

## INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

### 34.1. INTRODUCTION

A country is often known in the world by the foreign policy it maintains. Foreign policy essentially refers to the interaction which a country has with the outside world. Much of India's importance for instance in international affairs is largely due to the foreign policy it pursues. As a member of the international community, India's voice is keenly heard in all major forums. A large number of foreign dignitaries too choose to visit the country every year.

The growing complexity of today's problem and interdependence of countries underline the importance of foreign policy. The term "foreign policy" refers to the sum total of the principles, interests and objectives which a country formulates in conducting its relations with other countries. Today, on account of technological breakthroughs, the world is a much smaller place, with countries being in more closer and continuous contact than ever before. Foreign policy serves to further the country's interests beyond its frontiers. Such interests usually relate to questions of national security, i.e. the preservation of political independence and territorial integrity, as well as larger global concerns like world peace. Nearly all spheres of activity be it political, economic, social or cultural, fall under the purview of foreign policy. Embodying important principles and goals, the foreign policy as stated in official agreements, declarations and public statements, reflect upon the relationship which a particular country perceives vis-a-vis the rest of the world. The foreign policy of a country is rarely static. It is prone to changes. States generally review their policies from time to time keeping in tune with the changes occurring both within and outside the country.

### 34.2 OBJECTIVES

The following lesson should enable you to :

- recognise the factors that determine India's foreign policy;
- recall the basic principles and objectives of India's foreign policy;
- trace the concept of non-alignment and recognise India's role in building up the non-aligned movement;
- identify the diplomatic initiatives taken by India in various fields - such as international peace and security, development issues and nuclear non-proliferation;

- reflect on India's participation in the United Nations.
- analyse changes in India's foreign policy in the post-cold war period

### **34.3 FACTORS DETERMINING FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA**

Historical, geographical, political, economic, cultural, ideological and other factors influence the formulation of a nation's foreign policy. No one factor predominates, rather there is usually an interplay of several factors. Some of them are determining Indian's foreign policy are detailed below.

#### **(i) History**

Historically, India has been a victim of a series of foreign invasions. This aspect of its past, has an important bearing on its foreign policy. Deeply ingrained is the feeling of abhorrence of violence and war. The tradition of tolerance and non-aggression of Buddhist philosophy upheld by King Ashoka have been adopted as essential values.

Our specific historical experience under the British too, has played an important role in the formulation of the foreign policy of independent India. The mental outlook shaped in the course of the freedom struggle was for assertion of an "independent" foreign policy, reflecting the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. The Indian National Congress established its own Foreign Affairs Department. And the Congress, for example, in three consecutive sessions at Guwahati (1926), Madras (1927) and Calcutta (1928), pledged to fight against imperialism and in support of freedom struggles, taking part in various parts of Asia and Africa.

#### **(ii) Culture**

Our centuries-old relations with the outside world are a well established fact of history. The seals of the Indus Valley have been found in such far off places as Mesopotamia. The temples at Ankorvat in Indonesia bear proof of our historical and cultural ties with the countries and peoples of South East Asia. Closer home, common cultural bonds exist with the peoples of Nepal, Bhutan, Burma (now renamed as Myanmar), Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The vision of treating entire mankind as one family, has indeed formed the functional basis for the conduct of India's foreign policy. Given such a tradition, India has never been wedded to a dichotomous East-West or Orient-Occident world view. For her, the world is a single entity, the countries profoundly influencing one another, and together, building a better future for the entire human race.

#### **(iii) Geography**

The geo-political location of a country is another important determining factor. India's strategic location in South Asia as a connecting link between West Asia and South East Asia — an important trade route and defence zone — has pushed for an active role in world and regional affairs. Two major powers Russia and China on the north are formidable neighbours. The Himalayas in the north and the vast expanse of sea and ocean form part of the natural borders between India and her neighbours. Safeguarding these borders is not an easy task, considering the fact that neither the Himalayas nor the water fronts give complete immunity against external aggressions today. To secure that objective, India's foreign policy is therefore concerned with the maintenance of friendly relations and peace in her neighbourhood. As a result she is vocal about any moves by powers outside the region, to militarise the area. An example being her opposition to the acquisition by the United States of America of the Diego Garcia island in the Indian Ocean as a naval base. She, therefore, insists on making the Indian Ocean, a zone of peace.

**(iv) Economy**

The nature of India's economy also plays a major role in shaping of the country's foreign policy. The bitter experience of colonialism which left behind a backward economy, pressed upon policy makers to rectify the lop-sidedness, and pursue urgently a programme of sound economic development. As an exporter of raw material like cotton, minerals, and importer of petroleum and heavy machinery, India needed technological as well as financial help from the industrially advanced countries, with whom it maintained a steady relationship. Her consistent support to non-alignment also steers her requirement of concentrating on economic development and receiving assistance from all quarters and not wasting scarce resources on arms build up.

**(v) Domestic Context**

The constitution declares India to be a "Sovereign, Secular, Socialist Republic". Its foreign policy too reflects these ideals. Its plural character calls for maintenance of cordial relations with all countries, irrespective of political ideology.

The foreign policy of India has been based on strong domestic consensus and support. The political leadership provided by Jawaharlal Nehru in formulating the country's foreign policy has left a deep seated impact, which is reflected even today in the conduct of external relations. A consensus exists in the realm of foreign policy with all major political parties sharing a common perspective. Various pressure groups such as the Chambers of Commerce, health and women groups, non-resident Indians, all seek to lobby hard to influence foreign policy in the country. Domestic public opinion, channelled through the press too plays an important part.

**(vi) International Political Environment**

Foreign policy of any country cannot be shaped without being influenced by the general climate prevailing in the world. For example, the outbreak of the Cold War, between the Soviet Union and the United States of America after the Second World War, and consequent bi-polarity in world affairs coupled with arms race and the threat of nuclear war, gave rise to a positive foreign policy response from India in the shape of non-alignment.

India's role in the Non-aligned movement (NAM) and her support to Afro-Asian countries, and the United Nations efforts at peace-keeping were all largely responses to the international politics of the cold war era. The end of the cold war has similarly prompted, reassessments to be made by foreign policy makers, regarding India's relations with the rest of the world.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 34.1**

1. Tick (✓) the correct answer :

- (a) The foreign policy of a country relates to the external policy which a country has with the rest of the world. (True/False)
- (b) Political, social, economic, cultural issues all come under foreign policy. (True/False)
- (c) The roots of India's foreign policy can be traced to 1947 when India became independent. (True/False)
- (d) India's birth as an independent sovereign state in the midst of the cold war greatly influenced its foreign policy. (True/False)

- (e) The foreign policy of India has been a major source of friction between political parties since independence. (True/False)

2. Fill in the blanks by choosing the appropriate words from the brackets:

- (a) The Buddhist values of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ form important features of India's foreign policy. (hatred, non-aggression, violence, war, tolerance)
- (b) Two major powers \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ lie in close proximity to India's borders in the north. (Russia, France, UK, China)
- (c) The cold war was a result of the intense rivalry between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. (USA and USSR, France and UK, India and UK)

### 34.4 BASIC PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India's foreign policy objectives as declared by Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister (also the first foreign minister), have been a pivot in guiding the conduct of the country's external relations for the past fifty years. Three main objectives lie permanently embedded at the heart of India's foreign policy. One, the preservation of India's territorial integrity and freedom of policy. Two, the promotion of international peace, and third the economic development of India.

These basic objectives are also referred to as national interests. It is keeping these fundamental interests or objectives in mind that, certain basic principles have been evolved in the conduct of our foreign policy. These principles have been upheld and observed irrespective of which personality or political party held the reins of power. Let us therefore recall some of the important principles:

#### (i) Non-Alignment

As an important principle and as a tool of foreign policy, non-alignment has been an essential feature of India's foreign policy. Non-alignment as Nehru conceived it, was best defined as "not tying yourself with military blocs of nations or with a nation." It essentially consisted in desisting from joining any power bloc operating in the context of the cold war. Military blocs like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the Warsaw Pact about which you have read earlier.

Non-alignment stood therefore for retaining a substantial measure of freedom of policy and action in international affairs. Joining any of the blocs would mean diluting the right to make independent decisions particularly in the realm of external affairs. It is important to point out that the policy of non-alignment is not a negative policy or attitude to world affairs. Non-alignment is not to be confused with either neutrality, non-involvement or isolationism. It was not to side with any party in international issues but to view each situation objectively and take an impartial stand. It demands an active dynamic and positive role in world affairs from its adherents. It stood for the principles of peaceful coexistence and active co-operation among states, both aligned and non-aligned.

The early 1950s saw India move along a path of planned economic development. It therefore was in need of resources to undertake such activities. India maintained an open policy in this regard, preferring not to align with any particular bloc or ideology. It therefore sought and received aid from both the Soviet Union and the United States of America. For example, the Soviet Union helped her to set up iron and steel industries at Bhilai and Bokaro, while the United States gave her large quantities of food aid under the PL480 programme, to tide over shortages.

India played an important role in bringing together like minded countries and forging a non-aligned movement. For example, she co-sponsored a conference of twenty-nine nations at Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955. The Conference was a landmark in the history of Afro-Asian unity. Six years later in 1961, the non-aligned group made its first formal appearance at the Summit meeting at Belgrade. Till date the heads of all member countries continue to assemble periodically at the capital of a member country hosting the conference. India had the privilege of hosting the seventh Non-aligned Summit in New Delhi in 1983, which was attended by a total of 99 states.

India has from the beginning actively made use of the space provided by the existence of such a non-aligned forum, to raise issues of national interest. India has sought to raise world public opinion on questions of arms proliferation, disarmament, colonialism, racialism, economic aid and the highly unequal international economic order which exists.

## (ii) Peaceful Co-existence

Given the cold war context, the promotion of international peace and security became the primary and overriding goal of Indian foreign policy. This called for not just refrain from war but a positive commitment to the principles of territorial integrity and non-interference in the affairs of other states.

India, while signing an agreement with China on their bilateral relations on 29 April, 1954, laid down a historic set of five guiding principles, known as Panchsheel, for the conduct of their relations. The Panchasheel agreement — enumerates best the principle of peaceful co-existence or friendly relations with neighbours. It incorporates the following five principles:

- (a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (b) Mutual non-aggression;
- (c) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (d) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (e) Peaceful coexistence.

Recognising that these two states have many common historical, social, economic, and political bonds between themselves, the agreement sought to provide a minimum basis for the conduct of foreign policy amongst them. It also went on to form the basis of a large number of international agreements. The Bandung Conference a year later (1955), gave a resounding endorsement to these principles.

An updated version of this desire to maintain friendly relations is reflected in the Gujral Doctrine. The Gujral Doctrine, named after our former Prime Minister, I.K. Gujral, emphasises in the same spirit of the Panchsheel agreement the importance of maintaining good relations with neighbours. The doctrine has already provided a working basis for talks to be initiated with our neighbouring countries on several contentious issues. India's policy with its neighbouring countries now stands on five basic principles: First, with the neighbours 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 is to allow in its territory any activity, harmful to the interest of another country of the region. Thirdly, none must interfere in the internal affairs of another. Fourthly, all South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. And finally, all of them undertake to settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

India has recently started dialogues with the Government of Pakistan the emphasis of which have been to improve relations at the people-to-people levels. India has also resolved

to settle differences with Bangladesh over the sharing of the Ganga waters. The Mahakali Treaty with Nepal is another milestone achieved in our endeavour to maintain friendly relations with our neighbours.

Allegiance to the principle of peaceful coexistence led India to stress on related but very important principle- i.e. the peaceful settlement of all international disputes. Born as an independent sovereign state in the aftermath of a devastating world war, which had even witnessed the use of atom bombs on the innocent people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Japan), India was critical of the use of force in international relations. "A world which relies on war, however limited, will become a world, laden with war knowing the experience of mankind", said Nehru. The massive proliferation of arms and sophistication in technology, and the fatal end of the use of such means, made it necessary to emphasise repeatedly on the benefits of peaceful settlement of international disputes.

In maintaining peace in the South Asian region, India has persistently stood for a policy of maintaining friendly relations, aimed at promoting goodwill and co-operation. A positive attitude has helped in reaching important agreements, such as the Indus Waters Treaty signed between India and Pakistan in 1960. The border war with China in 1962 and the three wars with Pakistan, have again reinforced the need for peaceful settlement of all friction. The Shimla Agreement and the Sino-Indian talks are good examples. The formation of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been a positive development in this regard. It has provided the space for a fruitful exercise of regional co-operation. Trade and business relations within the region are gradually increasing with the South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) coming into being.

### (iii) Co-operation with the United Nations

To achieve the objectives set in her foreign policy and in the long-term interests of world peace and co-operation, India believed that the United Nations did have a role to play and opposed the side-tracking of the Organisation in the solution of problems of international peace and security. It strongly opposed intervention in the affairs of other countries by a third country. It was thus critical of the United States decade long war in Vietnam, and both the Anglo-French action against Egypt and the Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956. She felt that the ideal solution to a dispute was that it should be satisfactory to all parties concerned. No nation should feel deprived and nurse a feeling of resentment. She was therefore of the view that countries should either settle their disputes bilaterally, or with the help of third party such as the International Court of Justice.

India has been a staunch supporter of the United Nations, an institution useful to voice the views of the weak and small nations. The Cold War paralysed the functioning of the United Nations, leading to the organisation being handicapped in most situations. It is in this context that India opposed any attempt during the Cold War, aimed at weakening the United Nations.

India was of the view that the preservation of international peace was the concern of one and all. However, it was conceded by her that the super powers did have a "special responsibility" in this respect. The United Nations could carry out its functions of maintaining peace and security provided there was co-operation and unity amongst the super-powers itself. The first big casualty to the collective security mechanism of the United Nations came during the Korean crisis of 1950. India strongly disapproved of the manner and use of force sought to bring an end to the conflict. She chose to abstain on the famous "Uniting for Peace Resolution", introduced by America. Instead she helped in mediation efforts and contributed a medical team to aid the victims of war.

India's faith in the United Nations abilities to maintain peace received a positive boost.

during the Suez crisis of 1956-57. When Britain & France interfered in Egypt's policies relating to Suez Canal. For the very first time in the history of the Organisation, a peace-keeping operation was organised under the name of United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). The Indian contribution of troops to the mission were one of the largest. This was a start of India's involvement with United Nations peace-keeping. Today her contribution to such activity be it in Congo, Namibia, Mozambique, or Somalia, is widely acknowledged. India has incidentally lost the largest number of soldiers (88) among all countries, in such activities.

At the United Nations, India also played an important role in initiating a dialogue on disarmament. Making a proposal as early as 1950, India commended the linking up of reduction of armaments with the larger goal of development. Since huge sums were being spent on destructive arms, it was obvious that savings made in that sphere could easily be diverted for more constructive use, keeping in mind the urgency to undertake development activity and the paucity of resources. Therefore on several occasions in the United Nations, India called for a ban on the export of capital, equipment and technical personnel to countries for setting up arms and armament manufacture.

The United Nations also provides an important forum for discussion on issues of economic and social development. Whereas, in the Bretton Woods institutions i.e. the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, the richer countries had more say in decision-making; at the United Nations, the principle of one country-one vote, has worked to the advantage of countries like India. It therefore made full use of the forum to vent her opposition to the existing state of international economic relations. India co-sponsored the important resolution on a "New International Economic Order" (NIEO) passed by the General Assembly in 1974. She focused on the structural impediments in the international economy, which prevented countries from realising their full potential. For example, the low and fluctuating prices of primary commodities like cotton and jute, and the high tariff barriers in the developed countries, all highlighted the unequal trading rules in operation. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) meetings, the issue was raised of securing prices for the developing countries which were "remunerative, equitable and stable." The focus lay on the use of international trade as an agency for development.

India's relations with the United Nations agencies in the economic sphere (like in all other spheres), was a two-way process. On the one hand, she was a direct beneficiary of the programmes launched by the world body, and on the other, she herself contributed both personnel as well as resources to the programmes of the Organisation.

India's support to the United Nations has not meant that the world organisation is perfect. India has always felt that the United Nations needs to become broad-based, its functioning made more democratic and transparent. In this connection, India pleads that the Security Council should be enlarged to include countries like itself.

#### **(iv) Opposition to Racism**

India's opposition to racism has been long standing. She was the first to raise in 1946 the question of discrimination by the Union of South Africa against people of Indian origin residing in that country. India later took a similarly strong position on the question of apartheid, practised by the same government. She criticised the belief in white superiority over the non-white peoples, which formed the basis of the policy of segregation. As an expression of her opposition, India decided to break off all relations with the government of South Africa. India's stand had the ready support of the majority of world states and people. It represented a sovereign decision taken in a democratic spirit. Relations with the country were resumed only after the apartheid system was completely displaced and a

free, democratic government headed by Nelson Mandela took over the reins of South Africa.

### (v) Opposition to Colonialism

Being an ex-colony, India was vociferous and took a strong stand against colonialism. This drew her close to all those states of Asia and Africa who were themselves victims of such imperialist designs. India convened in 1947 an international conference of Asian nations, which discussed decolonisation. The Bandung Conference (1955) in this regard gave a specific call for a "common policy against imperialism and colonialism" in all its manifestations."

The joint efforts of the Afro-Asian group received an impetus when the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1960 adopted a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. India was one of the co-sponsors of the Declaration. India also participated in a number of committees set up under the aegis of the United Nations to oversee the process of decolonisation.

### INTEXT QUESTIONS - 34.2

1. Fill in the blanks with the appropriate words.
  - (a) \_\_\_\_\_ was the main architect of India's foreign policy.
  - (b) The first Summit meeting of the Non-aligned group was held in \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (c) The Bandung Conference of the Afro-Asian countries was held in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (d) The Panchasheela was contained in an agreement signed between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (e) The Mahakali Treaty is an important milestone in India's relations with \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Tick (✓) the correct answer.
  - (a) Non-alignment and neutrality can be treated as same. (True/False)
  - (b) India has always felt that United Nations should be more broad based, and its functioning more democratic and transparent. (True/False)
  - (c) India opposed the policy of apartheid practised by the government of South Africa. (True/False)
  - (d) The foreign policy of India has been a source of friction among political parties. (True/False)

### 34.5 CHALLENGES AFTER THE COLD WAR

For more than four decades, India's foreign policy has largely been conducted keeping in mind the divisions created by Cold War politics. With the end of the bitter rivalry and the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new era of post-cold war has dawned in international affairs. Will the end of the Cold War bring in major changes in India's foreign policy, or whether non-alignment holds importance any longer in a largely unipolar world, are some of the questions that have been posed related to India's foreign policy in recent years.

To begin with answering such questions, it must be stated that though these changes call for recognition by foreign policy makers, they themselves *per se* do not prompt changes to be made in foreign policy. The stated goals and objectives of India's foreign policy

namely, (i) promotion of international peace and security, (ii) peaceful co-existence, (iii) peaceful settlement of international disputes, (iv) co-operation with the United Nations, (v) opposition to colonialism, (vi) opposition to racism, (vii) economic development, and lastly (viii) non-alignment, continue to be active goals and objectives in themselves.

The issues which the non-aligned movement stood for continue to be important even today. It is in raising those issues that the policy of non-alignment continues to be relevant. India needs to be active in the non-aligned forum in raising matters of national and global importance. For example, it is a known fact, that at the end of the century, the economic gap between the haves and the have nots still persists. The developing countries continue to occupy a highly disadvantageous position in international economic relations. It is in such circumstances that India should continue, along with other countries to try and bring favourable changes. In doing so, India must also consciously try and improve the scope for effective functioning of the non-aligned movement as a whole.

India's recent diplomatic efforts at negotiating the Comprehensive Test Ban treaty (CTBT), have in this respect been commendable. The negotiations have provided an able demonstration of India's resolve to engage in independent thinking and retain in world affairs, a certain autonomy of choice. India has been a strong advocate for the elimination and prohibition of all nuclear weapons, and at Geneva, where the negotiations were on, she opposed the treaty on principled grounds for being discriminatory in nature.

India's opposition to nuclear weapons stems fundamentally from the potential destructive power which these weapons possess. Recognising nuclear power as an alternate source of energy, India has repeatedly stressed that it should be harnessed only for peaceful and constructive purposes. India has thus, always been in favour of an international ban on all nuclear weapons testing.

In 1961 for example, she co-sponsored a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly, urging the super-powers who were also the nuclear power supremos, to refrain from carrying out further nuclear test explosions. In 1963, she signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), which called for a ban on tests carried out both in space and in the high seas. In 1968, she however, refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Her opposition was once again on principled grounds. In her opinion, the treaty discriminated against the non-nuclear weapons possessing states. The treaty sought non-proliferation by seeking to prevent more countries from becoming nuclear, without expecting from the existing nuclear weapon countries that they reduce their stockpiles and embark on genuine nuclear disarmament. Thus, while the treaty took care of proliferation horizontally (across countries), it did little to stop proliferation vertically (within countries). This is serious specially when one sees the proliferation which has taken place and the scientific know-how which accompanies and facilitates such developments. For example, it is now scientifically possible for America, Russia, France and such other nuclear countries to develop and test such weapons in their laboratories. These countries do not need to test out their nuclear weapons at the ground level.

The above defect in the NPT still remains. Even when it came up for extension in 1995, no time frame for disarmament was incorporated, and instead the treaty was given an indefinite lease of life.

India's opposition to the CTBT too, rests on similar grounds. In 1988, our late Prime minister Rajiv Gandhi presented a comprehensive plan for complete and total disarmament, before the world community. The focus was to set a time frame for nuclear weapons disbandment. No action was taken on the proposed plan at that time. Instead in 1994, negotiations were started on a new treaty. The CTBT like the NPT seeks to maintain the nuclear hierarchy in the world. A comprehensive test ban without a genuine interest in

disarmament, which is time bound too, is hypocritical. And its this aspect of the treaties that India has been drawing attention to.

Several challenges lie before the country on the economic front also. The decision to liberalise and open up the economy since 1991, makes it equally important, to have an active foreign economic policy too. Global economy watchers are already projecting that in the next 20-30 years, there would be five major powers, three of them being in Asia, viz. Japan, China and India. If the Asia-Pacific region is going to be all important in the twenty-first century, India must try and be a part of that rim. Small steps have already been taken in this regard. India has now embarked on building a development partnership with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (though not a member, it has the status of a full Dialogue Partner in that organisation), and is looking forward to membership of the Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC) forum.

Bound up with the question of securing investments is also that of access to markets. International trade practices continue to be biased and discriminatory. Of late **neo-protectionism** in the developed countries has been on the rise, with environmental considerations too figuring as trade barriers for products from the lesser developed world. India should continue to take a stand against such a position, as it did in the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) at Rio de Janeiro.

### INTEXT QUESTIONS 34.3

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1. India did not sign the Non- Proliferation Treaty because :
  - (a) it is a nuclear weapon country,
  - (b) it feels it discriminates between the nuclear weapons possessing countries and the non-nuclear weapon countries,
  - (c) it does not believe in nuclear disarmament.
2. What do the following abbreviations stand for:
  - (a) CTBT
  - (b) ASEAN
  - (c) APEC
  - (d) UNCED

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### WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT

Every country has certain national interests which it pursues abroad, through its foreign policy. The foreign policy of India is influenced by various factors like history, culture, geography, economy, along with the domestic and international contexts. These factors guide and shape our foreign policy. Certain fundamental principles lie at the heart of our foreign policy, which continue to inspire the conduct of foreign policy even today. These relate to non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, cooperation with the UN, opposition to racism and colonialism, supporting genuine disarmament. India's foreign policy, like the foreign policy of any other country, needs to be viewed with the safeguarding of her national interests in mind. In this respect, India's foreign policy has been effective in furthering her national goals and objectives.

### TERMINAL EXERCISES

1. What is the scope of the foreign policy of a country ?

2. Various factors determine and promote the foreign policy of a country. What are the factors that determine India's foreign policy? Discuss in detail.
3. Discuss the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of India.
4. Discuss how relevant has non-alignment been as a principle and an objective of India's foreign policy.
5. Write short notes on :
  - (a) Peaceful co-existence.
  - (b) Gujral doctrine.
  - (c) India's participation in United Nations peace-keeping efforts.
  - (d) India's opposition to NPT and CTBT.

## ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS

### Intext Questions 34.1

1. (a) True  
(b) True  
(c) False  
(d) True
2. (a) Non aggression  
(b) Russia, China  
(c) USA and USSR

### Intext Questions 34.2

1. (a) Nehru  
(c) 1955  
(e) Nepal
  - (b) Belgrade, 1961  
(d) India, China
2. (a) False  
(c) True
  - (b) True  
(d) False

### Intext Questions 34.3

1. (b)
2. (a) Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty  
(b) Association of South East Asian Nations  
(c) Asia- Pacific Economic Community  
(d) United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

### HINTS TO TERMINAL EXERCISE

1. Please see section 34.1
2. Please see section 34.3
3. Please see section section 34.4
4. Please see section 34.4.1
5. a) Please see section 34.4.2  
b) Please see section 34.4.3  
c) Please see section 34.5