

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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### Abstract

A country's foreign policy called the foreign relations policy consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations. The approaches are strategically employed to interact with other countries. The study of such strategies is called foreign policy analysis. In recent times, due to the deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, the state will also have to interact with non-state actors. Since the national interests are paramount, foreign policy are designed by the government through high level decision making processes. So the conduct and formulation of foreign policy is governed by the interplay of disarmament, independence for Afro – Asian nations have been important objectives of India's foreign Policy. These objectives are sought to be achieved through some principles such as Panchsheel agreement, non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism and strengthening the UN. Keeping old friendship is another challenge for our foreign policy after the cold war has ended. Finally, India is realizing the growing importance of economics aspects of foreign policy. It is trying to establish a new basis for its relations with neighbouring countries in South Asia, China and the South East Asian countries. The systemic constraints on India's foreign policy stemmed from the onset of the cold war which virtually coincided with India's independence in 1947. This paper analyses the dynamic as well as changing nature of Indian foreign policy.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, Non-Alignment, Panchsheel Agreement, Congress Party, Ministry of External Affairs, Policy Capacity

E-commerce The framing of foreign policy is an essential activity of the modern state. In fact, all states have some kind of relations with other countries. Every state has to behave with other states in a particular manner, the study of this behaviour is really the content of foreign policy. The behaviour of one state affects the behaviour of other states. But every state tries to maximize the favourable effects of the actions of other states that are the purpose of foreign policy. Foreign policy of a country is determined by the times in which it is conducted. It is also influenced by its history and its geographical position. Where a country is on the map makes a great deal of difference in interacting with the world just as your own view of your position in the world does. In other words, geopolitics plays an important role in the evolution of foreign policy. Then there are particular requirements of a country at a given time which cannot be ignored. All these have to be factored in understanding and analysing a country's foreign policy.

A resurgent India demands a foreign policy that was appropriate for a world player. India was in the process of taking our place at the global with a surging economy, and have to reach the position of the world's fifth largest economy. In international affairs, that meant moved from an earlier reactive mindset to a confident one and recognized actions that will contribute to shaping this future. That needs deeper cognition by our state agencies, and greater understanding and support from home publics. From independence through the 1950's and 1960's India's foreign policy was framed for international consumption as one of some idealism, while Nehru tackled the tremendous domestic challenges of long term cohesion and economic revitalization that the British empire had neglected in the final decades of the Raj. Within India, the dominant Congress party coalesced around a project of state nationalism.

India, which was partitioned from British India and achieved independence in August 1947, had several basic attributes of a typical major power: its history, size, and location. Study of its history reveals that India has a distinctive feature: 'Of the great world civilizations, only India and China embody a civilization in a single large nation-body politic'. Although India under British colonial rule was not a sovereign state, it became an original member of the United Nations (UN) at its foundation in 1945. As such, India is in a position to claim its status as the successor state of British India. Pakistan, another partitioned entity of British India, joined the UN in September 1947 as a new state. First, India established and maintained non-alignment policy as its basic tenet of foreign policy between the 1940s and the 1960s under its first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The policy meant alignment to neither the US camp nor the Soviet camp. Although this was true, this definition explains one-half of the important

aspects of the non-alignment. The other half was in finding common causes with other non-aligned countries such as Indonesia, Yugoslavia, and Egypt with which it could act in concert. At International level, Nehru had chosen the path of non-alignment in the face of bipolar order of cold war.

India became independent in 1947 and has to evolve its own view of the world chart and its own course within the prevailing international situation. India's foreign policy bore the firm stamp of Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister of independent India. He nurtured it, gave it flesh and blood and shaped it on a myriad ways. But he did not invent it. Nehru rejected fundamentalism in foreign policy. Whether of the western or of the soviet variety, Nehru clearly told his people that India's interests were paramount in the interactions in foreign relations.

During cold war despite the unfavorable conditions in the international situation, India that like other countries was moving inevitably towards the establishment of peace and security had come under the heavy influence of super power conflicts. It was groping in the dark to evolve its independent foreign policy. India believed that the only way through which it could achieve its goal was to adopt a policy of non-alignment. Later on it not only became the basic principle but also the corner stone of India's foreign policy. Perhaps, it is the non-alignment that played a historic role during the cold war period that helped India to retain and maintain its power status and position in the international arena.

The evolution of India's foreign policy went through four chronological phases. The first phase was from 1946 to 1954, the second phase from 1954 to 1962 and the third phase from 1962 till mid 80's and the fourth phase from mid-80's till date.

During the First phase (1946-54) India's foreign policy concerns were first to territorially consolidate the Indian policy that was subject to the possibility of some large and important princely states opting to remain independent. The next phase of India's foreign and defense policies were from 1954 to 1962. India went through a period of vulner ability culminating in India's military defeat by china in October/November, 1962. This was so despite the intriguing conundrum in international politics of India and Jawaharlal Nehru being at the peak of his leadership role in multilateral political development during this very period.

The state of Nehru's health may compel the transfer of his power to the hands of others. In January 1964, the Indian Leader asked T.T. Krishna Machari, the Finance Minister, to handle routine questions in the Ministry of External Affairs and he recalled Lal Bahadur Shastri, a former Home Minister to rejoin the Cabinet to help on internal matters in which some of them related to foreign affairs. The health question also permitted Nehru's daughter to receive new power because of their services to the 74 year old leader.

After eighteenth month government of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Mrs. Indira Gandhi took over the power in 1966. Her era was most critical in India's history after independence. Sino-India war of 1962 had demoralized India and shackled its economy. In 1964, Chinese Nuclear

Test added challenges for India security and existence followed by 1965 and 1971 in Indo-Pak war subsequently, the series of events compelled India to shift its foreign policy by adopting the principles of real politics based on principles of realism. In this time of test Indira Gandhi was emerged as pragmatic leader. She followed a two track policy to galvanize India's economic development to sustain India's security and consolidated India's position in the international Community.

Mrs. Gandhi's handling of foreign policy was firm, realistic and dignified. She made a few mistakes as we have noted but no leader or country anywhere in the world can claim infallibility. She combined flexibility with firmness, determination with resilience. Whatever the flaws in domestic policy, she demonstrated very considerable aplomb in dealing with foreign relations and in managing critical challenges from abroad during her tenure. In the Parliamentary election of March 1977, Indira Gandhi was defeated but while addressing the nation, Janata Party leader Morarji Desai as Prime Minister stressed to follow same policy on external issues. On the issue of Red Army's invasion into Afghanistan in 1979, India, initially hesitated to condemn invasion despite of having good relationship with the Afghan government. By keeping international political scenario in mind, India stated that interference in the internal matters of a state should be considered as serious violation of international law on sovereignty.

The changes in Indian foreign policy were based on India's aspirations for great power status and coincide with, or at least follow the Indian economic reforms since the 1990s. The argument was that India's rising Gross Domestic Product (GDP), its large middle class, and its military and nuclear capability make it a potential power. India's strategic thinkers had argued that non-alignment was irrelevant and not in national interest. They advocated that alignment with the sole superpower was in the interest of making India a great power. P.V Narsimha Rao, in the wake of the Congress Party's narrow electoral victory in 1991, moved quickly to reorient the country's economy and began to reshape a foreign policy that would bolster his chances of success at home. He devalued the rupee to make Indian products more competitive in international markets. He also moved to dismantle a stifling license system that encouraged inefficiency and corruption. In order to encourage the import of high technology, he lowered tariffs. Finally, P.V. Narsimha Rao administration diluted the doctrine of self-reliance by encouraging foreign investment, especially infrastructure.

From 1991 to 2008, two major events in 1991 kick started the process of change. The former Soviet Union collapsed and splintered into many independent countries, Russia being the largest among them, and successor to the USSR in the UN. The second was the foreign currency crisis faced by India, the likes of which we had never experienced before. We witnessed a changing world order with only one country USA remaining as the major political, economic and military power. Multiple other lesser poles of global power started sprouting from this period onwards in the EU, Russia, China, dynamic Asia including Japan and India and in South America, particularly Brazil. India responded to these catatonic changes by weaning itself away from non-alignment to a multipolar alignment, adjusted its previous, often adversarial relations, with the remaining major power, the USA, incorporated globalization and paid greater attention to its immediate neighborhood.

The reason why India conducted the tests may be the BJP's longstanding demand that India must adopt a set of policies that give it greater international standing—what some have referred to as its “Great India” policy. Great powers have nuclear weapons and so must India. The great power thrust has been part of the Indian effort to become a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council. It has also been used to justify Indian support for economic globalization; globalization is necessary for rapid economic growth, and great powers must be sufficiently wealthy to act as magnets of influence.

Since the nuclear tests, the question debated in India is not whether to retain a declared nuclear potential but how large a capability is necessary to provide a deterrent. So far, the government has not defined the requirements publicly, except to say that the deterrent would be the “minimal” number of weapons needed to enable a credible response to any nuclear attack on India. In fact, the precise phrasing used by Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to describe what nuclear forces are required by India was a “minimal credible deterrent,” a phrase first used in late 1998. In the last few years there had been a high degree of continuity in foreign policy objectives: ensuring a peaceful, secure and stable neighborhood securing inward foreign investment and increasing influence of India. There was a clear recognition that regional stability is essential for India's development. This explained the presence of all the leaders of the south Asian Association for Regional Co-operation and at Mauritius Prime Ministers Modi's was sworn in May 2014. With clear headed pragmatism the government had reinforced the primary of the neighbourhood and the Indian Ocean.

The Foreign Policy of Modi government was concerned the policy initiatives made towards other state after he had assumed offices as Prime Minister of India on 26 May 2014. The Ministry of External Affairs, headed by Sushma Swaraj, is responsible for carrying out the foreign policy of India. Modi's foreign policy is currently focused on improving relations with neighbouring countries in south Asia and major global powers. Within the First 100 days of his government he had made official visits to Bhutan, Nepal and Japan and followed by United States, Myanmar, Australia and Fiji.

The Narendra Modi-Led government has accorded high priority to India's Look East Policy. During his opening statement at the 12th Asean Summit, he understood the importance of the 10-nation Asean bloc in a new era of economic development, trade, investments and industrialization. He made known to the world that India is not merely 'Looking East' but is now 'Acting East' as well, thus, revising the title to India's Act –East Policy, This phase was also characterized by an expanded definition of 'East' extending from Australia to China. There has been a consensus in India cutting across the political spectrum in support of the revision of the 'Look East Policy'. This enthusiasm and intensity in momentum in various actions in the economy is making another shift in this foreign policy of 'Thinking East' too. His slogan of *Make in India* must be seen in the context of the interests of consumers and other relevant parties in India. He must cope with the difficult political dichotomy of localism versus globalism.

## CONCLUSION

Under the present regime, India has clearly demonstrated its will to play a leading role in the global arena and be counted as 'pole' in its own right. Continued stability and prosperity at home and political consensus on broad foreign policy parameters, will help India reach this goal. Indian foreign policy increasingly seems structured to achieve these objectives: (1) closer ties to countries and multilateral associations that can help it achieve higher rates of economic growth; and (2) being able to conduct its foreign policy as a major Asian power and not just a regional South Asia state. In achieving these objectives, India needs to convince other countries that it will deal with them on its own merits and not necessarily in the context of the Indo-Pakistani relationship. In the light of the changing actualities of the international situation, India must cautiously play foreign policy, if it wants to emerge as a global rather than an aspiration player. With the completion of the civil nuclear deal, India will have the freedom to take action in promoting nonproliferation objectives out of which until now it has been locked. In the broad area of counter-terrorism, whether through interdiction, intelligence sharing, military training or teaching about multi-ethnic and religious engagement, India has enormous resources and experience from which to draw. And finally, and perhaps most importantly for India, in the areas of health, education and agriculture, India has huge gaps to fill. As the government finds ways to address these problems and disparities, India will have a role to play in teaching and educating others.

## TOLERANCE, ALOOFNESS AND TRADITIONS REFLECTED IN ALICE MUNRO'S *THE DANCE OF THE HAPPY SHADES*

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### **Abstract**

*The current article is concerned with the analysis of a selection of Alice Munro's short stories. Aplauded as one of the best modern short storey authors, Munro is well recognised for her delicate, insightfully realistic and ironic writings, which deal with everyday life in an elaborately acute and unwavering way. This article deals with a short story entitled Dances of the Happy Shades. It covers a range of topics such as tolerance, distance and customs. The major subject of the narrative is tolerance. A few characters including the narrator, her mother and Miss Marsalles, a piano instructor, all swirl around the whole tale. Some additional characters function as a bridge to link sub-topics.*

**Keywords:** *Tolerance, Aloofness, Traditions, Canadian Literature, Short story*

Alice Munro, Short Story, Tolerance, Aloofness, Traditions Alice Munro is recognised as Canada's most renowned short storey writer. She is generally referred to as a regional writer because her writing typically focuses on rural Ontario, Canada. The short tales of Munro are an interdisciplinary study of feminism and literature. Munro, the feminist fiction writer, utilises the short-story genre to depict the pitiful conditions of women living in the tiny town of Ontario, Canada where she was raised.

The stories of Munro are the episodic reminiscences of girls and women's emotional growth. Catherine Sheldrick writes that in "everyday situations Munro portrays her stories, such that they look exceptional, full of magic" (Sheldrick283). Instead of being a woman, Munro confronts society as a female artist. The feminist quest for Munro involves "the desire for freedom of imagination and expression via the medium of art" (Rasporich 32). During her childhood, Munro appears to have profoundly affected her external surroundings and her inner existence. Munro is therefore an outsider of the patriarchal culture, yet has grown up in a fairly traditional neighbourhood. Munro says: "I have always understood that I had a different world perspective, and one that would make me very troubled and ridiculous if it were to be disclosed." (Gibson246) In her history Munro shows the hurdles to women's sovereignty and individual character. Her stories focus on freedom - sexual liberation, working class economic emancipation, women's freedom from the male's cultural dominance. In its simplest version, the person and how people obtained what they desired and needed. If the age is reduced to a single question, it is this: why can't (or how can), I obtain out of life what I want?" (Fawcett70). The influence of class and generation disparities and the effect of relationships on women is highlighted. The women in Munro's fiction appear "to take the measure of their own disappointment from the depth and distance between the male isolation, their younger characters demarcate the extremes of social distance, and women are to repel them as an image of liberty from the domestic world, a sign of the seemingly inaccessible psychological and affectionate distance of men and women." Munro has received this piece with the 'Governor General's Award.' Story starts with the mother who tries to find a solid cause to reject the parties of Miss Marsalles. On the other hand, Miss Marsalles seems to have everybody's faith and her party has its feelings where the parents are welcomed together with children with Down's syndrome.

The storyline and characterisation of the storey cooperate to develop the tension of humiliation in the storey. The mother fears the recital, and with her fear we are filled with the clothing atmosphere of the performances, the degrading, teenage love for the instructor's children and with the sorrow that the mother has for his former teacher. There is concern that the instructor supports herself, aggravated by the teacher moving to smaller and worse residences until she finishes in the flat of the book's current action. The Miss Marsalles' descriptions were nearly ridiculous. It is first described as 'Miss Marsalles herself in the entrance hall, with tiled floors, a dark, nasty smell, a red hairstyle that is only used for this purpose, and a floor-length dress of feathers and pink splotches that could have been made of old woven up material.'-18 An anonymous girl and her mother were unwilling to join an anniversary The storey was described as ' Uncomfortable with their old-fashioned way of life, they are both (mother-daughter) eager for this dull concert at the end. In the course of this seemingly infernal and exciting meeting, the young girl recounts her sentiments of scorn and disgust for the impoverished, elderly Miss Marsalles and that she was the oldest girl in the world. As the girl gets ready to perform her song, a swarm of students with mental difficulties gather from the Greenhill school to the house where Miss Marsalles had taught a music lesson.

The narrative covers different subjects such as tolerance, tradition and alienation. Miss Marsalles disregards the beauty of the surface and is capable of appreciating skill in any way thanks to her loneliness and struggle.

"She doesn't know what she plays. The liberty of enormous unemotional enjoyment is something delicate, courteous and homosexual." -21 Miss Marsalles appears to exist via the informality and vision of music. Music is depicted as a medium that alleviates prejudice in all of its forms and encourages the appreciation of creativity, regardless of who the artist happens to be. In addition, it demonstrates the history of partaking in the yearly festivities, since the narrator has been participating in the recitals and events for the majority of her adult life, which is a significant amount of time. Miss Marsalles, a woman who is alienated from the rest of society because of her old-fashioned habits, exemplifies alienation. It is brought to light via the performance of mentally challenged youngsters that loneliness is eased by their love of music.

This storey, which was first published in 1968, is an evocative picture of the reign of "tolerance" that is still in effect in the modern world. The notion that being politically correct is sufficient – that showing tolerance for people who are different from you is sufficient, even if that tolerance is accompanied with judgement, pity, or contempt – is a dangerous one (or all three). People who claim they don't care about homosexual people's actions are expressing the same emotion as those who say they don't want gay people's actions "shoved in their faces" or "forced upon them." This may be substituted for interracial marriage, for individuals of different religious beliefs, or for any other type of difference you can think of. It is possible to generate and maintain contempt for a difference in every situation where there exists one. Tolerance is put up as something great, something to strive for, rather than the just tolerating something that it is often portrayed as. What this type of tolerant intolerance fails to see is the actual connecting power of empathy, rather than sympathy, as a fundamental uniting force. Being really opened to understanding and seeing the world from another person's point of view is a revolutionary and daring act in and of itself. It is impossible to hate while also feeling empathy. Empathy is a worldview that goes beyond the binary of good and evil and the concepts of black and white. And fiction is the province of those who are interested in a more sophisticated way of seeing and understanding the world.

Hundreds of articles and radio programmes have been broadcast about the relationship between empathy and fiction, all of which are based on articles like this one in science, which make rather conclusive links between reading literary fiction and temporary increases in "Theory of Mind" (ToM) and "suggest that ToM may be influenced by engagement with works of art." Many writers agree with this conclusion.

"Reading sensitive and in-depth investigations of people's lives, that sort of fiction is actually putting yourself in another person's shoes, lives that may be more tough, more complex, and more challenging than what you are used to reading in popular fiction. It seems to reason that they would discover that, indeed, this may lead to more empathy and knowledge of other people's lives." In fact, the more we practise viewing the world from other people's viewpoints in fiction, the better we get at doing so in the real world. However, rather than viewing Miss Marsalles as a source of pity because she exists outside of the "normal" world of the mothers, we see how her love of children, which had previously appeared pitiable in that she saw only their positive qualities and not their perceived flaws, is perfectly suited for her work with the children who have Down syndrome. Because this storey isn't about a poor old woman who embarrasses herself, but rather about the trimness of a loyal tolerance's perspective, the mothers, the narrator, and we the reader feel ashamed when we see Miss Marsalles treating her students as the people they are, considering them the same as all of the children in all of her classes, we feel ashamed. If you look closely, it appears as if the magic has been broken, and "the music is in the room and then it is gone and naturally enough understands what to say." (22) This is one of those unexplained moments that are only possible in fiction. "For the girl's skill, which is evident but ultimately pointless, being out of place is not really something that anyone wants to speak about," the narrator writes. It may be acceptable to Miss Marsalles, but to other people-people who live in the real world-it is not." Finally, in the final paragraph of this story-the mother and daughter are driving home when the narrator wonders: "Why is it that we are unable to say-as we must have expected to say-Poor Miss Marsalles?" It is the Ha's Dance, as the name suggests.

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