Chapter - 1

INTRODUCTION
Foreign Policy plays a prominent part in the peace and progress of every country in the world today. Every nation can aspire to be self-reliant. For this it has to depend upon others. In other words interdependence is an essential factor. It leads to international relation. For giving a meaning and direction to its behaviour at the international level each nation adopts a set of principles, a rational guide—the Foreign Policy. Through the foreign policy that a nation formulates, it tries to adopt and attempts to secure the goals of its national interest. In short, the behaviour of each nation is always conditioned by its foreign policy.

**Foreign Policy and National Interest**

There is a close link between foreign policy and national interest. Foreign Policy acts for securing the goals of national interest. But at the same time, it is the foreign policy which selects, formulates or concretises and defines the goals of national interest and then attempts to secure these goals. If national interest is a determining element of foreign policy, foreign policy is the director of national interest. National interest is characterised by ambiguity and vagueness and it is foreign policy that sorts out and defines the real nature of national interest of the nation and formulates concrete goals which are to be attained in foreign relations. Thus, both foreign policy and national interest are intimately related National interest is the objective of foreign policy and foreign policy is the formulator of national interest.
The exact role of national interest in the formulation of foreign policy is object of great debate among scholars. One set of scholars advocate that foreign policy is and should always be based upon national interest.

A former US Secretary of States, Mr. Hughes once observed. "Foreign policies are not abstractions but the results of practical concepts of national interest."¹

H.J. Morgenthau also holds that foreign policy always "seeks to defend national interest". Its purpose is: "To defend the national interests of other nations which may or may not be thus defined."²

While formulating foreign policy, the decision-makers of a nation are always guided by the demands of national interest. National leaders as a rule never pursue national policies that are in the interest of any nation than their own.

Analysing the process of foreign policy decision-making, Ivo D. Duchacek remarks, "In planning, formulating, adopting and executing foreign policy, national leaders and their aides are confronted with a veritable spider's web of conflicting claims and values. Yet priorities that is, the practical and not the ideal content of national interest, must finally be established in terms of preferred goals and in relation to power of one's own nation and that of other nations."
Both national goals and national means must simultaneously be related to dangers or opportunities on the international scene; not only other nation's power but also their intentions must be properly evaluated. Thus national interest is the basis for the formulation of foreign policy.

The other set of scholars, however, do not accept such a logic and is of the view that it is not always possible, to base the foreign policy only on the national interest of a state. National interest of a state is general and vague. It lack clarity. For example security is regarded as the primary interest of a state and yet no member of the government can precisely define the nature of security that is actually required by the state.

National interests cannot be precisely identified and concretized. These have to be related to values of the people as well as to the interests of other nations. Hence, national interest alone cannot be accepted as the basis of foreign policy.

The argument that the interest of one nation is not necessarily opposed to the interests of other nations: the mutuality of the interests of nations has come to be accepted by progressive opinion.

Jawaharlal Nehru's view on the reconciliation of national interest with the interests of other nations is in line with the progressive view of
national interest taken by modern thinkers. Two passages from Nehru’s speeches on the subject are apposite in this connection:

Whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interest of his country. But there is a difference, of course: some people may think of the interests of their country regardless of other consequences, or take a narrow view. Others may think that in the long term policy, the interest of another country is as important to them as that of their own country. The interest of peace is more important, because if war comes every one suffers, so that in the long distance view, self – interest may itself demand a policy of cooperation with other nations, goodwill for other nations, as indeed it does demand.

Every intelligent person can see that if any one has a narrow national policy it may excite the multitude for the moment, just as the communal cry has done, but it is bad for the nation and it is bad internationally, because it results loss of foresightedness and there by endanger one’s own good. Therefore, we propose to look at India’s interests in the context of world cooperation and world peace, in so far as world peace can be preserved.5

It is in a spirit of realism that India approached the question of foreign policy. Idealism alone will not do. Idealism is not something so insubstantial as to elude one’s grasp! Idealism is the realism of
tomorrow it is the capacity to know what is good for the day after
tomorrow or for the next year and to fashion accordingly. The practical
person, the realist, looks at the tip of his nose and sees little beyond the
result is that he is stumbling all the time.

This passage make it amply clear that Jawaharlal Nehru thought
of India’s national interest in the context of (a) world cooperation; and
(b) India’s long-term interest while remembering that “no government
dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the
disadvantage of that country”.6 To the question, which is to be preferred
when there is a conflict between India’s interest and the interest and the
interests of other nations, Jawaharlal’s answer was clear.

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the means by which the foreign policy of a nation
travels beyond its borders and establishes contacts with other nations.
It is diplomacy which tries to secure the goals of foreign policy during
the course of relations with other nations. Besides being a means,
diplomacy is also an input of foreign policy. The world-view sketched by
diplomacy and the reports prepared by the diplomats are valuable
instruments of foreign policy-making. The modes of operation and
quality of diplomacy always affect the operational quality and efficiency
of a foreign policy, in the late sixties the contacts between Indian and
Chinese diplomats helped the emergence of a definite trend towards normalization of Sino-Indian relations.

Foreign policy is strategy, diplomacy is the tactics.... Foreign policy of the soul of foreign relations, diplomacy is the activity through which foreign policy is enforced. "In order to have successful relations with other nations, a nation must combine rational foreign policy with subtle diplomacy."

Diplomacy and Foreign policy are two vitally important instruments of nation’s behaviour in international relations. International politics is the process of interactions among the foreign policies of various nations and diplomatic activity, particularly diplomatic negotiation, forms the core of these interactions. Foreign policy and diplomacy have been rightly described by Dr. Mohinder Kumar as the two wheels of international relations.

**Value of Foreign Policy**

According to Charles Burtan Marchall, “The Foreign policy of a state takes form in the course of action undertaken by authority of the state and intended to affect situations beyond the span of its Jurisdiction.”

No state can avoid its involvement in international relations. This involvement must be systematic and based on certain well defined
principles. While determining these principles, the states are to work within limits of its strength and relations of the external environments. Foreign policy creates a sense of purpose. It gives confidence to achieve that purpose.

Prof. Taylor has so rightly said, "Foreign policy of a sort will go on so long as there are Sovereign states".9

Nations today are interdependent. This interdependence sometimes promotes cooperation, and at other times conflict convergence of interests promotes cooperation between states and divergence promotes conflict. Therefore, states formulate appropriate policies to adjust their relations with other states to promote their national interests to the best possible extent. These constitute the foreign policies of states.

Foreign policy is an attempt on the part of a state to realize on the international plane what it conceives as good. A number of factors influence the foreign policies of state's geography, value judgements of the people in countries where, there is political consciousness among the masses, international conditions and personal predilections of those who make the foreign policy. The relative influence of these factors on the foreign policies of states differ from country to country.
The view once expressed by Nehru, the architect of India's foreign policy, bears testimony to the influence of geography on our foreign policy. Speaking of Russia, he opined that it could not be ignored by India because it is India's powerful neighbour, it could be friendly to India and cooperate with it or be a thorn in its side. In either case, India has to know it and understand it and shape her policy accordingly. It should be remembered that before the occupation of Western and North-Western part of Kashmir by Pakistan in October, 1947, India and the Soviet Union were separated by a narrow tract of Afghan territory. This geographical proximity of Russia, among other factors, must have influenced Nehru in adopting the policy of Non-alignment, i.e., a policy of not taking sides in international politics, of seeking the friendship of all countries and of judging issues on merit. If India had joined the Western block, it would have inevitably invited Soviet hostility towards us which Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to avoid.

Even before the attainment of full Independence, Nehru unfolded his policy of non alignment. In a radio broadcast on September 7th 1946, after the formation of the Interim Government Jawaharlal Nehru is of the opinion that India would take full part in International conferences as a free nation with her own foreign policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. It would keep away, as far as possible, from power politics of groups which had led to wars in the past and, in future, would lead to wars on a much greater scale.
By the time India became Independent in August, 1947, the signs of the cold war, i.e. the intense and remorseless struggle between the Soviet and American blocs, for supremacy by all means, short of actual fighting, were already visible. The United States and the Soviet Union ceased to be allies; they became the leaders of two rival blocs. This development had convinced Jawaharlal Nehru of the need for non-alignment.

A reading of some of Jawaharlal Nehru's important speeches and works shows that idealistic, ideological and nationalistic considerations helped to evolve the concept of non-alignment.¹⁰

Approaches to Foreign Policy

Different theories have been put forth for the study of foreign policy by different writers in different times. In other words there are different approaches for the study of foreign policy. On the basis of popularity of various approaches, K.W. Thompson and Roy C. Macridis, suggest two approaches to foreign policy which have been very popular and are two contending approaches of modern times. These are:¹¹ (i) The Analytical Approach and (ii) The Ideological Approach.

Analytical Approach

The Analytical Approach to the study of foreign policy concentrates upon the study of the elements and objectives of foreign policy and
considers them to be the results of a variety of factors, attitudes and circumstances.

This approach holds that means, methods, techniques that the foreign policy-makers adopt may change, the interests and objectives before them are relatively constant.

The foreign policy of a nation is based upon the view and determination of the priority order of various aspects of national interests and international obligations.

It is as such based upon national interests which are vital and must be defended at all costs and at all times. The non-vital or variable interest is to be adjusted and safeguarded under particular circumstances. The analytical approach, as such emphasises the study of all the elements and factors, domestic as well as foreign, which are the inputs of a foreign policy.

Foreign policy is not the product of the ideas and ideologies of the policy-makers. On the contrary, is a complex social process in which;^{12}

(i) Policy Makers, (ii) Principles of Foreign Policy, (iii) Policy aims, interests and objectives, (iv) Power inputs and outputs, and (v) The context of foreign policy, play an interactive and related roles.
At the heart of this approach is the view that policy rests upon multiple factors. To understand foreign policy, the students must, therefore, study and analyse all these factors.

As such, this approach seeks to study foreign policy by analysing input, interests, objectives and outputs of foreign policy. It also seeks to analyse the process by which policy-makers process the inputs into output.

**The Ideological Approach**

As against the Analytical Approach, the Ideological Approach seeks to study foreign policy in terms of the prevailing political, social and religious beliefs which are considered to be the determinants of the policies of states vis-a-vis other states of the world.

In this approach, as Thompson and Macridis write, "Foreign policies are classified as democratic or totalitarian, libertarian or socialist, and peace-loving or aggressive."\(^{13}\)

In other words, the Ideological Approach holds that foreign policy of a nation is the product of the belief and ideological commitments of the leaders and policy makers. Each foreign policy is either for or against various ideologies like Liberalism, Totalitarianism, Communism, Socialism, etc. It is with the help of ideological principles and preferences that policy-makers give shape and meaning to
national interest and the foreign policy that is formulated to secure the national interest. Foreign policy in this approach is considered as the function of the preference or convictions of political leaders who carry out the programme of the system.

This approach, however, offers a limited and over simplified view of the foreign policy. No one can ignore the importance of ideology as an input of foreign policy yet no one can accept that foreign policy is determined by ideological beliefs. In the Postwar period the foreign policy of no nation has been faithfully following the professed ideological commitments. US foreign policy, with professedly strong commitment to liberalism, has been actively maintaining warm, friendly and highly co-operative alliance relationships with dictatorships like Pakistan and many.\textsuperscript{14}

Framework of India's foreign Policy

India became Independent in 1947 and joined the comity of sovereign states, and there by qualified to participate as an actor in International Politics and Relations. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the first Prime Minister of India left a deep imprint on the Foreign Policy of Independent India. The basic principles of Foreign policy enunciated by him continue to serve as the guiding principles for all the subsequent governments after him. The basic principles of India's Foreign policy have remained consistent throughout except minor shifts by the
succeeding governments. It however does not mean that this policy has an element of rigidity rather it has adopted itself to the changing circumstances from time to time.

The circumstances that forced India to adjust itself were because of the following developments.

1. In 1954-55, the United States (US) military pacts with Pakistan had forced Nehru to lean towards the Soviet Union.

2. In 1962 Chinese aggression and Soviet neutrality resulted in vital security links with the US. This year marked a watershed in the development of India’s Foreign Policy as it became more pragmatic and realistic.


4. In 1991, end of Soviet Communism as well as its power and the emergence of economic groups have changed global power equations.

The latest turning point which occurred during 1991-92 is the most crucial one. The circumstances that influenced the determination of the basic principles of India’s Foreign Policy in the late forties and early fifties were cold war, bipolarization, formation of military alliances, ideological struggle, arms race, imperialism, colonialism, racialism etc. In the present world scenario they no longer exist. The cold war has
ended. After the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the world has become unipolar with the USA as the only dominant power; economically it is multipolar with Germany, Japan and United States of America (USA) as economic powers. With the collapse of communist bloc, ideological barriers appear to have disappeared. Imperialism and colonialism are things of the past and racialism is also on its last legs. These developments in international arena have necessitated a reassessment of India's Foreign Policy and diplomatic strategy. China, Pakistan and now even Sri Lanka continue to be a matter of concern to India.  

"Whatever policy we may lay down", Jawarharlal Nehru told the Constituent Assembly of India on December 4th 1947, "The art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. 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 manifestly to the disadvantage of the country".  

This statement clearly shows that national interest was the governing principle of India's foreign policy as conceived by Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of that policy. It is believed that in the Theory of International Politics national interest is considered as the governing
principle of foreign policy. In laying down the principle as stated above, Jawaharlal Nehru was but accepting the generally held view among statesman and writers on international politics.

**Review of Literature**

Review of literature is the most important aspect in any research work. It is a measure stating the recent output on a particular area of research and organized in a helpful sequence to strengthen the present research techniques. The main objective of the review of literature is to understand the research activities that have taken place in a particular discipline in general and in the area of research in particular.

A review of literature related to foreign policy of India in general and India's foreign policy under Rajiv Gandhi in particular is attempted in this section. The review covers combinations of international and national level.

H.S. Josh (1989)\(^{17}\) considers that India's foreign policy With its foundations laid by Jawaharlal Nehru, has always endeavoured to promote harmony, trust and a cooperative spirit among nations. The successive Prime Ministers of Jawaharlal Nehru have also believed that good relations among nations are a must for strengthening the forces of peace, eliminating tensions and reducing dangers of conflict. Basing their foreign policy on these premises, all the Prime Ministers of the largest democracy in the world, as India is, have one after the other,
never felt any contradiction in their national interests and the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. In fact, India has always felt that its ideals are never diverse from their practical interests. Having suffered colonial domination for over two centuries and having witnessed some of the worst aspects of racial, arrogance at first hand, free India's foreign policy has given priority to anti-colonial and anti-racial issues. He endeavoured to bring out the basic ideas which have guided India's policy makers. It also tells how these ideals have moulded the foreign policies of other developing countries. The discussions in this book are based on the practical logic of foreign diplomacy and give a brief account of how India has conducted its foreign policy in the past, how it is doing today and what course it is going to take in the future.

Nicholas Nugent (1990) mainly concentrate on defence related developments in India during Rajiv Gandhi regime. According to him defence expenditure doubled during five years rule of Rajiv Gandhi. He further says that during Rajiv's last two years in office, defence expenditure accounted for close to twenty percent of governmental expenditure. He opines that under Rajiv Gandhi 5years rule, India become the world major importer of defence equipment. He assets that the Sri Lanka and Maldives operations reveal the willingness of Rajiv Gandhi to fight battles abroad. He criticized the dual track approach of Rajiv Gandhi. He says that Rajiv Gandhi's duel track approach revealed
a determination to remain in the forefront of the worldwide campaign for nuclear disarmament without sacrificing what he regarded as India’s sovereign right to exercise the option of developing nuclear weapons at some stage to meet a perceived threat from Pakistan.

Attar Chand (1991)\(^{19}\) described the life sketch of Rajiv Gandhi since his childhood to demise. He elaborately discussed the social-economic philosophy of Rajiv Gandhi before and after entering the office of Prime Minister. With regard to his foreign policy he cited important decisions of Rajiv which proved him as world stateman. According to him Rajiv Gandhi’s role in the context of the Gulf crisis had proved that he was a fearless opponent of the politics of domination. He concludes that the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi confirms that India now tops the hit list in the New World Order.

M.C. Shah (1991)\(^{20}\) made an attempt to cover Rajiv Gandhi’s speeches in Parliament. He made an attempt to bring together all the important words spoken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi during his years in Parliament. He considers that ten years is too short a period to assess the role and contribution of any-person in the nation’s political public life. He says that it may seem surprising but it is true that both nationally and internationally the most widely and well known public figure on the Indian political scene in early 1990s is, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who has been in politics for hardly a decade. He further says that during his ten years
of political life Rajiv Gandhi has been a campaigner, a Member of Parliament, Prime Minister of India and Leader of the Opposition.

Harish Kapur (1994)\textsuperscript{21} attributed the decline in India's image and global role after Jawaharlala Nehru to the personality factor. He says, none of Nehru's successors had the exalted image of an international political diplomat even before he came to power like first Prime Minister. In the second part of his book he examined the decision making process of India's foreign policy. He also made an attempt to look into the personality factor and its contribution to India's foreign policy making. He concludes that the balance in India's foreign policy has clearly tilted towards regionalism and it is difficult to imagine that the growing domestic uncertainties and destabilization of the region is ever going to permit India extricate herself from regional preoccupations to once again acquire a global role.

Vandana Asthana (1999)\textsuperscript{22} focused on the strengths and weaknesses of India's neighborhood policy in general. The study also focused on the US role in south Asia. He considers that the old objective of promoting strategic normalization between New Delhi and Islamabad remains but the role of the US should restrict to help, create those conditions in which satisfactory solutions to conflicting issues between the two countries (India and Pakistan) can emerge.

Brig. Darshan Khuller (2000)\textsuperscript{23} takes a wide ranging look at India not through an ideological prism and least of all through rose-tinted
glasses, but in his own words an irreverent look in order to understand its strengths and weaknesses, friends and foes, threats to its development and, indeed, to its very continuance as a united nation. He has not hesitated to uncover the hypocrisy that underlies so much of contemporary life in our country. In order to do this, he views India from a wide range of inter-related perspectives. These include external threats, which, according to him, come overtly from Pakistan and China and covertly from the United States of America. He has examined India's defence preparedness to counter these and has examined the question of nuclear deterrence. He predicts that the internal threats to India may come from Kashmir, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and the North East. He examines thoroughly the basic question of over-population which is directly responsible for poverty of Indians and squalor and is indirectly related to communalism and corruption. Nor, as a sportsman, does he neglect the fact that India's position in the world of sports is far from being what it should be. He has commented upon the personalities and the successes and failures of various Prime Ministers who led India since independence half a century ago and had an impact on the economic and political life of the country.

Prem Arora (2000)\textsuperscript{24} says that in the present interdependent world, the states have to regularly interact with each other. This is done through a carefully formulated foreign policy which seeks to promote and protect the national interest. India after independence, also
formulated its foreign policy keeping in view its national interests as well as the international environments. He seeks to make a study of Indian Foreign Policy in its historical perspective and examines the various facets of India's Foreign Policy. He made an effort to bring out relevant facts from a plethora of information and present the same in simple and lucid form.

Rajesh M.Basrur (2000)\textsuperscript{25} examines three levels of analysis widely used i.e., the individual, the state and the system in international affairs. He also discussed the major theoretical traditions in international theory viz realist, the liberal the Grotian, the Kantian and the Marxian. He also examined the concept of globalization and it's theoretical implications. He analysed the international relations on the basis of Systems Theory. The main focus is on the intensity-structure relationship. Thus he examines the structure of the sub-continental system in terms of the distribution of military and economic power. In his opinion, India stands clearly as a dominant power, but he outlined certain limits. He analysed India’s role in the global system shows that India’s external behaviour is essentially determined by its middle level structural standing.

Krishnaveni Muthiah (2001)\textsuperscript{26} opines that the world nations have fully understood the worth of peaceful coexistence after having felt the effect of two world wars. According to him, international relations in the
present period has centered on the search for a new international system to replace the old order that was shattered in the two world wars. In his book he offers a basic knowledge of past history in international relations, traces out the regional integration that has set in and the future threat of nuclear warfare. He discussed the factors influencing international relations and the stand of nations against one another is undergoing noteworthy changes due to the technological advancements, especially the nuclear and space age developments. The technological improvements have also increased the interdependence of nations. He says that the political, economic and social well being of mankind is affected to a greater or lesser degree by the happenings in the international arena. Hence it is imperative, for any individual to have a basic interest in the current happenings, a minimal knowledge of the past activities that form the basis for the present trends and in general have a conceptual understanding of the whole gamut of national reactions in the international arena. It is more so a necessity for any person whose career is directly affected by international affairs.

N. Jayapalan (2001)\textsuperscript{27} make a comprehensive study of all the major foreign policy events chronologically from the beginning to the end. He made an attempt to present the matter in a simple and lucid manner. He begins with a chapter on the concept of Foreign Policy. He also reviews the origin, basis, determinants and major principles of
Indian foreign policy. He makes a critical and exhaustive evaluation of India's relations with America, Soviet Union and China, South Asian Neighbours and its role in the United Nations and the Commonwealth. He also makes an assessment of India's role in South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC).

Walter Anderson (2001) concluded that the Indian foreign policy increasingly seems structured to achieve the following objectives: (1) being able to conduct its foreign policy as a major Asian power and not just a regional South Asia state. (2) closer ties to countries-and multilateral associations-that can help it achieve higher rates of economic growth; and in achieving these objectives he suggests that, India needs to convince other countries that it will deal with them on its own merits and not necessarily in the context of the Indo-Pakistani relationship.

Ravinder K. Shivam (2001) maintains that India's image of the world order was fashioned by the Gandhian and the Nehruvian legacies. He discussed the foreign policy of India under different Prime Ministers and External Affairs Ministers since India's Independence. He analyzed the respective contribution of the Prime Ministers and External Affairs Ministers by quoting their speeches at various national and international forums.

U. Sharma (2003) dealt with international relations since 1914 to present day. He discusses the causes and consequences of both
the World Wars, the international alliances, foreign policies of major nations before and after the world wars. He traces the relationship among big nations and the structure and functions of international bodies including The League of Nations and the United Nations Organization (UNO). He discusses the rise of new nations in the continents of Asia, Africa along with the development of regional co-operation in the fields of politics and economy. He also analyses various alternatives to war, instruments of diplomacy and international contacts, war and cold war and the balance of power. Finally, he explains India’s relationship with her neighbouring countries and India’s foreign policy choices.

Snehalata Panda (2003)\(^3\) points out that since nineties the pace of friendship between India and China has accelerated. The visit of the Indian Prime Minister A.B.Vajpayee in July 2003 has further strengthened the process though scholars are not unanimous in their opinion about the outcome. He says that the problems relating to the territorial dispute are still unresolved. But the Indian posture has opened up a wide vista of cooperation in other areas, which are in the process of being translated into action. He further says that both sides have been cautious in keeping aside the more controversial issues, which demand patient and unremitting effort to arrive at a solution. The paper discusses such areas and outlines the best possible effort for friendly relationship between India and China.
M.D. Dharamdasani (2004)\textsuperscript{32} says that the national security is considered as a paramount, constant and compelling interest which a nation has to consider while formulating its policy vis-a-vis other countries particularly towards its neighbors. He further says that the achievement of favorable strategic frontiers and safeguarding neighboring territories has been the traditional objectives to which states have been willing to commit huge resources because these areas if not properly defended could pose a major threat to nation's independence and territorial integrity. According to him in South Asia, the question of territorial integrity and preservation of national sovereignty has been projected as a major point of tension among the nations. He regrets that, although South Asian countries share common colonial heritage except Nepal and are suffering from economic backwardness, there exist enormous diversities in their international and regional perceptions. He also made an attempt to examine India's security perception of South Asia in general and its basic strategies to operationalise its security conception particularly in the context of the Himalayan Kingdom Nepal. The author also dwelt upon India's efforts towards Nepal within its security framework and to what extent Kathmandu in the past tried to break away New Delhi's security.

Nimmi Kurian (2005)\textsuperscript{33} opines that the political thrust given to integrating southwestern China with the extended regional economy markets, as the latest shift in the country's regional development policy.
He says that the China's developmental priorities have swung from a focus on inland development during the Mao years to Deng's coast-led strategy and most recently back again to the inland provinces under the Western development programme. Noteworthy in this context are the imperatives driving China's sub-regional initiatives in the region, particularly the Kunming Initiative, which seeks to strengthen regional economic cooperation between the contiguous regions of India's Northeast, China's Southwest, Myanmar and Bangladesh. He further expresses that there is clearly a strong case for fully exploring potential for trans-border linkages in trade, tourism and transport within this quadrant. Further, he expresses that China's southern thrust coincides with India's own domestic imperative of strengthening the external orientation of the Northeast. These developments, he says a present opportunity as also challenges to India while it is willing to engage China bilaterally but not sub-regionally.

Prakash Chandra (2006) divided his work into two parts. In the first part he presented an exhaustive up to date and balanced account of the changing foreign policies of six major powers namely, USA, Russia, Britain, China, Japan and India. In this part he made an attempt to give more stress on analytical than descriptive treatment of the subject. In the second part he discussed the regional system. He covered the regions namely, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, West Asia, South Asia, South East Asia, Latin America and Africa.
Dhiraj Srivasatava (2007) discussed the political history of India and its neighbours since historical times. Besides he also outlined India's relations with its neighbours in modern period. The changing options in India's foreign policy in new millennium were also analysed at length. In his opinion India's relations with neighbouring countries is like riding a roller coaster. As such, he felt that formulating of India's foreign policy has always been a tough task for policy makers. He made an attempt to give an answer to various questions related to India's foreign policy and its neighbours. He also briefly discussed the influence of various World Organisations on India's foreign policy like Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), G-8, G-77, Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), etc.,

Gautam Murthy, (2007) says that it is recognised by the world that the current century is an Asian century with India, China and ASEAN as the major players in Asia's economic renaissance. According to him the main challenge of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is to sustain and enhance peace and prosperity in the East Asian region. He says that the ASEAN has undertaken the obligation to be
the primary driving force of the ARF. He further says that a successful ARF requires the active participation and cooperation of all participants. ASEAN must be sensitive to the interests and concerns of all ARF participants. The gradualism of ARF is its strong point, rather than knee-jerk reactions or quick-fix solutions. He asserts that the ARF would be in a position to make significant contributions to efforts towards confidence building and preventive in the wider Asia-Pacific region.

V.P. Dutt (2007) discussed India's foreign policy from Nehru to Manmohan Singh. He also discussed the basic motivations governing ideas and the principles on which India's foreign policy was founded. While discussing Nehru's foreign policy he says that Nehru believed in principles and ideas in the power of ideas but he was against the ideologisation of foreign policy. He made brief outline major foreign policy issues during Nehru regime. With regard to Mrs. Indira Gandhi he says that Mr. Indira Gandhi's handling of foreign policy was firm, realistic and dignified. Mrs. Indira Gandhi kept the flag of Independence afloat in foreign policy. He further says that Mrs. Indira Gandhi combined flexibility with firmness, determination with resilience. While commenting on Rajiv Gandhi's foreign policy he says that his policy displayed a sure footedness that was remarkable. Rajiv Gandhi dealt with world leaders on a basis of equity. The pluses of his foreign policy out weighed the minuses of Rajiv Gandhi are handling of foreign policy
issues. P.V. Narasimha Rao’s foreign policy initiatives with major countries of the world were analysed under changed global environment. While describing the foreign policy of Manmohan Singh, the author concludes that the signing of Indo-American Nuclear Agreement is the major achievement in the annals of Indo-US relations.

Dhiraj Srivastava (2007) expresses that the astounding events of 1989-90 the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the unraveling of the Soviet Union-changed the face of the globe and left the United States without its historic Cold War enemy. After the Cold War India, the United States, China, Russia, Japan and all other nations had to rethink entirely in their foreign policy assumptions and strategies. He further says that everything had turned topsy-turvy; none of the older Cold War assumptions or theories was serviceable anymore. The US foreign policy has been focused on strengthening the movement by redefining its priorities in keeping with the changing times. His volume looks into the matter in this perspective.

Subhash Shukla (2008) traces the evolution of Indo-Pak relations over the last decade from 1996 to 2006. He begins his essay with the Gujral Doctrine and goes on to examine the bilateral relations between the two countries as evolved under the United Front Government as well as under the National Democratic Alliance Government and the Manmohan Singh Government. He dwells into the fallout of the Kargil intrusion after the signing of the Lahore Declaration.
He also tries to analyse the stand of the two countries on the twin issues of cross border terrorism and Kashmir. He focuses on the reasons behind the Agra fiasco as well as the change in the attitude of the Pakistani authorities after the September 11th 2001, terror attacks in the US on both issues.

C. Raja Mohan (2009)\textsuperscript{40} examines the reasons for the absence of effective but informal networks in India that help to make and remake a nation's foreign policy, generate domestic political consensus and win international support. As a rising India reconstructs its foreign policy, a small proto-network that defines its core principles is beginning to emerge. A foreign policy vanguard, however, he says is no substitute to a more broadly based and deeply rooted structure of decision making. As the new foreign policy network evolves, the International Relations community can claim its legitimate role in shaping India's new foreign policy. By shedding its old conformist trap, joining the vigorous public square at home and reconnecting with the world, India's international relations community can set a new foreign policy direction for the nation and offer course corrections when needed. He also makes an attempt to explore the relationship between international relations scholarship, Indian public opinion and foreign policymaking in India. It assumes that all large nations, democratic or otherwise, need solid domestic political support for effective pursuit of interests abroad.
Naresh Kinger (2009) in his biography on Rajiv Gandhi made a comprehensive study of Rajiv Gandhi’s whole life. He analysed the internal and external policies of Rajiv Gandhi. In his opinion Rajiv Gandhi was many things to many people but a ray of light to all. The author also elaborately discussed the opinions of national and international leaders on the capabilities of Rajiv Gandhi.

Rajkumar Singh (2009) says that the concept of regional cooperation emerged late in South Asia and it was only during the seventies that various political and economic factors created congenial environment. As a result of the long deliberations among the member countries of the region the SAARC came into existence on December 8th 1985, with its first summit meeting of the Heads of States in Dhaka. According to him the basic aim of it is to accelerate the process of economic and social development in the member states through joint action in certain agreed areas of cooperation. He says that the SAARC is a manifestation of the determination of the peoples of South Asia to cooperate regionally, to work together towards finding solutions to their common problems in a spirit of friendship, trust and understanding and to create an order based on mutual respect, equity and shared benefits. He further says that like other regional bodies of the world the SAARC has also developed an institutional framework within which different level meetings take place at regular intervals, and within which a wide array of institutions,
working groups, and so on, have been set up to discuss the feasibility and modalities of cooperation among the member countries.

Vivek S. Raj (2010)\textsuperscript{43} considers that the foreign policy of a country should always be aimed at its solid existence and continuance on the global map with boastful territorial integrity and omnipresence in all walks of international affairs-social, economic, cultural and political. He analysed India’s relations with other countries by region wise like South Asia, East Asia, South East Asia, West Asia, Europe Africa, etc., He opines that during the cold-war period foreign policy was guided by three factors viz., political ideologies, balance of power, showing loyalties towards the super powers. Now the situation is different. Therefore, the parameters are ought to be different. He says that the days of political protections are over, now the economic imperatives dominate. He further categorically declares that the success of the foreign policy depends on the fact that how a country undermines the political considerations and shifts the relations towards market integration.

**Statement of the Problem**

The youngest Prime Minister of India Mr. Rajiv Gandhi inherited a virtually deteriorating and unstable political and security environment in South Asia and that was the reason, that top most priority was accorded to improving relations with South Asian neighbours without whose
cooperation, Rajiv Gandhi felt India could not visualize the realization of common objectives with regard to the security and development of the region. Under this background the study entitled “India’s Foreign Policy During Rajiv Gandhi’s Regime” probes, into consequences that emerged out of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi’s new thrust especially, in view of his genuine efforts to build cordiality with the neighbouring regions and major powers of the world.

**Objectives of the Study**

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To trace the evolution and growth of India’s Foreign Policy.
2. To examine the major factors in the conduct of relations of India with other nations.
3. To analyse the major political, economic and other issues which have a barring impact on India’s Foreign Policy.
4. To assess the influence of Rajiv Gandhi on India’s Foreign Policy during his tenure.
5. To evaluate the views of Rajiv Gandhi on major world issues during his tenure as Prime Minister.

**Methodology**

The methodology adopted for this study is based mainly on secondary sources keeping in view its objectives. The secondary sources were collected from the books and journals. Information on the subject has been collected from the relevant books, periodicals, national...
and regional newspapers and thus all the available sources of material have been used purposively.

Organisation of the Study

The present study is organized into six chapters.

The first chapter entitled ‘Introduction’ contains a brief analysis of the importance of foreign policy with special reference to India and also contains theoretical framework and design of the study. The second chapter entitled “Evolution and Growth of India's Foreign Policy” discusses the determinants and general characteristics of India’s foreign policy, with a special emphasis in view of changed environment. The third chapter entitled “India’s Relations with Other Nations (Select Countries)” makes a bird’s eye view of India’s relations with its immediate neighbours before and during Rajiv Gandhi stewardship of the nation. The fourth chapter entitled “Impact of Rajiv Gandhi on India’s Foreign Policy”, critically analyses the impact of Rajiv Gandhi’s foreign policy on the national security and interest. The fifth chapter entitled “Major World Problems During Rajiv Gandhi’s Regime”, makes an analysis of Rajiv Gandhi’s perception on world issues like environment protection, human rights, terrorism etc. The sixth chapter entitled “Summary and Conclusion” briefs the study and makes certain concluding observations.
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