CHAPTER II

Principles and Objectives of Foreign Policy
of Iran and India
The Political System of Iran (General):

The 1979 revolution in Iran renowned as Islamic revolution that happened by participation of majority of the people, parties, open minded people, and students of universities, overthrew the kingdom regime of Iran and paved the way for appearing the political system of Islamic republic by the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. Islamic thoughts and individuals participation were palpable in this revolution so Ayatollah Khomeini called it Islamic revolution. This revolution is also called 1979 revolution. Islamic republic of Iran is the official name of Iran political and state system. To establish this regime in 1979 a referendum was held and 98/2% of the participants confirmed this regime with Yes vote and Iran dominant regime changed from kingdom to Islamic Republic. Islamic republic is a kind of governmental system that nowadays in Iran is known as dominant governmental regime.

The most important difference in the way of governing Islamic Republic of Iran with other similar systems are the existence of a leader at the top of the pyramid of Iran political system. Islamic republic of Iran’s constitution in 1981 was posed to referendum and was approved. In 1989, Iran’s constitution was revised and corrected.

In Iran political system’s structure, the leader of the system is at the top and after leader, the political structure of Islamic Republic of Iran is based on judicature, legislature, and executive powers. In this type of political system, the leader of the system stands at the highest position in which he is the commander – in chief and controller of judiciary, legislature, and executive powers.  

The structure of the political system of the Islamic republic of Iran:

Based on the article 57 of the constitution of Iran, the dominant bodies of power include:  

   a. The leader  
   b. The executive  
   c. The legislative  
   d. the judiciary
1. **The leader**

   Based on the article 57 of the constitution, the leader in the Islamic system of Iran has all the duties and responsibilities concerning the management of the society and also protecting the independence and security of Iran. Based on the same article, in the constitution of Iran, all the high bodies of power of the country like executive, legislative, and judiciary are under the supervisions of the leader and the leader has rights to interfere into the affairs of all the bodies of power in the country is reserved.

   The duties and powers of the leader towards the whole of the political system and bodies of power and the other institutes specified in the constitution will be investigated as follows:

   1. Defining the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran regime
   2. Supervising the administration of general policies of the regime
   3. Ordering referendum
   4. Commander-in chief
   5. Announcing war and peace
   6. Appointing and deposing and accepting the resign of:
      6-1- The Constitution’s Warden Council jurisconsults
      6-2- The head of the judicature power
      6-3- The head of the T. V. & Radio Organisation
      6-4- The commander of Revolutionary Guard (Sepah Pasdaran)
      6-5- The commander of Army General Staff
      6-6- Resolving the problems and coordinating the relations of the triple powers.
   7. Resolving the problems that are not solved regularly or by the expediency council
   8. Validation of presidency decree after being elected by people
9. Deposing the president with considering the interests of the country after the Supreme Court verdict or the House of Representatives vote announcing the disqualification of the president.

According to the principle 107 of the constitution the leader of Iran is elected by the Council of Experts for an unlimited period. The Council of Experts have the right of deposing the leader. People elect the representatives of the Council of Experts.  

2. The executive

The head of the executive power in Iran’s political system is the president who is elected by direct vote of the people from among approved candidates by Constitution’s Warden Council. The candidate must be a politician who is elected to be the president for four years. Any elected candidate can be the president for two constant periods i.e. eight years. The elected president can appoint or depose the ministers but for appointing a minister the president has to introduce him to the House of Representatives for getting the qualification vote.

3. The legislative

The head of the legislative power is the speaker of the House of Representatives who is elected from among the representatives by their own vote annually. The House of Representatives have 290 members. These members who are approved by the Constitution Warden Council are elected by the people for a period of four years.

4. The judiciary

The head of the judicature power is elected for five years by the leader statute, that can be extended or disposed. The responsibility of running the judicature power, appointing and deposing the heads of the administration of justice in provinces, and the related offices like the Supreme Court and Public Prosecutor is by the head of the judicature power.

In Iran’s political system the highest rank is the leader who is chosen without people vote but by a council of experts (Khebregan). He supervises judicature, legislature, and executive powers and administers the regime general policies after consulting the Expediency Council.
The official structures of decision making in Iran foreign policy:

One of the important issues in Iran foreign policy is the notion of decision-making structure. This problem is one of the effective factors in performing a successful foreign policy in any country. The structure of decision-making in foreign policy of Iran, explaining the decision-making factors and the hierarchy of decision-making in any condition both in normal and critical situations have been formally specified. Specifying the position of all the factors and organisations in foreign policy, decision making has the advantage of making efficient decisions in various situations and conditions. Having a specified decision making structure in Iran foreign policy improves the foreign policy performance. The notion of decision making structure is one of the basic discussions in foreign policy and this notion either structurally, or qualitatively, can affect positively or negatively the foreign policy efficiency.  

In the process of Iran foreign policy, the formal and informal factors directly or indirectly in the two levels of decision making and decision performance affect Iran foreign policy. Decision-making in Iran foreign policy also is not centralised and subjective but a contemplative structure that’s the product is the formation of Iran foreign policy.

The official structures of decision making in Iran foreign policy that are able to make decisions according to law are as follows:

Decision making in foreign polices follows a hierarchy and certain scheme. According to the principle 57 of the constitution, the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on division of forces. Adopting and implementing foreign policies are assigned to the Supreme Leader, legislature and executive forces. Each of them has some limited options and entitlements in this field.

1. Leadership

The supreme leader is entitled with a major portion of direct or indirect decision makings concerning foreign policies. According to the principle 110 of the constitution, the Supreme Leader is entitled with determining the general policies of the country and declaring war or
peace. Moreover, all the enactments by the Supreme Council of National Security shall be approved the Supreme Leader who can appoint two members in this council as well.\(^8\)

2. **President**

The president according to the principle 113 is responsible for enforcing the laws and regulating the relationship between the three forces. He is also the chairperson of the executive forces. The president is involved in the process of foreign policy-related decision making by designating the minister of foreign affairs, ambassadors, IRI representatives, confirming the foreign ambassadors residing in Tehran, signing treaties, protocols, agreements and contracts with other governments as well as signing treaties pertaining to international unions. \(^9\)

3. **Board of ministers**

The general policies in Islamic Republic of Iran are implemented in form of enactments, along with the Supreme Leader’s guidelines and instructions via the board of ministers regarding the tasks of each ministry. At the outset of each year the government submits its annual agenda to the parliament. The parliament plays a pivotal role in implementing the foreign policies via approving the agenda and allocating budget to them. The executive force is also entitled with ending or expanding the political ties with other countries.

4. **Islamic Council Parliament**

Islamic Council Parliament is the most high-ranking legislative institution in the country which can pass laws and observing the religious tenets and the principles of the constitution according to their scope of actions specified in the constitution. Islamic Council Parliament is involved in the foreign policies by ratifying all the international treaties, protocols and agreements. Moreover, any slight change in the borderlines, appeal to arbitration, granting or receiving loans and employing experts fall into its course of actions. \(^10\)

5. **The Supreme Council of National Security**

The principle 176 of the constitution defines its responsibilities as determining defense and security policies, coordinating political, intelligence, social, cultural and economical activities, as well as utilizing material and intellectual resources and capacities to defend the
country against internal and foreign threats. A major part of responsibilities assigned to this council is related to foreign policies.11

6. **Guardian Council**

   The principles 94 and 96, enacted by the Islamic Council Parliament, entitle this assembly to ensure the conformity of the enacted laws by the parliament to the constitution and religious principles. Thus this council can play a pivotal role in foreign policies.12

7. **Expediency Council**

   This council as an advisory help for the Supreme Leader, can be involved in adopting the general policies. It can also settle and reconciles the points of disagreement between the Parliament and Guardian Council.13

8. **Judiciary**

   Judiciary is not directly involved in foreign policies decision makings; however, it plays a pivotal role in this issue in two cases. First, in the case of the country’s judicial modifications and when Ministry of Foreign affairs is inquired by human rights institutions such as UN Human Rights Commission or Geneva Human Rights Commission. Second, judiciary with its two supervision bodies i.e. the Court of Administrative justice and General Organization of Supervision controls all activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.14

9. **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

   Ministry of Foreign Affairs, according to constitution and Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ Agenda Specification Code enacted on 2nd March, 1985, is in charge of implementing the foreign policies.15 However, the agenda of this ministry is beyond merely implementing policies because its representatives are involved in discussing issues in most of decision making authorities such as the Supreme Council of National Security, Board of Ministers, Expediency council and Islamic Council Parliament. Moreover, in some cases some issues are so unexpected and spontaneous that the legation cannot wait for the bureaucratic process of the decision making in Ministry of Foreign affairs. Therefore, the minister of foreign affairs personally takes the decision and then reports the proceedings to the other authorities.

   Furthermore, controlling, supervising, opening and supporting legations as well as providing information for foreign policies decision makers and executors fall into its scope of actions.
In regard to this the agenda of Ministry of Foreign Affairs are as follow:\textsuperscript{16}

- Constant monitoring of the international and domestic events in the countries as well as proving accounts of them.
- Scrutinizing, establishing, sustaining and strengthening political ties with other governments and international organizations and institutions.
- Negotiating and corresponding with foreign governments and international organizations.
- Handling political and consular missions and supervising the legations.
- Establishing relationships between the state organizations and the foreign states.

When the decisions have been made, the politicians should implement them. Carrying out the foreign diplomacy differs from carrying out the domestic policies. A government can guarantee executing the decisions by its authority and control over the citizens. However, in foreign diplomacy no government has ruling command of other governments. The first step to take in implementing the foreign diplomacies is proving a convincing account of them. The countries whose supports are crucial in implementing the foreign diplomacies need to be convinced that the relevant adopted diplomacies are beneficial to them as well. After clarifying the contents of the foreign diplomacy for the beneficiary or rival sides, they should start negotiations to find what they have in common. The side that is fond of implementing a specific diplomacy can rely on different tools to make the others interested and involved.\textsuperscript{17}

**Process of decision making in Iran`s foreign policies:**

The foreign policies of Islamic Republic of Iran are a result of complicated and multi-level interactions between governmental and non-governmental players. These players pursue different and in some cases opposing objectives. However, the process of decision making in foreign policies and general political procedures have been unambiguous and clear enough so far.

Generally, there are two views toward Iran`s foreign policies which are derived from these two group`s view towards Iran`s governments, i.e. viewing the government from Islamic stance or from Iranian identity. The Islamic identity and Iranian identity of the government are different and separated in these two groups` views.
The first group holds that the core identity of Islamic Republic of Iran originates from Islamic Revolution which aims at returning to Islamic values and tenets. At the outset of Islamic Revolution in Iran, the social strata, in spite of their great dissatisfaction, were not suffering from poverty, malnutrition, lack of insecurity, or racial and ethnical discrimination. They started demonstrations because they realized that the Islamic culture and Iranian traditions are ignored by the government. Moreover, injustice in the international relationships is aggravated by the government especially, the king who is a colleague to U.S.A in the region. To sustain Islamic Republic of Iran, this group suggests:

- Preserving Islamic masses in Islamic countries as united by faith (Islamic Brotherhood)
- Establishing close relationships between Islamic countries
- Refraining from negotiation with America

The second group holds that Iran is a nation-state like the other political units in the world and should be a main player in the international field. Iran’s geopolitical and economical situations as well as its energy resources enhance its importance. These people believe that international trade and political relationships are the most important tools for preserving Iran’s interests in the contemporary world.  

The objective of Iran’s foreign policy:

The major source and reference to know the objectives of Iran’s foreign policies is the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Regarding the content of the introduction and principles, one can know the objectives of the governments, cultural, social, political and economical institutions of Iran. These objectives are regulated and specified according to Islamic principles and criteria. The dominant principles in the foreign policies can be classified under three general issues. First, “supremacy of national sovereignty” in applying foreign policies, second, “international coalition and symbiosis” which refers to establishing relationships and cooperation between countries as well as global coalition, third, the worldwide “humanitarian supports” which Iran is committed to make as a member of global society.

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has explicitly specifies the priorities in Iran’s foreign policies. These priorities are as follow:
• Iran’s neighboring countries
• The Islamic countries
• The third world countries
• Countries which provide Iran with its political, economical, social or martial needs.

The Islamic Republic of Iran constitution in different principles and in chapter 10 from principle 152 to 155 pay attention to foreign policy. Because foreign policy involves important subjects as struggling for national interests, defending Muslims and the poor through out the world, and making peaceful relations with the world nations. The above mentioned subjects show the significance of studying Iran foreign policy.

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon the rejection of all forms of domination, both the exertion of it and submission to it, the preservation of the independence of the country in all respects and its territorial integrity, the defence of the rights of all Muslims, non-alignment with respect to the hegemonist superpowers, and the maintenance of mutually peaceful relations with all non-belligerent States. any form of agreement resulting in foreign control over the natural resources, economy, army, or culture of the country, as well as other aspects of the national life, is forbidden.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has as its ideal human felicity throughout human society, and considers the attainment of independence, freedom, and rule of justice and truth to be the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the just struggles of the oppressed against the oppressors in every corner of the globe. the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran may grant political asylum to those who seek it unless they are regarded as traitors and saboteurs according to the laws of Iran.

a. Article 152

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon the rejection of all forms of domination, both the exertion of it and submission to it, the preservation of the independence of the country in all respects and its territorial integrity, the defence of the rights of all Muslims,
non-alignment with respect to the hegemonic superpowers, and the maintenance of mutually peaceful relations with all non-belligerent States.\textsuperscript{20}

b. Article 153:

Any form of agreement resulting in foreign control over the natural resources, economy, army, or culture of the country, as well as other aspects of the national life, is forbidden.\textsuperscript{21}

c. Article 154:

The Islamic Republic of Iran has as its ideal human felicity throughout human society, and considers the attainment of independence, freedom, and rule of justice and truth to be the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the just struggles of the mustad'afun (oppressed) against the mustakbirun (oppressors) in every corner of the globe.\textsuperscript{22}

d. Article 155:

The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran may grant political asylum to those who seek it unless they are regarded as traitors and saboteurs according to the laws of Iran.\textsuperscript{23}

The guidelines of Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy are as follows:

- The rejection of domineering
- The rejection of domineered
- Preserving the total independency
- The ideal of human beings bliss in the whole human being society
- Not interfering in other countri's affairs
- The integrity of freedom, independence, unity and territorial integrity
- Non-alignment to superpowers
- Peaceful relations with other nations
- Respecting the international agreements and contracts
• Resolving the international quarrels peacefully
• Participating in international problems
• Observance of honour, knowledge and expedience in foreign policy

Iran’s Geopolitics and Foreign Policy:

Iran’s geopolitics is a fixed factor in foreign policy and has an important effect on adjusting the foreign policy of Iran with other countries due to the strategic situation of Iran. Due to its strategic situation making any decision of impartiality loses its significance in the foreign policy of Iran. Because of the huge resources of gas and oil and predomination of Hormoz strait and being located on the junction of Asia, Africa, and Europe in the strategic region of the Middle East Iran has a significant role in the international relations that has been noticed by international powers. Iran’s geopolitical situation has always played a fixed role in Iran foreign policy. The significance of this role can be understood better by paying attention to the politician’s point of view.

Geopolitics illustrates the effect of land and geographical qualifications on the position of a country in its foreign policy. This becomes important because of the geopolitics and the strategic situation of a country cause a series of different strategies from different countries. Geopolitics is constant and stable and structural element in shaping the external behaviour of governments to others and the others’ behaviour to the governments. Geopolitics are the most stable element in foreign policy.

The cultural, geopolitical and historical qualifications of Iran can connect it to different regions and political sub systems in the region. From this point of view Iran is a junction point for central Asia regions, south security, and development plays a role in Iran’s foreign policy.

Due to its geopolitical situation like being located in regional crises of Iraq, Afghanistan and the kind of political and security problems that encounters like nuclear programs from the viewpoint of foreign policy is connected to the problems of international security system. The logic of international relations and foreign policy in nowadays world is in a way that
cooperation, union, alliance is necessary, and achieving such a thing is impossible without an active foreign policy.

Islamic Republic of Iran due to the use of its geopolitics and geostrategic situation have always encountered both chances and threats in its foreign policy. Chances can be mentioned as the existence of factors, the vast and uneven land, and the strategic depth have increased the haggling power of Iran in the region and its foreign policy. At the time of war between Iraq and Iran, this advantage was proved. Threats can be mentioned as being surrounded by land borders in the north, east, and the west and being connected to mare liberum only through the south. Therefore, it is considered as a semi blockade country and its window which is open to the world is Persian Gulf. Furthermore, Iran is located on the military and commercial road of Asia and is a member of two sensitive systems of Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean and Central Asia that the foreign policy designers are made susceptible to many challenges and threats.27

Iran geopolitics is one of the fixed factors in establishing the foreign policy and has a great effect on the method of Iran foreign policy toward other countries. The reason is the strategic rank of Iran. Iran as an appearing global power (like India and Turkey) needs an active foreign policy based on alliances and unions in different regions of the world especially in the Middle East. Therefore, the quality of an active foreign policy is paying attention simultaneously to the security, political, and developmental functions in the regions around. There is no doubt that from among the important regions around Iran in the Middle East and southeastern Asia one is Persian Gulf region that is the main road to the free world and Indian ocean and the second is India which is changing to a regional super power in economical and military respect. These two should be paid more attention in the foreign policy of Iran. On the other hand, Iran’s foreign policy with an active role in the security and political problems of Persian Gulf region and Arab world can give Iran an upper hand in regional and global problems and in relations with major powers in the world.

It should be said that Iran’s foreign policy is based on rejecting any kind of domineered or domineering, preserving independency, territorial integrity and peaceful relations with neighbouring countries and other world nations. In this direction to answer the ambiguities and to change the threats to chances, Iran has started doing a series of actions and policies in its fundamental framework based on (honour, wisdom, and expediency). Therefore, maintaining
relations with neighbours, opening new diplomatic fields, expanding the geographical domain of foreign policies such as some Latin American countries, Africa Continent, and India subcontinent, developing cooperation with the other countries in the region in the form of agreements and regional and international organisations, activating some organisations as Economical Cooperation Organisation (ECO), nonalignment movement, by standing membership of Shanghi and Sark can be named as activities in this direction.

The Agenda of Islamic Republic of Iran Foreign Policy:

- Supporting the stable growth and development of the country in the field of Iran’s foreign policy
- Defending the identity, values and international agreements in its foreign policy
- Managing the foreign policy in facing the threats and chances in especial conditions
- Rejecting any kind of domineering or domineered in its foreign policy
- The principle of supporting the international procedures in its foreign policy

India's Foreign Policy:

India achieved independence on August 15, 1947. That immediately necessitated foreign policy making by this country. India became a member of international community comprising sovereign countries. India's independence initiated the process of decolonization, and India decided to support all anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles. Yet, India's foreign policy is largely based on her history and culture. Speaking in the Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru had said in March 1950: "It should not be supposed that we are starting on a clean slate. It is a policy which flowed from our recent history, and from our national movement and its development and from various ideals we have proclaimed." Even before the attainment of independence, India was given some voice in world affairs. This was done (a) by the British Government on behalf of India and (b) by the Indian National Congress by way of resolutions adopted from time to time. The Indian Office in London spoke for India on international developments.

Although a dependency of Britain, India was invited to become a Member of the League of Nations. The views of India were, of course, not reflective of Indian public opinion. The
Secretary of State for India (a member of British cabinet) decided the position to be taken by India. Later, India was represented at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and having signed the UN Charter became original member of the United Nations.

India has the heritage of an ancient civilization and culture. The foreign policy that India formulated after independence reflected India’s culture and political tradition. India’s foreign policy makers had before them the teachings of Kautilya, the realist, who had recognized war as an important instrument of power and foreign policy. They were also impressed by the Buddhist traditions of Ashoka, the Great, who advocated peace, freedom and equality. Nehru opted for Ashoka's tradition and incorporated even in the Directive Principles of State Policy, the ideals of international peace, and pacific settlement of international disputes. India's foreign policy is determined largely in accordance with the ideals of India’s freedom struggle, Gandhian philosophy and the fundamental principle of Indian tradition of Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam (the world as one family). The personality of Nehru has had a direct impact. The domestic milieu reflecting communal, caste, regional and linguistic differences continues to dominate the policy making in the foreign office in South Block. India’s neighbouring country is constantly working to destabilize India.  

Nehru’s dream of non-Alignment Movement:

Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister from 1947 till his death in 1964. The foundations of India's foreign policy were firmly laid by him. Like any other foreign policy maker, Nehru underlined India's national interest as the basic guiding principle. But, even before he did that, Nehru, as head of the Interim Government, had declared as early as September 7, 1946 principal objectives of India's foreign policy. In a broadcast to the nation he had said:

We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom... We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races.
In addition to the objectives indicated in the above-mentioned speech, namely, an independent policy, promotion of international peace, emancipation of colonial and dependent peoples, and promotion of racial equality, Nehru had also emphasized in other speeches rapid economic development of India, and the protection of legitimate interests of people of Indian origin living aboard. Nehru's personality was a major factor that shaped India’s foreign policy.

National Interest:

India's national interest was indeed the most important governing principle of Nehru's foreign policy. He said in the Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947. "We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifested to the disadvantage of the country." But, Nehru was not a realist of Kautilya-Morgenthau school. He was deeply impressed by his leader, Mahatma Gandhi who was an idealist and insisted on application of moral principles in the conduct of all politics. Nehru, therefore, did not find any incompatibility between India's national interest and the legitimate interests of other nations. He believed that a nation's self-interest may itself demand cooperation with other nations. He, therefore, told the Constituent Assembly: "We propose to look after India's interests in the context of world cooperation and world peace, insofar as world peace can be preserved."

When Nehru formulated free India's foreign policy, he indeed insisted on national interest but more in an idealist mood rather than as a realist. This was reflected in his policy of non-alignment in general, and in his decision to ascertain the wishes of people of Jammu & Kashmir on the question of State's merger with India (after Pak-led tribal invasion). His agreement with Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai in 1954 to allow full integration of Tibet with China was also an act of idealist statesman. Patel's death in late 1950 deprived Nehru of a realist check as none other dared oppose him. But, it would be wrong to come to the conclusion that Nehru ever sacrificed the national interest. Indeed, all his actions were guided generally by India's self-interest. Nehru had opined that it was his first duty to take care of India's national interests.31

While analyzing the basic components of national interest in the context of India, Bandopadhyaya says:
... essential components of the national interest of any state are security, national development and world order. Security is the first guarantee of a state's international personality; national development is its categorical imperative; and an ordered pattern of international relations is a minimum pre-condition for its independent existence and free development, just as an ordered civil society is a minimum precondition for the independent existence and free development of an individual.32

The three components of national interest were fully comprehended by India's Foreign Office and sought to be protected and promoted by Indian foreign policy. It was guided by the country's internal as well as external security. India took effective measures for short term as well as long-term security, though it is doubtful if long-term measures were really effective because in 1962 China inflicted a humiliating defeat-like situation in the north-east. Secondly, there is an intimate relationship between security and development. Foreign policy is influenced by economic development, and national developments are influenced by foreign policy. In India, Nehru and his successors promoted rapid economic development. That is why India adopted the policy of non-alignment, keeping away from power politics, but welcoming aid, without strings, from wherever it was available. Thirdly, national security depends on international peace, which in turn will be possible if a new world order based on cooperation is established. Right from the day India signed the UN Charter, India has been striving hard for a conflict-free world order based on peace, cooperation and understanding among sovereign members of international community.

**Objectives of India's Foreign Policy:**

Foreign policy makers set out certain objectives before they proceed to lay down basic principles and formulate the policy. Several of these objectives are common, though the degree of emphasis always varies. A former Foreign Secretary of India, Muchkund Dubey wrote:

The primary purpose of any country's foreign policy is to promote its national interest—to ensure its security, safeguard its sovereignty, contribute to its growth and prosperity and generally enhance its stature, influence, and role in the comity of nations. A country's foreign policy should also be able to serve the broader purpose of promoting peace, disarmament and development and of establishing a stable, fair, and equitable global order.33
The purpose of peace, disarmament and an equitable global order may at times be in conflict with national security, sovereignty and development. But, says Dubey, in the medium and long run the former may also serve the national interest. The goals of India's foreign policy are simple and straightforward. The primary and overriding goal has always been the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. The ideals and objectives of Indian domestic as well as foreign policy are enshrined in the Constitution. India's foreign policy, designed mainly by Nehru, combines national interest with broader objectives mentioned above. Continuity in foreign policy is a tribute to maturity of a nation and wisdom of its leadership. The objectives of India's foreign policy are so fundamental and generally accepted by the people and different parties that they are known as bases of a national policy. That has resulted in continuity in India's foreign policy; "for no Government of India can afford to abdicate independence of judgement and action and compromise the basic values enshrined in Indian Constitution."  

India, after independence, had to determine objectives of its foreign policy under very difficult circumstances. Internally, the partition of British India and creation of Pakistan left a deep wound of hatred and ill-will. India was till then one economic unit. Its division created many economic problems which were further complicated by the arrival of millions of Hindus and Sikhs displaced from Pakistan. They had to be rehabilitated.  

Very soon the country was involved in a war in Kashmir imposed by Pakistan-backed tribals from North-West Frontier. Economy was further threatened by strikes organised by leftists. The country had to tackle the 'gigantic problem' of providing its vast population with the basic necessities of life, like food, clothing and shelter. A hostile Pakistan compounded India's security problem. India did possess "vast potential resources and manpower with which it could, in course of time, greatly increase its economic and military strengths." There was another problem. It was related to internal consolidation. Even after British left India in 1947, there were small pockets of French and Portuguese possessions. India's first efforts naturally were to negotiate with the two Powers. After prolonged negotiations, French agreed to withdraw, but military action had to be taken, in as late as 1961, to liberate Goa and other Portuguese pockets.  

International situation was not very comfortable as the Cold War had begun and East-West relations were deteriorating very fast. It is in this situation that India decided that world
peace would be a cardinal feature of India's foreign policy. India desired peace not merely as an ideal but also as an essential condition for its own security. Nehru had said: "Peace to Indian is not just a fervent hope; it is an emergent necessity." As M.S. Rajan said: "For a country like India which is in urgent need of all round development, peace (as much external as internal) is a primary desideratum." It is for this reason that India gave first priority to world peace. As Nehru opined, "India's approach to peace is a positive, constructive approach, not a passive, negative, neutral approach." India's message to the world has been insistence on peaceful methods to solve all problems.

Peace meant not only avoidance of war, but also reduction of tension and if possible end of the Cold War. A world order based on understanding and cooperation would require an effective United Nations. Therefore, India decided to give unqualified support and allegiance to the United Nations. International peace is not possible so long as armaments are not reduced. All the efforts at the reduction of conventional weapons had already failed despite a clear mandate in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The problem was further complicated by the nuclear weapons which threatened peace more than ever before. Therefore an important objective of India's foreign policy has been elimination of nuclear weapons and reduction of conventional armaments. In other words, comprehensive disarmament has been an objective of Indian foreign policy.

A related objective was to root out other causes of war by measures such as liberation of subject peoples and the elimination of racial discrimination. In order to achieve this goal, India would follow an independent foreign policy without being any big Power's capip follower. It would also require total faith in, and support to the United Nations. Thus, pursuit of peace became a primary objective of the foreign policy. India's goal of peace was not only directed by its self interest, but also by idealism imbibed from Mahatma Gandhi. Nehru once told an American audience that Gandhian ethics was the cornerstone of India's foreign policy. Emphasising the intimate connection between means and ends, Nehru said: "The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi ... always laid stress on moral values and warned India never to subordinate means to ends." He insisted that "physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance."36
Another objective of foreign policy was 'elimination of want, disease and illiteracy.' These are ills not only of Indian society, but also of most of the developing countries of Asia and Africa. While India's domestic policy was directed at removal of want and disease, it was closely related with the question of foreign aid and assistance. Besides, India chose to cooperate with various international agencies so that it could make its contribution in fighting disease, starvation, poverty, illiteracy and famine in various underdeveloped countries. Organisations like WHO, FAO, UNICEF and UNESCO not only benefit India, but India also wants to use these institutions to help the entire mankind.

India has voluntarily chosen to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. This association of free and sovereign countries who were colonies in the erstwhile British Empire now recognises the British Queen only as Head of the Commonwealth, not as Crown of the Republics like India. Before 1949, only British Dominions were members of, what was then known as, the British Commonwealth. All the dominions had the British Crown as their monarch also. India did not want to leave the Commonwealth even after it decided to become a republic and ceased to accept the British monarch as the head of state. India owed, along with some other countries, common allegiance to a particular way of life. India considered the continued cooperation with the Commonwealth of mutual benefit to India and all other member countries.

Lastly, India's objective has been to maintain friendly relations with all, Md military alliances, follow non-alignment as a moral principle, seek peaceful settlement of international disputes and promote universal brotherhood and humanism by following and advocating the five principles contained in Panchsheel. India has tried to faithfully observe the ideals of non-interference and peaceful co-existence. All these objectives have been sought to be achieved through principles and decisions of India's foreign policy. Although wars were imposed upon India by Pakistan and China, India has remained committed to pacific settlement of disputes between nations. India has been seeking to pursue friendly relations with all the countries, particularly with the neighbours. India still wishes to work in pursuit of world peace, and in search of that it has been insisting on complete elimination of nuclear weapons, and strengthening of the United Nations.
Principles of India's Foreign Policy:

1. Non-Alignment

The policy of non-alignment is the most important contribution of India to international community. Immediately after the hostilities ended with the Second World War, a new and unprecedented tension developed between the erstwhile friends and allies. The acute state of tension came to be called the Cold War. The division of the world into two blocs led by the United States and the former Soviet Union respectively caused the Cold War. India made up its mind not to join any of the power blocs. India's decision to follow an independent foreign policy was dictated essentially by its national interest, and also by its belief in moral value attached to the ideal of friendship among all, and pursuit of world peace. India had decided to devote its energies to its economic development. For that, India needed not only friendship with neighbours and big powers, but also economic assistance from different quarters. India made it clear that it would reserve the right to freely express its opinion on international problems. If it would join any of the power blocs then it would lose this freedom.

India's geographical situation—its location at the junction of South East Asia and Middle East, and its strategic position in the Indian Ocean, and as a neighbor of Communist China in the North—made it imperative to keep away from military alliances. The policy of non-alignment is in accordance with Indian philosophy and tradition. A former US ambassador to India, Chester Bowels had said of Nehru and his policy of non-alignment: "If Nehru becomes a formal of the West in the Cold War, he would be going against the whole grain of Asian anti-colonial sentiment. He would be under constant and effective attack as a stooge of western imperialism'. By his independence of either bloc, he is able to draw on all the pride of Indian nationalism and to change convincingly lot it is the Asian communists who are the foreign stooge."

2. Panchsheel and Peaceful Co-existence

Peaceful co-existence of nations of diverse ideologies and interests is an important principle of Indian foreign policy. Indian philosophy of Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam promotes the feeling of 'one world. In practice, it means that nations inhabited by peoples belonging to different religions and having different social systems can co-exist, live together in peace, while each follows its own system. This basic Indian philosophy was formally recognised when in
1954 India and China signed the famous declaration of five principles, or Panchsheel, as the bases of their mutual relationship. The five principles, detailed below, were formally enunciated in the Sino-Indian agreement of April 29, 1954 regarding trade and intercourse between the Tibetan Region of China and the Republic of India. The five principles mentioned in the Preamble of the agreement were:

- mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- mutual non-aggression;
- mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- equality and mutual benefit;
- peaceful co-existence.

Speaking in the Parliament, Prime Minister Nehru had said: "I imagine that if these principles were adopted in the relations of various countries with each other, a great deal of the trouble of the present day world would probably disappear." Two months later, during Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's visit to India, Nehru and Chou, in a joint statement, said that if these principles were applied not only by Asian countries in their bilateral relations, but also "in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence." The term Panchsheel was formally used by Nehru at a state banquet given in honour of visiting Indonesian President in September 1954.

The term Panchsheel soon became so popular that Nehru called it an "international coin." These principles were incorporated in the Declaration on World Peace and Cooperation, adopted by the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung (Indonesia) in April 1955, as well as in a resolution of principles of co-existence adopted by Inter-Parliamentary Union at its Helsinki session in August 1955. By the end of 1956, many countries including Afghanistan, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Nepal, Poland, USSR, Saudi Arabia and Yugoslavia had endorsed the Panchsheel. In 1959, the UN General assembly also resolved to adopt the five principles. The term Panchsheel is found in ancient Buddhist literature, and refers to five principles of good conduct of the individuals. These are truth, non-violence, celibacy, refrain from drinking, and vow not to steal.
In 1945, President Soekarno of Indonesia had announced five principles of Indonesian national policy. These five principles, called Panjashila, were: faith in nationalism, faith in humanity, faith in independence, faith in social justice, and faith in God. But, the five principles of Panchsheel declared in 1954 were neither principles of good conduct of individual nor of nationalism. These are principles of behaviour of sovereign states in their foreign relations. These are normal expectations from civilised nations in their behaviour with each other. To respect the territorial integrity of others and not to commit aggression are vital objectives of friendly international relations. By stating them in India-China declaration (along with other principles) was only to emphasise the value that India attach to them. But, within a few years when China began encroaching upon Indian territory by building a road in Aksai Chin area, Panchsheel was threatened. When aggression was committed by China in 1962, it was a clear violation of 'mutual non-aggression'. The fifth principle; i.e., peaceful co-existence emphasises the importance of peaceful living by all nations irrespective of their ideology.

A liberal democracy (India) and a Communist country (China) need not attempt to force their ideologies on the other. "In the context of 'cold war' ..., it means that it is both possible and necessary that countries with different political, economic or other systems should exist side by side and work together peacefully", says Prof. M.S. Rajan, 'it also mans that, every nation has a right to its political and social order and to develop along its own line," Peaceful co-existence is not "a misfortune to be endured, but a fact which enriches the diversity of human society," opined K.P.S. Menon, it was not just "co-endurance."

Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism have been matters of faith with India's foreign policy makers. Having been a victim of British imperialism for a long time, India decided to oppose all forms of colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, it decided to extend full support to the cause of freedom of dependent peoples of Asia and Africa. One of the first decisions that Nehru's Interim Government took was to recall the Indian troops sent by the British to suppress the freedom struggles in the Dutch and French colonies. The Dutch colony of Indonesia had been taken by the Japanese during the Second World War. When after Japanese defeat, the Netherlands tried to establish its rule again, India opposed it even in the United Nations, and cooperated with Indonesia in its efforts to get independence. India fully supported the freedom struggles in Asian and African countries such as Indo-China, Malaya, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia,
Gold Coast (now Ghana), etc. India fully supported the cause of independence of the people of Namibia, who were under prolonged colonial rule of racist South Africa. Promotion of self-determination of all colonial peoples was, thus, an important objective and principle of India's foreign policy. India considered denial of freedom to colonial peoples as a violation of fundamental human rights, and a source of international conflicts. At times India adopted, as M.S. Rajan says, continuous and 'overscrupulous' attitude as in case of Algerian and Cyprus questions.

The Western view in the context of Cold War was that international communism was a bigger threat than colonialism. India did not agree with this view. According to Nehru, the real-question in Asia was that of 'colonialism versus anti-colonialism'. In fact, India felt that if colonialism was not quickly abolished it was likely to encourage communism among the colonial peoples. Nehru had once said: "Colonialism represents the biggest threat to Asia and Africa and leads to communism." Both colonialism and communism are of European origin, and India emphasised that end of colonialism was urgently required.

Now that colonialism and imperialism have been terminated, one might think that there is no relevance of this principle any more. But, Western powers have not given up their efforts to dominate their former colonies. Most of Afro-Asian countries, including India, were being subjected to a new form of colonialism, commonly known as 'neocolonialism.' In its new incarnation, colonialism seeks to dominate independent developing countries of Asia and Africa through various instruments of exploitation. India is determined to oppose neo-colonialism as it aims at economic exploitation which may eventually lead to political control. Various means such as economic assistance and multinational corporations are used for promotion of neo-colonialism. India's policy at freedom of dependent peoples has now acquired new dimensions as it seeks freedom from new form of economic slavery.

3. Opposition to Racial Discrimination

India firmly believes in equality of all human beings. Its policy is aimed at opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. South Africa was the worst example of discrimination against and exploitation of, the coloured peoples including the people of Indian origin. India gave full support to the cause of victims of racial discrimination. Not only India had cut off diplomatic
relation with South Africa in 1949, but also used her influence (later) in the application of comprehensive sanctions against the white minority racist regime of South Africa. India did not allow any facility to the racist regime, opposed the system both inside and outside the United Nations and stood by the demand of racial equality. Even Indian sportsmen and players of games like cricket fully boycotted racial discrimination, and its symbol South Africa. It is only in early 1994 that apartheid was finally given up and a majority government was duly elected and installed under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Having achieved the goal of racial equality in South Africa, India reestablished full relations with that country.

India has consistently supported the establishment of an egalitarian human society in which discrimination based on colour, race, class, etc. does not exist. India firmly believes that racialism is one of the sources of conflict in the world, and therefore a threat to international peace and security. India has supported the UN efforts leading to adoption of covenants of human rights and the observance of fundamental freedoms all over the world.

4. Foreign Economic Aid and India's Independent Policy

India firmly believed that economic development of the country was an urgent necessity. Soon after independence, India devoted its energies to a planned and rapid all-round development. India was painfully aware of the lack of adequate resources and technical know-how. India had already decided on non-alignment as basic policy. That implied the adoption of an independent foreign policy. But, if India was to develop, it needed funds, machinery and technical know-how. India needed economic assistance as well as loans for numerous projects that it wanted to start in the process of multi-faceted development of the country.

The financial and technological help that India needed could come either from the United States or the Soviet Union. It was generally believed that the USSR would not help a non-communist country. The business community in India as well as our Government realised that the only country that could give substantial help was the United States of America. Still, the Government of India did not want to compromise with the principle of non-alignment, independence and sovereignty of the country. Nehru said in June 1948: "the would rather delay Indian development, industrial or otherwise, than submit to any kind of economic domination by any country." Despite India's firm decision not to accept any aid with strings, India had come
quite close to the United States" by 1949. Many sections of Indian industry were putting pressure on Indian Government to secure foreign capital as nationalisation of industry was not practicable. The success of communists in China made India realise that there was a danger of communism raising its head in India also unless Indian economic development was initiated in a big way, naturally with foreign aid. Even in the United States there was growing realisation of urgent need of helping India so as to avoid Chinese communist type success in this country. Thus, began the process of economic assistance to India from the United States.

As the process of development was accelerated, India began accepting aid from the World Bank and a number of other countries. In course of time, Soviet suspicion of India being a pro-West country was removed and India welcomed aid from Eastern Bloc also. Then two new economic powers began to emerge as Soviet Union experienced difficulties. Germany and Japan became industrially developed nations and are giving aid to many countries, including India. Unfortunately, the Western countries have been very reluctant to transfer technology to India and other developing countries.

India tried to maintain independence in decision-making and foreign policy. At times it was charged with being pro-West and at other times with a clear tilt towards the former Soviet Union. However, India tried to maintain balance and pursue independent policy. At one stage under Indira Gandhi's leadership, India chose to go in for large scale nationalization. As socialism was made a goal of Indian economy (Forty-Second Amendment, 1976), the Western countries began to disbelieve India's policy of independent decision-making and non-alignment. As India decided to liberalise her economy in mid-1991, and as the Soviet Union disintegrated in the end of 1991, India's economy naturally moved closer to the capitalist world. In spite of India's assertion that it continues to follow an independent policy, critics have been charging of sell-out to the West-dominated World Bank and International Monetary Fund who are guiding India's economic policy and liberalisation process.

5. Support to the United Nations

India is one of the founder-Members of the United nations, and many of its specialised agencies. It has full faith in the international organizations and agencies. India firmly believes in international peace and security. Despite having required nuclear weapons, India does not
support these weapons, wants their elimination and considerable reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces. India believes that these goals can be achieved by strengthening the United Nations. India is an important member of the group of Non-Aligned in the United Nations. She is also a prominent Afro-Asian Member of the world body. India has sponsored and supported several progressive measures in the UN and its agencies. Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit was elected President of the General Assembly in 1953. India has been a non-permanent member of the Security Council for a number of terms. Her contribution in the cause of world peace has been universally recognised. India has enthusiastically responded to the call of the United Nations to serve in collective security and peace-keeping efforts. India sent a medical unit in the Korean War, and participated actively in the repatriation of prisoners of war after Korean crisis. India has sent help at the call of the United Nations for peace-keeping to Egypt, Congo and Yugoslavia.

The Indian army generals have been given four responsibilities for peacekeeping activities. In 1953 India held the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC) for Korea, charged with the custody and repatriation of the prisoners of war In July 1954, India chaired the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indochina. During 1960-63 peacekeeping operations were organized in Congo by the Indian Independent Brigade. In 1992 the responsibility of heading the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia was also entrusted to an Indian General.

India continuously supported the efforts for universalisation of the United Nations. When applications of a number of countries for membership of the were being rejected in mid-1950s, as either the USSR or nationalist China used veto to bar their entry, India's V.K. Krishna Menon used his diplomatic skill and with the support of many other like-minded countries persuaded the big Powers to allow admission of 16 new Members in 1955. India was one of the first countries to recognise Communist China after the revolution in 1949. India consistently supported application of People's Republic of China for representation in the UN and expulsion of Nationalist China. India had taken a value-based stand on the question of Chinese representation. Even after Chinese nack on India, and the border war, in 1962 India stand did not change. Despite facing a victim of Chinese aggression, India stood by its commitment that the UN could not really become a universal organization although are fifth of the nations belong to non-
Alignment Movement which raises the doubts about the would government that United Nation Organization.

There are several other areas in which India has played significant role in re United Nations. For example, India has played a consistently positive and energetic role in arms control and disarmament. In the field of human rights, the issues which attracted India's attention quite early were racial discrimination and colonialism (as already discussed). India's contribution has also been significant in the areas of health, food, children's welfare and improvement of the conditions of working people. As Professor Satish Kumar says: "... notwithstanding occasional lapses, India's contribution to the promotion of the objectives of the United Nations cannot be regarded as inferior to, or less valuable than, that of any other Member of the United Nations, including any permanent Member of the Security Council. In this background, India's claim for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council is no less justified than that of countries like Germany and Japan."  

6. Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes

Disputes among nations are unavoidable. There can be only two methods of settling international disputes: war, or peaceful settlement. War has been the most commonly used method of deciding disputes from the pre-historic days. War was considered the legitimate means of deciding disputes. It resulted in the victory of one nation over the other. By the end of First World War, destructiveness of this method had reached harrowing heights. Since then it has been increasingly realised by international community that peaceful settlement of disputes should be the goal of not only international organisation, but also of all states. This includes, besides direct negotiations, means such as mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial decisions. The last mentioned method is used only in cases of legal disputes, whereas political disputes can be sought to be settled through other means.

India's foreign policy goal is pacific (peaceful) settlement of disputes; here the emphasis is on "peaceful" rather than "settlement". Professor M.S. Rajan says that, "This is, of course, a corollary to the major and primary objective of promoting international peace and security. Thus, if India's goal is international peace, pacific settlement of disputes is the natural means."
The founding fathers of the Constitution of India were keen to remind all future
governments that India as a nation desired peaceful settlement of international disputes. That is
why Article 51 of the Constitution (in Part IV, Directive Principles of State Policy) lays down
that the state shall endeavour to seek peaceful settlement of international disputes. India does not
believe in 'negotiation through strength' because that is illogical. As Nehru himself pointed out,
"... the world had arrived at a stage when even if one party was relatively weaker, the effect on
both was the same; they had reached a saturation point with regard to weapons of mass
destruction." Thus, India has made it a matter of faith to help seek peaceful settlement of
disputes. M.S. Rajan observes: "Even at the risk of being persistently taken as 'poking one's nose
in other people's affairs', India reserved in her self-appointed role of conciliation in the settlement
of international disputes and conflicts." Although India herself had to face wars imposed upon
her, its faith in peaceful means is not shaken.

Determinants of India's Foreign Policy:

1. Geography

   India's size, climate, location and topography have played a vital role in shaping its
foreign policy. Nehru had said in 1949 that India's position was strategic and that no power could
ignore us. He said:

   Look at the map. If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India inevitably
comes into the picture. If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you
cannot do so without India. So also with the Far-East. While the Middle-East may not be directly
connected with South-East Asia, both are connected with India. Even if you think in terms of
regional organizations in India, you have to keep in touch with the other regions. 43

   Thus, India is the gateway of both South-East Asia and the Middle-East. India's security
and vital interests are closely tied with the future of the region. Nehru had also stated that"'India
becomes a kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and a meeting ground between
what may be roughly called the East and the West."
Writing about compulsions of history and geography, Professor V.R Dutt says: "... it can hardly be overlooked that India's size, potential and perceptions of her elite postulated an intense interest in world affairs..." India is situated in South Asia. Its northern borders are generally protected by the mighty Himalayas. It has a vast sea coast on three sides. This factor cannot be ignored in foreign policy making. India's coastline is vital for its foreign policy. Indian Ocean was used as a route for penetration into India during 17th-19th centuries by the French, British, Dutch and the Portuguese. Most of the foreign trade of India goes through the Indian Ocean. Any foreign domination of the Indian Ocean is injurious to the national interest of this country. The defence of the vast sea coast requires a powerful Indian navy. Besides, India has been supporting the demand of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace because that is essentially vital for India's security.

India has common land frontiers, at places, with Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Myanmar (Burma) Nepal and Bhutan. Afghanistan touches northern part of Jammu & Kashmir. The former Soviet Union was also very near to the State of Jammu & Kashmir. Until the Chinese aggression in 1962, the Himalayas were known as the defenders (prahari) of India. That is not true any more. The air forces of all countries have changed the security perspective all over the world. India's vast coastline necessitates not only a powerful navy, but also friendly relations with other naval powers present in the Indian Ocean. These include Britain as well as the United States which have a powerful naval base at Diago Garcia. Although India has been victim of Chinese and Pakistani attacks, it is in Indian mutual interests that the disputes be peacefully resolved. India has always desired good neighbourly relations with all the above mentioned countries. Besides, other regional powers such as Iran, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos must maintain friendly conflict-free relations with India, With this aim in view India's attempt has been to avoid disputes with all the neighbours; and resolve the dispute peacefully in case a dispute does occur.

The presence of communist China in, the north, and till 1991 socialist USSR also in the neighbourhood, made it imperative for India to develop friendly relations with these countries, keep away from regional military alliances, yet avoid all conflicts with western countries (like UK and USA) with whom India had historical and strategically important relations, in addition to the common tradition of liberal democracy. The fact that Indian armed forces were trained on
British pattern required closer ties with Britain, and the moral support the USA provided in Indian freedom struggle obliged us to that country. But, India's foreign policy makers have had the main worry on account of hostile attitude of Pakistan, which was carved out of British India as a result of the acceptance by Britain of the Muslim League's two-nation theory.

2. History and Tradition

India's historical development as victim of British colonialism and imperialism, and her non-violent freedom struggle under the leadership of Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Azad were bound to have a share in the shaping of Indian foreign policy. Not only this, the legacy of an ancient civilization and culture also helped in foreign policy formulation. As V.P. Dutt says: "A proud civilization with the weight of centuries of tradition and the rich legacy of what appeared to Indians an abiding civilization, like China, she was too deeply conscious of her priceless heritage to accept the role of a client state." India is too big a country to become anybody's camp follower. Nehru had himself said that two major aspects of Indian foreign policy, viz., the 'positive aspect of peace' and the desire to promote 'a larger degree of cooperation among nations' were partly due to India's traditional values and past thinking.

The first Prime Minister had said in 1958 that it was a privilege to be associated with world peace and added that "in our domestic sphere also we should work on lines which are compatible with peace." This emphasis on peace at home and abroad could be called 'positive aspect of peace'. Nehru had acknowledged the influence of India's traditions on foreign policy. He said in the Lok Sabha:

It is completely incorrect to call Indian policy 'Nehru Policy'. It is incorrect because all that I have done is to give voice to that policy. I have not originated it. It is a policy 'inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during Indian struggle for freedom, and inherent in the circumstances of the world today.'

The traditional values have come down to Indian from the scriptures like the Vedas and Dharmaashstras, and the writings of great men like Swami Vivekananda, Tagore, Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. The three values that have helped shaping India's foreign policy are: tolerance, the equation of means and ends, and non-violence.
Tolerance is the essence of Indian tradition. It is not necessary that views of others be the same as one's own views. To respect the views of others is a great virtue. As V. Raghavan said, "Tolerance is one of the most important, if not the most important, among the concepts which invest the Indian traditional culture with a distinction and distinctness." Based on the teachings of Rigveda, Mahatma Gandhi had said, "Hinduism tells everyone to worship God according to his own faith or dharma, and so it lives at peace with all the religions." Emperor Ashoka's inscriptions on his rock pillars also advocated tolerance: "The King, beloved of the God, honours every form of religious faith ..." In our domestic policy, India is committed to secularism which is rooted in the above-mentioned philosophy of tolerance.

In foreign policy also, India has adopted the ideal of tolerance. It is clearly demonstrated in the famous declaration of Panchsheel signed by Nehru and his Chinese counterpart in 1954. Mutual non-interference as well as peaceful co-existence are the guiding principles of Indian foreign policy based on tolerance of the views of others. However, tolerance does not mean compromise with Indian national interest. That is why, after the rude shock of Chinese attack in 1962, India has gone ahead systematically to build an impressive defence system, and having tested five nuclear devices in 1998, India declared itself to be a nuclear-weapon state.

The principle of non-violence, or ahimsa, was not only an uncompromising faith of the Mahatma, but is also deeply rooted in Indian tradition. Ahimsa does not merely mean non-killing or abstention from doing harm to others. It indicates harmlessness in thought, word and deed, and also promotion of bondless love in the entire universe.

Non-violence is a virtue, though perfect non-violence is not always possible. Gandhiji was of the view that the use of force by the democratic state is immoral. Democracy and violence cannot co-exist. Mahatma Gandhi would apply non-violence to international relations also. The acceptance of nonviolent means was to ensure lasting world peace. Nehru took inspiration from the Mahatma, but followed him to the extent that it was possible. The application of the tradition of non-violence in India's foreign policy, according to Appadorai, was "the deliberate acceptance of a method of approach to foreign policy problems which emphasized reconciliation, and the temper of peace, as opposed to a spirit of revenge and hatred." India is committed to world peace and has included in Part IV of the Constitution a directive principles of the state to seek pacific settlement of international disputes.
The impact of British rule in India and the influence of national movement and freedom struggle is clearly evident in the shaping of India's foreign policy. According to Appadorai, the British rule in India had a three-fold impact on India's foreign policy. Firstly, it gave a stimulus to the national movement for freedom which in turn led to India's support for the freedom of dependent peoples; secondly, racial inequality that existed during the British rule made India realize the evils of racial discrimination and, in turn, led to India's emphasis on racial equality in her foreign policy.

It is not intended to go into the ideals and achievements of India's national movement in this work on foreign policy. Nevertheless, it will not be out of place to recall that Indian freedom movement did not really begin with the establishment of Indian National Congress. It is wrong to assume that the Congress was set up to fight against the tyrannical rule of the British. To begin with, it was not a protest movement. But, as the movement progressed from Gokhale's moderate stand to Tilak and Lala Lajpatray's active demand for self-rule and reached its climax under Gandhi and Nehru, it turned out to be a peaceful struggle for India's freedom based on the Mahatma's ideals of truth and non-violence.

Gandhi told Indian people not to hate the sinner but to hate the sin. Most of the leaders of freedom movement were educated in Britain or according to Western pattern of education. They valued liberty, equality and democracy. These ideals were valued by the foreign policy makers of India. While cooperating with liberal democratic countries, India did not oppose the socialist countries either. The policy of non-alignment is not only an outcome of keeping aloof from bloc politics, but also in accordance with the goals and ideals of freedom struggle cherished by Indians.

Indian National Congress, through its foreign policy department headed by Nehru, had clearly opposed dictatorship and racial discrimination. Nehru had said in 1946: "We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised." Therefore, he declared in 1949 in the Constituent Assembly, "One of the pillars of Indian foreign policy is to fight against racial discrimination." The idea of the above discussion is to underline the fact that traditional, values and historical developments have had distinct impact on India's foreign policy.
3. Economic Factors

Most of international trade of India was limited to Western countries, particularly Britain and the United States. Many of the Commonwealth countries also had intimate trade relations with India. The India depended on trade in food items also on liberal democratic countries of the west. It was natural for India to have favourable and friendly foreign policy towards these countries. India did not join the Western bloc during the Cold War. India did not even opt for capitalist pattern of development. India, on the other hand, decided to follow liberal democracy and evolutionary socialism. India adopted Soviet pattern of planned economic development but not Soviet type of government. India welcomed aid and assistance from both the blocs as well as the World Bank, but without entangling alliances with any one. A peaceful world order was desired by India, because only in that situation could India hope for its rapid development.

Foreign aid is required by a developing country like India in at least two forms. Firstly, capital is needed to rapidly modernize its economy, for which it also needs improved machinery. Secondly, the developing countries need technical know-how. A survey of the pace of development after the Second World War revealed those "countries which had a well-built foundation and supply of specialized training and skilled manpower, were the first to catch up and accomplish accelerated rates of growth." A developing country could get from the developed countries a number of experts who would impart specialized training for development. Transfer of technology to the Third World counties was cleverly avoided by most of the developed countries.

In view of this situation, India tried to formulate her foreign policy in such a way that it would get foreign economic aid without strings, that it get also loans at reasonable rates of interest, that technology transfer was easily made possible and that it received economic assistance both from the West and the East. But, America and her allies were in a far better position to provide assistance than the countries of East. This factor also played its role in shaping India's foreign policy. Initially non-aligned India was said to be tilted towards the West. Such allegations were obliquely made by Soviet media. But, once India demonstrated strength of its will, and independence of decision making during Korean and Suez crises, the Eastern bloc began appreciating India position. In fact, in view of imminent war with Pakistan in 1971 when
Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was concluded, the West became critical of to non-alignment and alleged pro-Soviet policy of India.  

4. Ideological Factor

In the Cold War period foreign policy of India was formulated as anti-communism, just as Soviet Bloc states shaped their policies on anti-capitalist ideology. India is no exception. However, its leadership was never committed to any extreme ideology. Nehru, the founder of India's foreign policy, was deeply impressed by liberal democratic ideology of the Western countries, yet he was also influenced by the Soviet Union's economic policies. Nehru wanted to incorporate a synthesis of the virtues of Western liberal democracy and the Soviet socialism. He wanted to keep away from the evils of both.

He, therefore, decided not to blindly follow the principles of foreign policy of either of the two. Nehru was deeply impressed by British Labour Party leader and a professor of Political Science H.J. Laski. Laski's ideology was a synthesis of Liberalism and Marxism. Nehru tried to follow Laski, and often gave indications of contradictions. Indirectly, the policy of non-alignment was also a result of the synthesis of Liberalism and Marxism. But, it may be an oversimplification to believe that India's policy was only influenced by Nehru's ideology. It was also influenced by Indian philosophy of humanism and universal brotherhood. It is this ideology which must get credit for India's attempts at friendship with both the power blocs during the Cold War days. As mentioned earlier, Gandhiji's ideals of truth and non-violence were also sought to be incorporated by Nehru while shaping India's foreign policy.

5. Charisma of Jawaharlal Nehru

The foregoing discussion on factors shaping India's foreign policy leads to the conclusion that, besides many other determinants, the personality of Nehru had a deep impact on Indian foreign policy. As the basic tenets of Indian foreign policy have generally remained unchanged during the last sixty years, the charisma of Nehru is all the more significant. What is charisma? It is defined as "the aggregate of those special gifts of mind and character which are the source of exceptional personal power, and upon which depends the capacity to secure the allegiance of, and exercise decisive authority over, large masses of people." Jawaharlal Nehru was a leader of unusual stature who was not only the darling of Indian masses and chosen heir of Mahatma
Gandhi, but also head of Foreign Affairs Department of Indian National Congress. He was a combination of patriotism and internationalism, of socialism and liberal democracy, and of Gandhian idealism and Churchill's realism.

Michael Brecher wrote: "Few statesmen in the twentieth century have attained the stature of Jawaharlal Nehru. As the pre-eminent figure in India's era of transition he bears comparison with Roosevelt and Churchill, Lenin and Mao, men who towered above their colleagues and guided their peoples through a period of national crisis." Nehru was said to have foreseen, helped to shape and form and lead the trend of the times. Nehru had great courage and charm. He was man of integrity who wanted power for a cause, not for himself. Even Winston Churchill described him thus: "Here is a man without malice and without fear." Gandhi had said of him much before independence: "He is as pure as crystal; he is truthful beyond suspicion ...; The nation is safe in his hands."

Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership left its impact both on domestic policy and on foreign policy. But, while in internal policy and administration, he built essentially on an existing system that had evolved during the British rule, in foreign policy he had to lay the foundation and formulate its basic principles. He built up contacts with sovereign states, created a foreign service, formulated foreign policy and evolved India's relations with the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations. He cooperated with the peoples of the countries of Asia and Africa who were still under colonial masters.

An outstanding contribution of Nehru was the shaping of a foreign policy, above party considerations, which has grown into the "national policy." Its basic outlines had the approval and support of almost all the parties and indeed of thinking masses. In 1958, N.G. Ranga, the Swatantra Party leader, wrote: "India is today in a fortunate position that there is almost complete unity among all its political parties over its foreign policy. The Panchsheel approach towards international affairs is accepted by all." The basic principles of peace, anti-colonialism and non-alignment have been supported by the entire country.

Non-alignment with power-blocs in the Cold War context was India's distinctive contribution to international relations. Nehru originated it, and within years attracted well over 100 states to this policy. His second contribution, Panchsheel, meant that each country should
carve out its own destiny without intervening with others. These and several other principles of India's foreign policy, essentially evolved during Nehru era.

6. International Situation

When India attained independence, the Cold War had begun and the world was getting divided into two hostile power blocs. It had its direct impact on the shaping of India's policy of non-alignment. The process of decolonisation began simultaneously with India's independence. Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism became the main focus of international milieu. India fell in line with the efforts for acceleration of the process of decolonisation, and opposition to all forms of colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.

The Second World War had ruined the economy of several countries. Efforts were initiated for economic reconstruction and development of India took advantage and decided on its rapid economic development. For that purpose it freely sought help from the institutions like the World Bank and International Monitory Fund created towards the end of Second World War. Ideological conflicts were responsible for disputes, aggressions and wars. Conflict between Fascism, and Communism, between democracies and totalitarian states were replaced by ideological clashes between Liberal democracy and Marxism. India opted to remain out of these ideological conflicts of post-war period.

Later, when the Cold War ended and new international environment began to emerge with emphasis on economies liberalisation in countries like China, India was inspired to shift emphasis from public sector and partially controlled economy to liberalisation, reduction of state control and encouragement to foreign investments in private and joint sectors. The process of reconciliation that began after the Cold War in areas such as Israel-Palestine dispute opened the doors for negotiated solution of bilateral disputes in different parts of the world. India, also tried to accelerate resolution of its disputes with China, Bangladesh and even Pakistan. Thus international milieu had, and still has, its impact on the shaping of India's foreign policy.

There indeed was direct impact on India's foreign policy of the events of 1990s. The disintegration of the Soviet Union into 15 independent republics after the collapse of communism; fall of socialist (communist) governments in East European countries and their transition to democracy; reunification of Germany; emergence of the United States as the sole
super power and end of bipolarity all these factors did influence India's foreign policy. One of the major development was India's veto to the CTBT at Conference on Disarmament ("CD) and later refusal to sign the CTBT as adopted by the UN General Assembly. Finally, India conducted 5 nuclear tests in May 1998. India is changing its strategies in foreign policy to suit its internal policies as well as to accommodate other nations in its ambit.\(^{54}\)

**Other fields of activity of the foreign policy of India:**

- Settle and secure international borders. Cross-border trade and broader bilateral intercourse can only be achieved when geographic boundaries are beyond doubt.

- Secure unhindered access to international markets on the most favourable terms.

- Develop deeper and broader economic relations with countries that supply fuel and military hardware.

- Cultivate and engage political constituencies that can influence policies of foreign governments in Indian favour.

- Protect and credibly demonstrate the intention to protect at all costs the lives and well-being of Indian citizens living abroad. Never forgive governments, organisations or individuals who harm Indians.

- Participate in multilateral and bilateral military co-operation relationships. Secure visiting and basing rights at geostrategic locations in the region.

- Develop capacities, capabilities and contingency plans to provide relief and rehabilitation in the region in the event of natural or man-made disasters.

- Attract talented individuals from across the world to visit, stay, work, study, teach or live in India. Encourage talented Indians to do likewise abroad.

- Project the Indian model as an example for other countries to emulate.

- Access to oil, gas, natural resources and raw materials from across the globe.

- Access to international markets for India’s products and services

- Access to the latest scientific and technological developments and removal of trade barriers and sanctions on transfer of technology items to India.
- Ensuring safety and security of Indian citizens, companies and trade interests in foreign lands.

- Build working commercial and trade agreements with ASEAN, GCC, EU, NAFTA etc.

- Instill confidence in the world community by being a nation ruled by laws, respect to the law and spirit of contracts, guarding the Indian ocean sea lanes and make it safe for trade and commerce
Reference:

10. Ibid, Article 171 and 172.
11. Ibid, Article 176.
21. Ibid, Article 153
22. Ibid, Article 154.
23. Ibid, Article 155.
27. Pirouz, Mojtahed Zadeh, “*Countries and geopolitical borders in the Persian gulf region*” Translated by Hamid Raza malek mohamoudi, Political and international studies, Tehran, 1993, p. 157
34. Ibid.
38. M.S. Rajan, *Studies in India’s Foreign policy and relation*, South Asian Publisher, New Delhi, 1985, p. 27.
39. Quoted by M.S. Rajan, op. cit., p. 27.

40. V.N. Khanna, Ibid ,p.167


44. V.P. Dutt, *India's Foreign Policy*, vikash publishing House pvt, New Delhi,1984, p. 3.

45. Ibid., p. 1.


48. Implying peaceful co-existence despite different ideological commitments.


52. Appadorai, Ibid, p. 217
