

# EVOLUTION OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

## Unit Structure :

- 1.0 Objective
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 The “Liberal” Phase- Nehru and Non-alignment
  - 1.2.1 "Nehru's course" in the field of Foreign Policy
  - 1.2.2 “Non-aligned” Foreign Policy of India
- 1.3 The “Realist” Phase- Post Nehru Shift to State-centrism
- 1.4 The “Neo-Liberal” Phase- Impact of the end of the Cold War and Globalisation
- 1.5 Conclusion/ Let us sum up/ Summary
- 1.6 Exercise/ Unit End Question
- 1.7 Suggested Readings/ References

---

## 1.0 OBJECTIVE

---

This unit focuses on the evolution of India's foreign policy after independent period and the influence of endogenous factors on the foreign policy strategy such as the role of the Indian elite, business, the model of the foreign policy decision-making process and the role of the prime minister, ministers, and chief advisers are being studied. After this unit students will understand the changing role of India's Foreign policy and how in Indian society there is a sufficient unity of views on the main macro-problems of foreign policy.

---

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

---

The 1950 to early 1970 this was the period of the formation of an independent course of India's foreign policy. Immediately after gaining political independence, India entered the international arena as an independent state with its own independent foreign policy, which from the very beginning was characterized by such features as peaceful coexistence, non-alignment with blocs and the resolution of contentious issues by peaceful means. The tasks and principles of Indian foreign policy were worked out by the Indian National Congress at the stage of the struggle for sovereignty. However, the foreign policy tasks of a national liberation movement and a sovereign state differ quite significantly.

There are important differences between "international" and "domestic" foreign policy, that is, between a common foreign policy platform on the international stage and specific foreign policy actions. With the

strengthening of the bourgeois democratic system in India there have been clarifications in the interpretation of the country's foreign policy objectives. Domestic political democratization does not in any way abolish, as world experience shows, the continuity of the course of foreign policy in its two fundamental forms: the first is the determination of national interests and the modalities of their implementation the second is the establishment of control over foreign policy.

In the field of foreign policy, a pan-Indian consensus around the "Nehru course" began to take shape by the mid-1950s. Foreign policy gradually became the subject of a "supra-partisan" consensus. Subsequently, there were not so many discussions in the country on the macro-tasks of foreign policy, which indicated that the government was sufficiently aware of national interests and foreign policy goals.

---

## THE "LIBERAL" PHASE- NEHRU AND NON-ALIGNMENT

---

Since 1947, India has constantly stood for an end to wars and conflicts and for general disarmament. If at the end of the 1940s the extremely complex problems facing the country (suffice it to note that the first military conflict with Pakistan began already in October 1947) prevented active involvement in world politics, then from the beginning of the 1950s in international forums India has become more and more active in opposing any kind of aggression, racism, colonialism and the build-up of the arms race.

The growth in the number of countries pursuing the policy of non-alignment testifies to the popularity of this policy among the newly-free states, in which they draw confidence that non-alignment is an elective form of struggle to consolidate their freedom and independence, a guarantee of their equal participation in solving the most important problems of world politics.

The existential tasks of the country's foreign policy at this moment included the need to increase defense capacity, the desire to avoid involvement in conflicts with world powers and the achievement of national security according to four parameters: global, regional, national - in terms of external and internal Danger.

### 1.2.1 "Nehru's course" in the field of foreign policy

Before discussing the orientations of Indian foreign policy, it is worth mentioning the man who was in many respects known as its architect, Jawaharlal Nehru. The appointment of Nehru as Prime Minister of independent India, after having been that of the interim government between September 1946 and August 1947, would not necessarily have been imposed without the intervention in his favor of Mahatma Gandhi who had decided to make him his "political heir".

In 1947, Nehru said, "Whatever policy you formulate, the art of conducting a country's foreign affairs comes down to knowing what is most beneficial to the country. We can talk about good understanding between nations and believe in it. We can talk about peace and freedom and honestly believe in it. But ultimately, a government works for the good of the country it governs

and no government will dare to do anything that, in the short or long term, will harm the country. Therefore, whether a country is imperialist, socialist or communist, its minister of foreign affairs will give priority to the interests of that country.<sup>1</sup>

Another leader of the nationalist movement like Sardar Patel, who controlled the Congress party apparatus, could just as well have been chosen to become head of state. However Jawaharlal Nehru owed no one the fact of also assuming the function of Minister of External Affairs, had also been Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the interim government for a year and, above all, for twenty years, he had taken charge of the destiny of foreign relations, he had the distinction of integrating specific positions into a global vision which made him the main organizer and divulger of the Indian perception of international relations

The main specific tasks at the initial stage were simply to avoid involvement in a possible new war, achieving of real independence in the field of foreign policy and the expansion of foreign trade and the increase in foreign aid for the development of the country.

Therefore only Non-alignment with military blocs could allow Delhi to realize these foreign policy goals and to achieve this it was very important to avoid any kind of participation in a military conflict between states of two different social systems i.e. USSR and USA. Jawaharlal Nehru already in September 1946 announced that India would refrain from joining any blocs of warring parties. In December 1947, the Prime Minister of India said in the Constituent Assembly: "Last year we declared that we would not join any of the factions ... If there was a big war

As Jawaharlal Nehru once remarked, "foreign policy is ultimately determined by economic policy",<sup>2</sup> the establishment of a mixed economy - a compromise between the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie and the socialist ideals of reformers within the Congress party supported by Nehru – again corresponding to a refusal to choose between American economic liberalism and Soviet statism, opened the way to non-alignment. As well as the conception of an economic development that is as autonomous as possible.

### **1.2.2 "Non-aligned" Foreign Policy of India**

In 1947 the Indian Independent Act was enacted ended British colonial rule over the Indian peninsula with the creation of two independent states: India and Pakistan. In the aftermath of decolonization, the government of India was led by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who outlined the country's key foreign policy principles during the period of the bipolar division of the globe. The first of these principles was "Non-Alignment" and the creation of a third pole of power made up of Afro-Asian states tired of the hegemonic

---

<sup>1</sup> December 4, 1947. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> December 4, 1947. Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, vol. 1, p. 202.

and colonial aims of Western countries. Symbol of this battle was the Bandung Conference of 1955

The idea of not aligning the policies of one country with another dates back to the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), which recognizes the neutrality of Switzerland, which distinguishes it from the conflicts of other countries. The basic idea of this group was born in the discussion held at the Bandung Asia-Africa Conference held in Indonesia in 1955. The movement began in the 1950s as an endeavour by numerous countries to avoid the polarised world of the Cold War between Soviet communist nations which was Warsaw Pact countries and pro-American capitalist NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) countries.

In order to harmonize the foreign policy course and develop an agreed line with regard to the main problems of time, the non-aligned countries, beginning in 1961, began to hold conferences of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries. The first such conference took place in Belgrade in September 1961, in which 25 non-aligned countries took part. The second conference, held in Cairo in October 1964, was attended by 47 states, and 10 countries were represented as observers. The third conference, convened in Lusaka in September 1970, was attended by 54 countries. The fourth conference, held in Algiers in 1973, was attended by 76 states and 12 national liberation organizations; 13 countries attended as observers. At the fifth conference which was held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) in August 1976, 85 countries participated, 14 countries were present as observers and as guests. The sixth conference, held in September 1979 in Havana, was attended by over 100 countries.

For the first time, the main ideas of non-alignment were presented by Jawaharlal Nehru in his first speech as Prime Minister of independent India. As a political and legal basis for non-alignment Nehru put forward the principles of peaceful coexistence, formulated in the 50s in the form of five principles ("Pancha Shila"), which read:

- 1) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- 2) Mutual non-aggression;
- 3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- 4) Equality and mutual benefit;
- 5) Peaceful coexistence.

The further development of the concept of peaceful coexistence and the main directions of the policy of non-alignment found expression in the decisions of the Bandung Conference. The Bandung Declaration and the principles set forth in it were a further development of the Pancha Shila principles. In the declaration, 10 principles were fixed, which, in the new post-war conditions, instructed the world community to lay the following principles as the basis of international relations:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights, as well as the purposes and principles of the UN Charter;
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries;
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and nations, large and small;
4. Prevention of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other countries;
5. Respect for the right of each country to individual and collective defense in accordance with the UN Charter;
6. A) Refraining from using collective defense agreements for the private interests of any of the great powers;  
B) Refraining any country from exerting pressure on others country;
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression against the territorial integrity and independence of any country;
8. Settlement of international disputes by peaceful means;
9. Promoting mutual interests and cooperation;
10. Respect for justice and international obligations

Non-alignment found one of its reasons for being in the fact that it should make it possible to diversify economic and commercial contacts with other countries, regardless of their membership of a particular bloc, thus guaranteeing that the political independence of India cannot be threatened by a narrow economic dependence vis-à-vis a country or one of the cold war camps. This approach was also valid for foreign aid, required insofar as it helped the development of the country's economy but rejected if it became dependent on the creditor country. The diversification of aid sources also responded to the desire to maximize capital and technical know-how to cover the various forms of development needs.

Opting for a policy of non-alignment meant explicitly not being able to count on the automatic support of countries with which India would have a military alliance in the event of external aggression, and therefore more or less implicitly an autonomous defense sufficiently dissuasive to discourage the possible aggressor. However, if the Indian government did not accept the idea defended by Gandhi that the weapon of India was non-violence, military expenditure should nevertheless be limited to the strict minimum and subordinated to the resources devoted to economic and social development. The country's limited financial resources restricted purchases of military equipment from abroad unless military aid was requested, which would then endanger the country's independence. The alternative was to develop, as part of the industrialization effort, a national arms industry, which was not a priority concern and would in any case take several years to set up. The role assigned to the Indian armed forces was essentially to be able to take charge of the Pakistani threat and possibly support the police forces in maintaining public order.

---

### 1.3 THE “REALIST” PHASE- POST NEHRU SHIFT TO STATE-CENTRISM

---

In the 1960s one major question that was widely discussed was ‘After Nehru, Who?’ Nehru died in 1964. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded him. His tenure was short as he died in Tashkent in January 1966 after signing the Tashkent Agreement with Ayub Khan, military dictator of Pakistan. But "Nehru's course" in the field of foreign policy has been preserved. The very establishment of a bipolar system gave the "third world" good chances for geopolitical maneuvers. India's leaders were among the first to seize this opportunity. The rather pragmatic right-wing political leaders of India, who adequately perceived the country's national interests, quickly realized that a certain balancing act between the two military blocs really brings significant benefits: in the economic, political, and military spheres.

As a result, already at the beginning of 1963, the leaders of the right-wing parties of India declared the need to maintain the friendliest relations with the USSR. An important role in India's continuation of the policy of non-alignment was played by the Prime Minister himself, who retained enormous authority. Jawaharlal Nehru was a recognized leader of the non-aligned movement, officially created in September 1961 at the Belgrade conference of 25 countries. The Prime Minister of India believed that the Republic should play an independent role in world politics, and tying it to one or another bloc would deprive the country of the opportunity to solve its foreign policy tasks.

The subsequent governments of India (Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi) demonstrated, on the whole, the continuity of Nehru's course in the field of foreign policy. There were, of course, some nuances. So, immediately after the death of the first prime minister, the country began to implement a nuclear program.

In the second half of the 1960s, India's ties with the superpowers developed quite successfully, despite the equidistance of the South Asian state from the leaders of the bipolar system. After the Indian-Pakistani war of 1971, there was a certain "tilt" of India towards the Soviet Union, although by 1973 there was a normalization of US-Indian relations, in accordance with the aspirations of both sides. The coming to power of the Janata Party, which won the general elections in 1977, which ended the INC (I) monopoly on power, did not lead to radical changes. Indian-American relations were substantially strengthened, but not at the expense of Soviet-Indian ones. At the same time, India came to the conclusion that the obvious tilt towards one of the superpowers fetters the hands of the Republic. The introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan also had a negative effect on the interests of India.

The main reasons that demanded a correlation of position towards the superpowers in the 1980s was the primacy of the tasks of ensuring normal internal functioning. In the 1980s there was a significant deterioration in the economic situation in the Afro-Asian countries, stagnation in the



development of the economy in the former USSR and other socialist states on the other hand economic restructuring in the main capitalist powers and their monopoly position in the market of modern technology predetermined India's interest in strengthening economic cooperation with western countries. The economic and technical assistance of the USSR to the republic, which at that time amounted to less than 5% of the total amount of foreign assistance to India, could not replace industrial and technological ties with the West.

The desire to strengthen the authority in the Afro-Asian world has long been one of the main co-existential tasks (ensuring a significant role in the international environment) of Indian foreign policy. In the 1960s-1980s, New Delhi constantly occupied the most active positions on the problems of the development of the liberated countries, waged an uncompromising struggle against the preservation of the remnants of colonialism in the Afro-Asian world and the aggressive policy of the developed powers in this zone, opposed racial discrimination, for achieving real political and political economic independence of developing countries. The Indian government has consistently pursued a flexible, dynamic and independent foreign policy aimed at countering those aspects of the policies of the developed powers that adversely affected the interests of developing countries.

By the 1980s, India had become the recognized leader of the zone of the South and in fact had the status of spokesman for the interests of the liberated countries. From 1983 to 1986, the Republic was the official leader of the non-aligned movement. At the conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in Harare (1986), it was emphasized that it was thanks to the constructive and dynamic leadership of India that the non-aligned movement was able to significantly strengthen its political influence on the course of world politics.

In the 1980s, there was a further significant increase in the authority of the Republic in the international arena. Suffice it to note, for example, that in the course of elections to various UN commissions, Indian representatives consistently received the largest number of votes compared to candidates from other Asian countries. As it turned into a great world power, India showed an increasing interest in solving global problems and growing its influence on this process. Delhi saw an opportunity to strengthen its international positions and to carry out joint actions that went beyond the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, together with the countries of Africa and Latin America, which occupied positions similar to India.

Delhi assigned a great role to the development of economic ties not only with developed, but also with developing countries. Although in the 1980s the Republic, like the entire Non-Aligned Movement, assessed the possibilities and prospects for the South-South dialogue no longer in such rosy tones, it, along with other liberated countries, took real and concrete decisions to revive it. Thus, in 1988, India signed an agreement on a global system of trade preferences, the first multilateral trade treaty of the newly-free states, which provided for the reduction of customs duties in mutual trade and the extension of the most favored nation principle to each other.

However, India's economic ties with developing countries were generally not strong enough.

In the 1980s, Delhi took a much less active position on global foreign economic problems than on foreign policy issues, and practically did not put forward new initiatives. It was rightly believed in the Republic that, given the existing trends, the policy of collective pressure on the West could backfire. India began to seek to resolve disputed foreign economic issues with developed powers (such as debt and technology issues) on a bilateral basis. Attempts to move away from this usual position put the country in a difficult position.

In the 1960s-1980s, India paid even more attention to the problems of regional security. After the India-Pakistan War of 1971, India became the fully dominant power in South Asia. True, Pakistan, having lost 15% of its territory, a third of its GDP and half of its population (and already possessing only an eighth of its neighbor's economic and demographic potential), remained a fairly powerful power and a potential rival of India in the region. In the 1980s, India has already become one of the main regional powers in Asia, and its army, in terms of quality and quantity, has become a real military force.

The destruction of the bipolar order of the world led to the fact that India lost the opportunity to play in an intermediate position between West and East and use the contradictions between the two systems, which in the past brought her significant benefits. The Non-Aligned Movement proved unable to play its former role, no matter how many heads of government participated in common forums. India initially made significant efforts at least to maintain the positions of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has always been one of the cornerstones of the Republic's foreign policy, and India, before the collapse of the bipolar world, considered it as the main mechanism for increasing its level of influence on solving global problems.

Therefore, for quite a long time, Indian politicians have been making statements about the importance of this organization, and largely thanks to the Republic, the 10<sup>th</sup> Forum of the Non-Aligned Movement (Jakarta, October 1992) was organized and relatively successfully held. Gradually, Delhi realized that the prospects for this collective body of diplomacy of developing countries were significantly narrowed, that strengthening positions in the South zone was not enough to enter the "higher world league", and the sharply aggravated differentiation among developing countries prevented the organization of any single political or economic entity. As a result, Delhi's desire to strengthen its authority among developing countries has significantly weakened, and India has actually lost the status of a spokesman for their interests.

In this regard, the activity of the republic in international life decreased, and more emphasis was placed on domestic economic activity that the prospects for this collective body of diplomacy of the developing countries have narrowed significantly, that strengthening positions in the South is not enough to enter the "higher world league", and the sharply aggravated



differentiation among developing countries prevents the organization of any single political or economic entity. As a result, Delhi's desire to strengthen its authority among developing countries has significantly weakened, and India has actually lost the status of a spokesman for their interests.

This is evidenced by India's cooperation with ASEAN, its participation in other structures of the Association, the creation of BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Cooperation Organization), and the India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum. In the latter case, we are talking about regional powers, which now include a very small number of countries. This group includes India, China, Australia, Brazil and, to some extent, South Africa (the possibilities for the formation of regional powers in Africa are still very limited). At the end of the 20th century, Russia joined the ranks of regional powers. It seems that the time for the formation of regional powers in Europe and North America is over.

The changes that have taken place have led to a decrease in Delhi's activity in international life, and more emphasis has been placed on domestic economic activity. The collapse of the socialist system and the bipolar structure of the world, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the actual collapse of the Non-Aligned Movement led to a certain reorientation of India's foreign policy strategy, but it concerned, first of all, the mechanisms and methods for achieving macro goals, and not the strategic tasks themselves.

At present, the India continues to pay special attention to further enhancing its role in South Asia, while taking into account both the problems of national security and the need to strengthen its positions in the region in order to ensure an adequate place for its political weight in the world community. India as a whole (if we do not take into account certain segments of the population and states) has little interest in strengthening the economic subsystem of relations with its neighbors, but, realizing its importance for other countries, seeks to strengthen economic ties to achieve political goals. At the 9th SAARC Forum (Male, May 1997)

---

## 1.4 THE “NEO-LIBERAL” PHASE- IMPACT OF THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND GLOBALIZATION

---

The country's foreign policy has almost always been defensive. In the early years of independence, India publicly declared that it was going to defend, in the words of its first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, "genuine internationalism", which presupposes the struggle for universal peace and common prosperity<sup>3</sup>. But with the country's limited options, its strategic efforts were directed mainly to defending its own democracy and economy from the bitter confrontation of the Cold War. Whatever international commitments India has made over the years, the main goal of its essentially conservative policy of non-alignment was to prevent hostility between the

---

<sup>3</sup> Nehru J. Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series: Volume 6, ed. S. Gopal. — New Delhi: Oxford University Press. — 1989. — P. 15.

United States and the Soviet Union from harming the security, independence and well-being of a still relatively weak country.

Her efforts were even more effective than expected. India survived the Cold War with virtually no damage to its territorial integrity, most of the steps of state and nation building brought positive results, the political independence of the country and its international authority were not questioned by anyone. During this period, India has significantly increased its industrial and scientific potential, but the belief that you need to "rely only on your own strength" has led to a decrease in the share of the Indian economy in Asia and beyond.

After 1991, when the need to maneuver between warring blocs disappeared, India's foreign policy entered a new phase. By establishing strategic partnerships with more than 30 countries, India sought to develop those forms of cooperation that would contribute to its strengthening and rise. The economic reforms launched in the year of the collapse of the Soviet Union laid the foundation for accelerating the pace of development. If in the 1980s the Indian economy grew at a depressing 3.5% per year, then thanks to reforms in the 1990s, this figure increased to 5.5%, and in the new millennium to 7%. This allowed the US Central Intelligence Agency to predict that India could become the world's most important swing state. This characteristic assigned India the role of a counterbalance state in global politics. That is, not possessing the power that would allow it to become an independent pole of power, India, through its participation in this or that international coalition could significantly strengthen it.

Therefore, the United States has been consciously promoting India's status since the 2000s. Based on the fact that Delhi, like Washington, does not approve of Chinese hegemony in Asia, the US supported India as a counterbalance to China. The Americans understood that India would pursue an independent foreign policy that they hoped would nevertheless be in line with US strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific region. And even if India eventually turned into an independent pole of the international political system, this would not mean that the Americans' calculations did not materialize: sharing democratic values common with the United States, India would then become a valuable partner for them, and its increased potential would help create real restrictions preventing China from abusing its influence in Asia.

Indian foreign policy has traditionally been characterized by a strong focus on regional issues in South and Central Asia, with strong security demands and difficult, often hostile, neighborhood relations that have led to five wars over the course of fifty years - four with Pakistan (1948-1965-1971-1999) and one with China (1962) - and frequent border tensions with both countries even recently. Relations with other countries in the region are also conditioned by this dynamic, above all due to the strong Chinese presence in terms of technical assistance, aid policies, loans and infrastructure investments, or are subject to bilateral tensions such as the protection of Tamil minorities in Sri Lanka, or immigration issues with Bangladesh and Nepal.

Recently, with Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Indian foreign policy has taken a global breath, but regional concerns, also characterized by the confrontation of three nuclear powers, remain at the fore. Indian foreign policy had also known another phase of global ambitions, immediately after Independence, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. For much of the 1950s India assumed leadership in establishing the non-aligned movement, emerging countries emerging from colonialism or seeking autonomy from the two opposing Cold War blocs. Sukarno's Indonesia, Tito's Yugoslavia, Nasser's Egypt were among the main interlocutors of this policy, which also had a special focus on China. The Bandung conference of 1955 which initiated the process of establishing the movement of non-aligned countries - then formalized in Belgrade in 1961 - was the culmination of this policy. However, Nehru's vision took a hard hit from the 1962 war with China over a border issue. A few years later, a new war that India waged in 1965 with Pakistan brought the regional dimension to become the major focus of foreign policy.

---

## 1.5 CONCLUSION/ LET US SUM UP/ SUMMARY

---

An old assumption of the Arthashastra, one of the oldest political treatises - written in India in the second century BC - holds that the neighboring state represents a potential enemy and that the neighbor of the neighbor is, instead, a potential ally. This is a logic that seems to condition contemporary politics in South Asia, which, until the moment of Independence, in 1947, was a highly integrated region, but today - also due to a partition of the continent carried out on religious grounds - it represents one of the areas of greatest intraregional tension.

The set of coexisting tasks of Indian foreign policy includes the pursuit of an independent foreign policy, the desire to strengthen authority in the world and achieve the status of great power recognized by the world community, the desire to increase the impact on the development of events at the regional level.

Apparently, on this type of national tasks, there is the greatest similarity between the positions of the different strata and classes of Indian society, although there are some differences in some aspects. As India becomes a major world power, India is showing a growing interest in solving global problems and increasing its influence in this process.

---

## 1.6 EXERCISE/ UNIT END QUESTION

---

1. What are the aims of Foreign Policy of India?
2. Discuss the Evolution of India's foreign policy.
3. Discuss the relevance of the "Liberal" Phase- Nehru and Non-alignment.
4. Comment on Post Nehru Shift to State-centrism
5. Critically analyse the impact of the end of the Cold War and Globalisation on India's Foreign Policy

---

## 1.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

---

1. Appadorai, A., Rajan, M.S., India's Foreign Policy and Belations, New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, 1985.
2. Beetham, David, Democracy and Human Rights, Cambridge, Policy Press, 1999.
3. Bhalla, V. K., Foreign Investment and New Economic Policy, New Delhi, Anand Publications Private Limited, 1994.
4. Blackwell, Robert D., Carnesale, Albert, (Ed.), New Nuclear Nations: Consequences for U.S. Policy, New York, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993.
5. Chaturvedi, Arun, Lodha, Sanjay (Eds.), India's Foreign Policy and the Emerging World Order, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1998.
6. Kapur, Harish, India's Foreign Policy, 1947-92: Shadows and Substance, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1994.

\*\*\*\*\*

## PROCESS OF MAKING FOREIGN POLICY

### Unit Structure :

- 2.0 Objective
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Role of the Executive
- 2.3 Political and Bureaucratic
- 2.4 Role of the Parliament
- 2.5 Role of Political Parties, Pressure Groups, Media
- 2.6 Conclusion
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 References

---

### 2.0 OBJECTIVE

---

The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the process of foreign policy formulation. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand how the executive headed by the Prime Minister makes the foreign policy with the help of experts and specialized institutions and bureaucrats
- Understand in what ways Parliament can control the making of foreign policy in India
- Understand why Political Parties and Pressure Groups matter in a democracy and to what extent they help in providing inputs to the foreign policy of India

---

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

---

The making of foreign policy is a complex process of interaction between executive, legislature, policy makers, media, pressure groups and public opinion. The input received from the different channels in a democratic political process synthesize to form foreign policy.

This is the process of making foreign policies.

Sheriff (2017) concludes that the making of foreign policy includes three stages: foreign policy initiation, formulation and implementation.

- 1) Political leaders (more probably the Head of State) and foreign policy bodies led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Department of State conceive of foreign policy ideas: They are premised on national

interest, perceptions, preferences, choices, options and capabilities. This is also known as the stage of identification and articulation of roles or the 'role conception' stage. That is, which strategic and practical steps can be taken to realize national interest in international politics. This stage is closely followed

- 2) Formulation of policies. In a democratic system, formulation requires sending the proposal to parliament for debate, readings and adoption, after which it returns to the executive for approval and ratification.
- 3) Implementation. At this stage, the executive engages the foreign ministry and all other relevant ministries to ensure execution of the policy. The foreign ministry in particular engages the Foreign Service made up political and career diplomats as well envoys and other diplomatic field staff to work on the policy or policies. The implementation stage may also be known as the 'role assumption' stage.

To theorise the foreign policy making decision, Allison gave Rational actor model (1971). He defined rationality as "consistent, value-maximizing choice within specific constraints." The rational decision-maker chooses the alternative that provides the consequence that is most preferred (Allison, 1971). Rational actors are assumed to employ purposive action, to display consistent preferences, and to maximize utility. Most game theoretic models of foreign policy decision-making are likewise based on rational choice assumptions.

With the rise of globalization and expansion of state domain and interconnectedness between countries, foreign policy making have also become a complex procedure. The final say in the foreign policy is in the hands of the political leadership. Yet Parliament plays an important role as India is a parliamentary democracy and the government is responsible to the legislature. Parliamentary diplomacy can substantially influence the shaping of foreign policy in India. In addition, Political party's role in interest articulation and interest aggregation is important in providing input to foreign policy formulation. Pressure groups also play a similar role in pressurizing the government and guiding foreign policy issues. The help in channelizing public needs, grievances and demands which get converted in to policies including foreign policy. There is a complex interlinkage between domestic politics and bureaucratic interventions and the process of actual policy formulation.

Foreign policy has traditionally been under the command of the prime minister's office (PMO). There has been growth of private media houses, big businesses, the NGO sector, and private think-tanks since mid-1990s which is changing India's foreign policy making. Even state governments, though with limited constitutional leverage to participate in the foreign policy-making process, have shaped the central government's foreign policy approach on various occasions.

India's foreign policy includes Track II diplomacy too which is interaction of non-official members and groups in the functioning of foreign policy.



India's foreign policy works in close collaboration with researchers, academicians, think tanks, civil society and public opinion. Besides under MEA (Ministry of External Affairs) is ICCR (Indian Council of Cultural Relations) and ICWA (Indian Council of World Affairs) to arrange exhibits, cultural visits, seminars with foreign countries.

---

## 2.2 ROLE OF THE EXECUTIVE

---

Amongst the executive, The PMO functions as the center of policy making in India. From the beginning after India's independence PM Nehru who is also called the Father of India's foreign policy took a keen interest in it. He kept the foreign policy portfolio with himself. The pattern set by him led to the greater role of Prime Minister in the framing of the foreign policy of India. This trend continued during the Lal Bahadur Shastri's tenure and in Indira Gandhi's tenure. The PMO (Prime Minister's office) emerged as one of the most important centers in the framing of foreign policy. The Research and Analysis wing emerged as a subordinate body of PMO. Raji Gandhi followed this pattern too but later coalition government with weak support couldn't continue this trend. The coming of power of NDA government in 2019 pioneered a new era as PM Modi is credited with crafting innovative changes in India's foreign policy.

It coordinates various central agencies like the Cabinet, Cabinet Committees, Council of Ministers and other stakeholders to sort out interdepartmental hurdles in domestic and foreign policy execution. In India, foreign policy making is determined by the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. Cabinet is the inner circle of the Council of Ministers. Within the Cabinet there is a small body called the CCS (Cabinet Committee on Security) which decides foreign policy including the vital foreign policy and national security issues. (egyankosh)

From the very beginning the PM Narendra Modi led government focused more and more on improving relations with ASEAN, and other East Asian countries as per India's Act East Asia policy which was formulated during PM Narasimha Rao's government in 1992 for better economic engagement with its eastern neighbours. but the successive government later successfully turned it into a tool for forging strategic partnership and security cooperation with countries in that region in general and Vietnam and Japan in particular. Modi government also initiated 'Neighbourhood First policy' which meant focusing on building relationship with neighboring countries. The government of NDA-I as soon as it came to power in 2014, invited neighboring countries to swearing in ceremony of the government as a gesture of goodwill and friendship through its neighbourhood first policy (Global Policy, 2016)

---

## 2.2 POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC

---

Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) is the Ministry responsible for managing foreign affairs. It is headed by a Foreign Minister or External Affairs minister. MEA acts like the foreign policy secretariat in India, which

receives numerous policy inputs from various sources, and analyzes and channelizes the different options to the political leadership, i.e., the Cabinet headed by the PM, and then implements decisions taken at this apex level. There are specialized divisions of MEA catering to Counter Terrorism, Cyber Diplomacy, E-Governance, specialized centers for ASEAN and BIMSTEC. The work of MEA is divided into 24 divisions headed by a joint secretary.

In 1998 the Vajpayee government had established the National Security Council. The National Security Council is an executive government agency tasked with the purpose of advising the PMO. It was established by the former Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee on 19 November 1998, with Brajesh Mishra as the first National Security Advisor. It consists of PM as the chairperson. Ministers of MEA, Defence, Finance, Home, and Deputy Chairman, Niti Aayog as its members. The NSC is a three-tier organization consisting of the Strategic Planning Group, the National Security Advisory Board and the Joint Intelligence Committee. It consists of several experts like scientific advisor to the defence minister, nominated experts in the field of defence and security strategy academicians, senior bureaucrats and service chiefs. There is one strategic core group combining people like service chiefs, intelligence and the bureaucracy to think over the various foreign policy and security problems of India. The NSC is headed by the NSA.

Bureaucracy comprises of the IFS officials who are sent to different foreign capitals. Embassies act as official centers for collecting information on development in foreign countries. Collection of information is a specialized job so trained officials within the embassy are appointed as experts in agriculture as Agriculture attaché, expert in military as military attaché etc. Information is also collected through the intelligence sources. The top foreign intelligence agency is the Research and Analysis Wing. Intelligence Bureau gathers internal intelligence.

### Check your Progress Exercise 1

**Note i:** Use the Space given below for your answer

1) What is the National Security Council of India? Examine the influence of PMO in foreign policy making in India.

---

---

---

---

---

Increasing demand for the democratization of foreign policy has increased the role of Parliament in India in external affairs. India's Parliament (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha) has the power to legislate on foreign affairs, one of the subjects in the exclusive domain of the central/union government. This authority includes legislation or amendment of any law for the successful implementation of international treaties, agreements and conventions as enumerated in the Union List. Article 246 of the Indian Constitution, which distributes power between the Union Government and the states authorize the Parliament to legislate on all aspects of external affairs of this country. Similarly, Article 253 of the Indian constitution empowers parliament to legislate or amend any implementation of international treaties, agreements, and conventions. (seventh schedule) Government is accountable to Parliament, which can seek information and clarification on policies and issues. Parliament also makes laws on other foreign policy subjects so indirectly it can control the executive which controls the foreign policy too. Parliament has a Standing Committee on External Affairs and a Standing Committee on Defence, which grill the officials on issues pertaining to foreign relations and external security. Parliament may also constitute ad hoc committees to look into specific issues. (Shaw, 2018) Role of parliamentary bodies is crucial in providing expert knowledge and inputs to foreign policy. The ministry of external affairs has a standing committee on External Affairs which is responsible for reviewing and contributing on legislations related to India's external relations. The overall membership of this committee has been fixed to 31. The standing committee on external affairs performs the task of multi-tasking on a wide array of issues.

India is having Parliamentary democracy wherein government is answerable and responsible to the elected representatives. The highest democratic institution in the country and the voice of the people, the parliament can influence the course of foreign policy decision-making by using various constitutional provisions

Government is accountable to parliament, which can seek information and clarification on policies and issues. During parliamentary debates, the opposition and the other members of the parliament point out the mistakes and give suggestions for better policies. The Parliament poses unparalleled power to withhold, pass or reject any bill or resolution that is directly or indirectly related to India's external policy. Members of the Parliament also move adjournment, No-Confidence or Cut-Motion, raise short or half-an-hour discussion on any specific or an overall issue of the foreign policy. Theoretically, by exercising budgetary control and passing necessary resolutions, parliament can force the executive to act as per the will of the house.

Similarly, by opening new offices and branches and neutralizing the performance through resource control of agencies that deal with the foreign policy activities, the parliament can indirectly control the external policy of the country.

An example can be the 2008 Indo US Civil Nuclear Deal aka 123 Agreement. The proposed deal was discussed in parliament in November 2007. CPI(M) and CPI had warned against the deal and withdrew their support from Congress-led central govt. However, with the help of regional parties and independents, the UPA govt. won a trust vote in Lok Sabha with 253 members voting in favor and 232 against. (CPI, 2006)

However, unlike the United States or Australia, international conventions, treaties and agreements don't need to get approved by the parliament before coming into practice. Many of the treaties, such as India– China Agreement of 1954, the Tashkent Agreement of 1965, the India-Soviet Agreement of 1971, and the Shimla Agreement of 1972 were not referred to the parliament before the conclusion. (Tomar,2002)

Parliament's position in the making of foreign policy is weak in India. The Parliament committees, which are supposed to guide the course of foreign policy, are often divided by the party ideologies, and the decisions are the product of negotiation rather than debate and discussion.

Besides, parliament plays an important role in setting parameters of foreign policy beyond which the government can't proceed. There has been standing committees of Parliament with statutory powers like Estimates Committee and Public Assurances Committee which can examine issues related to foreign policy and defence. During Nehru's time Parliament was able to exercise its influence over India's China policy (Raman, 2020)

---

## 2.5 POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

---

Foreign policy sometimes begins from outside the government establishment. Social inputs coming from different sources are really important in the making of foreign policy. People in a democratic society are the most important sources and their views are expressed through political parties and Pressure groups. Multi-level nature of coalition-building in a federal and pluralistic polity like India makes it necessary for national parties to take into account the inputs of regional interests when designing foreign policies. Political parties and pressure groups play an important role in interest aggregation. The efforts of political parties in acquiring power often leads to their taking up foreign policy issues. Political parties have an important role to play in creating public opinion on a particular foreign policy. For instance, Rightist political parties like BJP were in the forefront in improving relations with Israel. Sometimes parties themselves participate in initiating a policy and at other times support or reject foreign policy. Opposition parties help in the creation of a favorable or unfavorable public opinion on a specific foreign policy issue. One of the ways, is through their party manifestoes issued during elections which expresses their foreign policy if they come to power. During the 1980 Lok Sabha elections, Indira Gandhi made Janata Party's foreign policy as one of the electoral issues. (Patagundi and Rao, 1991)

Pressure groups also called interest groups work with the purpose of influencing policy making. There are many interest groups like Indo Soviet

friendship society. (Wikipedia,2022) Pressure groups have often close contacts in government establishment. They play an important role of lobbying, propagandizing, publishing, petitioning, debating etc. thus making creative criticism and review the government and law makers. Organized interest groups do make an important influence on India's policies in international sphere. (Kozicki,1958) Pressure groups are less role in influencing foreign policy in contrast to the domestic policy.

## Check your Progress Exercise 2

**Note i:** Use the Space given below for your answer

1) Enumerate the powers of the Parliament in foreign policy making in India. In what ways the Parliamentary standing committees assist in the foreign policy making?

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

## 2.5 MEDIA

Media as the fourth pillar of democracy, plays an important role in democracy. Media in India particularly, newspapers, journals and television and social media take increasingly greater interest in foreign affairs. Media is involved at all stages of policy making. Media is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation processes and that political leaders take the media into consideration in its national and international aspects. The role of media in providing input for making foreign policy decisions is important. Equally important is the role of media in providing information about the foreign policies of other countries. When an external, international event occurs, political leaders learn about it from the media. This information is processed through various image components and then the policy or decision-formulating process is set in motion. Media is an input source for decision-making and as an environment, which policy makers have to pay attention to during the policy formation (Srivastava, 2009). Media advisors and PR professionals participate in the process, officials consult with them and consider their advice. The presence of a 24hour media environment leads to a constant flow of news and information, which acts as a pressing factor upon governmental decision-making. On The constant exchange of information can also be seen as a problem to national security, since news coverage on certain topics may lead to disclosure of classified information. Media tend to become agenda setters. Often government and political parties utilize media to gain support of the masses. Media represents elite opinion of different political parties.

Social media is increasingly used as a tool for political posturing. During the 2020 Covid-19 Pandemic social media was effectively used by governments in communicating domestically and internationally. Rampant usage of social media as an official instrument of foreign policy and political posturing has started influencing not only politics but diaspora and international relations as well. This is backed by the fact that often, large states are interventionist by nature due to policy and geopolitical realities.

Thus, a state in the pursuit of security and prosperity needs to use further means to influence other actors in the international system for which it takes the help of media. Social media today acts as a powerful means of influencing actors, formation of public opinion and interest articulation and interest aggregation in international as well as domestic milieu.

### Check your Progress Exercise 3

**Note i:** Use the Space given below for your answer

1) Do political parties and pressure groups influence the making of foreign policy in India? What is the role of social media in foreign policy making?

---

---

---

---

---

## 2.6 LET US SUM UP

Making of foreign policy is the interplay of personalities, institutions, public opinion, media, pressure groups, political parties, etc. Foreign policies of countries evolve over time. It is dynamic and yet continuous. For e.g., When NDA government came to power, PM Modi he seemed to have brought a muscular foreign policy for India driven by realpolitik distinct from the previous governments. Yet India's stand on many issues like India's neutral stand in the Russian belligerence towards Ukraine and abstinence from voting in UNSC against Russia in March 2022 was a continuation of India's earlier foreign policy towards Russia. While executive has a upper hand in determining the foreign policy, there are several provisions in Indian constitution by which Parliament can make the executive answerable and responsible. Besides Public opinion, media and pressure groups are the other instruments of democracy that contribute in the making of foreign policy directly or indirectly.



There have been some outstanding statesmen, scholars, civil servants and diplomats whose guiding hand in shaping India's foreign policy, particularly in the initial decades, that must be acknowledged. They are, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, KPS Menon Sr., KR Narayanan, K Subhramaniam, G Parthasarathy, JN Dixit and Brajesh Mishra, among others. Their bold outlook and perceived influence with leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru. (Malone, 2004).

India's foreign policy making has been personality driven and strategically bold yet cautious at the same time. As Shivshankar Menon, former NSA stated, 'I conclude, in effect, that India's foreign policy and national security choices is marked by realism, and recognizably Indian (though this is hard to define). The role of the Indian prime minister in these decisions has always been most significant. International relations theory seems to underestimate the role of individuals, (while crime fiction overestimates it), even though choices are always made by people'.

---

## 2.7 REFERENCES

---

1. Allison, Graham (1971). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 1ed. Little Brown.
2. Bhatnagar, A. and Passi, R. 2016. *Neighbourhood First: Navigating Ties under Modi*. London: Global Policy and Observer Research Foundation.
3. Communist Party of India.(2006) *Indo-US Nuclear Deal*, <https://www.cpim.org/content/indo-us-nuclear-deal-0>
4. Egyankosh. *Decision Making Institutions*, Unit 4. <https://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/24422/1/Unit-4.pdf>
5. E-International Relations. *Sheriff, Folarin (2017)* <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/20/student-feature-foreign-policy/>
6. Indian Society for Cultural Cooperation and Friendship,(2022, March 11) In Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian\\_Society\\_for\\_Cultural\\_Cooperation\\_and\\_Friendship](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Society_for_Cultural_Cooperation_and_Friendship)
7. Kozicki, Richard. J. (1958). Indian Interest Groups and Indian Foreign Policy. *Indian Journal of Political Science*. 219-227. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42743605>
8. Malone David (2004). *Does the Elephant Dance, Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford.
9. Patagundi S. and Rao Rghvendra (1981). *Political Parties, Their Foreign Policy and Strategic concerns: An Investigation in to the*

context of the election manifestoes. *The Indian journal of political science*, Vol x( 2)

10. Raman P(2020)  
<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/jawaharlal-nehru-birth-anniversary-when-opposition-asked-7050948/>
11. Seventh Schedule, <https://www.mea.gov.in/Images/pdf1/S7.pdf>
12. Shaw, Debnath (2018) Distinguished Lectures. The making of India's Foreign Policy. <https://www.mea.gov.in/distinguished-lectures-detail.htm?764>
13. Srivastava, S. (2009). The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy: A Decision-Making. *7th AMSAR Conference on Roles of Media during Political Crisis*. Bangkok.
14. Tomar, Ravi (2002) Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Group. *India-US relations in a changing strategic environment*. Research Paper no.20 2001-2002

\*\*\*\*\*

## NATIONAL SECURITY

### Unit Structure :

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Concept & Dynamics of National Security, Threat Perceptions, Power Projections
- 3.2 Definition
- 3.3 Dynamics of National Security
- 3.4 Threat Perceptions
- 3.5 Power Projections
- 3.6 Defence Preparedness: Purchase and Indigenisation
- 3.7 India's Nuclear Policy
- 3.8 Summary
- 3.9 References
- 3.10 Further Reading

---

### 3.0 OBJECTIVES

---

This Unit is designed to give you some knowledge about the concept of National Security and role of power in determining the dynamics, threats and projections of national security. This unit will also give you a sneak peek into India's defence and nuclear policies.

With the conclusion of this unit, you will be:

- (a) Able to understand the concept and dynamics of National Security. You will also be able to identify the threats to national security and possible power projections to counter those threats.
- (b) Acquainted with defence preparedness the budgeting, purchasing and process of Indigenisation.
- (c) Updated with the Nuclear Policy of India

---

### 3.1 CONCEPT & DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY, THREAT PERCEPTIONS, POWER PROJECTIONS

---

3.a.1 The term "national security" is comprised of two words: nation and security. Out of these two, security is an older idea which is also more individualistic and subtler than the nation. Security is perceived as a state of mind wherein an individual is uperturbed by danger and fear. The term nation state is believed to originate with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and reinforced in the era that followed the French Revolution. Until World

War II, the term national security denoted primarily, the military security. Such view hold prominence to this day. However, its scope was widened to include nonmilitary threats during the period of cold war.

---

## 3.2 DEFINITION

---

As mentioned earlier that the term national security majority pertained to military security till World War II. Later on, various thinkers incorporated a number of variables in the concept, making it more inclusive. There variables included notions like military power, economics conditions, global alliances, attitude of super powers towards the countries in question. The internal situation, social equilibrium support from regional groupings / international organisations, and so on.

The Yale University of the United States of America made the first mention of national security in 1790 while referring to its relationship with domestic industries.<sup>1</sup>

Walter Lippman held that National Security was the ability of a nation to retain its legitimate interests without a war, and if challenged, to maintain them by war.<sup>2</sup>

In 1950, the National Security Council of US considered National Security as the ability to preserve as a free nation<sup>3</sup> with its fundamental institutions and values intact.

For Harold Lasswell, National Security is the ability of balancing all instruments of foreign policy, coordinated handling of arms, diplomacy, information and economics, proper correlation of all measures of foreign and domestic policy.

Arnold Wolfers calls it an ambiguous symbol meaning different things to different people. National security objectively means the absence of fear that such values will be attached.

International Encyclopedia of social sciences defines national security as the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats.

According to William Blair the concept national security depends on things like balance of payment, economic affairs, foreign assistance, etc.

National Defence College New Delhi (1996), defines National Security as an appropriate and aggressive balance of political residence and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might. To conclude, security is a very serious matter in the life of a nation and individual, both. This concept has evolved over time but has a fundamental core that had remained unchanged. As a concept, security relies on the aspirations of people as a member of nation-states. The state and the government are responsible in providing a minimum required security, the feeling of absence of any danger or threat.

1. How has the concept of security changed with time?

---

---

---

---

---

2. Define National Security.

---

---

---

---

---

### 3.3 DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

As noted from the definitions above, the concept has evolved over time and the process seems never ending. The following dynamics can be identified which contribute to the development of the concept of National Security:

- **Threat Perception:** Threat is a warning of any danger or harm which is close at hand. Threat is multi-dimensional, and even invisible or abstract threat can be identified.
- **Components and Meaning of the term – "National Security"**

The term "Nation" denotes a group of people within a recognised national border. "Security" connotes to the fulfillment of the needs of such people. Such needs are of majorly physiological, psychological and emotional nature. Security may vary in its availability but not in its essence. Similarly, the character and profiles of nations may also vary. Therefore, the concept of national security may differ according to the volatility of a nation and its governance.

- **Relativity to time period**

While the definition of National Security may remain same, the concept may vary according to time. This change is relative to the nature of change that threats and their intensely may undergo, with the passage of time.

- **Elements Constituting National Security**

Identification of the elements of National Security is imperative in proper understanding and maximization of the concept. These elements are primary focus of governance in any country. Prabhakaran Paleri has identified 15 elements: military security, economic security, resource security, border security, demographic security, disaster security, energy security, geostrategic security, informational security, food security, health security, ethnic security, environmental security, cyber security and genomic security.

- **Conditional Factors of National Security**

Often times, a threat or a condition of threat, which may be either temporary or permanent is mistook as an element in administrative decision making regarding national security. Such ambiguity happens when the system focuses more on symptoms rather than actual problem for solution. Therefore, it's of central importance to distinguish conditional factors from the elements of national security. Some of such factors are: governmental system, political stability, drug trafficking, arms trafficking, social security, violence, weapons of mass destruction, literacy and education, spirituality, terrorism, homeland / internal security etc.

- **Global Security as a Concept**

National Security when engulfs the entire world in its purview, turns to into global security. However, in present scenario, the concepts of national and global securities do not stand in congruence to each other, although both have the same elements. Any unpredictable turn of events, which may threaten the existence of independent nations may push the world to work for global security. For example, the formation of intra governmental organisations as EU, increasing trend towards globalisation, the American campaign of "War on Terror" or current pandemic situation of COVID-19.

**Exercise**

1. How is National Security relative to time & period?

---

---

---

---

---



2. What are the constituent elements of National Security

National Security

---

---

---

---

---

3. What are the conditional factors of National Security?

---

---

---

---

---

4. Discuss the concept of global security.

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

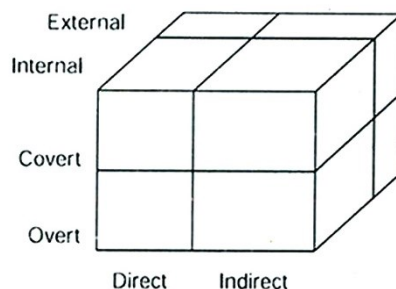
### 3.4 THREAT PERCEPTIONS

---

Simply put, threat is regarded as a possible danger or harm to something (a target). In terms of national security, this ultimate target is maximisation of national security. In a human system, threat is real, present & endless, however it may be vague. Nations strive to identify and prevent the threat from hitting its cultivate target, i.e. maximising national security.

The process of threat perception begins with the prewarning of the threat and continues till the threat is either diffused, destroyed, reduced in force, effect or value or the target is displaced from its path. Threats are multi-dimensional and identifiable even if it is invisible or abstract.

Here, we are going to use the threat matrix cube developed by Paleri to analyse Multi-Dimensional threats.

**Figure 3.1: the Threat matrix Cube**

According to the threat Matrix cube (TMC), threats can be analysed as:-

- (a) External and Internal
- (b) Covert and Overt
- (c) Direct and Indirect

While the types of threats according to cubes are, actual and imminent, their degree / intensity and direction may vary with respect to time. According to TMC, a threat has to be located inside one or more of the eight multi-dimensional cubes. Once located, the threat is continuously observed. The key observation is that of intensity, changes and direction of threat. This is the beginning of a dynamic process of protection of target from threat, which is.

**Table 3.1****Types of Threats to National Security with Select Examples**

	Types of Threat		Select Examples
1.	Direct Overt Internal	DOI	Insurgency, communal violence, corruption
2.	Direct Covert Internal	DCI	Naxalism, corruption, insurgency
3.	Direct Overt External	DOE	War, terrorism, sanctions
4.	Direct Covert External	DCE	Proxy war, transnational crimes
5.	Indirect Overt Internal	IOI	Environmental degradation, disasters
6.	Indirect Covert Internal	ICI	Social insecurity
7.	Indirect Overt External	IOE	Terror support, neighborhood instability
8.	Indirect Covert External	ICE	Surreptitious foreign aid.

Within the TMC, the threats are categorized as direct or indirect, overt or covert and internal or external. A straight forward threat is direct. An indirect threat can also be easily identified if it's directed towards the target. Overt threats are easily comprehensible, as they are non-deceptive. Covert threats are kept secret, else they would not be approved of. They are executed by the agents without the knowledge of the target. A threat is considered external / internal according to the relative position with target. A threat at any one time is comprised of these these elements. In the given context, the threat is identified and appreciated for pre emptive or counter measures. Pre-emption is a measure taken before the threat originates. Counter measures are taken after threat leaves its origin, to hit the target. Mitigation of damage is undertaken after threat has hit the target.

### Exercise

1. What do you understand by threat?

---

---

---

---

---

2. What is Threat Matrix cube (TMC)?

---

---

---

---

---

3. What are the three categories of threat according to TMC?

---

---

---

---

---

## Types of Threats by Sector

- **Military Threats**

Military threats occupy the central concern of national security. Military actions pose a comprehensive threat to state, this threat may cause pressure, damage and even disintegrate the state. It causes repression, subversion and obliteration of the institutions of state. Military measures can damage the political, economic and social achievements of state.

Military threats are of many types. The most intensive threat is that of invasion and occupation of a state by another. Military threats may also assume the form of punishment. Such action aims at changing the government policy, rather to seize the territory or usurp the institutions. Attack on Vietnam by both USA and China can be quoted as an example here.

Military threats can also be of indirect nature, when targeted towards external interests of the state viz the allies, shipping routes, or strategically placed territories.

- **Political Threats**

A military threat can turn into a political threat when it has political objectives like occupation of territory, change of government or institutions, manipulation of policy, etc. A society which internally contests its ideas and institutions becomes extremely vulnerable to such threats. Political threats originate from conflicting ideas, information and traditions the states based on one particular idea, may feel threatened by the circulation of a contradictory concept. Anti-communism of US or anti-imperialism of USSR, are cases in point. However, a mere clash of ideologies cannot be considered a source of threat, is highly debatable. While some states consider the mere existence of another state propagating contradictory ideology as a threat.

A more serious threat can be the interference in the domestic policy of another state. If there are issues over language, religion or local culture, even an un-intended and casual contact with a rival state may culminate into a possible threat. Political threats can also be intentional. For example, soviet actions under Brezhnev doctrine (1968), US actions against radical regimes in Cuba 1962, Chile 1982, Guatemala and so on.

Political threats can also be structural, when they arise more from the nature of the situation than from the specific intentions of one state towards the other. For example, India and Pakistan. Both the countries have deep historical, geographical and cultural ties but their organising principles pose a permanent threat to each other while Pakistan is an Islamic, theocratic state, India is a secular country. Which recognises diversity on the lives of federation.

- **Economic Threats**

Economic threats are not easily identifiable. In the economic domain, every state is at risk, competition and uncertainty. Also, the economic responsibilities of a state are often not as well defined as military or political responsibilities. Economic threats are also narrow as compared to military threats, since they only target the economy of the state. However, an economic threat may nurture political and military threats as secondary outcomes, but there is no direct threat to any other sector. It also implies that economic threats are neither quick nor precise in their effect. Rather in its initial phase, an economic threat may simply appear as harmless malpractice. The economy of a state is not only connected to the physical base of the state, but also to its ideology and institutions. It has complicated dynamics and is receptive to drastic fluctuations. Therefore, it cannot be effectively put under check like other physical attributes of states.

Diverse economic threats can be recognised, for example, export practices, import restrictions, price fluctuations, defaults on debts, currency control and so on. Such measures may have dire consequences on other nations like loss of income to the devastation of industries. It must be noted here, that economic security is directly linked to military capability and domestic stability sound economic conditions contribute to building up of military strength. Similarly, a stable economy is a guarantee of stable society.

- **Environmental / Ecological Threats**

Threats to national security may also emanate in ecological forms. Environmental calamities may prove detrimental to the physical base of state. Traditionally ecological threats were not included in national security. However, with the increase in human activity and industrialization, the intensity of ecological incidents also increased. Earthquakes, storms, plagues, floods, droughts and such calamities became capable of inflicting a war like damage on states. More contemporary issues like trans boundary pollution, climate change, rising of global temperatures pose a serious threat to human survival.

It can therefore, be concluded that national security is a very complicated phenomenon. Each state is surrounded by a host of threats which emerge in diverse forms. Every state tries to assess these threats and frame a policy to deal with them, according to its national interest and power. In our next section we shall discuss this aspect of power.

## Exercise

1. What are military threats?

---

---

---

---

---

2. What are various types of military threats?

---

---

---

---

---

3. What are Pol. Threats?

---

---

---

---

4. What are types of political threats?

---

---

---

---

---

5. What are economics threats?

---

---

---

---

---



6. What are different types of economic threats?

National Security

---

---

---

---

---

7. What are Ecological Threats. Give a few examples.

---

---

---

---

---

### 3.5 POWER PROJECTIONS

National Power can be understood as the capacity one state to influence the behavior of other states to suit its own interests for the fulfillment of its objectives.

According to Paddleford and Lincoln, "National Power is that combination of power and capability of a state which the states uses for fulfilling its national interests and goals."

According to Hartman, "National Power denotes the ability of a nation to fulfill national goals. It tells us s to how much powerful or weak a particular nation is in securing its national goals."

Organski defines National Power as "the ability of a nation to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with its own ends. Unless a nation can do this she may be large, she may be wealthy she may even be great but she is not powerful."

From the above definitions it can be concluded that national power is not an absolute, but a relative concept. We can assess a state's power when compared to other states, and not in isolation. Power is also related national capabilities and resources (both tangible and intangible). Also, power is related to elements, that a state accumulates to give itself a cutting edge over other state.

Therefore, Power can be said to consist of two basic components.

- Capabilities
- Political will (including the ability to implement policy)

Capabilities have at least four aspects:

- Military
- Economy / Technology
- Demography
- Culture

We shall discuss these in the coming sections.

### Nature of National Power

- **Contextual:** Possession of military assets may enable a nation to look powerful, but the adequacy of such assets against a potential enemy or in a particular conflict is the substantive question. Hence, power should be evaluated in a particular context.
- **Situational:** It may happen that certain elements or combinations of national power are / are not applicable to peculiar situations involving particular actors. For example, American nuclear might could not deter North Korea or North Vietnam from taking up arms against it while Vietnam also succeeded in their struggle.
- **Unmeasurable Factors which are Subjective:** There are some factors which contribute to power, but cannot be measured. For example, the quality of leadership, national character of people, social harmony etc.
- **Dynamism:** National Power is subject to change over time as its composing elements also undergo changes.
- **Perceived Image:** It concerns the image of a state, which other states perceive about the objective elements of that state. For example, India is a reckoning power with nuclear capabilities and one of the best militaries in the world. Yet, a popular belief about India is that it cannot project its power corresponding to its military might. Therefore, its neighbor like China and Pakistan find it easy to create a menace in this region.
- **Non-Permanent:** Power depends largely on what the states possess at a given point in time. Prior to 1998, China was considered more powerful than India as the latter did not possess nukes. Similarly, after the May 1998, Pokharan explosions, India became more powerful than Pakistan, as it didn't have nukes. But as Pakistan also acquired nuclear capability, a parity in this region was attained.

### Elements of National Power

The source of the power of a nation is comprised of various elements, which are also known as instruments or attributes. They may be categorized as "natural" and "social" according to their applicability and origin. While geography, resources and population etc, comprise the natural elements, social elements include economics, political, military, psychological or informational.

- **Geography:** Out of all the elements, geography is a stable, tangible, permanent and natural element. Important geographical factors like location, climate, topography and size are instrumental to national power of any state.
- **Location:** England remained the only unconquered country in Europe, thanks to the English Channel. Whereas Poland had been occupied time and again, by its powerful neighbors. USA emerged as a Hegemon, as it always had a privilege, of never witnessing a war on its land.
- **Topography:** Topography refers to the nature of terrain. There are examples of Switzerland and India to quote here. While Alps saved Switzerland from wars, Himalayas act as natural barriers, protecting India from attacks on Northern fronts.
- **Size:** Size of a country is a decisive factor in its power. Bigger size implies more resources and more potential. It also provides strategic edge. A large size helps a country to defend by retreat followed by an attack. Russia followed this strategy against both Napoleon and Hitler.
- **Climate:** Climate determines the food production, economy and even the culture of a nation. It can either hinder or encourage human capabilities. For example, a good monsoon adds to food production in India and while a weak monsoon bears an adverse effect on agriculture.
- **Natural Resources:** The industrial and military capabilities and economic growth of a nation are largely dependent on the availability of natural resources. Erstwhile USSR and the USA, became super powers, only because of self-sufficiency in natural resources. However, mere possession of natural resources is not a guarantee of power. The state must also possess the necessary technology to tap them. African states are a case in point.
- **Population:** Human resources for industry, development, war and so on come from population. Bahrain, for instance, can never aspire to be a super power. However, a large population may not always be a source of strength. A balance between population and resources, should be struck. The case of India can be quoted in this context.

## Social Elements of Power

- **Economic Capabilities:**

Economic power is a vital element of national power as it is a means for acquiring military power. It forms the basis of welfare, prosperity and enlightenment of citizens. A state which possesses a developed and growing economy alone can be a great power. Poverty is a great

limitation on power ambitions, as happens in the case of most of the third world countries.

- **Military Power**

Since times immemorial, military power is used as a Yardstick of national power. Rather, these two are after considered synonyms. While, the size of armed forces and the technology at their disposal are the major determinants of military strength, other factors are also associated with it now. The first one, is the ability to project power around the globe. For example, US Navy's Carrier Battle Group, which can project its phenomenal strength anywhere in the world. Another factor is potential rapid mobilisation. For example, Israel has a permanent force of 176500 only. But it can raise 44500 combat ready troops within 24 hours. India, however, has no such first-line reserve.

- **Health and Education:**

Healthy and powerful people make a powerful country. Educated people comprise a technically qualified pool and healthy people are more productive.

- **Technology:**

A country becomes powerful when it becomes technologically sophisticated. A country with high intellectual and industrial capacity produces better goods and weapons. For this having educated and productive people is not enough. The state must be willing to spend on research and development (R&D) as well. The USA is the country which is top investor in R&D, followed by China and Japan.

- **Transportation System:**

A nation's ability to move people, raw materials, weapons, products, swiftly, easily and reasonably is a great advantage on its part. For example, in US there are 1049 miles of paved roads and 45 miles of railroad track at every 1000 square miles. On the other hand, Nigeria has only 213 miles of paved roads and only 6 miles of railroad track, per 100 sq. miles.

- **Information and Communication:**

In this age of globalisation, information and the ability to swiftly disseminate it, can be a game changer to any power. In military sphere, possession of accurate information help nations to construct operational synergies comprising of battle space awareness, enhanced command and control and creation of precision force. While the world already witnessed a war of propaganda in the form of cold war, the future, will witness cyber warfare.

- **Political System**

Every political system has its pros and cons. For instance, an authoritarian system restricts individual liberties, but is efficient while responding to emergency situations. A democratic system may not respond effectively to give such response but enjoys popular support.

- **Bureaucracy and Leadership**

Bureaucracy or administrative machinery is pivotal to the functioning of any government. Efficiency of bureaucracy is responsible in translating the mobilization of resources at state's disposal. Examples of Indian and Soviet bureaucracies are often quoted for their so-called insensitivity towards people. However, post 9/11, bureaucracy in USA has assumed more power and proved their merit.

History bears ample evidence about how leadership shapes the power of a nation. It was the leadership of Winston Churchill that helped Britain emerge victoriously out of World War II. Similarly, leadership of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, was pivotal in shaping post independent India.

- **National Character and Morale:**

National Character refers to the traits of people, their attitude and aptitude towards work and national needs. For example, Russians are known for their sturdiness, Americans for spirit of initiative and adventure, Japanese for nationalism, Indian for their tolerance and so on.

National morale refers to the degree to which a nation supports the foreign policies of its government. It also depends upon a combination of circumstances and quality of leadership. While Indian morale suffered a low after the defeat in 1962 war, it was the victory of 1965 war that boosted it again. This high morale was reflected in 1971 war as well.

- **Alliances:**

It is the age-old element of national power. Often weak states either join a military coalition or align their policies with a super power. Several such alliances were formed during cold war, viz, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, Warsaw Pact to name a few.

It must be noted that all elements of national power are inter-related. While assessing the national power of any state, all these elements should be taken into consideration.

## Exercise

1. What do you understand by National Power?

---

---

---

---

---

2. Discuss the nature of National Power?

---

---

---

---

---

3. What do you understand by elements of National Power?

---

---

---

---

---

4. Describe the natural elements of power.

---

---

---

---

---

5. Describe the social elements of power.

---

---

---

---

---

## Summary:

In this section we learned about the meaning and dynamics of national security. We also understood what is a threat and how it is perceived we also learned the types of threat which a nation face. Finally, we understood what is national power, its components and nature.

---

### 3.6 DEFENCE PREPAREDNESS: PURCHASE AND INDIGENISATION

---

In the previous sections, we understood, in detail about national security, possible threats and the role of power in facing these threats. But it was a conceptual aspect. The practical aspect of national security is how a nation organises its defence mechanism to deal with them. In this section we are going to learn how defence preparedness is managed in India, what is defence purchase and what is defence indigenization.

In 1992 Ministry of Defence prepared a draft of Defence Procurement and Procedure (DPP). As per the recommendation by the group of Ministers on reforming National Security System, new Defence Procurement Management Structures and Systems were set up in the Ministry of Defence (MoD) in 2001. Since then, this body drafts DPP which is released under the aegis of MoD.

#### Basic Steps of DPP

Simply put, defence purchase consists of the following steps:

1. Drafting of General Staff Qualitative Requirements (GSQR) by the armed forces. Qualitative here means that it's a kind of preliminary specification of the equipment required, the reason behind the requirement, and its general physical and operational details.
2. Acceptance of Necessity (AoN) by MoD.
3. Request for Information (RFI)
4. Approval of the Defence Acquisition Council.
5. Request for proposals.
6. Field trials.
7. Contact Negotiations
8. Approval of the cabinet committee on security
9. Internal approval by MoD / IMOF goes back to the CCS for approval.
10. Final signing of contract



## Overview of the Defence Procurement Policy (DDP) 2020

The first Defence Procurement Procedure (DPP) was promulgated in the 2002. Since, then MoD promulgate DPP at the interval of 3-4 years. DPP 2016, based on the recommendations of Dhirendra Singh committee, replaced the DPP of 2013. DPP 2016 focused on indigenously designed, developed and manufactured weapon systems. However, it was facing a backlash on lack of transparency (Rafael Controversary), inconvenience offset regulations, etc. Therefore, a committee under the chairmanship of Director General (Acquisition) was formed to review the Defence Procurement Procedure (DPP) 2016.

After almost a yearlong deliberation, the MoD released new DPP in September 2020, known as Defence Acquisition Procedure 2020. The new DPP aligns itself with the governmental vision of *Atmanirbhar Bharat* and strengthening Indian industry through Make in India initiative. Its objective has been stated to transform India into a global manufacturing hub.

### Salient Features of DPP 2020

- **For Ease of Doing Business**
  - The new DPP has set up a Project Management Unit to support contract management and to streamline the acquisition process. It will promote time bound defence procurement process and quicker decision making.
  - DPP 2020 has also revised offset guidelines. Preferences is now given to the manufacture of complete defence products in place of component manufacturing. Various multipliers have been added to provide Incentivization in discharge of offsets.
  - The offset clause in government to government, single vendor and Inter-governmental (IGA), has been removed. Offsets are that part of contracted price with a foreign supplier, which must be re-invested in the Indian defence sector. Government could also purchase technology against offsets.

Credit values earned on offset transactions are called multipliers. A multiple of 3 implies that a foreign company can claim credits upto three times of its actual offset investment. This offset policy was adopted in 2005 for all defence capital imports above Rs. 300 crores. Under this, the foreign vendor was required to invest at least 30% of the value of the contract in India. According to a CAG Report this offset clause became a major hurdle in technology transfer to India.

- Scope of trials have been restricted to physical evaluation of core operational parameters. This has been done to rationalize procedures for trials and testing.

- **To Develop India into Global Manufacturing Hub**

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in defence manufacturing has been introduced. A new category 'Buy (Global Manufacture in India)' has been introduced. This will encourage foreign companies to set up manufacturing through its subsidiary in India.

- **To Promote Make in India and *Atmanirbhar Bharat* Initiatives**

- Certain categories like Buy (Indian Indigenously Designed Developed and Manufactured – IDDM), Production Agency in Design and Development, are now exclusively reserved for Indian Vendors. FDI of more than 49% is not allowed in such categories.
- There's an attempt to indigenize imported spares, by promoting their manufacturing in India. Co-production facilities through Inter Governmental Agreements (IGA) have been established to achieve 'Import Substitution' and reduce life cycle cost.
- Over Enhancement in Indigenous Content has been done in all categories for products like software, etc.

- **Other Features**

A new category 'Leasing' has been introduced for acquisition, alongside 'Buy' and 'Make' categories. It will allow periodical rental payments, instead of massive capital investment. This will be useful for cutting cost in terms of military equipment's like transport fleets, simulators, etc which are not used in actual warfare.

**Table 3.2**

**Prioritized Procurement Categories and Indigenous Context (IC) Requirements, DPP 2016 and DAP 2020**

DPP 2016			DAP 2020		
Prioritiesed Category	IC (%)	RFP issued to (Indian / Foreign)	Prioritiesed Category	IC (%)	RFP issued to (Indian / Foreign)
Buy (Indian IDDM)	≥ 40% if indigenous design; else ≥60%	Indian	Buy (Indian IDDM)	≥ 50% and indigenous design	Indian
Buy (Indian)	≥ 40%	Indian	Buy (Indian)	≥ 50% if indigenous design; else ≥60%	Indian

Buy & Make (Indian)	> 50% in 'Make' portion	Indian	Buy & Make (Indian)	> 50% in 'Make' portion	
Buy & Make	IC on case to case basis	Foreign	Buy (Global Manufacture in India)	≥ 50%	Foreign
Buy (Global)	NA	Foreign / Indian	Buy (Global)	Nil for foreign; ≥ 30% for Indian	Foreign / Indian

For effective defence capability, maintaining national sovereignty and achievement of military superiority, self-reliance in defence manufacturing is crucial. The DAP attempts protect the interests of domestic manufacturers through indigenization of technology. It also provides encouragement to foreign investment in country.

### Exercise

1. What do you understand by DPP?

---

---

---

---

---

---

2. Write the steps of DPP in India.

---

---

---

---

---

---

3. Throw light on the DAP 2020?

---

---

---

---

---

---

As discussed earlier, indigenization of the defence sector is the major focus of government of India. This policy has been at the center governance since Independence itself.

- **Need for indigenous defence sector:**

The following factors highlight the need for Indigenisation of defence in India.

Firstly, Indigenisation is required to reduce India's Fiscal Deficit. India's defence sector imports stand at 70%, making us the second largest arms importer in the world, after Saudi Arabia. As per the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), India was the third largest defence spender in the world in 2019.

Secondly, indigenisation is required to cut the risk to national security. Imported defence equipment's in Indian create various challenges related to their maintenance, repair & overhead (MRO), because of non-availability of spares and assemblies. As India shares porous border with its hostile neighbours, such equipment without adequate MRO can put India at a serious threat during any war like situation.

Thirdly, indigenisation will lead to generation of employment. As per the governmental estimates, a mere 20-25% reduction in imports will create 100,000 to 120,000 additional highly skilled jobs in India. Along with it, indigenisation will give a boost to large scale innovation, a great number of spin off industries, startups etc.

Fourthly, indigenisation will boost Indian exports thus creating forex reserve. The SIPRI data states India as the 23<sup>rd</sup> largest country in reference to defence exports. This state of affairs will change, once India starts exporting indigenously manufactured defence technology and equipment to the neighbouring states. Promotion of Research & Development (R&D) in defence sector, will enhance the focus on both civil & military economy.

Fifthly, indigenisation will boost the confidence and trust of Indian armed forces. It will reinforce India's image in the global defence arena.

- **Governmental initiatives to encourage indigenisation in defence sector**

Firstly, DAP 2020 focusses on self-reliance. It allowed the Defence Acquisition Council (DAC) to "fast track" ways to acquire weapons. It aims India to become self-reliant in 13 weapons platform by 2025. The platforms include missiles, warships, tanks, aircraft and artillery.

Secondly, the establishment of E-Big Portal. It is an online portal to process applications for Industrial Licenses (IL). An Innovation for

Defence Excellence (IDEX) framework has been set up. Its objective is the creation of an ecosystem to foster innovation & technology development in Defence & Aerospace.

Thirdly, in order to facilitate more number of startups, annual capacity restriction criteria for defence industries has been removed.

Fourthly, approval of the strategic partnership policy, to promote Joint Ventures (JV) between global defence giants and indigenous manufacturers. For this government will identify certain private players as strategic partner (SP). Such SPs will form long term relationships with global giants to imbibe technology and capacity building at lower level.

Fifthly, expansion of FDIs in 2020, the government allowed 74% FDI under the automatic route.

Sixthly, ban on 101 import items in defence sector to encourage indigenisation. Such items include high tech weapon as artillery gives, sonar systems, assault rifles, radars, transport aircraft etc.

### **Present Status of Defence Indigenisation**

- Development of INS Vikrant by Millennium Aero Dynamics and Cochin Shipyard. It is first aircraft carrier to be built completely in India.
- BARC and DRDO jointly developed Arahant, India first indigenous nuclear submarine.
- HAL and Taneja Aerospace and Aviation Limited (TAAL) are jointly developing Dhruv multirole helicopter, light combat helicopter (LCH), Rudra armed helicopter, and Tejas Light Combat Aircraft.
- DRDO is developing Nishant, an indigenous unmanned aerial vehicle.
- India has developed 5 missiles under the integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP):
  - Akash (Surface to air)
  - Prithvi (surface to surface)
  - Nag (anti – tank)
  - Trishul (naval version of Prithvi)
  - Agni Ballistic missiles having varied ranges: Agni V has given India an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) status in 2013.

## Challenges:

- **Low participation of private sector:** Majority of defence needs are fulfilled by DRDO and PSUs in India. Additionally, there's a problem of land acquisition as well. This, along with non-availability of Permanent Arbitration Committee to settle disputes, discourages private sector participation.
- **Delay in manufacturing and procurement:** Bureaucratic and political hurdles along with delay in completion of defence projects is a great set back. Sometimes there's a delay in delivery also.
- **Conflict between manufacturers and defence forces:** Conflicts in the nature of the design, capacity etc. of the equipment between the forces and manufacturers proves to be a major setback to India's defence.
- A huge part of India's defence budget is dedicated to salaries, retirement benefits, perks & privilege, MRO of equipment. It creates shortage of funds to build defence capabilities.

## Suggestions:

- Boosting private sector participation by creating permanent arbitration cell.
- Implementation of the Shaketkar Committee Recommendations (2015) on the closure of Army Post Establishments and Military Farms in peace locations.
- Providing autonomous status to DRDO. It will improve the number of sub contracts to private players thus instilling confidence in them.
- Improving the in house design capacity like that of Naval Design Bureau. It will reduce conflicts between manufacturers and defence forces.

## Exercise

1. Explain the need of indigenisation of defence in India?

---

---

---

---

---

2. Discuss the initiatives taken by government of India for indigenisation.

---

---

---

---

---

3. What is the present status of defence indigenisation in India?

---

---

---

---

---

4. What are the challenges faced in defence indigenisation in India? Give possible suggestions as well.

---

---

---

---

---

### **Summary**

This section was dedicated to the defence preparedness in India, we learnt the process of Defence Procurement in India. We understood the new DPP of India, and how it aims to promote indigenisation of defence. We also studied the present status, steps taken by the government and the challenges faced by defence indigenisation. We studied why defence indigenisation is important and the possible suggestions for improving indigenisation.

---

### **3.7 INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY**

---

A nuclear policy / doctrine is a statement by a nuclear weapon state as to how it would employ its nuclear weapons in both, peace and war. It is a guide to state's response during the war, when deterrence fails.



## Background

Post Sino-Indian war of 1962, China conducted its first nuclear tests in 1964 and in years to follow. This propelled India to follow the suit.

India, for the first time conducted its first nuclear tests, Pokharan-I in 1974, under the prime minister ship of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. However, Mrs. Gandhi declared it as a "peaceful nuclear explosion".

However, India had to face intense international pressure to discontinue with its nuclear pursuits. But again in 1998, India, under the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government carried out another nuclear test Pokharan-II. This time a fission device, a low yield device and a thermonuclear device were tested.

After the 1998 nuclear tests India declared itself as a nuclear weapon state. Alongside, Vajpayee government enunciated a doctrine of 'No First Use' (NFU) of nuclear weapons. NFU, was coupled with Credible Minimum Deterrence (CMD) principle.

India formally adopted a Nuclear Doctrine on Jan. 4, 2003. It is based on staggered and punitive retaliation, in case of the failure of deterrence.

## India's Nuclear Policy / Doctrine

India's Nuclear Doctrine has three primary components:

### No First Use

- India will use nuclear weapons only as a response to attack on Indian forces / territory. A caveat has been developed about the possible of nuclear weapons in case of a chemical biological attack.

### Massive Retaliation

- India will stage a massive response to a first strike, which shall inflict "unacceptable damage".
- While the doctrine doesn't clearly espouse a counter value strategy (Civilian targets), the text implies the same meaning.

### Credible Minimum Deterrence

India shall maintain such numbers and capabilities of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, which would be merely sufficient to issue intolerable retaliation. India shall also keep in consideration the first strike survival of its relatively small arsenal.

## Critical evaluation of NFU Policy

### Advantages

- The premise of NFU policy is an assured second-strike capacity, which survives the first strike and retains adequate number of warheads for launching an over whelming retaliation on the adversary.
- NFU minimizes the probability of nuclear use Chances of reacting to a false alarm are also eliminated.

- It provides an opportunity to work towards a Global No First Use (GNFU) order along with China.
- NFU strengthened India's nuclear diplomacy by creating an image of "responsible nuclear power" for India.
- NFU doctrine is economically reasonable for India as it has plethora of development goals to achieve.

### Disadvantages

- Nuclear weapons often serve as a "cloak of disguise" to conventional inferiority (low capacity of conventional weapon). It's used by conventionally inferior states to deter an attack, by projecting a possible nuclear response.
- NFU introduces a risk element of nuclear weapons to any war planned by a conventionally superior state.
- A potential invader cannot decisively perceive to achieve victory, at an acceptable cost, when there's a possibility of nuclear escalation.

It should also be noted here that India has traditionally opposed and refused to sign international treaties like Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). India's opposition is on the ground of discriminatory nature of such treaties. India believes that every nation has the right to tame the atom for the purpose of development and self defence.

To conclude, India's strategic environment is evolving rapidly, calling for a review of nuclear doctrine also. But the costs of reviewing nuclear doctrine should also be given equal importance by the decision makers. For this a sound policy debate should be conducted across different platforms, involving all the stake holders.

### Exercise

1. What is a Nuclear Doctrine?

---

---

---

---

---

2. Throw some light on the background of India's Nuclear policy.

---

---

---

---

---

3. Discuss the three aspects of India's Nuclear Policy.

National Security

4. Critically evaluate NFU policy.

### 3.8 Summary

In this section we learned what is a nuclear doctrine and how India developed its nuclear policy. We also understood the NFU policy of India's Nuclear doctrine along with its advantages and disadvantages we also understood why India is opposed to CTBT & NPT.

### 3.9 References

1. Paleri, Prabhakaran, *National Security: Imperatives and Challenges*, Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Company Ltd., New Delhi, India, 2007, pg. 52.
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*

### 3.10 Further Reading

- Paleri, Prabhakaran, *National Security: Imperatives and Challenges*, Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Company Ltd., New Delhi India, 2007.
- Buzam, Barry, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., Sussex, Great Britain, 1983.
- Asthana, Dr. N.C. and Nirmal Dr. Anjali, *National Security and Global Strategic Issues*, Points Publishers, Jaipur, India, 2016.
- Yadav, RS and Dhanda, Suresh, *India's Foreign Policy: Contemporary Trends*, Shipra Publications, New Delhi, India 2009.
- Policy document Defence Procurement Procedure.

\*\*\*\*\*

## ECONOMIC POWER AND 'SOFT' POWER

### Unit Structure :

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Economic Power
- 4.3 Trade as an Instrument in Foreign Policy
  - 4.3.1 Trade Blocs
  - 4.3.2 Free Trade Agreements
  - 4.3.3 Role of World Trade Organisation
- 4.4 Quest for Energy Security and Maritime Security
  - 4.4.1 Energy Sustainability
  - 4.4.2 Maritime capability and security
- 4.5 Soft Power
- 4.6 Perspective of Soft-power in foreign policy
  - 4.6.1 India's Cultural and Historical Linkages in world
  - 4.6.2 Indian Diaspora
- 4.7 Conclusion
- 4.8 References

---

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

---

Power is the ability of a state to make it will prevail and to enforce respect and command obedience from other states. In international Politics, Power cannot be exercised; it has to be acknowledged by others. Joseph Nye (An American foreign policy expert) said 'the ability of X to influence the behaviour of Y to get the desired outcome he wants' in his famous book 'Bound to lead: The changing nature of American power. In the Multi-polar world-order, no power is absolute; not enough to produce the desired outcome, unless the means of projecting power is collective. When hard power is not enough to achieve the vital interest, Economic Power and soft power can enhance the hegemony of any state. In the 21st century, the State cannot rely on deterrence by Military and nuclear power. Many states have developed nuclear capability and international standards have been raised for not to regard nuclear weapons as an option. In such a scenario, A state must possess good capital or energy security, whereas soft power is constructive, it is an ability to use power without coercion. Nations who attain the complete energy security level up to project themselves through soft power. Economy and soft power are co-related factors to support each other while building a state as a superpower nation.

---

## 4.2 ECONOMIC POWER

---

The economy of India is a developing market economy. It is the world's fifth-largest economy by nominal GDP and the third-largest by purchasing power parity (PPP). According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on a per capita income basis, India ranked 142nd by GDP (nominal) and 128th by GDP (PPP). From independence in 1947 until 1991, successive governments promoted protectionist economic policies, with extensive state intervention and economic regulation. This is characterised as dirigisme, in the form of the License Raj. The end of the Cold War and an acute balance of payments crisis in 1991 led to the adoption of a broad economic liberalisation in India. Since the start of the 21st century, annual average GDP growth has been 6% to 7%, and from 2013 to 2018, India was the world's fastest growing major economy, surpassing China. Historically, India was the largest economy in the world for most of the two millennia from the 1st until the 19th century. Alone India and China used to produce 80% of World GDP till 18<sup>th</sup> Century. The long-term growth perspective of the Indian economy remains positive due to its young population and corresponding low dependency ratio, healthy savings, and investment rates, increasing globalisation in India and integration into the global economy.

---

## 4.3 TRADE AS AN INSTRUMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY

---

India's economy is a mixture of traditional village farming and handicrafts alongside booming modern industry and mechanized agriculture. India is a major exporter of technology services and business outsourcing, and the service sector makes up a large share of its economic output. Liberalization of India's economy since the 1990s has boosted economic growth, but inflexible business regulation, widespread corruption, and persistent poverty pose challenges to ongoing expansion. Economic power brings sustainability in state operations, it is a powerful tool to influence foreign policy in the world. Along with hard and soft power, economic power helps the state to be recognised as super-power.

### 4.3.1 Trade blocs

A trade bloc is a group of countries that work together to provide special trade agreements. This facilitates trade between specific countries within the block. The European Union (EU) is an example of a trading bloc. Trade blocs are intergovernmental treaties, often part of regional intergovernmental organizations, which reduce or eliminate trade barriers (such as tariffs) between participating countries.

The trade blocs can be an independent agreement between several states (e.g North American Free Trade Agreement) or part of a regional organization (eg European Union). Depending on the degree of economic integration, trade zones can be divided into priority trade areas, free trade areas, customs, unions, common markets, or economic and monetary unions.

Some supporters of free trade in the world oppose the trade bloc. They see the trade bloc promoting free trade in the region at the expense of world free trade. Proponents argue that global free trade is in the interests of all countries. It increases the opportunity to transform local resources into the goods and services that consumers demand, both now and in the future. However, scholars and economists continue to argue whether regional trade zones will fragment the world economy or promote the expansion of existing global multilateral trading systems.

There are four types of trade areas: priority trade areas, free trade areas, customs unions, and common markets.

- The SAARC-South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is a regional intergovernmental organization in South Asia and a state geopolitical association. Its member countries are Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. SAARC covers 3% of the world's land area, 21% of the world's population and 5.21% of the world economy (US \$ 4.47 trillion).
- European Union (EU)-One Customs Union, One Single Market, and Now Single Currency
- European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the United States, Canada and Mexico Mercosur-Customs Union in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Venezuela
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
- Free Trade Area (AFTA)
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) established in 2006 with countries such as India and Pakistan Pacific Alliance-2013-Regional Trade Agreement between Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru
- BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China (PRC), South Africa.

The main advantages of the trade bloc are the increase in FDI (foreign direct investment) and the elimination of tariffs. A trade bloc is a special type of economic cooperation that protects member countries within the region from imports from third countries. Let's take a look at the trade analysis of the major regional trade zones.

#### **4.3.2 Free Trade Agreement**

An FTA is a treaty between two or more countries designed to reduce or eliminate certain barriers to trade and investment, and to facilitate the promotion of enhanced trade and trade relations between countries. join participate. A free trade agreement is a treaty between two or more countries that aims to reduce barriers to imports and exports between them. Under the

policy of free trade, goods and services can be bought and sold across international borders with little or no tariffs, quotas, subsidies or government bans to prevent the exchange of goods.

There are 3 types of trade agreements Unilateral trade agreement. Bilateral trade agreements. Multilateral trade agreements. The concept of free trade contrasts with trade protectionism or economic isolationism. In the modern world, free trade policies are often implemented through a formal, joint agreement between the countries involved. However, a free trade policy can simply be without any restrictions on trade. A government does not need to take specific measures to promote free trade. This impoverished position is known as free trade or trade liberalization. Governments that have implemented free trade policies or agreements do not have to give up all import and export controls or eliminate all protectionist policies. In modern international trade, very few free trade agreements (FTAs) lead to fully free trade.

The World Trade Organization (WTO), founded in 1995, is an international organization that oversees the rules of global trade between countries. It replaced the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of 1947 created after World War II. The WTO is based on agreements signed by the majority of the world's trading nations. The main function of the organization is to help producers of goods and services, as well as exporters and importers, protect and manage their businesses. As of 2021, the WTO has 164 member countries, of which Liberia and Afghanistan are the newest, joining in July 2016, along with 25 "observer" countries and governments. Learn about the World Trade Organization (WTO) Essentially, the WTO is an alternative dispute resolution or mediation organization that enforces the rules of international trade between countries. The organization provides a platform that allows member governments to negotiate and resolve commercial issues with other members. The main purpose of the WTO is to provide open lines of communication on trade among its members. The WTO has lowered trade barriers and increased trade among member countries. It has also maintained trade barriers when doing so is reasonable in a global context. The WTO tries to mediate between countries to benefit the global economy. Once negotiations are complete and an agreement is reached, the WTO offers to interpret the agreement in the event of a future dispute. All WTO agreements include a settlement process that allows it to conduct neutral dispute resolution.

#### **4.3.3 Role of World Trade Organization**

The world is divided into separate blocs such as the British Commonwealth, Central Europe, and others. The victorious allies who planned the world economic system after World War II, particularly the United States, were of the view that the discriminatory trade practices in the 1930s had contributed to the collapse of world trade and in turn to the Great Depression.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly the MFN principle was built into the post war trading system, in the form of Article I of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).



The World Trade Organization (WTO), formed in 1995 is an international institution that oversees the rules for global trade among nations. It superseded the 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) created in the wake of World War II. The WTO is based on agreements signed by a majority of the world's trading nations. The main function of the organization is to help producers of goods and services, as well as exporters and importers, protect and manage their businesses. As of 2021, the WTO has 164 member countries, with Liberia and Afghanistan the most recent members, having joined in July 2016, and 25 "observer" countries and governments.

---

## **4.4 QUEST FOR ENERGY SECURITY AND MARITIME SECURITY**

---

Energy security is an important aspect to sustain state and economy, energy sufficiency and sustainability shape the development of a nation. Energy security needs to be protected by government and international organisations. The OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), Trade routes and Marine infrastructure has a monopoly over energy security. The immense strength of an international oil company, in terms of the capital, expertise and political connections it brings, is usually perceived as overwhelming, and cooperation with such actors often becomes strongly asymmetrical. Such power asymmetries have historically been at the root of many political and commercial controversies over energy security. Colonialism is a central term here, as the aggressive expansion of the majors into new potentially oil-rich lands has commonly been interpreted as an extension of Western empire-building ambitions.

### **4.4.1 Sustainable energy**

Energy is sustainable if it "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own". Most definitions of sustainable energy include consideration of environmental aspects such as greenhouse gas emissions and social and economic aspects such as energy poverty. Renewable energy sources such as wind power, hydroelectricity, solar power and geothermal energy are generally much more sustainable than fossil fuel sources. However, some renewable energy projects, such as clearing forests for biofuel production, can cause serious environmental damage. The role of non-renewable energy sources in sustainable energy has been controversial. Nuclear power is a low-carbon source with historically comparable mortality rates to wind and solar, but its sustainability has been debated due to concerns about radioactive waste, nuclear proliferation, and accidents. Switching from coal to natural gas has environmental benefits, including less impact on the climate, but may delay the move to more sustainable options. Carbon capture and storage can be integrated into power plants to eliminate their carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions, but this is expensive and rarely done.

#### 4.4.2 Maritime capability and security

In 1942, Nichol's spymen proposed a Rimland theory, which emphasized on controlling sea routes as SEA power. Later the USSR and America raced upon controlling waterways and trade routes. To possess sea power, one should understand the Strategic aspects of marine studies, thus the concept of maritime studies has emerged in international Politics from a security perspective. maritime studies cover a broader scope than traditional maritime history or seamanship. Maritime power emerged as the most essential element of power in modern times. European nations had realised it 400 years ago, that made them establish hegemony in the world trade route till the second half of 20th century. After World War 2, many nations including newly independent countries had concerns about possessing maritime capability so that economical trade routes around the world could be safeguard.

Maritime capability could be achieved without having naval security, Alfred Thayer Mahan was a United States naval officer and historian, whom John Keegan called "the most important American strategist of the nineteenth century. Mahan has explained the importance of sea power and its economic impact on nations development. India has the largest sea border in Asia, and has an ocean named as Indian ocean region. Maritime security is essential to maintain economical activities, even though India has two hostile neighbours on northern borders. India has an advantage to connect with East Africa and Southeast Asia in a strategic way, it also brings responsibility to India to secure its maritime borders and trade routes from external influence like the US and China. India being the largest power in the south east has the capability and influence to promise maritime security to maintain sustainable energy security.

---

#### 4.5 SOFT POWER

---

The famous Indian proverb says, 'we can't change the direction of the winds, but we can adjust the sail'. When hard power is not enough to achieve the vital interest, soft power can enhance the hegemony of any state. Because it is not about how many enemies you killed, it is about how many friends you have won. In the 21st century, the State cannot rely on deterrence by Military and nuclear power alone, it is expensive and may not always fulfil the needful objectives, whereas soft power is constructive, it is an ability to use power without coercion. It is true that in some situations soft power may not work. But a negative consequence of using soft power is comparatively less than use of hard power. Hard power is limited with the hands of government and military force, soft power suggests that nations should learn to Co-opt others rather than command over others.

---

#### 4.6 PERSPECTIVE OF SOFT-POWER IN FOREIGN POLICY

---

India's influence in the global community can be traced from ancient events, India being the oldest civilization on earth and having witnessed inward and outward migration in a larger period of time. Thus, in most parts

of world India culture is recognised and celebrated or can be traced in the living of people in the world. In south Asian countries, evidence of Indian migration, culture and tradition still exist at large. India being a widely diverse country can easily connect with most of the countries in Europe and African nations as well. The connection in the way of living is the basic ingredient of soft power. It does attract the diplomatic ties between two nations and act as a bridge of trust.

Soft power can evolve through many possibilities. Sometimes the random act of kindness could turn out to be a great move. In the pandemic, India had supplied PPE kit, mask, and sanitizer to many countries. Sending Vaccines to other nations with a message of *vasudhaiva kutumbakam* (World is Family) turned out to be vaccine diplomacy. India got huge appreciation from the global community. In return when India was battling with the second wave of Covid, due to scarcity of oxygen and hospital facilities, many countries extended support with whatever possible help they could. Small countries, like Kenya, sent a few tonnes of Tea (it may not be as useful for India) but the message was clear that we are there for you, this simple example can make us understand the deep value of soft power emerging in India foreign policy.

#### **4.6.1 India's Cultural and Historical Linkages in world**

Culture, Political value and foreign policy are the sources of soft power of any country. The five pillars of soft power, used in a strategic sense are Samman (dignity), Samvaad (dialogue), Samriddhi (shared prosperity), Suraksha (regional and global security), and Sanskriti evam Sabhyata (Cultural and civilizational links). These are interlinked with India's Pluralist political and economic goals. India's policymaker should focus on soft power as a policy to achieve the long-term objectives in international relations. India needs to develop understanding, to sow seeds that can be used as soft power; however, there are many aspects that qualify as soft power. India has a huge diaspora in the world, elements like art, culture, yoga, Ayurveda, practice of religion and spiritual values, Indian cinema, sports, Cuisine, Indian Corporate firms and last and foremost power to lead by example. These are the instruments for India to consolidate its policy on soft power.

#### **4.6.2 Indian Diaspora**

Indian citizens have achieved great positions in the global community, the NRI's; Overseas Indians are India's ambassadors in the world. The diaspora of any country is a good medium to strengthen connections between two countries. They have a unique role in international relations because they find themselves linking two countries, sharing diverse cultures, having an emotional investment between two nations, and preserving social connections in two societies. As the "diaspora" has the capacity to influence a country's foreign policy without coercion, it effectively emerges as soft power for a nation, and a tool in the hands of policymakers.

India's diaspora has settled in almost all over, and is the largest in the world, with 18 million people from the country living outside their homeland in

2020, said by the UN. The United Arab Emirates, the US, and Saudi Arabia host the largest numbers of migrants from India. Conventionally it is assumed as brain drain, but to consider the positive side, it can be seen as brain investment in the world. The best example of this was during the negotiations of the Indo-US Nuclear Deal in the early years of the first decade of this century. Many influential Indians in the USA did remarkable work in lobbying Congressmen and Senators and bringing them to our point of view. India recognises its Diaspora as a real asset.

Ministry of external affairs of India have started to recognize, celebrate, and Protect the Indian diaspora, there are various programs and schemes through which the government stays connected with overseas Indians and NRI's, schemes like Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas (which started by former PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2001 symbolizing the return of Mahatma Gandhi to India for helping motherland free from British raj), World Hindi conference, Know India Program, MADAD portal, E-Sansad, and Videsh Bhavan are some of MEA's initiatives. The Indian government has also dedicatedly protected its diaspora in war-like situations, airlift operations like sankat mochan and Sukoon have evacuated the Indian diaspora in difficult times.

---

## 4.7 CONCLUSION

---

Power is the basic element for the political landmass to form a state. further power is virtually divided into several dimensions to project certain objectives of civil society. The state has to possess hard power to protect its interest in a competitive world. if a state is incapable to protect the vested interests it leads in the path of a failed state, thus the State needs to establish military power to act as a hard power. but hard power is not invincible and needs a huge maintenance, to evolve in diplomatic and strategic terms, the state has to pursue soft-power, or to sow the seed of soft-power which could act in favour of the state whenever needed. These both powers are balanced by the economic power through which any state could ensure its security in changing world order.

---

## 4.8 REFERENCES

---

1. Asian Maritime Strategies – Navigating troubled waters: Bernard D. Cole
2. Contemporary Maritime Piracy – James Kraska
3. Energy and Geopolitics – Per Hogselius
4. Energy Security and Global Politics (the militarization of Resource management) – Daniel Moran and James A. Russell
5. Energy Security – Economics, Politics and Strategic implications by Carlos Pascual
6. Maritime Security – An Introduction – Michael McNicholas
7. Soft Power – The Means to Success in World Politics by Joseph S. Nye, Jr

