood the importance of south – east Asian nations for India's economic and trade vested interests. For it, he developed the “Look East” policy. In result, India was accepted as a 'Fulltime Dialogue Partner' in a trade organization called as ASEAN. Along with it, India also got the membership of Asian Regional Forum which is known as the platform of the Asian organization. The relation of India with south east Asian countries are still supported by the 'Look East' policy.

Foreign Policy of Atal Bihari Vajpayi:

In 1998, the government of National Democratic Alliance come in to power under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayi. Again during 1999 to 2004, the government under his leadership came into power. The Vajpayi government followed following direction about the foreign policy:

1. To diminish the impact of Nehru's thoughts on India's foreign policy.
2. To make the foreign policy realistic. (India manufactured nuclear weapons and declared itself as 'Nation Possessing Nuclear Weapons')
3. Established close relations with USA and kept trying to from India-USA military alliance.

In 2000, USA President Bill Clinton visited India which became fruitful in improving co-operation between both the countries. USA initiated a campaign against international terrorism from 11th September' 2001 in which India became an active participant. The notable point is that the traditional approach of USA over the Kashmir issue also changed. The minister of external affairs of those times Mr. Jaswant Singh played a vital role in it.

4) Attempt were made to became a superpower in Asia :

To balance the increasing powers of China, USA needed an option in Asia. USA saw India as the option. Many attempt were made to get permanent membership Security Council of UNO.

P-5 Concept of Atal Bihari Vajpayi :

Vajpayi attempted to increase the relations with the five nations which have permanent membership of Security Council of UNO. India declared herself a 'Nuclear Weapon Nation' by doing five nuclear tests on 11th and 13th May, 1998 at Pokharan. At that moment, India's nuclear policy was declared systematically. According to it:

1. India will not attack any nation with nuclear weapon for the first time.
2. India will not go through nuclear tests again in future.

3. India's role will be of a responsible nuclear weapon nation.
4. India will not hand over nuclear technology or nuclear weapon to any country.
5. India will support multipolar global structure henceforth.

Foreign Policy of Dr. Manmohan Singh:

During the period of 2004 to 2009 the first government of UPA was in the power under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. During this period Dr. Manmohan Singh stressed on following issues:

1. Improving Indo- U.S. relations.
2. Attempted for the actualization of Nuclear Pact between India and USA.
3. Stressed on the ambition of becoming the superpower in the division.
4. Stressed on Indo – Chinese border defence pact
5. Gave importance to economic development instead of aggressive external affairs.

Merits of Dr. Manmohan Singh's Foreign Policy:

1. Became successful in receiving the level of close defence co-operator from USA.
2. Agreement with Russia were signed successfully. (Receiving of nuclear energy, weapon, defence armour, etc.)
3. The conditions regarding pass-port were released with Pakistan.
4. Indo - Chinese Border Security Pact was signed in 2005.

The basic principles of Dr. Manmohan Singh's foreign policy were as follows:

1. Differentiating between political vested interest and economic vested interests. Therefore keeping aloof the political conflicts while doing economic co-operation.
2. To create a favorable environment through the establishment of mutual trust formed through economic co-operation.
3. To stress on communication rather than conflict with neighboring countries.

Demerits of Dr. Sigh's Foreign Policy:

1. It is said that Indian foreign policy went through a deteriorating during UPA-2 after 2009. The foreign policy is decided by the central government. But during the governance of UPA-2, the policies of the center and the states began to differ from each other. Because of government of alliance, the constituent status began to decide their own foreign policies. Regional parties began to pressurize the central government for their own vested interest. For example, India – Sri Lanka relations, land border pact with Bangladesh and distribution of water of Tista river could not be successful because of West Bengal's Chief Minister Mamta Banerjee. Indian foreign policy doomed to work for narrow regional vested interests. This resulted into tensed relationships with neighboring countries. The world began to look at India as a country having weak foreign policy.
2. Dr. Manmohan Singh never visited Pakistan during his tenure of Prime – Ministership.
3. No progress was made regarding the issues of Sir Crick and Siachin with Pakistan.
4. The Bill of Nuclear Responsibility was not passed. In result, the Nuclear Pact with USA could not be accomplish.
5. The adjoining countries like Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Myanmar were neglected. China improved the relations with these countries on this background. In result, Indian foreign policy started to decline.
6. No progress was made in the discussion with ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations).

Foreign Policy of India : During Modi Government

The foreign policy of every country is influenced by its geographical situation, the opinion of its citizens, the need of defence related things, neighboring countries, international politics and the political leadership of that country. Along with it, the thoughts of political leaders, their mindset, attitude, accepted values, their understanding of global situations, and the formation of their psychology also influence the foreign policy of a country. The foreign policy is decided upon the political leaders' assumptions about the objectives of welfare of that nation. The Prime Minister of India have been playing a very important role in deciding foreign policies of India. Whatever changes that have been made in objectives of foreign policies of India, are the results of the transformations in Prime Ministers and their understanding of the changing global situations. In result, the foreign policy of India has changed its form from the election of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister in 2014. Though, not many differences are seen in it since the post-independent times, some noticeable differences are seen in it. The priority in Indian foreign policy is changed.

Almost four years have been passed to the Prime Ministership of Narendra Modi. It won't be proper to say that the foreign policy of India has changed thoroughly during these four years. But despite of this, the direction of his foreign policy is made clear. During this four years, Modi has visited more than sixty five countries and the chiefs of more than eighty five countries have visited India. Along with this, the country's External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj has discussed with the external affair ministers of more than hundred countries through divers platforms. The previous Prime Minister of India and his associates had tried to establish the image of India as a super power in the world politics. The same attempts are being made by Narendra Modi and his government. The interest shown by the Prime Minister Modi in the foreign policy, the time for it and plans made for it are certainly going to give new direction to a Indian foreign policy.

The characteristics of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's foreign policy are as follows:

1. Tried to improve relations with neighboring countries while implementing foreign policy of 'Neighbourhood First' is upheld.
2. Tried to improve the image of India on the world platform.
3. Without entertaining the idealism in the foreign policy, tried to give an objective policy for the welfare of the nation.
4. Stress is given on the protection of economic vested interests.
5. Recognizing the importance of ocean in a nation's welfare, gave importance to the ocean – policy.
6. Tried to include the states in foreign policy.
7. Recognizing the importance of NRIs, gave preference to keeping the vested interests through them.

8. Tried to give preference to the strategic planning while attempting for completing the energy related needs of the nation by improvement of relations with West Asian countries through the "Look West" policy.
9. Attempt of 'Energy Conservation' were made assuming it as an important part of Indian foreign policy.
10. Attempts of regional unity were done by using space related technology of India for improvement of relations with south asian countries. For example, the idea of SARC satellite.
11. To improve the global influence of India by taking the support of India's cultural and historical heritage and to underline the importance of Indian culture through the world approval to our cultural and historical heritage. For example, International Yoga Day and Buddhist Philosophy.
12. Tried to keep the national welfare by establishing relations with some countries newly. For example, Vietnam, Canada, Mangolia.
13. Provided stress on the relations with globally influential countries.

A New Search of 'Neighborhood':

Instead of inviting SAARC for the BRICS Summit Conference held in 2016, India had invited BimsTech (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation). At the times when our relations with Pakistan were at delicate stage, the decision of inviting BimsTech is an important decision. India publically announced the surgical strike in Pak occupied Kashmir. This has resulted into tension between Indo-Pakistan relations. Thus PM Narendra Modi's foreign policy of 'Neighborhood First' has taken a sudden turn. The discussion on India's relations with Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and China is done. Along it, the analysis of relations between India-Vietnam, India-Singapore, India-Japan is also done. After it the discussion is done about the relations with all powerful countries in the world.

India - Pakistan:

The relations of India and Pakistan have been always of conflict since beginning. There are four points on which Indo-Pak conflict stands. The most important and extra sensitive issue is of Jammu – Kashmir. The second issue is of cross border terrorism. The follow the issues of Siachin and Sircrick.

Bhartiya Janta Party and especially Narendra Modi had criticized the UPA government on the issue of policy about Pakistan. India should have taken their strong decisions against Pakistan such statements were announced through public meetings. This gave a room for guessing the situations of conflict between India and Pakistan after Modi's election as Prime Minister. But Narendra Modi adopted a policy which clearly denied this expectation.

By taking the support of the policy of Ex-Prime Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayi, Modi initially, adopted the same policy. He tried to protect economic vested interest and improve trade relations while upholding the peace on one hand. As a first attempt of improving Indo-Pak relations, he invited the chiefs of all neighbouring countries including Pakistan for his oath – taking ceremony. The Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif attended the ceremony and agreed to initiate the peace – making process which had ceased from 2008. Modi has adopted the 'neighborhood first' policy by recognizing need of good relations with neighbouring countries for India's attempt of becoming the world superpower and her today's place as a superpower in Indian subcontinent. The attempt of improving the Indo- Pak relations is done according to it.

It was hoped that the Indo-Pakistan relations will improve but because of sudden cross border terrorist activities, the discussions between both the countries stopped. Many innocent people died because of the shoot at the border. Because of the secrete attacks on the army also irritated Indian citizens. As a result, India also accepted the 'tit for tat' policy about Pakistan. The attitude of replying with fire to the shooting was accepted. Pakistan was given the answer in her own language by the operation 'Surgical Strike'. This resulted in to a warlike situation between India and Pakistan.

The second important stance of Modi government is its stress on the bipolar discussions between this two nations only. It expected the absence of Hurriyat in this discussion. It goes away from Nehru's stance on the issue of Kashmir. Vajpayi and Manmohan Singh had given a place of importance in this discussion. Modi government does not approve the existence of Hurriyat Conference in this issue. This means that the doors are closed for Hurriyat Conference in the discussion on the issue of Kashmir. Since Nehru To Manmohan Singh, Kashmiri leaders were made to praise either Delhi or Islamabad in their discussion. Shyama Prasad Mukharji had disdained Nehru's stance about Kashmir, Modi government is going forward with same track. Modi government seems ready to break the traditional stance over the Kashmir issue. According to Pakistan, India should follow the tradition. Atal Bihari Vajpayi had included Hurriyat leaders in the discussion with the humanity's point of view. But Narendra Modi is refusing this thing.

By bringing forward the issue of exploitation of Kashmiri Pundits, BJP put forward the subject of article 370. But due to the absence of power BJP had opted to keep mum about the issue of article 370 and Kashmiri Pundit. But, now, because of fully independent government of the center, BJP more interested in article 370 rather than discussion with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. In such situations, the government cannot possibly give approval to the separatist Hurriyat leaders.

On the other hand, Modi government has taken the stance of excluding Pakistan from the world platform. India has always tried to expose Pakistan's hypocritic behaviour on the world platform, whenever possible. In result Pakistan is seized by the Modi government in global politics. In it, the policy of befriending the friend nations of Pakistan and increasing the closeness with the enemies of Pakistan is adopted. India has tried to trap Pakistan by improving strategic relations with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and America.

Because of this policy of India, it is seen that Pakistan does not have any other trusted friend except China on the world scenario. The vivid example of this can be seen in the form of American President Barak Obama's avoidance to visit Pakistan after his visit to India.

Nowadays, because of the attack on Line of Control (LoC) and international borders by Pakistan, the Indo-Pak relations are under stress. Both the countries have nuclear powers. None of them can afford a war now. Thus both the countries should

develop an atmosphere of mutual trust between themselves. For this purpose, by keeping a side the issues of tension, both the countries should improve their trade relations. Pakistan should give India the status of 'The Most Forward Nation's and India should increase import from Pakistan. Such attempts are necessary to create a milieu of trust between both the countries.

While thinking about India –Pakistan relation, following four factors in Pakistan should be taken into consideration. They are political leaders, military, fundamentalists and terrorist. For the real improvements in Indo-Pak relations, these four factors must agree. But that is not possible. Despite of this, the inclusion of Pakistani military in the discussion can be an option. Inclusion of Pakistan's army into the discussion may arrest the cross border terrorism. It may also result into an environment of mutual trust between both the countries.

India – Sri Lanka:

Sri Lanka is also considered as an important neighbor to India. Both the races in Sri Lanka, Sinhalese in majority and Tamil in minority, have been closely related to India. Sinhalese are Buddhist while Tamils are Hindus. Indo- Sri Lankan relationship has gone through many ups and downs. While maintaining the relations with Sri Lanka, the issues of maintaining welfare of minority Hindu Tamils in Sri Lanka, improving trade relations with Sri Lanka and to arrest China's increasing influence on Sri Lanka are mostly preferred.

The issue of Human Rights in Sri Lanka is in under debate these days. The Human Rights Conference of UNO has passed three resolutions against Sri Lanka. Two among them were voted against Sri Lanka by India and remained absent for one. This resulted into a tension between both the countries. During the times of Sri Lanka President Rajapaksa, the interests of minority Tamilian were not protected. Trade was not improved, too. On the other hand, to avoid the pressure of India, Rajapaksa increased the proximities with China. While being influenced by China, the relations with Pakistan were also improved. Narendra Modi's Sri Lanka policy proves its importance on this background.

In the presidential elections of Sri Lanka held in January 2015, Sirisena was elected. This shift in the government is of good hope for India. Sirisena began his foreign tour from India. Sri Lanka wants to improve her relations with India through it. The nuclear trust and the trust to overcome trade loss are important things happened during his visit to India. This contract will definitely improve the relations between both the countries as well as diminish the influence of China on Sri Lanka.

Narendra Modi has used the nation's cultural and historical heritage in his foreign policy for protecting our vested interests. As a part of this, the relations with Buddhist countries are being improved to keep our vested interests. Buddhism is originated and developed in India. Nalanda University is being developed in India in this regards. China and Japan were included in this project. Shri Lanka was also added to it after the visit of Sirisena. The attempt of forming the cultural unity bond is done through it.

Narendra Modi visited Sri Lanka during 13th and 14th march 2015. This was a first visit of an Indian Prime Minister after 1987. During his visit, he visited Jafna which is predominantly occupied with minority Tamilians. 27000 Tamilian homeless people were handed over with homes on this occasion. This also helped to propagate a message that Modi Government is sensitive towards the rehabilitation of Tamil minority. Along with this, the schemes of visa concession, border fees, youth development, Ravindranath Tagore monument, currency swap such agreements were passed.

While maintaining the relations with Sri Lanka, protection of our vested interests and arresting the influence of China on Sri Lanka are going to be big challenges in front of Modi Government.

India - Nepal:

India and Nepal have such geographical locations that they are bound to influence each other. Nepal is very important country for India for military purpose. The increasing influence of Maoists in Nepal and political instability is a threat to India while a profitable things for China. Therefore, it is beneficial for India to establish a stable and democratic government in Nepal. For it, it is essential that the constitution should come into existence there. After the end of monarchy in 2008, the task of forming the constitution began. But due to its complicatedness, it was not completed within the stipulated time. During this time, India accepted the non-aligned policy about Nepal. But China increased its influence during this time.

The new constitution of Nepal came into existence on 20th September 2015. The followers of monarchy and Hindu fundamentalists wanted to have Nepal declared as the country of Hindus. This group had sympathy and co-operation from India. Nepal declared cow as the national animal to appease this group. But accepted a secular state. Secondly, India suggested that Nepal should prepare the downtrodden classes while forming the constitution. But Nepal neglected India's suggestions. Along with it, Nepal accused that India is interfering in Terai provinces and disturbing the peace in Nepal. While China was strongly rooted in Nepal to accomplish its geo-political ambitions, India had to take careful steps. Narendra Modi's Nepal visit proves vital on this background.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Nepal in 2014. In this visit he signed an important hydroelectric agreement. Through this, the attempt of eradicating the misunderstandings of Nepal about India was done. The insensitivity of India about Nepal was finished through it. In the same visit, Narendra Modi took the HIT(Highway, Information and Transport) project in hand. In it he has taken Nepal in confidence.

He also declared the decision of respecting the sovereignty of Nepal. The defence of Nepal is directly related to the defence of India and therefore Pandit Nehru had done an agreement in 1950. According to it, Nepal has to seek permission from India while deciding its foreign policy, defence related policy, defence agreements and purposing armaments. This agreement was a kind of interfere in their interior matters according to Nepal. During his address in the parliament of Nepal, Prime Minister Modi announced that India is ready to change this agreement. Modi made it clear that India does not have any interest in Nepal's internal affairs. On the other hand, India wants to establish the relations of equality with Nepal and India will help to keep Nepal's sovereignty and freedom. It was the first time when such an authorized statement was proclaimed by India that India wants to establish the relations of equality by changing previous agreement. In result, there is an improvement in the trust of Nepal on India.

Taking into consideration the need of power of India, it is essential to produce electric power. For this purpose, the South Asian Nations and the South East Asian Nations are being viewed as the sources of electric power. Nepal has the most capacity of hydro-electric generation power among all the neighboring countries of India. By keeping this in the mind, Narendra Modi signed the agreement related the electric power. India will raise the hydro-electric projects, Nepal will first use the electricity from the project and India will use remaining power from it. India's welfare is in Nepal's economic development. Therefore, for the development of resources in Nepal, India has a given the financial help of one thousand million dollars to Nepal.

Modi has tried to create an atmosphere of trust. But up to what extends India can fulfill it and what kind of attempts China dose to keep Nepal under her influence are the factors on which the future of Indo-Nepalese relations depend.

India - Bangladesh:

The longest border of India is connected to Bangladesh. Therefore, the relations of India with Bangladesh are crucial for the defence purpose. Especially for the continue development, peace and law and order of north-east states of India, it is essential to keep good relations with Bangladesh. The Huji terrorists' organization is seen operating in India. These days, Bangladesh is suffering from internal conflict on the issue of religion. Sheikh Hasina and her party Awami League support secular principals on the other hand Bangladesh National Party of Khalida Zia supports religious fundamentalist principals. On the background of such religious conflicts in Bangladesh, India needs the party with secular principals in Bangladesh. But it would be more dependent on the role of Narendra Modi and BJP which are supporters of Hinduism.

The most important decision of Modi government regarding India-Bangladesh relationship is of passing of the 119th amendment bill which was pending since 41 years. This decision was regarding the agreement of land-borders between India and Bangladesh. The important decision of carrying out the agreement with all its modified arrangements was taken. This is going to result into handing over of disputed lands in both the countries. The boundary fixation and re-structuring is going to be done because of this agreement. In result, it will be possible to control terrorism near borders, crimes, smuggling of drugs and smuggle of women and children, etc. because of this pact, the India-Bangladesh relationship is going to achieve a new height. It has created a positive image of India in the minds of Bangladeshi people.

The Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Bangladesh on 6th and 7th June 2015. The chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Banarji was also with him during his visit. During the visit the economic assistance of two thousand million dollars was agreed to provide to Bangladesh for power, road, railway and health developments. For the handover of land 'Land-Border Agreement, 1974' and 'Protocol 2011' are started to be implemented. Along with this factors, 22 bipolar agreements were signed. But no appropriate way could be sought regarding the division of water of Tista and Feni rivers.

India - Afghanistan:

American army was camping at Afghanistan on the campaign against Taliban up to December 2014. To stop the influence of Taliban after the withdrawal of U.S. army from Afghanistan, Afghanistan has extended his co-operative relations with neighboring countries. The improvement of Talibani influence in Afghanistan is hazardous for India and helpful for Pakistan. At this background, India has extended the co-operation with Afghanistan by providing economic assistance on a large scale. Afghanistan is at the second order in the nations who have received economic assistant from India during the period of Modi. India has adopted the policy of helping Afghanistan for developmental purposes.

As a part of policy of improving the relation with South Asian neighboring countries, PM Narendra Modi visited Afghanistan on 25th December 2015 for one day. The 'National Assembly Building' was presented to the Afghanistan which was built under 'Indo- Afghanistan Development Co-operation' programme in presence of Modi and president of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani. And one part of the building is named Atal Bihari Vajpayi. India will co-operate Afghanistan by taking into consideration its needs and priorities.

Afghanistan has sympathy for India because we have given a big financial help for their development. In result, PM Narendra Modi has received Afghanistan's biggest civilian award 'Aamir Omanulla Khan'. Despite of this the President Ashraf Ghani is not as much zestful as Hamid Karzai for making closer relations with India. After accepting the presidential duty, he had visited China first. His priority should be taken in to consideration. Increase of Chinese influence is beneficial for Pakistan and harmful for India. In some provinces of Afghanistan a terrorist organization called 'Islamic State' has become active. Such are the report of Indian intelligence agency. The beginning of terrorists activities in Afghanistan is harmful for us.

India - China

The relation of India and China have been changing dramatically. They change from mutual co-operation, brotherhood to extreme hate and of enmity. After the end of coldwar, especially after the increased influence of globalisation both the countries increased mutual co-operation and both the countries stressed on economic aspects. Despite of this, the hidden competition of becoming the superpower is going on between both countries. Both countries try to keep mutual strategic relations. Along with it, both the countries try to defeat each other on the global platform.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is seen taking planned steps to defeat China and becoming a global superpower in near future on this background. To invite the chiefs of all SAARC countries for the oath-taking ceremony 26th May, first visit to Bhutan, presence at the BRICS conference and the Nepal tour are the part of this plan.

The President of China Zi Jinping visited India during 17th to 19th September, 2014. In his visit he met the president Pranab Mukharji and PM Narendra Modi. At this moment, both countries made clear their promise for a peace and prosperity through policy making and co-operation, consciousness of mutually related problems, and keeping the peaceful co-existence with mutual respect. It was also decided to make strategic economic dialogue. Economic investments, cultural exchange, opposition to terrorism etc. And issues were agreed upon during this visit.

To control China, India is giving importance to the strategic elements. As a part of it, India is helping Vietnam in the

dispute of ocean under South Chinese territory. This policy is exactly like China's policy of helping Pakistan against India. In the India visit of Vietnam's Prime Minister, it was agreed to handover modern naval armaments to Vietnam. India is warned many times not to interfere in this dispute and not to help Vietnam technically for crude oil excavation. India is training Vietnamese soldiers to operate submarines. Along with it, the Vietnamese companies are invited to be a part of 'Make in India' by PM Narendra Modi. To sum up, it can be said that the Indian leadership is attempting to increase its influence in this territory and facing the Chinese challenge.

While thinking about the relations with China, Modi is seen stressing on trade relation with China. According to India, China is a huge market place for India and India is a great market place for China, according to China. Therefore by implementing trade – related policies, Modi wants to show that we do not lag behind China in any aspect. Modi has proved India's 'Super-Power' fullness by showing China through his Bhutan and Nepal visits and by improving the friendly relations with those countries. With the increased dominance of India among the neighbouring countries, the Chinese influence is going to diminish and that is going to benefit India.

During the prime ministerial period of Narendra Modi, China is trying to establish the relations of peace and co-operation with India. Because of China's expansionist policy in East and South Chinese Ocean, the milieu is antagonistic to China. China has tensed relations with Japan, Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia these days. Therefore, China doesn't want conflict on its south borders (With India). The alliance of sympathetic countries is forming against China because of its interference in territories of Asia – Pacific Ocean. America is supporting this alliance. Japan is leading it. Japan, South Korea, Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam and Australia are the participants in it. China is attempting to keep India aloof from this alliance. Japan is a supporter of hard nationalism. PM Narendra Modi and his party BJP is also a party which express nationalistic thought. This is resulting in to the improvement of relations between Japan and India. It has also raised a challenge in front of China. Along with this America also things of India's development as a 'Counterweight' to the increasing power of China in Asia. At this background, China is also conscious that India should not go closer to USA. Therefore, China is deliberately trying to establish the closer relations with India.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China during 14th to 16th May, 2015. In this visit, he signed understandings and bipolar agreements. In it, to establish hotline between military headquarters of both countries for communication, to establish a workforce to overcome the deficiency in trade, to organize training camps for the fight against terrorism, etc. agreements were done. During this visit Modi used the cultural diplomacy. He visited Shian city. Shian city is important for Buddhism. Old Buddhism exists there. China should take positive steps to resolve border – related issues, such a invocation was done by India. Along with this, India demanded for a reconsideration by China over China's co-operation to Pakistan and support for permanent membership defence conference. The speciality of this visit was that he chose the chief ministers of Maharashtra and Gujrat for his accompaniment. The expansionist stance of China, the continuous border- disputes, trade imbalance, closeness to Pakistan and the encroachment of China in South Asia are the issues which create negative emotions in the minds of Indians about China. In result, the incidents of the boycott on Chinese products happened usually in India. Both the countries are coming closer in economic and political terms but the milieu of trust and emotions has not been developed yet.

For the improvement in Indo- Chinese relationships India should decrease the trade deficiency, while improving economical relations, the military development should also be focused without remaining assured. It is expected that, India should involved in anti-China alliance to preserve its own vested interest and should do the strategic politics. For that purpose, our relations with Maldives, Madagaskar, Japan, Taiwan, Australia and South Korea should be improved.

Friendly Enmity

China has agreed to discuss about the participation in NSG and the distribution of Brahmaputra river-water. Such an attractive lure is shown by China but India has to remain alert and take the careful steps regarding them.

Pakistan is lonely on the global platform these days. When Pakistan supported terrorists attacked Uri in Kashmir, enough atmospheres against the attack was formulated worldwide and then surgical strike was done. At that moment no nation supported Pakistan. But during the same period the issue of arresting the water of Sindhu was thought about which awakened China. Then China was seen as the only country supporting Pakistan on the global platform. India's relations with China have been of love – hate since the China's attack on MacMohan Line even before forgetting the slogan 'Indian and Chinese are Brothers' declared by Pandit Nehru and Chau N Lie. In the BRICS meeting of 2016 at Goa, China is proposing friendship on one hand while warning India on the other hand. It has underlined the hypocritical nature of China.

India -Vietnam

Vietnam is a small country in South Chinese Ocean. But because of imperialistic attitude of China, it has conflicts with China. Though Vietnam is a member of ASEAN trade Union, India didn't have any relations because of China's phobia. But the Modi government broke this tradition. The government gave the priority to develop the trade and economic vested interest by improving relations with South East Asian countries through its “Look East” policy. Along with it, the relations with Vietnam are important for power – conservation and connectivity.

India is attempting to restrict China's increasing aggressive expansion in South Asian as well as global politics. The growing co-operation with Vietnam is an important step toward that direction. India has decided to provide the anti-submarine missile 'Brahmos' To Vietnam, which has important strategically location in the South China sea.

India's president Pranab Mukharji visited Vietnam in 2014 in this respect. President Pranab Mukharji and the Prime Minister of Vietnam common expressed one thing. According to it, every nation wants a freedom of communication in the South China sea. Every nation should resolve the disputes related to the Oceanic territories according to 'Law of the Sea' of UNO and not through aggressive ways. Such an expression is, in away, warning to China.

This visit was also vital for actualization of India's power-policy. Vietnam has given the task of excavation of crude oil

in its sea – borders to an Indian company named ONGC. The attempts of military co-operation with Vietnam are also done. Mukharji proclaimed to provide the loan of hundred billions dollars to Vietnam. Vietnam is going to purchase military armaments. India has assured to provide fighter- ships to Vietnam without caring for China's anger. This is going to increase the military co-operation between India and Vietnam.

China is trying to form a multipolar global politics and a unipolar Asian politics. Therefore, India is trying to empower its place in Asian territories. India's attempt to co-operate Vietnam is a part of warning China. In a jointly published declaration of Vietnamese Prime Minister and PM Narendra Modi, there is a deliberate mention of anti-Chinese international arbitration of free-trade in South Chinese sea. India is using the same tactic to pressurize China by extending co-operation to other North-Eastern countries. India attempts to show the Chinese dishonor of international laws on international platform to arrest Chinese influence. The friendship with Vietnam is going to form the circle of influence in South-East Asia and warn China at this backdrop.

India-Singapore:

India-Singapore relation has completed its 50 years in 2014. Singapore is important for extending Indian influence in South-East Asia. The relations with Singapore are important for trade and military aspects. Singapore is known as the door to ASEAN which is a powerful important trade organization. India's Minister of External Affairs-Sushma Swaraj visited Singapore in September 2014 at this background. During her visit she stressed on connectivity, smart city, city development, water management, skill development and the increase of trade between both the countries in future.

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Singapore two times. During his visit, postal tickets were published on the incidence of completion of 50 years for the relations. In this tour the 'Singapore India Economic Connection' was organized. Communication on the level of defence ministers, combined practice of defence, co-operation in defence industry, etc related bipolar agreements were signed. Along with these, the attempts for increase in trade were also made. Singapore is important in India's investment abroad and foreign investment in India. The important 'India- Singapore Strategic Partnership' pact was signed in this visit.

India-Japan:

After becoming the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, the Indo-Japanese relations are rapidly improving. The two visit of Japanese PM Zinsho Abbey and PM Narendra Modi's five days' tour to Japan support the above statement. The result of Indo-Japanese improving relations can be seen in the balance of power in Asian continent. PM Modi visited Japan in October' 2014. The China-Japan relations are under tension these days because of the issue of Sen. Kakoo Island. Therefore, Japan looks at this visit through the aspect of defence. The objectives behind Japan tour were to get economic and technical help of Japan for the fundamental development in India, to be done with nuclear pact, and to sign the defence agreement.

The highlighting features of PM Narendra Modi's Japan tour was his extreme criticism on Pakistan in-front of media. Through this, it was suggested that India can get the assistance from Japan like China does to Pakistan. China's expansionist attitude was also criticized. The message was also given to China that India can join the anti-Chinese alliance which already consists of Japan, South Korea, Philippines and Indonesia. So it can be said that the Japan-tour was to warn China.

Japanese PM Zinsho Abbey visited India in December' 2015. The visit proved vital because of Mumbai-Ahmadabad Bullet Train, co-operation for development of basic developments, partnership in Indo-Japanese economic development and the most important nuclear co-operation related agreements. Because of the signing of long pending nuclear pact, India is going to receive nuclear reactors. The nuclear pact signed with Japan is important for India for the completion of nuclear pacts signed with USA and France. One more vital element of Zinsho Abbey's visit is that Japan has agreed to provide the most sensitive technology in defence to India.

There has never been a trouble in Indo-Japanese relationship. India has always been respectful Japanese progress. Both the countries have cultural bonds. Buddhist Philosophy is the connecting thread to both the countries. Zinsho Abbey is also elected with a large amount of votes through nationalistic thought. Same is the case of Narendra Modi. In result, both the governments are leading to personal friendship.

Because of similar vested interests, these days, Indo-Japanese relations are improving rapidly. Economically, Japanese multinational industries need international market for their development. On the other hand India needs capital and technology from Japan for its own development. Secondly, by considering the strategy of 'enemy's enemy is our friend', both the countries need mutual co-operation to defect China. In result, Indo-Japanese relations are improving.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Japan in November 2016, again. India wanted nuclear technology from Japan but Japan was not interested in it. Japan insisted that India should get atomic reactors, instead. But India was not agreeing upon it. A lot time was wasted in this fuss. But after it the nuclear pact was signed. While signing this agreement there wasn't any miracle of Modi or it is also not a overpowering on Japanese PM Zinsho Abbey. Japan agreed to sign to pact only because India also agreed to mend its role. Initially, Japan should only give technology and we will decide of the atomic reactors such an attitude India had. But now India is going to buy atomic reactors along with the technology. Such an extreme contrast stance has been taken by the Modi. Therefore, he should be congratulated for it

India's Relations With Other Countries in the World

India - Central Asia :

Large storage of petroleum oil, the availability of natural gas, huge amount of uranium – storage, etc make the world ever – attentive towards central Asia. India is not a exemption to it. India also tried to establish good relations with central Asian countries by recognising the energy – needs of the country. PM Narendra Modi visited the central Asian countries like Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in July 2015 by keeping their importance in mind. These countries are important strategically and martially. Especially the border of Tajikistan touches the borders of China, Afghanistan and Pak Occupied Kashmir. Therefore, keeping good to avail us with the opportunity of having a watch on China's

operations in PoK(Pak Occupied Kashmir).

India is going to need energy on large scale for his own development. To overcome its storage, he has to do the energy production on large scale. India needs uranium for the production of nuclear energy. To get the uranium, we have to establish the relations with these countries. Along with this, PM Narendra Modi attended the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation's meeting during this tour.

Shanghai Co-operation Organisation is economically and martially crucial group. China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Ujbekistan and Tajikistan are the five members of this group. Russia has supported for India's membership in the Shanghai group. After getting the membership of these nations, India will be able to improve his relations with the central Asian nations, information regarding terrorists's activities would also be received. It is also beneficial for economic welfare of the country.

India - Russia :

India's relations with Russia are of mutual trust since the times of the coldwar. 1990s was the time when a small period of aloofness came between Russia and India. But after 2000, the relations started to improve again. The 15th Summit between Russia and India was organised in December 2014. The relations between USA and Russia are under stress these days because of the issue of Ukrain. USA and Europe have imposed financial restrictions on Russia. The value of Russia currency has fallen. Russia wants to improve his relations with India on this background. In it, Russia wants to increase the trade in the defence sector. India has started to purchase the defence armaments from Israel, France and USA these days. Recently, Narendra Modi has signed the defence agreements of four thousand million dollars with USA. This has increased the anxiety of Russia. Therefore, Putin stressed on increasing the defence- trade in this Conference.

Russia co-operates India in the creation of nuclear power. Russia is a leading country in all the uranium suppliers of the nation. Seventeen Nuclear power stations are going to be reised in the India with the co-operation from Russia. Two nuclear power stations have been started at Kudankulam in Tamil Nadu with the help of Russia. India has the skills regarding shaping and polishing of the diamonds. Russia is going to provide raw diamonds to India and is going to get them shaped and polished. Modi and Putan attended an international exhibition of diamonds. India and Russia have initiated a new relationship in the sector of diamonds.

USA has disliked India-Russia meet on the background of tension between USA and Russia. USA has stated that the time chosen by India for this agreement is not proper. It is though that when India-USA relationship is improving India should not increase the trade with Russia. India needs Russia as a permanent member of security council on the global level. It is also an opportunity to show that India is an independent and responsible nation of realist thinking while improving the relations with USA. An old friend is always better than new friends and by keeping this in mind, Narendra Modi is more inclined towards Russia. Though USA's policy is Pro-India, the bitter experiences of China and Pakistan would let India accompany Russia to challenge them.

India - Iran

India –Iran friendship is crucial for political influence, economic development and trade in western Asia. This friendship is not limited for bipolar relations only but also strategically. This can change the political equations and economic relations of South Asia and Central Asia. Therefore, the Iran visit of 16th May by PM Modi is important. According to Chanakya, if the neighbouring country is not our friend then his neighbor can be our friend. Such policy is adopted here. Iran had antagonism about India because of his vote against Iran in international nuclear power institute. Along with it, because of financial restrictions imposed upon Iran by USA and other European countries, it was difficult to trade with Iran. Because of agreement between USA and Iran, this restrictions were eliminated. After it India has established friendly relations with Iran. The agreement regarding the development of Chabahar Port and the agreement for connectivity among India-Iran-Afghanistan signed during Modi's Iran visit are crucial for both the nations. Many Indian companies are eager to invest in Chabahar-economic-sector. This investment can exist in the petro-chemical, fertilizers, metallurgy, etc sectors. Because of the development of Chabahar port, India's access to Afghanistan will be easy. India can avail the traditional root of Afghanistan Central Asia to Europe.

By establishing friendship with Iran and by doing the agreement of developing Chabahar Port, India has posed a great challenge in front of China and Pakistan. The martial importance of Chabahar Port can be understood only after taking into consideration its distance from port Gwader which is only 100kms. Port Chabahar is in away answer to China's expansion in the Indian Ocean. Chinese companies were interested in having the contracts of development of Port Chabahar. But because of India's agreement regarding Chabahar, she can enter the Bay of Oman strategically, now.

In this visit, PM Narendra Modi discussed with Iranian leaders about the situations raised because of terrorism and ISIS. India and Iran both can be harmed from them, therefore both the agreed upon conveying information for a combined resistance of this harms. PM Modi's Iran visit, they agreement regarding Port Chabahar is the beginning of improving relations with an upcoming power in Western Asia.

India – Israel:

India traditionally supported Palestine in the Israel-Palestine conflict. But never opposed Israel openly. Because it is the next big armament supplier of India after Russia. Central Home Minister Rajnath Singh visited Israel in November 2014. The aim of this visit was India's internal security. The threat of religious fundamentalism is increasing in Western Asia. Isis has started to increase its influence in this region. Many youngsters from India are joining ISIS, too. Therefore, to keep watch on such activities through internet, India wanted a technical help from Israel.

Israel provides India with automatic war vehicles, military helicopters, aero-planes, small armaments, bombs, etc. Along with these, all the tools for keeping a control on Pakistan – border are imported from Israel. Therefore, Israel is the great partner of India in defence sector. Attempts are also being made regarding the co-operation in cyber – security sector. Israel

has extremely advanced technology of monitoring and controlling the spreaded network of internet. India needs it. Israel is advanced in health related technology, too. The advanced technology of treatment using various rays is developed by Israel. Rajnath Singh attempted to get these technologies, too.

The Israel chief Ravelin visited India in November' 2016 for six days. 2017 is the silver jubilee year of India-Israel relations. PM Narendra Modi is going to visit Israel on that background, next year. Ravelin's visit is seen as the rehearsal of that visit. India has announced 'Make in India'. The attempt of modernisation of defence sector of India is being done through 'Make in India'. In it to raise the combined projects and to hand over the technology such policies are adopted. Israel has supported India's 'Make in India' project. India expects the co-operation from Israel in being able in export, too. Agricultural technology is the point of closeness between both countries. To solve the water problem for agriculture in India, she wants Israel's developed technology of farming with small amount of water.

India – France:

The relation of India and France are crucial economically since Indian independence. In the recent times, new important relation are being develop between the two countries regarding defence and nuclear energy sector. PM Narendra Modi visited France during 9th to 12th April' 2015 to promote more intimate relationships with France. During this visit, 20 agreements of understanding were signed including defence agreements. It was decided to purchase 36 Rafel aeroplanes for improving the ability of Indian air-force. The proforma for establishing on nuclear power projects at Jaitapur, Maharashtra was still incomplete even after agreement. In this tour, the obstacles in the agreement are eliminated through the agreement of understanding among Nuclear Power Corporation of India and Orewa, Larsen and Turbo and Orewa.

In the combined proclamation, both the countries expressed their promise of strategic partnership and stressed that their combined attempts of handling global challenges will continue. The attack on the weekly 'Charlie Hebdo' was also memorised and it was decided to fight cordially against the terrorism. In this visit France supported India's 'Make in India' project. Along with it, India's claim for a permanent membership in the security council of UN was invited for the Republic Day function of 2016 as a chief guest. He accepted the invitation and attended the function. Indo-France relations have reached to new heights at this background.

India – USA :

India – USA relations are not just bipolar relations but they decide India's position in Asia. India's relations with Pakistan, Afghanistan and China are dependent on her relations with USA. USA needs India because of the issue like the increasing differences between Russia and USA, the challenge of ISIS, China challenge in Asia, to form alliance in Asia pacific region, to play military role in Afghanistan, to gain economical profit by increasing trade with India and to get support of Indians in USA. On the other hand, India needs USA for economic investment, technology, energy security, arresting the aggression of China, to get a permanent membership of security council of UN, etc. related issues. This has brought both the countries closer especially after the election of Modi as the Prime Minister.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited America during 26th September to 01st October 2014. Narendra Modi was welcomed after being Prime Minister while the visa was rejected to him before it. PM Modi appealed to NRIs to contribute to India's development and also expressed the bondage towards taking Indo- USA relations to a new height. In his visit he addressed to the non-residential Indians at Madison Square Garden and promised them for raising the India of their dreams.

Modi and Obama revealed the structure of combined progress and declared the vision statement. They also wrote a combined editorial of 'Let's go together' theme which is the result of central concept of mutual relations.

USA president Barak Obama attended the Republic Day Ceremony of 2015 by keeping the respect of Indian PM Narendra Modi's invitation. In this visit, the important step in Indo- USA can nuclear pact was completed. The obstacles in the pact were eliminated. Along with this, some agreements regarding defense were signed, too. Military to military instructions, counter terrorism, trade in defense sector are the important points in it. Along with this for increase in the trade sector 'Bilateral Investment Treaty' was signed. India guaranteed that the essential atmosphere for the American companies for the investment will be provided.

The influence of Indian and American co-operation was seen on the international platform. It was decided to do combined attempts for keeping peace in Indian Ocean and Asian Pacific sector. This is an indirect warning to China. USA wants India to play a positive role in pacific sector and not only to become a superpower in the division. And according to it, India's 'Look East' policy was decided to combine with America's pivot to Asia.

The military and strategic co-operation of India and USA is increasing these days. As a part of it, Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar signed 'Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA)' pact. According to it, USA and India will provide the service of communication. This service will be regarding the supply of vital goods, medicines, parts of vehicles, storage and repairs. During the times of Obama, India USA relations were of co-operation and of forming close bipolar relations. In the recent American elections Donald Trump of Republication Party got elected as USA president. Trump has been a controversial personality and he has expressed various controversial statements regarding terrorism to women. Therefore, only the upcoming time can decide the kind of relations India will have with USA in future. But in spite of it, Trump's respectful expressions about Hinduism, antagonism towards terrorism, opinion about Pakistan, demand of trade related case against China in World Trade Organization, and calling China a country of practicing dishonesty of currency, etc suggest that Indo-USA relations will remain good in coming future, too. But Trump's 'America First' and 'Make America Great Again' campaigns may affect India. Trump's policy of giving the preference to Americans in employment & industry may affect Indian businessmen and the employees in information technology sector.

Evaluation of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Foreign Policy

The period of two and half years has been passed since the election of Narendra Modi as the Prime Minister of India. It would be an exaggeration to say that the foreign policy of Modi has radically changed the nation's foreign policy and to do its

evaluation, too, will be an exaggeration. But from the decisions he has taken, foreign tours he has done, various agreements he signed, the tours of the chiefs of various nations, the progress of our foreign policy can be judged. The realistic though of national welfare is practiced while achieving the place of importance on the global platform. For this purpose, he attempted to establish the environment of mutual friendship, trust among the neighboring countries through his 'neighborhood first' policy. The friendly relations are established with ASEAN and South-East Asian Nations. The co-operation is improved with the Islamic nations. Important co-operative partnership agreement pacts were signed with Russia, America, Japan, France, South Korea, Australia and European Union. The foreign policy of Narendra Modi is known as 'Fast Track Diplomacy'.

The foreign policy of Narendra Modi is successful in the following aspects:

1. Narendra Modi is successful in improving the image of India on the world platform. In his visits to various nations he has underlined India's democracy, cultural heritage, progress of India, policies adopted by the government and also the nation's progress towards being a superpower. 'India is not in the role of a beggar but an able country' such an impression was attempted to be created. In result, the image of India is improved on the global platform. The negative image of India is being transformed to the positive one.
2. Indian foreign policy was trapped mainly in China and Pakistan. Therefore, its expansion was limited to Asian continent. Initially Narendra Modi attempted to take all the neighboring countries. But China and Pakistan didn't support such attempt then by avoiding them, he attempted to accompany Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan. The relations with Islamic nations, too, were improved. The enmity with China and Pakistan was agreed and through it the attempts to check and defeat them were made. The points of debate are kept aside and the stress is being given upon the points of mutual consent for the improvement of co-operation.
3. There is the competition of superiority between India and China. It has resulted into the politics of challenges. India's main competitor is China and not Pakistan. China is economically, martially stronger than India. China is always aggressive on the borders of India. Narendra Modi has been successful, in this regards, about China. He has not fallen victim to the pressure of China has completed contracts with Japan and Vietnam. Along with it India has got entry into chabhar port by establishing relations with Iran. In result, China has been challenged in the South Chinese sea.
4. India needs capital for his development. The government remained attentive for foreign investment in this regards. Many contracts were signed with other countries to make them invest in 'Make in India'. The countries like Japan, China, America, Singapore, Canada, Germany, South Korea, France have admitted to do the investments in India. The constructs of almost 100 billion dollars have been signed under 'Make in India'. The developments of railway, roads, smart cities, ports, metro, etc is going to be done through this investment. It is going to increase employment and development in the country. To attract the foreign investment, Narendra Modi has mentioned '3D' which are Democracy, Demography and Demand. This has resulted into increased foreign investment.
5. With the increasing economic development of the nation, the country's energy demand is increasing too. It is essential to create new electrical energy to quench increasing energy need of India. For that purpose, India has invested into Nepal in a hydro-electric project and strived for availability of electric energy. Along with it, taking into consideration, the need of nuclear power, contracts with various nations are signed. Important contracts regarding nuclear power are signed with America, France, Australia, Canada, Japan and South Korea. Vietnam has given the contract of excavating oil from the sea to the Indian company ONGC. This means that power-security is given priority into India's foreign policy.
6. India's place in the global politics was limited due to his expansion of activities restricted to Asia, non-alignment, and balanced power. But PM Narendra Modi has given importance to national welfare and realist foreign policy and thus has definitely stepped ahead in the direction of India's becoming a leading power. For this purpose, India has to focus towards her economic development, increasing his governance ability and making his systems capable and establishing itself as leader of Asia.
7. Modi government seems conscious about priority of the intra-national development while implementing the foreign policy. One example of this can be seen in the organization of 'Raisina Dialogue' by the ministry of External Affairs in association with a private platform called 'Observer Research Foundation' during 01st to 03rd March' 2016. More than 450 representatives of 40 nations had attended the programme. The centre of 'Raisina Dialogue' is 'Connecting Asia'. In it the discussion were held on connecting of parts, creation of communication facilities between intra-national production centers, ocean security, cyber technology, women empowerment, etc. under project 'Sagarmala'.
8. The states didn't have any place in foreign policy before because of its inclusion in the center's list. But the Modi government adopted the policy of their inclusion in it. To inform the states with the diplomatic skills, the 'State Vision' programme is formed in the ministry of External Affairs. The presence of West Bengal's Chief Minister at the time of agreement with Bangladesh accompanying the Chief Ministers of Gujrat and Maharashtra at the time of visit to China, Mangolia, South Korea, organization of 'Pravasi Bhartiya Sammelan' at Gujrat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar; such examples show that the states are being given importance in the foreign policy. India is the union of states and because of the communication with them the frame of the union has become strong and the system of decentralization is boosted.
9. The fundamental objective of every nation's foreign policy is to protect the country. By adopting aggressive policy, the Modi government has given the priority to the protection of the nation. India's policy is changing from defensiveness to aggressiveness. The surgical strike, defence related agreements, inclusion of Japan with USA in Malbar military exercise, the involvement of Defence Minister Manohar Parikar in the defence related Shangri-la agreement make it clear. The impact of Modi's from leadership is seen on the defence policy. The aim of the 'Make in India' and 'Digital India' projects is primarily to be self-reliance about the production of armaments.
10. India has rightly attempted to challenge China, instead of Pakistan, in South Asian as well as global politics. The increasing co-operation with Vietnam, The decision of providing the 'Brahmos' missile to Vietnam, agreement with Japan, the attempt of

developing the 'Chabahar Port', etc are India's attempts to challenge China martially. Taking into consideration, China's military and economic power, India cannot openly plunge into war with China. China, on the other hand, considers India as his competitor and is in the mood of conflict. Therefore, it is essential to defeat China, strategically. Modi government successful in doing so. It is also successful in the matter of Pakistan by raising the issue of Baluchistan.

Following demerits of the Modi government can be stated in relation to the foreign policy:

1. India is stressing the need of restructuring of UN's Security Council. India wants a permanent membership in UN's security council. But Modi government is still unsuccessful in getting it. India has to strive hard for it.
2. India wants to be a part of Nuclear Supply Group (NSG) for raising his production of nuclear energy and ending his nuclear loneliness. To be a part of nuclear trade, getting the nuclear technology and to be its part for it is going to benefit India. But China is opposing India's inclusion in it. India had taken the help of other countries to face China's oppositions. But it didn't yield success.
3. Not only India but the whole world is under the threat of terrorism. Tit for tat cannot be the solution for the issue of terrorism. It is essential to go to the roots of the problem of terrorism to root it out. The terrorist attacks have not decreased. Our soldiers are dying in them. While answering a bullet with a bullet other ways should also be used. But Modi government seems to neglect it. In result, the terrorist attacks haven't come down after the surgical strike. On the other hand, they are increased.
4. Narendra Modi improved the image of India on the international platform. He also appealed the NRI's to be a part of national service. This is definitely a good step. But while doing this criticizing the opposition parties, saying that the previous government hasn't done anything are the symptoms of narrow minded politics. Therefore, it should be taken into consideration that the representation a Prime Minister does is of that particular country and not of any party. The narrow minded party politics should be kept aside.

India's foreign policy in the future should become more realistic and preferring to the welfare of the nation. For it the Modi government should watch about the following things:

1. In the 21st century, while the process of Globalization, Privatization and Liberalization is going on, the element of economy has got the most importance. The actual power of a nation is in economical elements. Therefore, it is essential for India to do his economical growth in the fast speed. It is essential to have foreign investment, industry, use of technology. Creation of employment for economic development. The economical ability is important for the world politics.
2. The primary objective of the foreign policy is the defence of the nation. Hence to achieve this objective it is necessary to be equipped martially. The well- equipped defence system is necessary for not going through war, to remain safe from attacks and to create the obstacle for attacks. It is essential to keep the enemy under pressure.
3. China's aggressive expansionism, the attempt to trap India on global platform, the policy of bringing Pakistan closer of China as the sign of competitiveness with India and therefore to empower the anti-China alliance, to be a part of it, forming such strategies must remain India's policy.
4. The balance of power in Asia, international politics, India is going to need of USA. By taking into consideration the place of USA in the international politics, India should always keep good relations with USA.
5. Our balance of trade with China is adverse. India should increase export to China and by providing limitations on the import of Chinese goods. India should stop empowering the Chinese economy.
6. While diminishing the nuclear loneliness, India should also try to become a part of Nuclear Supply Group as well as Australia group and Vassener Arrangement. In result, India will be able to fulfill his need of the nuclear energy.
7. India should co-operate all the neighboring countries through the attitude of an elder brother. SAARC is an important medium for it. Mutual co-operation should be increased by successfully arranging the SAARC conferences. The thought of existing from SAARC should be removed into an opportunity to extend his influence.
8. To prioritize the national welfare, India should explain his role firmly on the global platforms like WTO, IMF, UNO, BRICS, etc.

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