

Model Details	
Subject Name	Political Science
Paper Name	Foreign Policy of India
Module Id Name/Title	2. Determinants of India's Foreign Policy
Module Id	2
Pre-requisites	
Objectives	This module will analyze various determining factors of India's foreign policy. It will comprise the evaluation of all the important factors like geography, economy, polity, domestic environment, military capability, leadership, international environment etc. Finally, important questions and suggested readings are also included in the module..
Keywords	Determinants of India's Foreign Policy, Geography, Economic Development, Political Traditions, Domestic Environment, Military Capability, National Character, Personality, Regional Environment, International Environment, International Organisations. Structure of Module / Syllabus of a module (Define Topic / Sub-t
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Evolution of the Discipline	

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Module-2

Determinants of India's Foreign Policy

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1. Introduction

Under foreign policy, nations take necessary steps to fulfil their short-term and long-term interests. Foreign policy decisions are influenced by various important internal and external factors or elements. Its design is an outcome of interactions among various factors, some of which are called permanent while others called temporary. In fact, both these kinds of factors play equally important role in determination/formulation of foreign policy. But their comparative importance depends upon the situation. A factor may play an important role in one situation while other may play the same in other situation. These factors cannot be generalized on the basis of their importance. But it is certain that these factors influence the process either collectively or individually. The formulation of a meaningful foreign policy is possible only on the correct and logical evaluation of these factors.

2. Objectives

This module will make the readers aware about the determining factors of India's foreign policy. Foreign policy of a nation is decided by various internal, external, human and nonhuman factors. And India is no exception in this case. The present module will evaluate all those determining factors of India's foreign policy in detail. Only after the correct and logical evaluation of these factors, a nation can formulate a meaningful and effective foreign policy. This module will comprise the evaluation of all the important factors like geography, economy, polity, domestic environment, military capability, leadership, international environment etc. Finally, important questions and suggested readings will also be included in the module.

3. Determinants of India's Foreign Policy

The determinants of foreign policy of any nation can be divided mainly into two classes: - (1) Internal Factors and (2) External Factors. And India is no exception for this classification. India's foreign policy is influenced by these two classes of determinants which are as follows:-

3.1. Internal Factors

3.1.1. Geography

Geography has always been an important factor among the internal determinants of foreign policy. Even according to some scholars this factor influences the main activities of a nation. In contemporary context, it can be said that geography in itself is not helpful or contrary factor but human beings may take its benefits through their activities. Geography plays an important role in formulation of India's foreign policy. Size, topography, boundaries, population, climate, temperature, water resources, soil etc all are included in geography. But in Indian context mainly three factors--- (1) geographical position, (2) size, and (3) boundaries are prominent to show its influence.

India's geographical position provides it an important place in international and regional context but at the same time creates a sense of insecurity also. In the north, mountain range like Himalaya and in the south, Indian Ocean makes India strategically insecure. India's geographical position has influenced it from ancient to the modern period. In ancient period, India, on the one hand, has to face attacks through Khyber Pass in North West, and simultaneously, on the other hand, it succeeded in expanding its culture and religion in Tibet, China, Mongolia, Sri Lanka and South East Asia without fighting any war. In the medieval period, due to the same reasons, it had to face invaders in North West, and consequently, the whole sub-continent slipped into the grip of Islam. In the modern times, due to insecure sea routes, India had to struggle against various European imperialistic powers. And finally, India falls under the British Empire, and remained a colony for around 200 years. Even after the World War-II, it got trapped in military alliances due to cold war politics of America and Soviet Union. There has been a negative impact on India's security due to the Diego Garcia military base of America. In contemporary circumstances after the end of the cold war, the political disturbance in Pakistan & Afghanistan, and religious

extremism in republics of Central Asia have influenced the India's foreign policy in a clear cut way.

The size of a country also plays an important role in determination of its foreign policy. India has 3.27 million square kilometre area which puts India at 7th position in the world. This is an important position. Its sub-continental form has always been very important in context of its foreign policy, and still it enjoys the same importance. But it doesn't mean that small nations are meaningless in international politics. This kind of generalization is neither possible nor should be done. But it is also true simultaneously that if the territory of a large nation is not barren or is not covered by snow; it is directly beneficial to that nation. In context of India, it can be said that Pakistan or China cannot control it in war. Its larger size has helped it, at least, to become a great regional power, if not a world power. Boundaries of nations also play an important role in geographical situations. India has a geographical position through which it has a direct relation with its seven neighbours--- Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, Bhutan, Nepal, Burma and Bangladesh. With some other countries like---Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, Maldives etc---it has a close maritime boundary. India is facing pressure on its foreign relations since beginning due to the disputes arising out of the boundaries' controversies. This problem erupted mainly in India-Pakistan, India-China and India-Bangladesh contexts. So, here it becomes necessary to analyse these problems:- (1) Since their birth, India and Pakistan have tense relations as a result of accession and partition of Kashmir. India and Pakistan have fought three wars (1948, 1965, and 1971) and one warlike dangerous situation in 1999 at Kargil. (2) Also India-China Border has always been a source of dispute, and finally, resulted in IndiaChina war in 1962. (3) Boundary and distribution of water resources have been the main sources of disputes between India and Bangladesh.

Apart from above three borders, we cannot deny the possibility of border disputes in future between India-Nepal, India-Bhutan, India-Burma, and Maritime border disputes between India-Sri Lanka, India-Malaysia, and India-Indonesia etc. Hence, it is clear that geographical situations determined by boundaries between the countries play important role in the formulation and determination of foreign policy.

3.1.2. Economic Development

After security and sovereignty, economic development has a main contribution in the foreign policy of a nation. And India is no exception in this regard. After independence, where national security, sovereignty, unity and integrity of India have been important on the one hand, economic development, on the other hand, has also been an important aspect in international relations. Economic aspect is also taken into consideration while formulating the foreign policy. Hence, economic development has always been an important aspect of India's foreign policy. According to J Bandopadhaya, its impact can be evaluated through the study of three main key points. These are: (1) National Power Capability, (2) Development Techniques, and (3) Diplomacy of Development. The detailed study of these three factors throws light on the impact

on foreign policy. National Power Capability: There are three factors to know the national power capability of a nation: (i) Population, (ii) Natural Resources, and (iii) technical Knowledge. Population is the first main factor having an important impact on foreign policy of a nation. In Indian context, larger size of population bears an important influence. Its larger population has become a burden for it rather than be useful. Consequently, its foreign policy has remained under crisis. This situation has made India dependent on great foreign powers in the matters of foreign capital investment, technical knowledge, military equipments etc.

Availability of Natural resources is the second main factor in increasing the national power capability. But this factor alone cannot influence the foreign policy of a nation. It needs capital, labour, organised techniques, social values etc along with natural resources. The combination of both of these is available in India. So India has signed various agreements time to time with different countries for optimum use of these natural resources.

Technical knowledge is the third main factor responsible for increase in the national power capability. Today all the countries of the world have to be dependent on each other to get the technical knowledge for their development. India has been dependent on erstwhile Soviet Union, Germany, England etc for coal, iron, heavy machinery etc to establish basic infrastructure for its economy in the early decades. With the passage of time, pressure was released in above mentioned areas when India got speed of development. Now this dependence is visible only in the areas like military weapons production, super computer, cryogenic engine, rocketry and satellite communication system etc.

Development Techniques: Different development techniques are adopted in different ideologies and systems. In Indian context, development technique works under three main limitations. These are: (1) Constitution, (2) Role of State, and (3) Ideology of Economic Development.

As far as constitution is concerned, India has adopted democratic system along with problems arising out of it. India wants to achieve development under this system in the short term. So it wants to regulate the resources in such a way that there should not be any danger to the fundamental rights of individual liberty. In this direction, neither the necessity of too much foreign assistance and dependence is denied nor can a large portion of internal resources by a nation either for today or tomorrow be spared for military investment. Hence, the only nature has changed but demand for external assistance is still continued in India after the independence. And this has pressurised India's foreign policy time to time.

Role of state is the second main limitation to the development techniques adopted by a nation for economic development. India had to develop itself economically in a time when two ideologies--capitalism and communism--- were fully propagated and expanded. Hence, India was in search of such an ideology through which it can develop itself independently by keeping the limitations of both the ideologies in view. So India has to determine its foreign policy in context of both these ideologies where, on the one side, it can maintain coordination between development and

justice, development and equality, development and national honour, and on other side, it can execute the mixed economy successfully.

Selection of ideology for economic development is the third main limitation in this regard. It has influenced both, the established view of India in international context and its relations with great powers. If India favoured the democratic set up after independence during the whole period of cold war, it was only due to the fact that India wanted to get benefit of cooperation from both the superpowers of that time. Adoption of policies of openness in economy and liberalization after 1991 were the results of changed international environment. Diplomacy of Development: Indian diplomacy is determined by keeping in view the short term and long term objectives of development. In this context, Indian economy has been influenced by: - (1) security, (2) foreign aid, and (3) foreign trade.

Security of nation is an important investment of India's foreign policy. When we talk about security we mean protection of regional as well as internal integrity, political and economic system and sovereignty. A country like India cannot allocate more than 4 to 5 percent of its GNP on its military system. Hence, its security from China, Pakistan and other great powers is not possible through military means only; it has to use its diplomacy also.

Modern world is the world of interdependence. In this context, the situation of a developing country like India is miserable. It is in dire need of foreign aid for its development. That's why it becomes the duty of India's diplomacy to establish good relations with countries from which it can get economic help. But before taking any foreign aid, India should keep in mind its national sovereignty. It is necessary that sources of aid should be numerous because complete dependence on a single country could be dangerous at any time. Non-aligned policy of India during cold war, to raise loans from various sources, and to assure both the super powers that India is not against any one of them etc are some of the things which provide the clarification and justification of the above said fact.

In modern circumstances India should establish its relations with more and more trade oriented countries. It is a proven fact that economic aid is not possible for a long time and without hurdles. So, trade is the best means of political self-dependence of a country. Hence first, India should conduct its foreign trade in different directions like with great powers; China, Japan, neighbouring countries and South East. Second, the whole trade is not possible through roads. So, sea routes, particularly the route of Suez Canal in west and Strait of Malacca routes in East through Indian Ocean should be adopted. Third, where there is no possibility of bilateral trade talks, it should be dependent on multilateral trade talks. India has conducted its trade relations on these three factors since independence.

3.1.3. Political Traditions

The foreign policy of a nation is highly influenced by its political history and traditions. And this is more suitable for a country like India because it has its own unique culture and a long history

of freedom movement whose influence is clearly visible in India. J.Bandopadhyaya also analyses the influence of Indian political traditions in context of five elements. These are: - ideal thought of politics and power; idealistic view of international politics; opposition to apartheid and imperialism; capitalist western system; and opposition to communism. If we see the near past of our culture and analyse the national movement, all the things will be clearly visualized:- (1) Development of Indian culture and civilization has always been based on the principle of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbhikam' (the whole world is a family). (2) India has been a strong critic of apartheid and imperialism even before the independence because India has experienced these evils for a long time under British Empire. (3) Influence of Gandhian philosophy on foreign policy is also clearly visible. The policy of 'panchsheel' is an apparent example of maintaining the relations on this basis among the nations. (4) In the changing scenario, some other ideologies also influenced the foreign policy of India. Chief among them are--- Marxism, Democratic Socialism and Realism. Hence, political traditions not only influenced the foreign policy of some early decades after independence but they have demonstrated their behaviour also. The impact of not only ancient traditions but of current political ideologies and circumstances is also clearly visible on determination of India's foreign policy.

3.1.4. Domestic Environment

There is a close relation between domestic environment and foreign policy of a country. The impact of domestic environment on India's foreign policy is clearly visualised through the studies of:- (1) Elite Ruling Class, (2) Nation Building Process, (3) Party Structure, (4) Pressure Groups, and (5) Public Opinion.

India got three-level elite ruling class when India got independence. These were--- congress, bureaucracy and military. Congress was a blend of people from various classes having influence of all kinds of ideologies. Hence, it was basically a group based on the process of consensus which was totally influenced by the experiences of freedom movement. But contrary to this, bureaucracy and military were appointed by British, and were highly influenced by them in their working and ideology. As far as bureaucracy was concerned, it was playing an important role in governance. Military personnel, as far as strategic ideology was concerned, were dependent on their British experience. Hence, in present context, foreign policy will acquire new directions through the coordination among political elites, military and bureaucracy.

India is a country of diversities. That's why existence of contradictory views is natural. So it has to be determined through the conduct of foreign policy so that an integrated nation could be created by removing all the main disparities. India has diversities with regard to regionalism and casteism. If on one side, these diversities create challenges internally for Indian political system, at the same time on the other side; these diversities give an indication of a poor nation externally. If government is capable of tackling these challenges, it can adopt a strong foreign policy. The clear example of this is witnessed through the prestige of India regarding its foreign policy

during the regimes of Nehru, Shastri and Indira on one side and V.P. Singh, Chandershekhar, Dev Gowada, Inder Kumar Gujral and Atal Bihari Vajpayi on the other side.

Though in a parliamentary system like India, the decisions on foreign policy are taken formally by ruling party in parliament but opposition parties also influence these decisions in a very strong manner. They do so because they play important role in parliament and have a special influence on political system. Sometimes the ruling party in itself lacks general consensus. In multi party system, it becomes necessary for a reasonable foreign policy to be based on general consensus. The formation of coalition governments so many times in last two decades (1977, 1980, 1998, 2004 and 2009) and the formation of minority governments at centre (1989-90, 1990-91, 1991, and 1996) has been the main reason of this. In early years (1941-67), the reason of following the foreign policy based on general consensus has been the values of national movement and one party domination system of congress, but in later years (1967-2010), polarisation of above mentioned politics has influenced the nature of foreign policy.

There is lack of particular studies on the influence of pressure groups on India's foreign policy. Role of pressure groups in Indian political system is not like that of America and other developed countries but it is in its early age. So, there are no possibilities of having enough influence on foreign policy also. But the role of business pressure groups like FICCI and CII has increased after 1991 due to the liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation of the business. Some other NGOs, friendly associations and MNCs are also active in the formulation process of India's economic foreign policy.

Public opinion also exerts influence on foreign policy. But it has less impact. It may be because of three reasons---backwardness of Indian public in various fields, very few information about foreign policy and lack of means of communication with people. The main weakness in this context is to evaluate the public opinion. This function is performed in India by 'Institution of Indian Public Opinion' but in a very limited manner. There is a need to make it logical and credible. Partially, this function is performed by newspaper editorials, debates of parliament and public speeches but we can't be completely confident about the neutrality and objectivity of these mediums.

3.1.5. Military Capability

Military capability has an important place in the determination of the foreign policy of a country. But two things must be taken into consideration in this context. First, military capability is not an independent element in itself but it depends on economic position of a nation. Second, military power as an authoritative element is important and necessary for great powers but it is not so in case of a developing country like India. Its main reason is that India cannot play a strong role on the basis of its military power in the world in context of great powers. But it has to be dependent on diplomacy up to a large extent. But it does not mean that military capability has no place in India's foreign policy. In the changing global milieu of today where peace

establishing has become a difficult task, it becomes necessary for India to keep sufficient military to secure its national boundaries. India has very low military budget. Whereas big powers spend 6 to 15 percent of their national income to increase military capability, India spends less than 2.5 percent. In comparison to India, its neighbours Pakistan (7%) and China (7-9%) spends more on defence.

3.1.6. National Character

Up to which extent national character influences the foreign policy is a matter of dispute. Some scholars believe in the utility of national character. But some other scholars don't believe in this view. In fact, when we study the national character as an input for the foreign policy, it should be based on the approaches of decision makers, ambassadors, international observers or representatives along with criticisms and realism. In Indian context, when we talk about this factor, we have to understand the basic aspects of Indian culture. In our culture the emphasis is laid on God, goodness, badness, religion, social harmony, unification etc. Hence, the ideas, approaches, criticisms etc coming out of main currents of culture of any country are reflected through the ideas of policy makers, ambassadors, representatives and through international issues and conferences.

3.1.7. Personality

Except in the case of some individual dictators, it is very difficult to establish the individual contribution (national or international) of policy makers in policy determination in democratic systems. It is true that in some democratic systems if Prime Minister is politically very strong or having charismatic personality he/she plays an important role in foreign policy. Beside this, if Prime Minister is politically weak and foreign minister is an important leader in itself he/she can convert the foreign policy according to national interest. Lastly, if both are weak leaders and if there is political instability also, the civil servants will keep their dominance continue in foreign policy. If we see from the above angle, India's foreign policy has been influenced basically by the personality of Nehru and up to some extent by Indira Gandhi. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Rajiv Gandhi, P.V.Narsimha Rao, Inder Kumar Gujral, Atal Bihari Vajpayi and Manmohan Singh have limited influence on foreign policy while V.P. Singh, Chandershekhar and Devgoda have negligible. The individual influence of Nehru has been due to his role in the congress. After Nehru, Indira's personality exerted a special influence on India's foreign policy. Though, five foreign ministers have took the responsibilities of foreign policy during the first tenure (1966-77) of Indira Gandhi but all those could not influence the decisions of Indira Gandhi. Lal Bahadur Shastri was not aware about the practice of foreign policy like Nehru and Indira because his background and environment was quiet different from both of them. But his contribution regarding foreign policy during his limited tenure of one and half years has been appreciable. This role of Shastri was not individual based but he was in favour of such institutional development of foreign policy even after his limited experience that foreign policy should be formulated under more logical and clear structure or system so that it can be based on a long

term vision. Two things were definitely new about the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi. He was the product of post independence generation and he was not clearly associated with any particular ideology. He was more close to western culture due to his education, life style and marriage. Definitely, his foreign policy was based on 'world context of Nehru and regional dominance of Indira.' Governments of V.P. Singh and Chandershekhar could not perform well due to their short terms. Both the governments could not pay more attention towards this due to their domestic problems. The world was witnessing the phase of unimaginable turbulence during the tenure of Narsimha Rao. The internal economic situation also went very critical. Hence, the process of economic reforms was initiated as a result of internal economic pressures and disintegration of USSR. Consequently, some decisions regarding foreign policy were taken like cooperation with America, look east policy, open market system, joining WTO, etc. But in all these changes, circumstances played more role than individuals. Devgowda also lacked the individual influence on foreign policy. There has been a clear influence of Gujral's personality on India's foreign policy. Though his term was also very limited and he has been a supporter of foreign policies of Nehru and Indira Gandhi. But he exerted his individual influence in context of changed world. Where on one hand, he maintained a continuity of India's position on its nuclear policy, at the same time on the other hand; he propounded the 'Gujral Doctrine' in context of neighbouring countries. Through this doctrine, India is in favour of maintaining good relations with neighbours by giving them one sided exemptions. Individual influence of Atal Bihari Vajpayi was also visible in determination of foreign policy but some pressure of his party's ideology is also visible at the same time. Influence of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on foreign policy can be visualised in the context of his policies of liberalisation. And currently, the Prime Minister Modi is steering the foreign policy of India through his ambitious project 'Make in India'. He seems to have a personal impact on the execution of India's foreign policy.

3.2. External Factors

3.2.1. Regional Environment

The incidents in nearby regions necessarily have a direct influence on the foreign policy of India. Mutual relations of South Asian countries, reduction of tension in this region, free from weapons and military alliances, free from outside interventions will have positive impact while non-cooperation, competition, struggle and cold war will have negative impact on foreign policy. From this point of view, the role in determining the India's foreign policy can be evaluated under the following old and new cooperation and conflicts of South Asia:-

a) Boundary disputes of India with Pakistan and China.

b) The second most important element, India got from its neighbours in legacy, is an ethnicity problem. India and Sri Lanka are fighting with the problem of Tamil people since their independence. The same problem is there due to the refugees of India and Bangladesh. The Chakama refugees of Bangladesh have created a situation of serious crises in Tripura.

c) One more important problem is associated with the attitude of small neighbours towards India. Area, population, military capability, economic changes etc of India are the symbols of fear for its small neighbours. Its neighbours, particularly small nations, see these elements as a power of India to dominate the South Asia. Treaties and agreements by India with these countries time to time have created a doubt in these countries towards the policies of India for these countries. Beside this, two steps taken by India in near past---- sending of peace forces in Sri Lanka (1987) and military intervention in Maldives (1989)-- --have also proved more clearly India's image of a country having regional dominance. The production and use of missiles named 'Prithavi,' 'Agni,' 'Akash,' 'Nag,' and 'Trishul' under the 'Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme' started in 1983 have also strengthen their perception about India as a power of military intervention.

Along with the above negative attitude about India, there have been some positive functions also. All these nations have strengthened the position of SAARC together. On one side, they have prepared a code of conduct for consensus on some matters mutually for all the nations through various conferences and on the other side; they got important achievements in the economic field. But it does not mean that regional environment is in favour of India. There are still many important issues.

3.2.2. International Environment

International political environment is directly associated with the international role of a nation. If this environment is according to the situations of a country it can play sounder role on international fronts/platforms. If the environment is against, then such possibilities become nil. In Indian context, the importance of this factor can be studied in two parts--- (1) Cold War Period (1947-1991) and (2) Post Cold War Period (1992 onwards). Cold-War Period: As a result of cold war, the era of military alliances started. In this context, the multilateral alliances by America like----CENTO, SEATO, NATO and bilateral alliances like—America-Pak Military Alliance (1948) are worth mentioning. But India wanted to follow the non-aligned policy. India was not interested in joining any group, and wanted to examine every issue on the basis of its merits and demerits. But both the superpowers took it in a wrong way in the environment of cold war, and assumed the India's foreign policy doubtful. That's why India has to face a tough struggle and opposition of great powers while justifying its policy of non-alignment

Second important event was the militarisation of Indian Ocean. America militarised the whole area by converting the Diego Garcia as a military base which caused the danger to the sovereignty and security of newly emerged nations of Indian Ocean. As a result, UN declared this region as 'Indian Ocean Peace Zone' in 1971 on the initiative of these newly emerged nations but it could not be actualised till date because of the opposition of the great powers. All these activities around India became a source of tension for it. Hence, India will have to struggle tough to liberate this region strategically from the conflict of superpowers because

every event happened in this region was having a direct bearing on India's security and sovereignty.

One more important event was the India-Soviet Friendship of 1971. This treaty was signed in August 1971 on the basis of compulsions of both the countries but basically Former Soviet Union wanted this kind of alliance with India under Brezhnev's thinking of 'collective security in Asia' which was rejected humbly by India. But it became necessary keeping in view the entry of refugees from East Pakistan in 1971 and emerging disputes between both parts of Pakistan. Beside this, the encirclement of India and erstwhile Soviet Union resulting from the developing alignments of Washington, Islamabad, Beijing and Tokyo has also been responsible for bringing India and Soviet Union closer. As a result of this, India-America relations got deteriorated while Pak-America relations became good. Though this kind of relations remained stable for some time (1975-79) when detente was witnessed between superpowers. But then new cold war started as a result of SovietAfghan intervention in 1979, and the earlier situation was restored. No special change was witnessed in this situation due to the cold war and India's foreign policy received a setback while establishing the relations with western countries.

During the cold war, particularly after 1970, nuclear proliferation has also influenced the India's foreign policy in a big way. The execution of Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1971 and India's refusal to sign it is a main cause of pressure of nuclear powers on India.

Post-Cold War Period: Though cold war ended as a result of events in Europe (1989-91) and disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991 but still a Justifiable world system, based on equality and sovereignty for all nations, has not been established. Hence, the negative and positive aspects of India's foreign policy, with same nature or changed, still exists. One chapter, particularly of friendship and treaties, which continued for a longer time (1954- 1991, finished with the disintegration of Soviet Union.

In the post cold war era, there is a situation of detente in the world in general and in the bilateral relations in particular. In this tension free environment, where on one side, the peace is established in Cambodia and Philistine, there is unification of Germany also on the other side (this process is hindered in Korea due to some reasons) but India and Pakistan have not changed their earlier stands in any way.

End of significance to political issues and preference to economic issues is an important change in this new world system. Economically sound countries are becoming centres of main activities. Hence, the direction of foreign policy is decided by international trade, capital investment, liberalisation, globalisation, expansion of means of communications, important role of multinational companies, economic reforms etc. India also has to make basic changes in its foreign policy in this changed scenario.

After the cold war era, India's foreign policy now has started taking special interest in the long ignored sector. Hence, the foreign policy after 1991 can be termed as 'stress towards East.' Under this, the main attraction of India's foreign policy is South East Asia along with Japan, Taiwan, Korea etc. This region under the new world system has become most important for India due to the strategic, trade and political reasons.

3.2.3. International Organisations

Transformation of world through international organisations has a direct relation with India's foreign policy. If we see the political traditions of India, we will come to know that these have been in favour of establishing a peaceful, non violent and equitable world structure. Beside this, there is coordination between the values of India's freedom movement and the objectives of United Nations. India has been a continuous partner in the activities of international organisations in the context of its national interests and has always been in a leading role. Though India tried always to play a neutral and objective role in UN but great powers opposed this and denied many times to discuss the important issues raised by India by saying that India is a satellite state.

Above situation continued in post-cold war era also. Only the issues of debate have changed. The Gulf war has posed the question mark on UN. Beside this, it is now open that use of Part VII (coercive methods) of UN is increasing instead of Part VI (peaceful means). It means Security Council has become more important than General Assembly. Hence, the demand for democratisation of Security Council raised by India is justified and sound. But it looks impossible to attract the attention of five permanent members having veto power towards this issue.

4. Conclusion

Hence, it can be said that foreign policy of a nation is determined and decided by various factors. These factors may be classified into the category of internal and external, human and non-human, permanent and temporary etc. Foreign policy is the result of interactions among these factors. We cannot give more importance to one element in comparison to others. In fact, all the elements have equal importance. These factors cannot be generalized on the basis of their importance. But it is certain that these factors influence the process either collectively or individually. The formulation of a meaningful foreign policy is possible only on the correct and logical evaluation of these factors. It is clear from the above discussion that India has tried to utilise all these factors efficiently in its favour but sometimes circumstances have played negative role. Being a victim of colonial rule and having the limitations of a developing country, the track record of India in utilising these elements in formulation and execution of its foreign policy has been appreciable.