CHAPTER II

Changing Perspective of Globalization

A- Demise of Great power USSR and Beginning of New Era- Unipolar World

After the end of World War II, world Supreme power of the time about whom it is used to be said the sum never set in its empire, United Kingdom lost its position. In the war, least affected country was United States of America. Under its leadership capitalist world united and signed Bretton-wood agreement. A new country in the form of union emerged on world map as a super power was USSR, ideologically it is leader of communist world. Since in that period capitalist world fear of the idea of communism. They see it as the danger to their existence. So they form NATO, in its reaction USSR and its allied formed WARSAW pact. So the cold war started. It continues up to the existence of USSR i.e., the year 1991, during the period 1945-91 America able to maintain its position by articulating world affairs and economic prosperity at home, on the other hand USSR losing its position due to mishandling the world events eg, misadventure of Afghanistan, miscalculation of last President Mikhail Gorbachev at home and abroad resulted in demise of USSR. After its demise only single power left i.e., USA which is champion of the cold war and later events were guided by it.

Mikhail Gorbachev, who had become General Secretary of the communist party of Soviet Union in 1985 sought to reform this system. He set out to materialize his ‘grand design’ with the explosive devices of ‘glasnost’ (openness) perestroika (restructuring) and ‘myshleniye (new
thinking), known as his 'revolutionary trinity' out of these three first two aimed for domestic reform while third for foreign affairs.

Of course, he tried his best to arrest the process of decline with the strategy of his revolutionary trinity, the first worked fully, the second worked only partially and the third remained in a frozen pack, so far as the domestic front was concerned the strategy could well prove disintegrating the union as it did ultimately.

A coup took place in 1991, that was encouraged by communist party hardliners. People has tasted freedom by then and did not want the old-style of rule of the communist party. Boris Yeltsin emerged as a national hero in opposing this coup. The Russian Republic, where Yeltsin won a popular election, began to shake off centralized control. Power began to shift from Centre to the republics, especially in the more Europeanized part of Soviet Union, which saw themselves as sovereign states. The central Asian republics did not ask for independence and wanted to remain with Soviet Federation. In Dec 1991, under the leadership of Yeltsin, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus three major republics of the USSR, declared that Soviet Union was disbanded. Russia was now accepted as the successor state of the Soviet Union. It inherited the Soviet Seat in the UN Security Council. Russia accepted all the international treaties and commitments of the Soviet Union. It took over as the only nuclear state of the post-Soviet space and carried out some nuclear disarmament measures with the US. The old Soviet Union was then dead and buried.

The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union took everyone by surprise. While one of the two super powers ceased to exist, the other remained with
all its power intact, even enhanced. The end of the cold war left open only two possibilities: either the remaining super power would dominate and create a unipolar system or different countries or groups of countries could become important players in international system. As it turned out, the US became the sole superpower. Backed by the power and prestige of the US, the capitalist economy was now the dominant economic system internationally. Institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund became the powerful advisors to all these countries since they give them loans for their transitions to capitalism. Politically the notion of liberal democracy emerged as the best way to organize political life.

The end of cold war left the US without any serious rival in the world. The era since then has been described as a period of US dominance or a unipolar world. After the collapse of USSR in 1991, in presidential election in USA Bill Clinton government tended to focus on ‘soft issues’ like democracy promotion, climate change and world trade rather than on ‘hard politics’ of military power and security. But this is the superficial approach to scale Clinton’s foreign policy. In fact three events took place during his tenure and his reaction shows the real face of his foreign policy. The first was Kosovo Crisis, second was Kenyan crisis and the third was 9/11 war on terror.

First two are of the nature of human intervention while third is different. In the first case US has not clearly got nod of security council but security council have also not explicitly condemned to the barbaric act of US led NATO forces in the name of saving Alabamians. This shows the clear unipolar world scenario. However their clear motive is downfall of Slobodan Milosevic government and stationing of NATO forces in Kosovo.
We can guess the world scenario of unipolar world by the fact that when Russia tabled a draft UNSC resolution on 26th March 1999 condemning NATO's use of force and demanding an immediate halt to the bombing. Surprisingly, only Russia, China and Namibia voted in favor, leading to a turned down of the move.

But these events have degraded the image of America. Moral strength of America as promoter of peace, human rights and democracy downed significantly. Arrogance in the field of economy and military resulted in reaction from many quarters. If in economics Japan and Germany later European Union has challenged US hegemony. US hegemony in military domain Russia after Boris Yeltsin and China has challenged in some spheres. But up to large extent American hegemony as unipolar boss worked at helm up to 1998, later years has shown its downfall.

B- Ending Era of Balance of Power:-

During the process of Reunification of West and East Germany it was promised by Helmut Kole WEST German chancellor and American President George Bush that NATO will be dismantled. USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev was so confident that he and his foreign minister Shewardnaze did not consult East German President Erich Honecker. But after Reunification of West and East Germany and downfall of Berlin war which is considered as the end of cold war, none the promise fulfilled. Even NATO's border line closed to Russia. The balance of power shifted completely in favor of American lead NATO. After winning the race in cold war, American lead west has moulded UN according to their interest. UNO's
image degraded significantly. Russian economy is at peril and its condition is so worse that its GDP in 1998 is less than GDP of 1989. It has no ability to challenge the American move. If a single region suffered more significantly that is the West Asia.

But the world political scene greatly changed from 1998. The world becoming right now from unipolar to multi-polar. In economic field American say was decreased, Germany, Japan, European Union, China, to a great extent India are considerably playing major role. America in order to save its economy and unemployment applying different tactics like issuing H1N1 visa to Indian youth.

Despite all efforts America unable to convince India to sign over CTBT (NPT). Even in 2005 President George Bush realizing world politics situation put forward friendship hand to provide nuclear technology despite India is not signatory of NPT. In this way India is trying to join membership of NSG, despite stiff resistance from Pakistan.

Ukraine issue has raised question over the unipolar status of USA. Vladimir Putin has nearly made impotent the US and its allies western powers. Years before Ex Foreign Secretary of India R.K. Rasgotra has rightly said that this unipolar status will stand for time being and when Russia get rid off from its internal problem, this situation will end.

Some political thinkers are of view that the world was never unipolar, in fact the resistance is always there. It is only of time being that this resistance gets voice. That’s reflected when Russia and China utilized veto over Syrian issue. After getting lesson over Libyan issue they jointly resisted US moves. Therefore the world of unipolar converted into multi-polar. None
country in the world right now, in a situation to impose its view on others. Even the most powerful US or China, they take action along with their allies or groups. Even USA in order to contain the influence of China develop “Asian pivot”, along with India, Australia, Japan, Singapore. Similarly China to check India develop “Ring of Pearls” around India along with Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Pakistan. Therefore the world changes from bi-polar to unipolar and from unipolar to multi-polar. Multi-polarity also reflected in formation of BRICS and Shanghai co-operation organization (SCO). In order to develop multi-polarity in economic sphere NDB (New Development Bank) is a new effort.

C- Irrelevant NAM and India’s Hesitation:-

Non-alignment in the present day unipolar world stands at cross road. Not because it is having a teething problem but because it’s very relevance is challenged. Doubts arises from political world that after demise of Soviet Union as a superpower, it is not relevant. It is said that in the present world scenario of unipolar world it last much of its vigor. In the West, particularly in the US, it is fashionable to speak disparagingly about non-alignment movement and indeed to regard it as some giant post, colonial hangover in which various third world leaders roost of the west. Such assumption of the NAM is based on the fact that its sole function was to maintain the equidistance from the two global powers. But by the exit of Warsaw Pact and other military alliances have been dissolved, NATO still exists. At foreign policy level, non-alignment continues to determine the attitude of 118 member of NAM. A new world order has not really emerged though the world order created after Second World War has collapsed. In an emerging unipolar world, India continues to insist on the policy of non-alignment.
But as repeatedly said by Nehru and other policy experts and NAM supporters, the policy of non-alignment is in effect a policy of independent foreign policy decision making, which means freedom to take foreign policy decisions in New-Delhi, rather than receive dictation either from Washington or Moscow or London. Secondly, it is also opened possibilities of getting aid from different quarters of economic development. Lastly non-alignment is aimed at international peace and peaceful settlement of disputes. As all three objectives still exists, the relevance of non-alignment remains undisturbed.

As Germany and Japan had emerged as economic giants and were likely to challenge the US super power status, the world was perhaps heading towards multi-polarity. As Ex Foreign Secretary of India Muchkund Dubey said “Although the United States is military the only super power, as for as economic matters are concerned, we are living in a multi-polar world.” Ukraine crisis has exposed the limitation of American super power status military. From the year 2001, the world scenario changed considerably. America’s long wish to crack down on Tehran and Syria not fulfilled due to stiff opposition of Russia and China. Russia, India and China new polarization has also impacted world politics considerably. Therefore under such scenario where many players America, resurgent Russia, China and European Union playing their game, the relevance of NATO is being important.

As T.P. Srinivasan has rightly analyzed when he discuss about Iran and p5+1 nuclear negotiation that Iran has sensed the non-alignment support for its right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes was a double-edged weapon. Iran felt that direct negotiation with p5 plus Germany is more
beneficial. Indian delegation in Vienna refused to endorse a set of amendment to the IAEA resolution, which went beyond Indian position. Indian voting under pressure of America of referring the whole matter to Security Council has endangered our image as leader of NAM.

On world climate change issues the third world countries have many hopes from India. However at some points India has shown its hesitation, which reflected in departure from long established stand Indian voting along with America against Iran in Vienna, on Syrian issue calculated absentees have shown its confusion with regard to NAM. India does not voice with same force against Israel on Palestine on human bombarding in Palestine area by Israel. Even India has developed deep relationship with Israel. Israel is one of largest arm supplier to India. Hence India has to come with clear stand on issues relating to NAM member countries. As it is founding member of NAM its duties are large.

The profound technological and economic changes that have been taken place in the Third World are not uniform. This has resulted in inequalities and different levels of prosperity and quality of life amongst non-aligned nations. According to J.N. Dixit, “if the movement is to have a future role, it must move away from its orthodoxies and repetitive hortatory pronouncements. It must focus on new challenges to developing countries on transfer of technology and investments, social and educational issues human rights and about meeting the political implications of new strategic and power equalities dominated by the great powers which affect the UN functioning and evolving international economic arrangements.”
The issues before the NAM member countries are large. As a prime member of this group it has to raise the key issues. As Ex Foreign Secretary R.K. Rasgotra rightly said that as far as NAM is concerned, it should not take over issues like drug abuse, exploitation of woman, poverty disease and environmental degradation\textsuperscript{10}. But the real challenge before NAM is expressed by Ex Foreign Minister of South Africa Alfred Nzo during NAM Foreign Minister conference held in New Delhi in April, 1997 “we have to tackle essentials, like putting bread on the table for the hungry millions of our countries\textsuperscript{11}.”

Therefore until the depreciations, hunger, inhuman activities, inequality running in Third World Countries, its existence highly need and role for India is exist.
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financial crisis resulted into scarcity of foreign exchange for its imports from outside world. This compelled India to adopt structural reforms i.e., India embraced the neoliberal policy based on Washington Consensus has changed the basic thrust of Indian foreign policy. After the advent of LPG (Liberalization Provatisation and Globalisation) Indian economy has registered improvement in its GDP and its likely projection of 8-10% growth in future it is bound to adopt new outlooks and orientation in its economic dealing towards the outside world. This has led India emerging as a true global power in the community of Nations. Over the years India has emerged as the second fastest growing economy after the China. In PPP terms India as emerged as the IVth largest economy. Now the basic objective of Indian foreign policy is to sustain this momentum, so that long aspired Indian dream of emerging as a great power regionally and globally can be realized. In order to achieve this goal India has to design or imagine its F.P so that it can maintain its peaceful relation with China and develop strategic relation with USA.

B- Pressure Internals and Externals – Economic, Social, Cultural and Others:-

Internal challenges:- India because of its vast diversity and big population size, huge territory of sub continental size has resulted into various kinds of challenged to the Indian foreign policy. To secure its vast coastline, the long land frontiers and air space, the big challenge to India’s security, internal as well as external. The porous border with certain part of the country particularly India-Bangladesh borders has resulted into the illegal immigration of Bangladeshi Nationals into the borderline neighboring Indian States.
It has put severe strain on our national resources at the East of local inhabitants. The illegal infiltration of Bangladeshi Nationals threatening change the demographic composition of several Indian States bordering Bangladesh.

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Ethnic threat in North East is another security threat, is sometime gets sustenance from external sources. The north east insurgents who were waging war against Indian State leading separatist movement and threatening the unity and integrity of the country. These outfits also taken shelters in neighboring country and run their training camps from those
country. The same is the case with Kashmiri Separatists, who were aided and abetted by Pakistan. The moral and material support extended by Pakistan, the Kashmiri Separatist are sustaining the militancy in Kashmir Valley. Recently Pakistan’s PM has raised the issue in UN, its opposition’s leader Billawal Bhutto\(^2\) has given rhenotoric sentences in favor of Kashmir independence movement. Cross border terrorism is another threat to India and Indian FP is dealing with challenge. In fact Indian foreign policy has felt enough change after 9/11 Mumbai Taj Hotel attack.

Indian Foreign Policy has to respond to the false propaganda of Kashmiri and North-East separatists, so that India’s image and territorial unity and integrity is protected.

Lelf wing exteremism commonly known as Naxalism. Naxalism is another security challenge. Though it seems homegrown movement but is has external backing! Separatist movement, sometimes it involve the question of human rights abuses because of the excessive use of force by security forces to deal with the violence unleashed by the Maoists. As it reflected in Hem Mishra a research scholar case and Gandhian Vinayaki Sen case.\(^3\)

The internal problem posed by castisms and communualism. Communal riots has created problem for Indian Foreign Policy. Some dalit scholars and activists has equated the issue of untouchability with the racism. This was a challenge to foreign policy makers to convince the UN and international community that casteisms and racism are entirely different issue and cannot be equated\(^4\).
Recurring communal riots and religious intolerance soil the image of India in international community. These are the major internal challenges which Indian Foreign Policy faced.

**External Challenges:** The external challenges can be divided into regional and global challenges.

The regional can be subdivided again into immediate and extended neighborhood. The immediate neighborhood represented in SAARC is the first major concern for Indian Foreign Policy. The big size of India has created anxiety among the immediate neighbors. The Indian foreign policy has allevies the informed fears of India’s South Asian neighbors. India has developed the co-operative relationship with all its neighbors. To achieve this objective, many times India has given principal of reciprocity to win over the trust of its immediate neighbors. Gujral Doctrine can be sighted in this context South East Asia, East Asia, Central Asia, West Asia constitute the extended neighborhood of India. In this vast region India enjoys considerable soft power because of its religion, culture and Ideology. The Indian culture is visible in the entire region. The Indian Foreign Policy has to exploit this advantageous situation in this region to raise its regional profile which will be critical in enhancing its global profile. The region can also be used to derive its economic benefit from the vibrant economy of the region. India can benefit from the surplus capital, technology and market of the region. The region can be an important source of foreign resources and technology. The vast energy resources of the Central Asia and Middle East can meet the growing energy needs of the Indian economy. Thus, the extended neighborhood is very critical in India’s emerging economy.
The greatest challenge to India’s foreign policy is its relation with the sole superpower and other great powers of the international community. India’s relation with US is most important among these great power relation. In the case of US India has moved from estrangement to engagement. Both are natural allies and are currently engaged in forging close strategic partnership.

USA was instrumental in removing various restrictions imposed by the New Non proliferation regime: The US playing key role in bringing India into global Nuclear Architecture on the equal footing with Nuclear Weapon States. With the US help India is currently trying to become the member of nuclear export regime, consisting of NSG, MTCR, Australia group and Wassennar Arrangement. India has come so close to America that many scholars fear that India might loose its strategic autonomy created since independence.

China is the greatest challenge to Indian Foreign Policy China is both rival and partner as well. It is very difficult to say whether China is enemy or future ally. China is not sincerely cooperating with India in settling its long border. China repeatedly claims that it is the legacy of colonial past and has to be settled through negotiation. But during talk it always resolved to Stalin tactics. Till this date China has not told India that where in LOC lies. Whereas India has informed China where its LOC lies. It seems China is using boundary disputes as bargaining chip to keep India always under constant pressure of China. India can’t afford to annoy China because of its booming trade with that country.
Right now China is largest trade partner of India whereas its reverse is not true. India is also running with huge trade deficit with China\textsuperscript{12}.(37 Billion Dollar, India Today, Page-14, 20\textsuperscript{th} May, 2015) But because of low cost of Chinese product, India is not in position to curtain imposed on China.

European Union in terms of trade is another important entity for Indian Foreign Policy, India has huge volume of trade which is second only to China.

India is also forging strategic partnership with EU. The large number of Indians are living and working in countries of EU. India relation with EU is stable Japan who over the years has emerge as close partner of India. The current leadership of India and Japan are engaged in forging close economic and strategic partnership with each other.

US is also encouraging Japan and India to have close relationship with each other a trilateral initiative to strengthen their relation.

India and Russia (Successor state of Soviet Union) has been close friend of each other since soviet days. Nehru ji has great respect to soviet leaders and to their model f planned economy. With disintegration of Soviet Union and advent of Boris Yeltsin in new Russia, had adversely affected the friendly relationship between both countries. Boris Yeltsin was indifferent towards India. However the ascent of Putin to power in Russia change the direction of Indo-Russia relation. Putin not only stopped the deterioration of Indo-Russia relation but also improved considerably bringing it back to Soviet Days.

Russia was earlier largest Arms supplier to India, but in 2014 US became the largest arms supplier\textsuperscript{13}. Russia was playing key role in India's civil nuclear
energy program. Russia on favorable terms awarded several oil exploration and exploitation of oil in the Siberian region. India Russia relation is by and large smooth\textsuperscript{14}.

The global terrorism, environment and climate change, global warming, nuclear proliferation, dirty bomb, menace of non state actors, drug trafficking, small arms proliferation, human rights abuse, natural disasters, restructuring of global economic institution, multilateral trade talks, growing global inequality, expansion of the security council and UN reforms are the major global concern which Indian Foreign Policy has to address, these issues from time to time. Instead of adopting reaction approach which so far characterizing Indian Foreign Policy, has to transform into proactive approach. This will enable India to have a balanced vein of these global issues, which is expected from an emerging power like India. To many India is no longer emerging power it is already a well established power. In view of this transformation of India's power, Indian Foreign Policy makers has to envision and reimagine Indian Foreign Policy. Indian Foreign Policy makers has to be articulate in policy categorically and conveniently and execute it effectively. It will be in accordance with the risen profile of India in the international community.

**Cultural Threats:** By the advent of wave of globalization the American (or western) style of living gets prevalence in society. It encompass ages all the fora of life style. People prefer to take American pattern of clothing we often see the officials in jeans and long shirt having tie, the black shoes has been replaced by Nike Sports shoes. Twenty years before one can not think about such a fashion sense. Right now it has become a symbol of modernity. The saving culture of Indian citizen has been replaced by consumer culture.
People keep many cars, designer car, sports car etc. it can be seen from the number of cars increased in the past decade- 2000-2010. The food composition has been changed. The traditional venue of dal-chawal, roti-sabji, kari-pakaudi has been replaced by dosha, burger, chaumin, sandwich etc. soft drinks has completely replaced sarbat, dahi-matha, from marriage ceremony. One scholar has called globalization is cocolsation. Globalization\textsuperscript{15} cocolisation, Americanisation become synonyms of each other. Another word used in this regard is McDonaldisation\textsuperscript{16,17}.

Pizza hut, this is dangerous not only for the poor countries but for the whole humanity, for it leads to the shrinking of the rich cultural heritage of the entire globe.

The family pattern has also been families changed. We often came to know the family settled in America in which father is of Indian origin mother is of Chinese. That is spouse are of different social and economic background and living in completely different legal set up.

In field of education we witness a great change. English medium schools have replaced in quantum Hindi or regional languages medium Schools.

Sending child to English medium school in tie is becoming a symbol of being modern outlook. The globalization has marketed the education, since the market required English knowing workforce, it become high necessity to know English for jobs. It has changed the society from knowledge seeking to job seeking. Students opting Techno-courses, computer education, accounts education in place of humanities. Since Art and architecture are part and parcel of culture we witness the change in

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architectural design also. People prefer to live in apartments rather than own separate house. High building sense has replaced the sprawling pattern of settlement.

Market culture has been changed. Shops has been replaced by Malls. Multishopping stores like Wall-Mart, Spencer, Big Bazar, have replaced them. With the pace of globalization weaker section of society came under attack. Family violence become a matter of daily life. Number of family cases increased in courts. Divorce cases has been increased alarmingly¹⁸. Consumer culture has decreased the patience level. The cultural harmony came under attack by the pace of globalization.

Globalization has changed the value system. To become rich has been preferred by each and every one. As a result of it the sense of humanism is diminishing day by day. The gap between rich and poor has been widened.

The hunger to become rich and impact of being rich has dipped the humanity. Female become a matter of the dominant item for the consumer culture. Now they are not regarded in the form of mother or sister. Female infanticide has increased. The area came under high impact of globalization have a very low level of sex-ratio. Female violence increased rapidly in those areas, eg., in Punjab and Haryana Globalization has increased surrogate mother.

The way of worship and items of worship has been greatly affected by the wave of globalization. The idol of god and goddess made in China are finding in maximum houses. The electrical items made in China used in Diwali. This has replaced over traditional mode of celebrating Diwali by
Diya. Even these days a new concept of worship developed in the form of Online Pooja.

Organized crime has been increased by the advent of technology. The recent communal violence of West Bengal has shown its impact. Internet fraud become very usual.

Cinema came under attack by the pace of globalization. Impact of western music, dance, violence, suspense, thrill, scientific adventures, are being part of India Films. Social films has been replaced by western values films.

Recently we have seen the cultural impact in diplomacy. When Barak Obama meets Narendra Modi he has asked Kame Chche. The photos of Indian god and goddess were hanged in offices of British Prime Minister. The number of candidates of Indian origin has been increased in electoral frame by both the parties in America is also an impact of culture. The person of Indian origin has become the ambassador of America in India, recently. We can call it cultural diplomacy.

C- Tragedy of coalition government at the center:

The year 1990 was a very important year of history. It has changed the international and national politics significantly. Rajiv Gandhi lost power and era of coalition government starts at centre. V.P. Singh become prime minister of India under coalition Lok Morcha. It was a coalition government. It runs for a very short term therefore the impact on foreign policy from its partners not occur. ChandraShekhar government was a very short term government and for the most time a care-taker government. Only one episode of international politics came in form of oil provided to US
Warplanes. The congress party supporting the government shown anger as the Iraq was a Muslim country and Saddam government was the most secular government of the time. Therefore congress did not like to stand with US. Narsimha Rao government was a minority government rather than coalition government. However the relation with Sri Lanka has been suffered due to the support of AIADMK.

The next government was a purely coalition government United Democratic Front government came to the power with the support of congress. Its abled foreign minister Indra Kumar Gujral who latter become foreign minister. He adopted a completely different approach with the Indian neighbor states. It called Gujral Doctrine by his journalist friend Bhawani Sen Gupta. These principles are set out at Chatan House in September 1996 (which he latter reiterated at the Bandarnaike Centre for international studies).

The United Front government’s neighborhood policy now stands on five basic principles: first, with neighbors like Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity but gives all that it can in good faith and trust. Secondly, no South Asian country will allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region. Thirdly none will interfere in the internal affairs of another. Fourthly, all Asian countries must respect each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty. And finally, they will settle all its disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

He wrote in his autobiography about the doctrine, the logic behind Gujral Doctrine was that since we had to face two hostile neighbors in the
North and the West, we had to be at ‘total peace’ with all other immediate neighbors in order to contain Pakistan’s and China’s influence in the region. After the snap poll held in Feb-March 1998 BJP came to power in alliance called NDA (National Democratic Alliance).

In fact this is the tragedy of coalition government that much of its energy loosed in resolving the internal problems of the coalition partners. Since they are regional parties having regional aspirations they apply pressure on the government to fulfill their coveted desires. Sometimes it hurts the interest of the country. Some of the Indian States have their stakes in neighboring countries like Tamil problem of Sri Lanka is a highly volatile issue for Tamil Nadu. That is why whosoever in power in Tamil Nadu if partner in centre apply undue pressure on central government. Similarly Ganga water disputes between India and Bangladesh is another volatile issue in West Bengal. Similarly Shiv Sena a Hindu nationalist party raises Hindu atrocities in Pakistan with the centre. Its party workers even threat to not allow cricket matches in Mumbai by Pakistan team, which hurts the cricket diplomacy of the union government.

The next government came to office was UPA (United Progressive Alliance) under Manmohan Singh as Prime Minister. He carry forward the policy designed by his political Guru Narshimha Rao look-east policy.

**Look East Policy:**

“India will have to play a very great part in Security problems of Asia and the Indian Ocean, more especially of the Middle East and South-East Asia, as India is the pivot around which these problems will have to considered”.
After demise of USSR, India highly realized a reliable market and that hope converted into the policy of Look-East. It is a well designed policy of P.V. Narsimha Rao and pursued by coming government like NDA by Atal Bihari Bajpayee and Manmohan Singh of UPA government. It helped India in overcoming the economic fall out due to sanction imposed by US after Pokhran Atomic Blast. The vacuum created by demise of USSR filled by allying South Asian Nations. It helps in dealing with rising China shrewd game.

Since UPA government supported by left parties, it faces big challenge in Atomic deal matter. When left parties withdraw support from Manmohan Singh government it become an uphill task before the government to survive and go ahead with Atomic deal.

In conclusion we can say that coalition government unable to take bold initiative in Foreign Policy due to fear of instability of the government. But the general election of 2014 shown a good sign that it seems the era of coalition government is over. After a gap of 30 years there is a stable government at the centre which can take bold initiative without fear of fall of government. However it lacks support in Rajya Sabha, government can manouvre in passing bill. Modi has shown goodwill gesture by inviting SAARC heads in his swearing ceremony.

He tries his best to approach world leaders. He has gone to Japan, Brazil, and America to create a conducive environment for India. Recently he attended the G-20 meeting and able to invite warm gesture from world leaders. But it is a very short period, the time will tell about his effort, whether it converts in big success or not.
CHAPTER – III (REFERENCES)

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7. NSG- Founded in the year 1974 is a multinational body concerned with reducing nuclear proliferation by controlling the export and retransfer of material that may be applicable to nuclear development and by improving safeguards and protection, on existing materials. It has 48 members right now.
8. MTCR- Missile Technology Control Regime is an informal and voluntary partnership between 34 countries to prevent the proliferation of missile and unmanned aerial vehicle technology capable of carrying a 500 Kg. payload for at least 300 Km. it is established in April 1987 by Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain and USA.
9. Australia Group- is an informal group of countries (now joined by the European Commission) established in 1985 (after the use of chemical weapons by Iraq in 1984) to help member countries to identify those exports which need to be controlled so as not to contribute to the spread of chemical and biological weapons. The group, initially consisting of 15 members, held its first meeting in Brussels, Belgium, in September 1989. With the incorporation of Mexico on August 12, 2013, it now has 42 members, including all Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) members, the European Commission, all 28 member states of the European Union, Ukraine, and Argentina. The name come from Australia’s initiative to create the group. Australia manages the secretariat.
10. Wassennar Arrangement- The Wassennar Arrangement on export controls for conventional arms and dual use goods and technology is a multilateral export control Regime with 41 participating states including many former COMECON (Warsaw Pact) countries.

11. John Cherian Front Line, Feb 20, 2015, P-18

12. India Seeks membership of Nuclear Export Control Regime (21st April, 2012 Business Standard


15. Cultural relation at global or local levels.

16. McDonaldisation means fast food culture. This is creating crunch for dinner life style.


18. Advocates.kjoj.in(however its rate is lower in comparison to other countries)
