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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND TERMS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa
CDS	Chief of Defence Staff
COP 20	United Nations Climate Change Conference
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease, caused by recently discovered coronavirus in 2019
Dr.	Doctor
EU	European Union
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FTA	Foreign Trade Agreements
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GST	Goods and Services Tax
IBC	Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code, 2016
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDC	Intended Nationally Determined Contribution
ISA	International Solar Alliance
IYD	International Yoga Day
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
JAI	Japan-America-India
LAC	Line of Actual Control
LOC	Line of Control
LPG	Liquified Petroleum Gas
NAM	Non-Alignment Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Association
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
QUAD	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

RIC	Russia-India-China
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAGAR	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organisation

ABSTRACT

This study examine and evaluate the Indian foreign policy in the present context and how the domestic nationalistic environment has affected country's external dimensions. The research question for this thesis is to identify the changes within India's foreign policy and how it has changed India's global image and reputation. I have used the theory of compatibility and Consensus by Professor Hanreider which provides an excellent way to study about the linkage between Internal and external dimensions of a nation. The aspects of a nation's internal, external and systematic referents could be understood in a simple way through this process. Deductive approach has been opted as the methodology for this research, along with the comparative method to understand the growth trajectory. Primary as well as secondary sources have been utilised to explore various readings available on this study.

Based on the research, I could observe that India has effectively changed the nature of its foreign policy in the past decade, with a remarkable shift from being a non-aligned nation to become a country with ambitious goals and a dynamic, multi-aligned foreign policy. The geopolitical transition happened in the past few decades has assisted the country to put forward a strong image as a stable economy. We can conclude that the emergence of the current regime, nationalistic emotions and domestic stability has built a reliable consensus at home for India, to redefine itself as a compatible global leader at the world stage. Post this pandemic, we could expect the birth of new world order and no one should get surprised if India emerges as the flag bearer.

ABSTRAKT

In diesem Forschungsbericht befasste sich dieses Papier mit der indischen Außenpolitik und wie sie durch innenpolitische Änderungen beeinflusst wurde. Es wurde die Hanrieder-Theorie der Kompatibilität und des Konsenses verwendet, die eine hervorragende Gelegenheit bietet, die nationalen und internationalen Beziehungen aus verschiedenen Dimensionen zu verstehen. Es gab dem Autor einen Standpunkt, um die Richtlinien zu überprüfen, die zu Hause Konsens genießen und die auch für die Weltbühne machbar sind. Das Papier konzentrierte sich auf den Staat Indien, um das Wachstum seiner internationalen Statur in den letzten 6 Jahren und seine Entwicklung zu einer internationalen Großmacht zu verstehen. Eine Studie zeigt, dass die inländische Mehrheit zu Hause Indien eine gute Moral bietet, um auf der Weltbühne zu stehen und mit globalen Führern umzugehen. Indien wird eine größere Rolle in Bezug auf seine Geopolitik im Indischen Ozean sowie in Asien spielen, um die Welt zu stärken und sie aus der Covid-19 herauszuholen. Die indische Position würde sich in Zukunft aufgrund ihrer überlegenen und billigeren digitalen Transformation und der vergleichsweise billigeren Arbeitskräfte verbessern.

1. INTRODUCTION

As Albert Einstein had said, his way of stating a mind is doing same things over and over again in multiple situations and expecting the same results. It is important to refer this in the present world context where many of our notions from past are not holding true anymore. Since the world is changing, it is ought to think different and act differently, engage in that manner.

Global world is changing continuously, rather there's a huge transformational change in its behaviour. This could be felt in the behaviour of the old warriors who are again coming up on their own like Russia, Iran and Turkey. Middle East is agitated, the role within the Asian sub groups is being a matter of astonishment. South American countries are among their own ideological battles. There's always some issues or other which overlap over each other and which provides a space to the countries to converge at levels which are sometimes uncomfortable but necessary. All in all, what is happening, is a dynamic nature of foreign policy.

This study argues, it is a must to include India in midst of all these factors. India has a far more greater relations with United States of America (USA) and China than the past, Russia remained a steady mate for India. Relations with Japan have been redefined in the past decade, there's a new emergence of Act east policy in Asia and the European friendship has been revisited recently. With Africa as well, India has become a reliable economic, strategic partner and have been involved in numerous developmental projects. India has been able to work with the South American, Australian and Caribbean nations through its outreach initiative like never before. The intensity and interaction in the past few years have been unprecedented and that is a reason which attracted me to put up this research thesis on the Indian state.

How a nation respond to the range of challenges and opportunities defines the character of a country. To have a sound and solid foreign policy, it always require a base with certain definite grounds. India always believed and made sure to have a prosperity at home, non-violent border with its neighbouring countries, upholding the idea of

sovereignty and state, and encouraging its influence abroad through all of them. It is quite evident to observe the change in world structure from being a bipolar to unipolar and becoming a multipolar entity. With such a dynamic world structure, it is also important to realise and update a country's own goals and strategies with the ambitions and target it keep as a nation to meet their needs abroad and at the domestic politics as well.

The thesis research question is to understand India's foreign policy in the past decade, more specifically focusing under the current regime and how has it changed the foreign policy structure of India, because of the strong, stable Government through the theory of Compatibility and Consensus. The Academic disciplines I would be concentrating on, are International Relations and the Political Economics.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I have opted for the theory of 'Compatibility and Consensus - A Proposal for the Conceptual Linkage of External and Internal Dimensions of Foreign Policy' by Wolfram F. Hanreider¹ as the basis of research thesis. It gives an amazing insightful mechanism to engage into the discussion of correlation and dependency of matters concerned to the foreign policy and Domestic issues. The theory provides a base to analyse the structure to define linkage between internal and external aspects of foreign policy. The theory explains effects of politics on the domestic and international level, while deducing that both of them are connected and dependent on each other. As Prof. Hanreider himself states in the proposal, 'It is literally impossible to speak of foreign policy goals without thinking at once of a psychological motivational unit and the contextual, operational environment in which the unit seeks to realise the goals'² underlines the essence of the model.

¹ Hanreider, W. (1967). Compatibility and Consensus: A Proposal for the Conceptual Linkage of External and Internal Dimensions of Foreign Policy. *The American Political Science Review*, 61(4), 971-982

² Ibid.

There could be two referents for policy objectives, one where the internal referents work, in which the policy doesn't require outside support, like the advocacy of a certain socio-political and economic order, for instance the Goods and Services Tax bill in India. Here the internal referent is not affected by the foreign goals or aspirations but they do provide a better standing at the world level by making the economic process smoother and simplifying the tax regime. Whereas, there are the multi-lateral issues, the FTAs which would have external referents to deal with, to consider the global relations of a country within the context of the goals defined. How does the majority at home, the domestic support at home, provides a Government to make more assertive decision could be understood through this proposal.

And then Prof. Hanreider mentions the third referent, systematic one, which is a striking pointer of the national policy maker to the present outline of the global political system. When issues like Climate Change, nuclear deterrence etc, come up. how does a country like India makes it position, alien itself could be better analysed through this scheme.

This model provides a road map without specifics; i.e. it would help to play with the proposal, to mend it the way I would like to, while being within the framework laid out by Hanreider. This has helped to understand the linkage of these two aspects of any nation state, particularity India. Through this theory, I found the answers to the connections in strong domestic politics having assertive foreign policy and vice versa.

This analysis has checked on the policies that enjoys the consensus at home and also are compatible at the world stage, and how India has benefited from it.

3. METHODOLOGY

I have taken the deductive approach in terms of methodology. Deductive approach or reasoning helps in understanding the existing theory while helping in developing the research strategy to analyse and evaluate the hypothesis. This has helped in preparing

the hypothesis of our own while dealing and studying the Hanrieder's theory on Compatibility and Consensus.

Deductive approach literally translates to deduce a reasonable thought out of the established fact in general. It states that a particular theory could be applicable in multiple cases because of its open ended nature.

While stating this, the study has utilised the comparative method to analyse and compare the country in question India, with other similarly or higher placed nations, particularly, US , China, Japan, Germany, Russia and UK to put them against each other and compare them on the basis of GDP, population, military capability, Cultural and other terms. This has helped in defining India and its global impact on the parallel levels and where does it stands in comparison to other countries. Since the study is analysing India's global power standards, it becomes necessary to note the similarity and dissimilarity between these top countries on various parameters.

4. SOURCES

Primary sources would include but not limited, to the real source of any subject, it involves contacting people, establishing direct contact with the sources. I have referred to the text of laws and similar original documents. This involved newspaper reports, quotes by the foreign policy experts and ministers. The study utilised the speeches, letters, written documents and past interviews as the primary source of research.

Data Analysis - This study has looked at the databases and analysed them to understand the shift in the policy making from the previous regime and in this regime and what has changed when there's majority in the Parliament for a single party. I visited libraries of the Indian embassy at Austria and at the Austrian Foreign Ministry to delve upon the sources available there for research.

Secondary sources were also be used in the research for this thesis. I have focussed on the commentaries available over this subject of Indian history of global relations and

the evolvement of India's global status in the recent past few decades. This would involve researching on the Indian sources as well as on the foreign sources, specially which are originating from US, UK and China to understand the holistic nature of Indian political thinking over subjects of wider concerns and the views of various commenters over it.

5. HISTORY OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

In the past, it is evident to note that India has made large impact while dealing with its own goals and ambition, to uphold the growth at the world stage. When we talk about the East Pakistan war 1971 leading to the formation of a new state, or the 1992 Economic reforms, the 1998 Nuclear test or the 2005 US nuclear deals, India has always believed in the effective geo political decisions. India has its own failures as well but it has only learnt from them to come out as a strong, decisive nation to protect its identity and position, maintaining its unique geo political understanding.

India has shown steady upward trajectory when we check the growth of foreign policy and its implementation by India. In 2014, domestically as well, world's largest democracy gave single party majority after 30 years which provided much needed stability at the top to establish certainty for relevant issues. This led to the necessary changes at the domestic level which were pending for many decades, India's strong International positions helped it to put forward the changes at home in the right manner while giving strength to take multilateral trade deal decisions on its own will and strength rather forced by other country.



5.1 Foreign policy goals

The study has divided the phases in India's growth at world stage in six decades since its independence providing each of them with a thematic structure. Starting from the era of Non alignment in the Nehruvian era, to the practical approach of it post Sino - India war. In the 80s, India grew up as regional player with the formation of Bangladesh and involvement within Sri Lanka against the militants. Politically and strategically as well, it became an ally of the USSR, when a strategic pact was built between China US relationship but which later on, at the starting of 91, with the dissolution of USSR and world becoming sort of Unipolar has led India to evaluate its own position, to become strategically autonomous. As the era of liberalisation ushered, it also formulated India's view on its diplomatic and strategic judgements, initiating with the look east to the realigned Israel policies. Towards the end of the century, India has proven nuclear capability and the 1999 misadventure of Pakistan, has gained attention of the world towards India's growing strategic and economic position. In the new decade, with the Unipolar US, realising the growth of other economic powers and the increase of competitiveness at the global level, helped India to work with different nations at various levels. It has become a true balancing, leading, developing country in the triangle of Russia, China and US. With the strong economic growth and greater role, India was able to gain a better position. The Indo-US nuclear deal, India's common platform with China on climate change and the long tested friendship with Russia has helped to consolidate itself as an unavoidable country.

5.2 Phases of evolution

In the first phase, post-independence, the first Prime Minister of India, chose the path of Non alignment with a positive outlook. The existing bipolar world could be termed as a driving force behind that stand, though interestingly India made the choice consciously realising the needs of a freshly independent country and the potential it has. India also envisioned itself to be a leading force in the Asian and African group during the times of Belgrade and Bandung. This was done keeping in mind the needs

of the internal domestic needs of a young nation with remarkably vast aspirations with an extreme danger of poverty over large population. This managed the link between the International and Domestic goals which saw a hit by the war with China in '62.

In 1962, India calibrated the move with a realistic view to recover from the losses, with a practical strategy and diplomacy to build its own power. Now much less talked about the US defence deal of 1964, had a huge impact in repairing the damages. Though the superpowers were converging, domestic issues in India were taking a turn which saw huge political tussle followed up with the economic difficulties. In the third stage, the years of 1971 to 1991 saw India's consistent increase in the regional market. Beginning with the success separation of East Pakistan and ending of misadventure in Sri Lanka, India had its fair share of sweet and salty memories during this stage. The Sino US pact has had many diplomatic implications leading to the India Russia friendships and India's pro Soviet stance on global platform. By the end of 1991, there were serious changes in the world market with the emergence of globalisation and breaking of Soviet Union, India came back to its fundamentals of domestic and international policy making.

Post 1991, India saw many economic changes at the domestic level, and with the shift of the world order from the bipolar to unipolar, made India take some radical actions to accommodate itself in this new order while sustaining the autonomy of the large economy. On one hand, India created space for the foreign investments at domestic level, while on the foreign policy front, India came up with the Look East policy implying its vast aspirations. This stage, also saw India's close cooperation with US, while ensuring protection of its domestic interest. India particularly focussed on becoming self-reliant specially in the field of nuclear weaponry with the testing done in 1998, following it up with successfully defending its border in Kargil '99.

In the early next decade and new century, world power struggle widened up and made it more competitive, to help grow Indian development story. This eventually provided a window for India to deal with balancing hands and trade with various nations with equal respect. India progressed with its US Nuclear deal, at the same time cooperating

with China on Climate and energy, while coming together with old partner Russia to form BRICS group. This helped India to put forward its stance at the global stage in a thumping manner.

In the last decade, China became more and more visibly strong in the world order, part contributed by the uncertain US leadership, again naturally changing the International dynamics. The world has moved inwards in the past decade, Europe specifically focussed on its own affairs, Japan still opening to its potential power and Russia looking for its past glory. With the world being more open and tactical, this opened up the opportunities and strategies for the multi polar world order and converted the ways country would deal with it. Quite naturally, this changed India's approach as well to deal with various actors.

When we see it in an overall scenario it could be observed that India has been able to dynamically shift its policy direction in the past decade and has become more comprehensive and assertive in its approach, a sharp turn from the previous policy of sit back and react to the situation as they come. India has been able to reset the partnership with their western counterpart, especially recently with the US administration, partially because of the China factor in the region. India, with Prime Minister Modi is being able to side track and corner Pakistan globally on the issue of terrorism and its alleged terror activities while aggressively upped the conversations with the Eastern and South-eastern Asian friends. The country has also redefined the way it deals with the Gulf nation, moving away from just being diplomatic partner heavily based on the pretext of the diaspora to being a strategic trade and security partner in the region, or becoming an active partner in the African growth story with multiple infrastructural support to multiple African countries.

6. CURRENT STRUCTURE

One of the important factor behind this has been the stable Government and healthy domestic politics of India, which helped it to make the positive image around the globe. Indian economy has been an undeniably supreme factor in attracting the investments, but has been coupled up with the huge technological depth of the Indian market. India played key roles while dealing in the global negotiations of the climate change and renewable energy. It leads the International alliance on solar energy etc. India also maintained steady partnership on development aspect with western country's while taking care and close partnership with the neighbours around.

In the past 6 years, India has shown great extent of its capability to engage with various actors at separate level for its multipolar multi-dimensional foreign policy. With a strong Government at home, the stability provided by the domestic politics, India has been able to assert its importance at the International System. The absolute contradictory approaches taken by the country to meet the enormous opportunities such as the Howdy Modi event, an informal meet with President Xi and Vladivostok summit with Putin or the RIC with JAI, the Quad with the SCO, dealing with Iran at the same time with Saudis or Israel with Palestine, shows the eagerness and creativeness of Indian Foreign Policy to move beyond the established sects and look towards the world of convergences.

India understood that to acquire the great power at the highest body, it first has to build the base at the local level and that is to create impact in Asia, among its neighbours. This made it easy for the country to rely over different approaches for various parties while dealing with them. The broken world order is a fascinating silver lining for a rising country to lead the world ahead in near future. India has been able to move forward with its positive outlook, continued yet ever changing foreign policy in the last seven decades and this gives us idea of how closely knit this diplomacy has been. Even when the world was seeing the breaking of USSR and Yugoslavia, India became stronger with its national Unity. It has been able to improve its industrial capabilities, while also packing its defence sector with high end technologies and science.

As Swami Vivekanand rightly described the world stage as a Gymnasium, all the countries are in a pursue to show their strength and prove how powerful they are. Hence, it is important to realise our strength, and focus on the hard hand at times, not always on diplomacy. It is necessary to realise that International relations is a test of will of a nation. The Pakistan issue has taken much of the precious time away from the otherwise smooth Indian growth story but these are the lessons country learn on its way to glory. In the current era, formation of Chief Defence staff or the ignorance of Pakistan issue has been deeply appreciated and helped India leaps and bound. It's also important to realise that economy is the driver for diplomacy and not the other way around. Indian economy has been the biggest story in its domestic and International growth in the market. India has been able to comprehend the diplomatic prowess to its own benefit to increase the collaborations based on the wider approval of Education, technology and capacity building.



6.1 Global Position as the leading power

In the recent decade, we have seen the growth of China and its assertion around the world economically with high rate of engagements which also meant, on the other hand for US, to become quite uncertain in the aftermath of Iraq. Europe, too went inwards for its own concerns, Japan has maintained its slow pace strategy. This was the starting of multidimensional and multi polar world where the equations at the local, regional level would play huge role, on how one turns out at the global level. This has also evolved India's position and foreign policy.

India believes that a multipolar world requires a multi-polar Asia at its centre, considering the fact that more than half the world population resides within it. What it requires is to work with different actors at multiple issues for various projects. India aspire to be a leader in the multi polar world, acquiring the position of a global power with its unique features of a mixture of strengths, relationships and the stands on various world issues.

The free trade agreements, came into picture post the wave of globalisation also posed new challenges against the country, and in the present time it is worth observing the stance of India during the negotiations of RCEP where it pulled out of the agreement, effectively diluting the whole pact. India already has 12 Free trade agreements with 15 RCEP partners, so the free will to not join came out of a sound appropriation of the profit loss analysis, which came from the sheer understanding of the domestic and International impact of the same. India has always been eager to talk to multiple players when it comes to development of the country and that has formed the base for the India's non-aligned position on bigger questions. India did took sides in the past, but in the recent years India has shown maturity to deal with these nations through various innovative strategies. India is being able to host the US President in the same year as of the Malappuram summit with Chinese head and took part with Putin on Bilateral relations at Vladivostok. It also engaged itself with JAI (Japan America India), so do with Quad and SCO. India has played the best game on balancing the relations with opposing forces and maintaining good rapport with Iran and Saudi Arabia and Israel

and Palestine . India did play the role of master of International relations balancing while taking approval for its domestic audience. This all has come out of the willingness to deal with all the interesting parties with same valour and respect.

India is mostly been on the right side of the leaf readings except at few, where it faced the flak out of that with other nation, but then no country learns to deal with relations without certain fallouts. Indian foreign policy reading would be a misread if we don't factor in the Sino- US impact over it , the current trend of multi polar partnerships and diminishing multilateralism. The last decade also empowered the regional groups, which led to the growth of politics of convergence. Indian foreign policy initiatives have been a clear reflections of its diaspora needs, economic constraints and technological advancements. India has been able to reach out to the gulf nations like never before, European relations are more on practice now than ever before and the Indo Pacific relations are becoming a reality.

6.2 Growth trajectory

This decade would decide the actual course of the world order and hence it is necessary to read and understand the growth of the rising great power from Asia and how it has countered the growth of China if not restricted it. Rabindranath Nath Tagore has famously mentioned, 'we cannot cross the sea by standing at the shore and observing the water'³. India too have to dive into in this world order with the current thinking and strategies' its behaviour. It needs to define the goals with each nation it partners with and create a long term outline to deal with it. The analysis is about the Indian comparison with the super powers of our time including US, China and Russia while briefly mentioning Japan as a friendly competitor. India has been able to initiate the close conversations with the neighbouring countries with programs, while replying in the effective way to the violent attacks of another neighbour. India has become an

³ Words of wisdom: Rabindranath Tagore's famous and inspirational quotes. (2016). Retrieved 16 July 2020, from <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/tagore-quotes-333701-2016-08-06>

essential part of the talks over burning and relevant global topics like climate change, terrorism, technology and maritime security and has made an impact as discussed before. I am looking on the impacts in domestic and International context for the country and how it has impacted the story of the country. India has been at front for the humanitarian assistance around the globe with having a record of highest number of forces in the UN peacekeeping mission, Sri Lanka, Fiji, Congo, Nepal are just few to mention its leadership capability at these sectors. India has been able to show its strength in election after election winnings at the global level. India's infrastructural investments in the African continent has been the testament of its commitment and resilience with the continent, with the highest rate of project completion. International Yoga day and other events have shown that India's soft diplomacy has been in the incremental zone during the past decade and would only increase in the future, this includes in the formation of solar alliance or when the disaster relief coalition was envisioned.

In the past, India has learnt to effectively change the level of diplomacy and relations with various actors and each stage has given something to lean upon. The current decade has to be one where India seeks major transition to include itself in the big leagues as a great power with high capabilities in every field which makes others the same. Once when started with non-alignment, the next phase would be more about multi alignment and this includes the nationalism as well. Nationalism as it is been given the negative connotation, it is important to understand India believes that Nationalism is more as to be defined as the process to put forward Country's view in a way that would be beneficial for the country's economy and 1.35 billion people rather not about restricting anyone's access to the country. It's a must for a country like India with such diverse fields of engagements to offer and dynamically converge with each interested parties and not to cut them off. India's growth story is more about the Internationalisation of nationalism and move towards India first while not demeaning any other platform or organisation.

6.3 Domestic reforms

In a world full of uncertainties, it is important to place our words at the most convenient stage and in the perfect terminology to make it more globalised in a sense. India's domestic reforms are the testament of country's commitment towards change of old guards. The GST reforms brought the country from a fractured federal structure to a unified team India, opening up the economy and paving way for faster reforms. IBC reforms too have given a new life to the banking and financial sectors, instilling confidence in the investors and promoters together. On the socio political level, India has been to move past the rigorous practice of the triple talaq, giving rights to the Muslim women while through the revocation of Article 370, unified the country under one flag. Article 370⁴ was a temporary provision in Indian Constitution, which granted special autonomous status to Jammu & Kashmir. This article made all the other provisions of Indian Constitution inapplicable to J&K. J&K even had their own Prime Minister till 1965, a separate flag before the revocation of this article last year. Due to this article J&K had been a semi-autonomous region within the country with many state subjects not applicable there and even the Indian citizens can't purchase land there. After the scrapping of this article, the entire disputed region has been completely integrated in the country, while creating Union territories of the two regions in J&K for better governance. This would give more powers to the Union Govt in the region and strengthen their fight against militancy. These reforms are the result of the resolute New India which looks at the world with a new prism of hope and objectivity. The passing of Citizenship Amendment Act reaffirms India's humanitarian stance for the minorities in neighbouring states.

These reforms are the result of the resolute New India which looks at the world with a new prism of hope and objectivity. The passing of Citizenship Amendment Act reaffirms India's humanitarian stance for the minorities in neighbouring states. These

⁴ Mustafa, F. (2019). Explained: What are Articles 370 and 35A?. Retrieved 16 July 2020, from <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/understanding-articles-370-35a-jammu-kashmir-indian-constitution-5610996/>

steps are the fallout of the strong Indian image at the global level which provided the strength to the Government to take such major steps.

7. COMPARATIVE STUDY

Indian foreign policy in the illustrious journey of 70 years, presents us a bag of mixed emotions. The common factor around its diplomacy and approach to deal with foreign nations has been the national interest at the core, irrespective of the results it yielded, intentionally or otherwise. The comparison of its neighbouring counterpart with almost same population but varied political social system is an unjustified way to read it. India could have been the leader and had been on the economic superpowers club much before had it took a different approach, which is a complex way to deal with in the past. India's lack in more proactive and vibrant debate among the stakeholders had been a major factor of where it stands today. Nothing though, takes away the fact that India as a country is standing at a cusp of change, with a new intent of taking risk head on.

The analyst believes the 21st century is the best century of India, to lead the world, backing it up with its vibrant democracy, strong economy and hard labour. It is important for the domestic matters to get resolved before any nation could imagine a fly at the global stage. It's a must for the country to resolve its controversial border issues, integrate the regions within its borders and push the opportunities where and as they come. Pessimism and confusion in its approach would harm the nation looking for the change in the existing world order. In Napoleon's words of wisdom, India cannot waste its time on analysing what went wrong in the past as the history only tells us a version of past events and not the actual events themselves.

I am studying various global factors in terms of existing global powers and the neighbouring nation factors which have affected India's growth and the ways they contained or pushed the Indian ambition to lead the world going forward. Country's policy makers required to move out of the boxes which block the new rays of hope to make way into the Indian domestic and International system. It needs to move away from the stories of its past and create new history with the dynamic outlook. India needs

refreshing ideas to present at the world forum, which must be approved by the domestic audience as well. India's international compatibility relies heavily on the consensus its state builds on the 1.35 billion population. The linkage between International reputation originates from the image, state has with its domestic audience and with the majoritarian government at home with a popular leader as its face, India need not to read the dogma's of past rather, start the story afresh. Indian foreign policy has to come with the dynamic, proactive and optimistic outlook of its national stance of the past and tell the world, real meaning of nationalism in the Indian sense.

Let us see how the country has dealt with various stakeholders in the world diplomacy and delve upon on how India has been able to assertively deal with their demands and put forward its view in the present time. Since I am dealing with the domestic politics and their linkages with International platform, the study has kept focusing back and forth with regard to the decisions taken in terms of national interest and its political impact with the leading world powers. India's large economy and market has always endured the bigger nations, as a customer and it has eventually helped India in luring the market around the world to India.

7.1 India and the USA

US President Trump just had a first standalone trip by any US President to India, showcasing the Indian stature in terms of US foreign policy engagement. India and US had huge leaps in terms of the Government to Government interactions and this has been ably assisted by the Public to public engagement among the countries. US has been an important key for India's global ambition and so is vice versa for US, for its Asian aspiration, as a counter to China's growth. The partnership with US ranges from the security agreements to the trade and economy. US, still is not a friend of all weather for India but has been an important strategic partner with dependable credentials. The joint effort should be towards realising the aspirations of both the countries where India would need better policies for its diaspora in US and in return US would expect India to open its economy for the American companies. The American companies will have to compete the places with their European and Chinese counterparts and how India

balance these out would be thing to look forward. The partnership will be tested on the business to business to basis and citizen to citizen approach, how the White house reacts and absorbs the key domestic decisions at the world level.

Indian ambitions at the International level of becoming a global power could only materialised if it has the support and encouragement from the USA administration. The economic, military and strategic, bilateral and multilateral goals could be converged as per the convenience in the new world order. In a time when every country is going inwards, it is necessary to realise the potential of two of the largest democracies can have on the world. India must look forward to have a better understanding of the needs and offering of the USA companies and administration while also doing soft Diplomacy with its neighbour China. The domestic sentiment in India also favours more positive relations with the USA then compared to China and this comes from the similar nature of their political structure.

The current US President had also made sure not to upset the current Government by not mentioning anything disputed during his recent visit. India and USA must come to terms on their respective converging issues and broader their engagements. There are certain contagious issues, but which can be resolved through constant dialogues between the officials of two nations. In the post Covid World as well, like we saw during the transactions of medicine, the US India partnership could expand in many fields and many companies could move out China, only to make India as their base.

US, also had made sure not to obstruct any of the domestic decisions or politics by being silent at the UNSC, in favour of India. This special recognition comes from the strong Government India has, in the 2nd term of Mr. Modi. Even though India and US are not allies but they could do much more as a strategic partner without getting into the term diplomacy. US and Indian Army have been doing joint exercises for a while now, and with the re-emergence of Quad group, this relationship will be more important in the future. India's foreign policy have a special place for USA, in their terms of policy. The trade and other economic factors shows great potential for both the countries and it could be expected to increase manifold post this pandemic. India and

US strategic partnership would be defining the future of the world order as they would be the ones handling two of the biggest continent on planet earth. It will be interesting to watch how both of them responses to the challenge which China possesses, more recently, their response to the Covid -19 pandemic.

7.2 India and China

India and China are the perfect definition of a love hate relationship where the border issues have repeatedly fuelled the anger across the border but the economic understanding has mostly kept it under the carpets. China has been heavily infusing money in the Indian start-ups but now the challenge for Indian authorities would be to restrict the entry of the network companies in the country and to decrease the reliance over the Chinese manufactured products. Keeping the large communication companies like Huawei and ZTE would be a task for the Indian authorities. Another common issue for both the countries has been the border dispute with Pakistan, in which China has by default became a party with a chosen side of Pakistan. The recent strikes within the Pakistan courtyard had made them keep silence, thereby keeping China in check but in future it would and might become impossible to separate the trade and border relations and to look them from different prism for the same country. Changing the country's image in the mind of common Indian would be a task for China for the next decade.

The stand-off between India and China in the disputed Ladakh - Aksai Chin region is the latest one in the series of many such incidents happened in past. The disputed border issue has been a bone of contention between the countries from long time, included a brief war too in 1962. The demarcation of 1962, in form of Line of Actual Control (LAC) is not clear, both the nations interpret it in their way, which leads to stand off regularly.

The 2020 stand-off happened on Galwan Valley, where 20 Indian soldiers died, with reportedly 40 odd on the Chinese side.⁵ This is the highest escalations happened in the past forty years, leading to deaths either side of borders. This is the 4th such stand-off happened, since this Government took over the helm of the affairs. This rise could be attributed to the rapid infrastructural development on the borders by the Indian border authorities. China also sees India's close cooperation with USA as a threat to its growing power and has long considered India as a roadblock in its path to global superpower. India's close relations with all but one neighbouring countries has also been an issue for China which dreams of creating a One belt one road. The domestic and International embarrassment happened of President Xi had also made this to invoke the nationalistic sentiments against India and thereby driving the attention away from his failures. Even though earlier, the border dispute has not impacted the trade and business between two nations, this time India has taken strong note of it and Indian prime minister has said that India would give appropriate answers, with India banning several popular apps while tweaking laws for trade and other ways.

This has also been an eye opener for India, to fasten its multi aligned policy and leave behind Vasudev kutumb stating all world is family as it is not. The new India wouldn't listen to the enemies of the land and would be willing to take hard steps. The first step towards becoming a global power is to behave like one and stop being polite to the enemies.

India's infinite potential as a regional power needs to be translated as the global power. With the abilities of cheap production and high technology coupled with young workforce, India's growth can't be undermined. Today, in these Covid times, world is looking for an alternative to the Chinese market and India must be ready to grab this opportunity with both hands.

⁵ India-China standoff: Where is Galwan valley and why is it so strategic?. (2020). Retrieved 16 July 2020, from <https://www.timesnownews.com/columns/article/india-china-standoff-where-is-galwan-valley-and-why-is-it-so-strategic/607317>

7.3 India, France and Russia

Two of the most reliant friends for India are France and Russia who have supported India at the global stage as well. Most recently, both stood with India when the resolutions were brought against it at the UNSC. Russia has been India's long term defence partner fulfilling all its need in the past 5 decades, whereas France is joining the league now with its Rafael fighter planes. The friendship from these two comes from the competitive nature of US defence companies, bidding for the space in India's military demand. In future though, India could expand the relation in the sectors of oil and Gas with Russia though the talks on Gas pipeline could be initiated whereas with France, deeper links on the production of nuclear energy would be the next big thing. France has been the consistent supporter of India's approach towards solving the climate crisis, where both came together foot the alliance on solar energy and have been partnering at various level for the Global climate concerns.

7.4 India and Japan

India needs to begin a deeper understanding and close engagements with the largest economies of the world, Japan and Germany. Japan has been our strategic and economic partner for a long time now and has become a major economic partner in the recent time. It has been a n essential part in the formation of the QUAD grouping and will have necessary role to convey whenever the confrontation happens. With the German counterparts, it has been more of a technological bonding , furthering into the trade and investments between the two countries. India must able to attract the German manufactures in the wake of crisis in Germany and must present the best ease of doing business practices. India must amend its labour laws along with the infrastructure laws to provide better access to the import companies.

7.5 India and Neighbours

India's neighbourhood policy has attracted lots of attention at the beginning of the present dispensation's swearing in when PM Modi invited the SAARC state heads for the ceremony, thereby extending the hand of friendship. India did maintain the stable relationship with Maldives, Bhutan and Myanmar, by providing necessary logistics and humanitarian helps when required. Now, the concern for the policy makers is the expansion in the regions of Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. India needs to think like a big economy and take the smaller nations along with it, by providing the necessary financial support to these countries. The three countries are not in the fight of India China but would definitely tilt towards the one, favouring them more. It is important that if India could not compete with China over financial support, it could and must import the technologies and soft export to the neighbouring countries. These countries would not only include the neighbouring the countries rather could be expanded by the Indian authorities in the regions of Africa and other smaller countries as well. The neighbouring countries play important role in the country's image building at the global level and keeping them fed and well-coordinated, will make way for India at the world stage with the help of the smaller countries at the regional platforms.

Indian neighbourhood policy has been redefined by the current Government and has been underlined twice, once during the first oath ceremony when the newly designated PM Modi invited all the Saarc leaders to the ceremony, consisting of all the South Asian nations and second, during the second oath ceremony inviting the nation heads of Bimstec (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) groups. India's neighbourhood first policy consist of focussing on bettering the relationships and building new contracts with the countries immediately share the boundary with India.

During the first term, PM visited Bhutan as his first foreign nation visit, while in second term he continued the tradition by visiting Maldives and Sri Lanka, giving a clear message of importance of the neighbours. India considers its neighbours of high

strategic importance because of their close connectivity to Indian Ocean and on the land side to the Chinese border. India also focuses on the Indian Ocean Islands to strengthen and deepen its strategic geopolitics along with the Quad group between India, USA, Japan and Australia. The Prime Minister also travelled to Seychelles, Mauritius and Sri Lanka and underlined the importance of Indian Strategy, then termed as SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) initiative. Since the time SAARC became defunct due to certain acts of Pakistan, Indian strategic think tanks have moved towards BIMSTEC to get leverage in the Indian Ocean and neighbourhood without involving Pakistan. Bimstec nations were also invited to the Brics summit in 2016 for their active involvement in the region. India has always followed the policy to give better attention to the land sharing nations but in the recent year it also realised the importance of the maritime boundaries through the programs like SAGAR.

With greater emphasis on the Indian Ocean politics, it has become an area of huge Geopolitical importance. To counter China's narrative in the marine Belt and Road, where it has been building naval stations and ports, India has started taking interest and investing time in the region as it becomes a new playground of power rivalry. India, has since then, signed maritime cooperation agreements with USA and France for joint exercises etc. Indian Ocean has also been one of the busiest route in the sea world. Apart from being important commercial route it also serves as a strategic important tool for the nations surrounding it. Indian ocean also has massive amount of resources within the blue economy in terms of fisheries harbours, Port locations, unexplored oil and gases, which is also an important Maritime strategic platform for the participating nations.

For a broader policy in Maritime security India can form a union of like-minded countries in the region by expanding its neighbourhood policy to include Nations like Madagascar reunion, Diego Garcia Diego Garcia specifically which hosts major American military exercises and facilities. In the Eastern Indian ocean India must focus on the tiny islands which are of Geopolitical important and lies at the heart of the sea line Communication the Cocos Islands, Australia are of prime importance. In India itself both on East and West side of the Indian Ocean the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in Lakshadweep holds special place in the strategic policy making to receive the maritime policies. Apart from these, India needs to come with an affirmative solid

policy in terms of economic and security issues to assure these island nations of their importance in the bigger picture. The sagarmala project envisions the logical support to the entire coastal region of the country combined with the Sagar initiative of the neighbourhood first policy would make an effective formulation to promote Regional Cooperation in security. With the coming of the quad group we could see a bigger collaboration from different directions in the Indian Ocean. This would be the beginning of neighbourhood first policy 2.0.

7.6 India and East Asia

India's act east policy has changed the way Indian authorities have looked at the east Asian countries. The new assertive policy looks to build infrastructure, increase the connectivity and manage the trade and business in a better way. The Act east policy has also managed to reignite the debate on the regional centres and their utility. India's pacific policy has also been part of the Act East policy and it could easily termed as the policy for the eastern peninsula with an aim to strategize the Indo pacific relations in the best interest of the country. The Indo-pacific relations teamed up with the Act east policy have become a wide array of foreign policy goal for the country. Along with the diplomatic engagement, this benefits the geopolitical strategy for the country as well. The policy aims towards making the free navigational movement of the maritime, with increase in believe between the countries involved. This also focusses on the rule based formal approach towards the maritime security of the entire region while broadening the discussion among the concerned nations. The disputed region in the South China sea also has been primal focus for the group with each country having their own concern with the greater Chinese presence in the region. India on its part has signed a deal with Indonesia to build the port at the strategically and geographically important Malacca strait.

7.7 India and Africa

Even with the African region, having unlimited opportunities and possibilities, it is important to converse in the real trade, investment perspective. India has been able to convert this relation in a dynamic fashion by including major development projects in the region. The African Union as well has resurrected itself in a strong organisation to unify the region and is been looking for partnership across the borders. In this moment, many non-western are investing and assisting the African region to move towards the development, India must utilise its unique goodwill in the continent to pursue them for greater engagement with the country in various sectors of technology transfer, development deals and infrastructural assistance. This would make India the de facto trade and development assistance partner in the region, position which has been largely occupied by the Chinese companies. One of the key factors in India's dynamic diplomacy in the past six years has been its keen focus on African region. India is being actively involved in the construction and infrastructure work in the region, with major plants coming up in certain regions. There are water project plants in the cities of Sudan and Rwanda which India is financially supporting, India has been a part of the opening of a sugar factory in Ethiopia recently. So, India has been able to tangibly change the way from the diplomacy limited to the socio cultural instruments to the financial partnerships. This would go long way in realising the true potential of the Indo African partnership.

The developments with regards to this region must be discussed in the wider domain to include the Indian participations in the Peacekeeping missions as well as Indian diaspora's contribution in the growth of continent. India and Africa also shares civilization connections which must be aptly used by the analyst. India's strength and global reach would only multiply when it learns to take the middle powers together with its ambition. India must become the leader in the regional arena to shift towards the bigger stage. India must indulge positively with all the stakeholders to keep the open, vibrant discussions to improve its own powers. The deep connections with African continent will definitely assist in the dialogues with African union as well as the individual countries as well to form an adhesive union.

7.8 India and West Asia

One of the focus for the current Government when they came to power is to strengthen the relations with the gulf countries which was till ow were limited to the diaspora and oil issues. India has been able to build the confidence among the various stakeholders in the region while balancing each of them efficiently. This confidence has helped India to make good partners bilaterally in the region while gulf players also realising India wouldn't create any disruptions among them while dealing with each one of them. India has also reignited the traditional and historical relationship with the Central Asian countries by involving them in regular dialogues. The country has ably utilised the age old socioeconomical partnership with the region.

Moving away from the Asian region, Indian Government has stabilised the relations in the Latin American countries, if not improved them, have been able to maintain the upward trajectory in the region. More and more cooperation in terms of various areas of convergence would be the next big thing in the region.



India's ambitious target of becoming a \$5 trillion GDP⁶, would require huge amount of energy, as much as not required ever before. This makes the west Asian countries of supreme importance and the relations India maintains with them. India is the 3rd largest consumer of oil and its demand would only increase in the near future, the countries in gulf would have unmistakably greater role to play in these demands. India needs to build its relation on the base of the diaspora diplomacy because of the large number of Indian migrant labourers working there. It also requires to expand the cooperation in other sectors such as of defence and security. The recent invitation for the Indian Foreign minister, first in the history, for the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation is a step in the right direction. It must now focus on the realignment in the policies in the region by developing sociocultural and other partnerships to develop strong bilateral relations with all the parties involved. India must look at the issue with an eye to form a Union like that of Quad⁷, ensuring that the country is an active participant in the regional security and other cooperative exercises.

8. INDIAN POSITION ON CLIMATE CHANGE

India's handling of the climate change issue has been one of the major accolades for the present Government in the past six years. The Prime Minister was recently adjudged as the Champion of the Earth in 2018 for his proactive steps and "pioneering work in championing the International Solar Alliance and promoting new areas of levels of cooperation on environmental action".⁸ India has become one of the major partners of Paris climate deal post US withdrawal and it has deftly played the role of the leader in this field. India's intention could be observed from the active participation of its delegation at the COP 20 and 21 and later on formation of the council on climate change

⁶ 'Modi govt's USD 5-trillion GDP target by 2024 looks unimaginably ambitious' - The Economic Times. (2020). From <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/>

⁷ Explained: What is Quad? Is it to contain China's rise?. (2018)., <https://www.financialexpress.com/i>

⁸ Narendra Modi. (2018)., from <https://www.unenvironment.org/championsofearth/node/50>

under Prime Minister's Office. India also shown desire to fulfil its requirements under the Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) and has been able to achieve the major targets. Being a leader, this also throws an opportunity on India to showcase and lead the other smaller developing countries towards climate friendly schemes. India, once finished with its energy infrastructure build up, must focus on the development of other smaller country infrastructure and move them towards the clean energy markets. It must encourage the development of renewable energy resources to decrease the oil imports. India's proactive role during Cop 24⁹ at Poland has been well defined and it was carry forwarded at the World Economic Forum when the Prime Minister asked the developed countries to invest money in the developing countries for the procurement of clean energy technology. India must now create a climate based diplomacy to increase the interaction between various actions and states to decentralise the climate process. Climate change politics is more about the mitigation of the risk factors and India could lead now to build the new normal. India could diminish the geopolitical and geoeconomically gap by bringing the local, state and national structure in sync and averting the risk with various policy requirements. The approach for the Indian climate change scheme must be bottom up, by changing the dynamics at the local level and then implementing at the International level.

India must need to create a framework on how it would deal and approach the situation in future to sustain the efforts they have taken till now. India's geopolitical approach must increase with the climate change initiatives in the smaller developing countries through the processes with scale based approaches in terms of socio economic, political and ecological issues. It must ensure now the transition from the fossil fuel dominant world to the green energy industry in the smoothest way possible for the developing countries.

India's climate change stance has proven to be a game changer in its International reputation as the advocate of clean energy and it followed the stance with action during

⁹ COP 24: India terms outcome of climate talks in Poland positive. (2018).
<https://www.financialexpress.com/in>

the establishment of International Solar Alliance along with France. Post US Exit, India's role as the world's largest democracy with a billion population becomes more important and India has the best opportunity to put forward its policies and framework at domestic level to show the intent and implement them in right manner.

9. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Trillion-Dollar Economies		
Country	GDP (2019 Estimates, in trillions)	Projected Growth Rate (2020)
United States	\$21.44	2.0%
China	\$14.14	6.0%
Japan	\$5.15	0.7%
Germany	\$3.86	1.1%
India	\$2.94	5.8%
United Kingdom	\$2.74	1.4%
France	\$2.71	1.3%
Italy	\$1.99	0.5%
Brazil	\$1.85	2.2%
Canada	\$1.73	1.8%
Russia	\$1.64	1.9%
South Korea	\$1.63	2.2%
Spain	\$1.40	1.6%
Australia	\$1.38	2.3%
Mexico	\$1.27	1.0%
Indonesia	\$1.11	5.1%

India needs to ascertain the potential it has sown into the aspiration of global world leaders as the leading power with potentially the largest market in the world. India has now become the 5th largest economy in the world and more surely would become the 3rd largest economy of the world in 2020s with the kind of resources it has and if it maintains the current course of actions in the economic sector. String economy is necessary for a powerful India at the global stage as it reflects the intent of the country and its stature. When we look back, India faced sanctions for its nuclear test in Pokhran 1998, but the same countries within 7 years of that, when Indian economy jumped in the economic arena, signed the civil nuclear deal. With an economy of almost \$3 trillion, Indian parliament abrogated the article 370 from Kashmir region, except China no one at the United Nations Security Council came forward to oppose the move, with China stood isolated in front of the nations. Major domestic decisions which might

have had International implications, stood clear of any controversy even from the fiercest of Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia and UAE.

A good rate of GDP is necessary to advocate the changes India would like to see at the world level and it is what, the economy manages. Indian economy must move away from the red tapism and unnecessary restriction's to promote a free and liberal economy. Even though the democratic structure of the country would be an essential factor in the delays and problems it would face, but those would be similar to US, Japan and other large democratic country. India's economy would be a guiding light at the domestic as well as the International level for its reputation and hence the linkage between the two and how the one affects the same would also be a factor from the economic perspective. There are certain region though which would be of great economic interest for the country and in its relation with major economies of the world.

9.1 Economic changes within India

It is necessary to match the International aspirations to correct and reconstruct the domestic shortcomings and that definitely begins with the economic changes. India has successfully brought tax changes in the form of Goods and Services Tax making the 29 states of India in one large market, having similar tax rates. It was a historical step for a country with a population of more than a billion to simplify the tax process and unify the country as team India. This also showcases the Cooperative federalism of India where the state and the union takes the decision together. Though it is a work in progress, it is being able to make the tax slabs leaner and more efficient. The passage of this act took more than 30 years and this has brought India in top nations around the world having structured tax system.

Secondly, in a developing country like India, in the previous decade, there have been cases of bankruptcy and business not paying back loans they took. In the present decade, current government came up with the Insolvency and bankruptcy code to deal with this menace, to clear up the Non-Performing Assets(NPA). The code facilitates the insolvency proceedings at the tribunals. Even though, It's been few years, many

national and foreign companies have acquired or are in process to acquire bankrupt business with large NPAs though having promising asset management. This step would go long way in improving the health of the bank infrastructure and instil confidence in the market as well.

On 8th November 2016¹⁰, the Prime Minister took a bold decision to demonetise almost 85% of the currency available in the market, a step taken with a view to curb the black money and hawala transactions, though later helped in empowering the country as Digitally enabled population. The pros and cons of the scheme could be discussed otherwise but it has shown the resilience of the nation to fight the war against black money. The Government has also ramped the infrastructure projects in the country with big rail and road construction plans been revealed, it is expected to take the nation on higher heights as the infrastructure plays the role of building block in any nation's success. India has also been able to get success in the coal and power sectors with e-auctions processes and making them transparent.

India also brought in the fugitive economic offender bill to catch the fraudsters of economic nature and attach their properties. The act helps the country to recover the lost money on the business that were closed. The above steps have helped the Government and the country in maintaining the economic growth rate of 7% while helping the country to move out of the pessimism of 2013. These steps are necessary for a nation who inspires to lead the nation and these all decisions collectively have made India stringer at the world stage as they have cleaned up the clogged system and attracted the investors from outside.

9.2 Innovative domestic agendas

Apart from the larger legislatures, India being a nation of farmers, has been able to benefit the less privileged, by bringing them into the formal economy through opening

¹⁰ Kumar, R. (2016). What is demonetisation and why was it done - The Economic Times. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/ne>

their bank accounts. The Government of the day was able to remove the third parties in between the benefit transfer chain through the use of technology thereby saving millions of dollars of the economy. Through the Mudra loans, India has been to provide risk free loans to medium and small industry entrepreneurs with a hope to generate jobs at this level and it has shown positive signs of growth in the past few years. Country has also been able to launch the world's largest free healthcare scheme 'Ayushman Bharat' to assist the poor of the society with free healthcare facilities up to a certain amount and for most essential treatments. For any nation, to acquire the global leading power status, it is necessary to look after the health of the weakest of the society and through this scheme, India has started from somewhere. It is expected to expand its reach with the time to come and this would definitely be life changing for the lower middle and poor population of the country. Another step which has indirect health benefit for the women of the country is to provide them free LPG connections through the Ujjawala Scheme where the richer lot has given up the subsidy to manage and transfer the benefit to the poorest of the society. The scheme has provided more than 80 million women, their own LPG cylinders, taking them away from the dangerous air population from the wood stock gas stoves.

9.3 Global economy and India

Through the Make in India scheme, India promoted the indigenous manufacturing of maximum products to decrease its dependence on the foreign products. It has remarkably improved the ranking of India on ease of doing business. The Government also opened up the Foreign direct investment to larger industries to give space to bigger companies to open their plants at home. As in China, India believes that to make the country powerful and take it out of the poverty it is necessary to India a manufacturing hub through various labour intensive reforms and easing the business process in the country.

These points are important to mention in this analysis to understand the country's preparations for the global leader's fight. The domestic and International linkage could only be built when there is understanding of the issues at each level. India has been to

make necessary and bold changes in the domestic laws and plan of schemes to accommodate and comfort each citizen of the country and to attract the investors from outside as well.

As Professor Hanreider mentions about the internal referents, GST could be considered a part of the same as the changes in the tax regimes within the country does not affect India's global relations but has effectively improved on how India deals with the tax structure within its boundaries. The move has stepped up India's tax system, making it flawless for the companies working in various Indian states.

Indian response to the global demand of change within its own complex tax system proved that India is ready for the wider and more hectic global responsibilities and is ready to change the colonial era laws to accommodate the best practices.

10. INDIA'S MULTI-ALIGNMENT POLICY

India has been able to move away from its long stated policy of no alignment policy towards the issues based alignment with different actors. This was required to be done for greater participation of Indian voice at the global platform with the like-minded parties. With all the changes made at the domestic level, It becomes pertinent to showcase them at the global stage as well and to have a stronger say at the forum of multi-party delegations. India's stand during the RCEP¹¹ talks is an testament of the same where the country didn't come under any undue pressure and chose not to sign the free trade agreement, due to certain reservations about the deal and how it would affect the farmers at home. This, in terms of the thesis, could be termed as the external referent where the country chosen to not go ahead of the agreement with major economies to safeguard its farmers at home.

¹¹ Rcep Trade Agreement: India decides to opt out of RCEP, says key concerns not addressed - The Economic Times. (2019). <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/>

The then Indian Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar has pointed this out that India would like to have greater share in the pie rather than just being a mute spectator. This has greater implications in the years to come since 2015 where India, from being a balancer on larger global issues has since become a key participants on idea exchange and innovative techniques. Indian diplomacy has also turned itself into a group of energetic, dynamic policymaker to establish as a contributor to the policy making and not just an attendee. India no longer want to put itself into the lens of one country closer to a particular block rather aspire to be a key part on all the aspect on International relations, the autonomy itself does not constitute the word Non-alignment same as the policy of nationalism does not make a country to become protectionist state.

10.1 Multi-alignment and partners

India has become a part of the QUAD, which gathered with an aim to counter the Chinese presence in the Indo Pacific ocean and to encourage Simultaneously, India engages with the grouping of Russia and China to keep its leverages open with US administration. It is important to understand the Indo Us dynamic through the defence and military joint initiatives. With America moving towards, America first under President Trump, India looks at it as the positive development to have a transactional relationship. India and US is a relationship which has now grown from being a strategic partners to unofficially become the natural friends in the region to counter the China effect. This though , needs to go beyond the paperwork send translate into stable, solid military, economical and public and public transactions.

China has been the most complex country to deal with, with the large border India share with them and border disputes involved within, and despite all the issues China has been one of the largest trading partners in past decade and will be in the future owing to large manufacturing capacity of China. It is important to analysis the effects of Chinese growth in the region and India could offer an alternative democratic market for the world to look up to instead of China. China's deep investments in the Indian start up ecosystem is also an worry to look up to and a factor when we talk about the relation between the two.

One of India's oldest friend, Russia has always been a steady partner in India's growth towards the top level country. There have been hiccups in the past few years because of Indian engagements with the Indo pacific groups but that has not dithered the close bilateral cooperation's between the top leadership of both the countries.

India EU relationship is an unexplored region and partnership, with many factors involved in and around the topic. India has been focussing on other region in past few decades and limited itself in bilateral ties with certain particular EU nations such as France, Germany and Britain while the European Union has been going inwards in the past decade time. The interest field would involve a wide array of issues which includes but not restricts to regional cooperation, technology, climate change issues and the UN reforms too. One of the most unifying factor involved in the India -EU partnership is the common structure of democracy, lawful societies and stable human rights body..

India Japan is an arena where we have seen positive growth in the past decades. From being a traditional economic partner to a collaborated effort into various other initiatives including the technological exchange, climate issues, maritime security, both have expanded the relations into stronger directions and it would interesting to see how India reacts in future.

10.2 Indian outreach in past decade

If we focus specifically on the regional outreach in the past six years, on the sixth phase of the Indian diplomacy it would be interesting note on how Prime Minister Modi has changed the terms of engagement with the south Asian neighbours. The Government has focussed aggressively on building infrastructure in the countries along with better connectivity, to counter the port diplomacy of China. India has also increased the humanitarian assistance in the region during the time of crisis. When we see towards the goal of outreach for the Indian engagement in the Indo Pacific region, India has opened its arm for the inclusion of Russia and China as well. This act of balancing in times of geopolitical changes would be interesting to see, how it takes shape.

India's involvement in the global multilateral initiatives has been of prime focal in the past few years as India intends to project itself as the global leading power at the world stage. Even though the country couldn't get into the NSG yet, that hasn't deterred its intentions which could be observed through various new civil nuclear cooperation's agreements India negotiated in the current 5 years, while implementing the earlier ones. India's position at the UN platforms have been steadily improved with greater political support across the hall now, though much work needs to be done to establish the powerful player at the top office. At the World Trade Organisation as well, India needs to defend its policy and advocate regulations favouring the emerging democracies around the world, to emerge as the leader on the International stage.

India has been able to redefine the role of the country from being a balancing, non-alienated country to become one of the most dynamic and issues based multi alienated nation. India has learnt the art of convergence diplomacy to meet its need and changed the meaning and negative connotation of the word Nationalism. Now India urge for greater role in the rule making process at the global stage, is standing on the doors of NSG and UNSC for the deserved membership and realise that a country with population more than one seventh of the world must need to be there at the global governing body. In a just and rule based International Organisations, India's multilateral skills would be of great benefit, which would further the dream of New India with assertive engagement with the global audience and is not just restricted with the regional tussle for power. India's global outreach would also benefit the domestic aspiration for the large population as the youth of today seek larger dreams than yesterday. India's new found energetic engagement with US in the fields of science and technology would help fulfil the aspirations of the Indian youth. India also puts itself as an alternative to China's story as the democratic country with a clear past record. It has placed itself as the challenger to China in the regional might though it is just the beginning.

10.3 Neighbour First

The current cabinet has recently shown eagerness to change the image at International stage with the appointment of a career diplomat, ex Indian Foreign Secretary as the powerful Minister of Foreign Affairs, while doing this, India also invited the top leadership of another regional organisation BIMSTEC member states, which showcases India's view on handling leading role in the smaller regional groups. BIMSTEC, though 2 decades old, now holds a strategic value in terms of Indian engagement in the region with the incremental increase in the trade, holding almost 20% of world's population and \$2.4 trillion GDP, was not heard before the Indian Government made it a primary part of its foreign policy scheme. BIMSTEC is also an extension for India's east Asian outreach, opening doors with its south-eastern and East Asian friends. This also helps India to facilitate conversations with the other SAARC countries, without any need to engage with Pakistan or terror issues.

As we can observe India has been able to dynamically expand its foreign policy and has amended its approach in a radical fashion, of becoming a nation with alliances of convergences than from a balancing non alienated country. The country has been able to bury the wrongdoing of the past at the domestic policy paralysis level and so at the International arena and now it looks to materialise the ideas into reality. The Indian diplomacy has to deal with various changes at the structural and ideological level and it has to keep the pace up as the leading world power to maintain its relevance in an ever changing world order. India, through its various firsts and proactive stance on Paris climate change has increased its global footprint and now it is a challenge to maintain the same at the same level with equal intensity.

While India has continuously invested and has shown deep interest in the regional players and its close neighbourhood friends, it's imperative to ask the reasons behind it, which comes more from the necessity than from the generosity. India's tussle with China for greater role in the Asian peninsula has resulted in our multiple interactions within the region. China's belt and road circle has been a cause of concern for the Indian

policymaker and hence it is important to realise the aspirations its geopolitical dynamics while dealing with these nations.

India's story as the regional developing nation has been fast forwarded to become the emerging world power in the past decade. This has been possible with the swift yet effective modification of the non-alignment policy towards the issue based alignment with all the leading world power as per country's requirement. In the age of Nationalism where all the big powers are going inwards, India has shown them a way ahead, through its own way of Nationalism to promote the Indian interest at the world stage. India has shown willingness to engage with various players and help each smaller player to alleviate the from their position. India's nationalism is about putting out its own point of view across the table, with a modernistic view. It has tried to converse with the geopolitically separate country's as well to increase and substantiate India's position on various topics, ranging from the Latin American nations to the South China Sea. India's keen approach towards building long term measures and relations with the neighbouring countries as well as the countries from the west and east has helped it to formulate a multi layered dynamic diplomatic relations with different actors in an issued based approach.

11. PAKISTAN PROBLEM

After the seven long decades of a successful democracy and through various social economic changes, there's a believe that India has finally understood its true potential and this new India craves for more, which is residing in second tier cities. In the second term of Modi, with a huge majority it has, would be interesting to see whether it would reflect in its foreign policy and more importantly how India would deal in the dynamic ever changing world power. Pakistan always had created ruckus in terms of the border issue in the neighbourhood with the assistance from the militant groups present in the Kashmir valley.

11.1 Issue in brief

India's major issue in the neighbourhood has been the Pakistan problem. Since independence both the countries have been part of the border dispute in the Kashmir region, post the illegal annexation of the North-western part of the Kashmir by Pakistan Army. After the UN resolution, it was decided that the matter should be left to status quo, a condition which has not been fulfilled by Pakistan establishment. In the recent years, India and Pakistan have tried to resume the talks on this issue but had been halted by the repeated cross border terrorism from the Pakistan soil. In 2016, when there was a terror attack on the Indian town Uri¹², India retaliated with a surgical strike on the terror camps hiding out in the Pakistan administered Kashmir. This move has been appreciated by the domestic audience of PM Modi but the war like situation between the two countries was not much praised at the International level. Similarly in the year 2019, a Paramilitary force vehicle has been blasted by the terrorist from across the border, killing 44 army men in cold blood¹³. India launched air strike across the border on the terror launch pads to destroy the terrorist safe houses.

This move has helped Prime Minister Modi and his Government immensely in the election year, resulting in his party's landslide victory but also, strategically paved way for a new normal in the Indi Pakistan dynamic where the talks will be held only when the cross border terrorism is being curbed by the Pakistan administration. This stand has been popularly supported by the Indian population and helps the Government in putting up the brave image at world stage. They have refused any talks with their Pakistan counterpart, unless they reduce and curb the cross border terrorism. At the International level as well, with India's huge market and consumer economy, none of the major nation, except China has opposed any of India's move.

¹² Uri attack: Indian soldiers killed in Kashmir. (2016). <https://edition.cnn.com/>

¹³ Deadliest Kashmir militant attack on troops. (2019). <https://www.bbc.com/news/>

11.2 Indian response

India has swiftly abrogated article 370 from the constitution, integrating the entire Jammu and Kashmir within India, under one flag. Any opposition by Pakistan at United Nations did not find support except from the expected corner, China, At the FATF as well, Pakistan has been in the grey list of countries failing to take action against the terror accused entities. India has made it clear that any talks with Pakistan would only on bilateral basis and would only happen post the steps taken by Pakistan are satisfying enough to stop the cross border terrorism. India would need much more than the tough stance over Pakistan, including strong and decisive diplomacy at the International level to corner the terror breeding country in the region. The popularity of the steps taken at the domestic level is in no way an indication of the same at the global way, though it could help India to put their points in a more confident way. India did manage to push the goals at the world level like never before but the dreams would remain dreams unless the actual results would be pushed in various regions. This could be done through the multilateral platforms India is part of, by enforcing our thinking in the groups. India must look for a way out in the old order and build the new narrative, rather try to create the new world order which would consume much larger time and a grander plan, which would eventually won't be sustainable for the country like India. India must need to create an innovative and skilful way of diplomacy to diligently put forward and push ahead the key interests of India at global multilateral forums without harming the existing structure of the world. India's global presence in various regional grouping and strategic organisation must not become a boon for its progress and individual relations with the countries.

India's future course would also very much rely over the way it would deal with Pakistan issue. The diplomats have focussed earlier too much on the dialogue with the nation while the issue remained is of cross border terrorism. It is a must to accept the new ways, sometimes unorthodox to break the path and deviate to new better beginnings. India has been able to, successfully able to put the disturbing neighbour on the mat through the FATF proceedings via its sleek diplomatic corridors. India is being able to fight the separatism in the past couple of years decisively because of the newly

found support and strength at home and on international platform. Certain uniformed comments on Indian internal matters have been effectively silenced with logical and factual rebuttals.

12. GEOPOLITICAL SECURITY

India has to become more internationalist than nationalistic in its approach to cater to the wider audience at world level. How does India confront and become compatible with the new compact around the globe would define the next decade for India. Multilateralism is under great threat, there's a constant need to evolve and focus on our own issues. So does India demands greater voice and place at the world organisations. The growth of regional power has changed the dynamics of International relations in a big way, countries are finding common cause for particular issues to form new alliances.

India has been able to redefine the way geopolitical politics work through the strategic autonomy and making it more relevant in the present time where the relations are changing, not in years but in the matter of days. India maintained the autonomy in its domestic decision making while also forging greater partnerships with various global actors. It indulged itself into the close cooperation's and agreements with different country, not on the basis of their ideology but rather on the issue based substance. The Modi Government has subtly proved that in present time of diplomacy, non-alignment and autonomy does not need to go together hand in hand. India has been able to formulise the theory of risk taking from being a chief proponent of risk aversion nation. It has become ready to take more powerful and responsible global role than being a mere country with potential of becoming one. It has shed down its cautious country tag and begun to approach the issues with case to case basis.

12.1 Recent outbreaks

Current geopolitics is changing quite rapidly and each country has to respond at a level and speed which is unprecedented. As the Prime Minister of India states at the domestic rallies, 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishvas' which translates to 'Collective

Effort, Inclusive Growth with the confidence to take everyone ahead' is as relevant in foreign policy. India's foreign policy is still in the transitional phase to fulfil the desire and aspirations of its domestic needs and a greater role at world stage. From the era of NAM, India has become a spearhead of Multi alignment Movement. It has started recognising the need to put India first at the policy level to have a more pragmatic outlook. A sense of nationalism at home led to the powerful internationalism.

As it can be deduced, the relationship of India with the other countries around the world is based on the reciprocal need. The western nations need India for its huge market, human resources and share the burden whereas India looks towards them to accelerate its growth. This would require a multitasking Diplomacy and range of conversations and arrangements.



Internal issues wouldn't help to India's advantage abroad. Government has to build consensus among the public to become more pragmatic and realist at the world stage. How India treats minority at home and protects the secular multicultural identity outside home would also effect its global policy.

This research is studying the Indian foreign policy goals and its current objectives under the regime of Modi Government. This study has looked through the prism of

country's ambition to secure global position, expand its economic growth and development in a multipolar, multilateral west-lessness world with a concrete focus on managing regional growth with strong domestic structure. The discussions on the P word (Pakistan) has been done, an insignificant yet indispensable part of Indian foreign policy and would look into the larger picture for the regional geopolitical and International security. The comparison on the scale of compatibility and consensus at the International relations vis a vis the domestic factors affecting those decisions respectively. This has given me an opportunity to make a chart of things to separate and analyse the effects, interlinkages between domestic and International policies through the theory referred. This has revealed the paradigm shift in the foreign policy goals and their executions under Prime Minister Modi.

There has been geopolitical transitions happening around the globe now, and post the Coronavirus we would see some major challenges and changes on how the world behaves. In a planet, where the countries are increasingly moving inwards and choosing home rather world, India has the best chance to lead the world in this transitioning phase into a new horizon, by advocating and defining the age of nationalism with its actions. India could take the lead in the sectors that include not just economical, but socio cultural, military and maritime , climate change and trade agreements, to define how we perceive the world order. Nationalism doesn't mean protectionism, even though latter has been blamed for the growth of the former. Nationalism is the willingness to talk with each and every stakeholder and putting the country's interest, its point of view in the correct way. India's internal issue must not be a concern for the world and it is the job of the Indian administrators to put their point of view in regular engagements and be a part of debates concerning their relevance.

12.2 Fresh approach

India has focussed in the past six years to move away from the given notion of the world order and that started with the Indian focus on the neighbourhood by inviting SAARC state heads for the Prime Minister's oath ceremony in 2014 and following it up with the invite for BIMSTEC state head in 2019 ceremony. This has helped India

build good rapport with the neighbour first while also deepening the ties further. India's trade partnership with 5 major economies in the world has been more than \$100 billions in trade, including US, China, EU, ASEAN and the gulf. Japan is also substantial but not that much strength. India has repeatedly stressed that national interest is paramount for its economic agreements, considering the population of the country. India also understands that Indo- pacific is an reality now and both, Indian ocean and Pacific ocean must have to be dealt together.

Indian Government as well, has also changed its stance over the east, from just looking to now proactively acting over its nuances. The QUAD initiative has also given larger connotation now, with diplomatic mechanism in place and various parties involved. India also learnt its lesson from past, and clearly laid down the rules for the Indo Pacific and QUAD groups separate. India believes that every country must have freedom to choose to whom to talk and whom to make deal with, no other country should restrain the other for any such partnerships. This is the time for convergence diplomacy and this should be the way all the countries should deal with each other. India also states clearly that, UN being a 70 year old model, must be modernised and there's urgent need for the reforms at the top level, giving greater responsibilities to the emerging nations. These are the demands that India puts forward and expect the world take note of the same.

13. INDIA'S VIEW ON INTERNATIONALISM

The world is changing and so it requires a new world, in which India seeks larger role to play. India has built 18 new embassies in the African continent and has intensified the growth and interaction with the stakeholders on that continent. Prime Minister Modi has brought an modernistic view to the Indian diplomacy and has conveyed the manner it will function, by taking care of each of the friend of India, degree and extent of which might differ. India has shown willingness to deal with multiple players and a commitment to increase India's footprint in other countries in a positive manner. In the age of Nationalism, India redefined the term by involving everyone in its growth story, by seeking greater engagement with all the countries at the global pacts and at the same

time, putting the rightful Indian perspective. India, on the one hand, with its rich heritage of ancient medicine and Yoga, initiated the International Yoga Day, and on the other, partnering with France, launched the International Solar alliance to motivate and encourage investments in the renewable energy resources. India has tried to build upon the brand India and sell it to the world in that fashion and not by imitating like any western country. India also initiated talks over the Disaster Management group of the world and became part of same. While dealing with the pacific countries, it has engaged with all the nations involved, and also participated in the African nations summit. In terms of Pakistan, it would be better to term the relationship is going in the cold peace mode, where India's only condition to talk has been to stop the cross-border terrorism and no other party would get involved, except the two countries.

13.1 Growth is the fuel

India's growth story has been its own making. The way it has formulated the growth in the past decades, world has started recognizing it as a player of relevance. In the past 6 years, India has been able to define the terms of engagement with other countries on its merit to improve the trade and talks at the global level. With India, China has been able to formulate itself into a leading contender of becoming the world leader through the initiatives like Belt and Road and Shanghai Cooperation which made different countries come under single flag. China's investment in the poor countries has bought them smaller countries through the infrastructural and other projects. Countries in India's neighbor and African Union have all become indebted to China.

India could offer something exceptional as the world's largest democracy and second most populous nation. In the world Post Covid, India could become the main destination with the improvements in its policy and hassle-free windows. India's age old and close friendship with neighbors will do wonders in establishing and improving the relations with its immediate neighbors and through their assistance, could focus in building its power for a global leader. Indian industry, manpower, technology and potential are unmatched around the globe. India could definitely focus on the Geopolitical region of the Indian Ocean for its progress. India's act east policy must

become more comprehensive and dynamic to include and engage actively with all the parties involved. The Indian Ocean is the region where established powers have to meet the emerging nations and the traditional markets would converge with new markets. The markets with greater purchasing power would push nations with cheap manufacturing will be promoted. The great energy potential in the Indian Ocean makes it the next big thing in the world geopolitics. All the major defense companies are exercising their ways in the region, with China and India putting their all the navy.

13.2 Advantage India

India must realize now that the road to global leader from a regional player passes by the Indian Ocean and right now India is the undisputed prime player of that Ocean. It must act fast and play its dices right. The major powers are now realizing the potential of the region but with its geographical, cultural and civilizational advantage, India could attract the island nations towards itself to form a strong Indian Ocean group. The East Asia policy of India must aggressively put other countries on map to counter China and to improve, strengthen its power at the global platforms. China has repeatedly indulged in the aggressive diplomacy by intimidating the other nations through its military strength and incursions. In the recent past, China has escalated the disputes not only with India, but with Australia, Japan, Vietnam, and Hong Kong among others. This thing comes from the inner insecurity and global and domestic embarrassment due to Covid-19. This has led to its defensiveness, causing these aggressive behaviors with neighbors. India is poised to become the great challenger to these acts with its huge potential. India must improve and establish its economic, military and strategic strengths across the board to put itself as an emerging superpower and the leader of upcoming global leaders.

All of these talks depend entirely on the way India emerges out of the pandemic. World Bank has predicted that only China and India would come out with non-negative growth rate because of the production and economic capabilities. India must realize its economic capacities and work towards making it reliable and stronger force against the Chinese juggernaut. The main force could be focus on improving the GDP growth rate,

which must be accompanied by the wider labor laws initiatives and to increase the number of skilled labor in the country, The Government of the day must open doors for the foreign investors with the least amount of Government backed regulations, providing the single window clearance to as many initiatives possible. Indian foreign policy would play a major role in engaging and attracting the investors from across the globe and convincing them enough to invest their money in India. The global power comes from the power in the economic spectrum and the ability to mend relations.

14. INDIA AS A GLOBAL POWER

The world is going to change in the post Covid-19 pandemic like never before and this would bring changes at different level for everyone. The new world order and the behavior would be entirely varied from what we see today. If we see the history the pandemics have always brought changes in terms of military economic social cultural nature of the world it has changed the politics of the world as well. The developed countries as we see today are not going to be the same or as in the dominant position as they are today in the future there would be a change in international order and the political change and economic order has already begun. In the era of globalization has also brought many changes in the way people perceive politics and the international relations. We have seen that the liberal economic order has been established by the protectionism around which we have seen in the past few years and which would continue more aggressively in the post Covid world. Countries around the world, starting from us have already won that it's about putting their country first and that would be the case in future as well full stop USA has already abandoned many multilateral treaties and international forums since then.

14.1 Trade wars and India

There are chances that the US China trade war will continue for a while, with the pandemic responsibility already fueling it. The world is looking with hope towards other large countries to take responsibility of emerging in the new world sequence. The world sees India as a power to restore balance in the world by maintaining close

cooperation between different powers. India could be a great balance between the political, economic, military, financial and Geopolitical matters. In this confrontation between China and USA India could be the medal power to acquire the space, the other countries can acquire the middle space in between. India itself is in the middle of the pandemic, having huge economic turmoil, with its own major issues domestically though it could look towards a brighter future.

The tariff war between two powers had led to certain manufacturers thinking of leaving China and shifts their base to India, which aims to provide sustained, cheap environment for the companies coming in. This benefits India as well, in their revival of economy and providing employment to the large Indian population. India has a large pool of skilled and unskilled Labor as with talented ingenious and technocrats to help out the manufacturers and large companies comma with the label and dynamic support from the current Prime Minister Modi is governments make in India policy promises to provide a viable and open environment to the coming MNCs and provide compensations and other incentives to open factories in the country. Designer purse unity is at India must cease and invite attract companies from across the board from the countries like USA Japan and South Korea which were earlier planning to manufacture in China.

India could become a world power only if it becomes an economic superpower, the domestic stability and the political will of the current government provides enough leverage to the companies to look towards India. With the strong and stable Government, India must now look towards pushing its candidacy as the Permanent member of the Security Council, by replacing any of the Western power. The financial Organizations like IMF and World Bank must give larger roles to countries like India, Brazil to have greater say in the monetary allocations and usages, not just serving the western interests. With the advanced developments and huge economic packages, the Government has already provided bases to the companies and new start-ups to open up and promote growth. India must encourage building indigenous technologies, which could be partnered with the foreign collaborators. This could involve a contract of technology transfer as the primary basis of any such as system and incentivization

should be done by the Indian government. Indian government must invest in the infrastructural development and providing technological help to the leading organizations in a single window transaction to all the companies to working towards in India to have a better funding and infrastructure development at the ground level.

14.2 Breaking the barrier

The large population has always worked as the great assets for India in terms of an attraction to the investors and large companies, whereas Diaspora has shown how effective it could be in terms of soft power diplomacy in the world politics. The democratic order of the country is one such asset which attracts all the western companies to the country. This has also been assets in establishing deeper relations with the neighboring countries and would help in realizing India's dream as the global power. The Indian rupee Indian Rupee must come in the top 5 currency reserves which would symbolize India's Economic Strength and power to the world and would also reserve in some actual benefits in terms of Economics. This might also protect India from getting sanctions from other countries in case in future. India must not become a member of national nuclear suppliers' group (NSG). This would help to provide help in the India security interest as NSG membership gives the members nuclear materials access and help them in preparing the advanced nuclear technologies from the member Nations. India would also get freedom to export commercially civilian use nuclear equipment's from other countries.

To realize, all of this, India must understand that the peaceful coexistence with the neighbors is one of the prerequisite for any big corporation to attract here. India must resolve the border dispute with the participating nations. The entry and the incentives should be based from country to country basis and which should be based on the criteria of how much that country believes in India as a strategic goal and what would it try to achieve in future full stop the access to the Indian technology and the skilled labors should be dependent on the willingness of the companies to realize and understand India's goals in terms of its foreign policy and economic self-reliance. Indian assets, as it was discussed, have already shown the results in the neighborhood with relations

with majority of nations and the constant, reliable help by India in the tough situations for them, whether in terms of economic, political or military help. The regional attitude and position would work as the ladder for India to achieve its objective of becoming the global leader and these would also make it fit into in the global system.

14.3 Post pandemic possibility

India is one of the leading country in the race of Vaccine development for Covid-19 around the globe, with 2 of its companies have already entered human trials and they have set an ambitious target of 15th August (Indian Independence day) to declare the vaccine. On a flipside though, India has become a hotspot on the world map, with ranked 3 in terms of number of Corona cases. Covid-19 though, has brought great opportunity for India with the Western nations moving away from China and the Indian Prime Minister announcing the ambitious project of Self Reliant India, this would be curious to watch, how the world reacts and India adopts post this pandemic.

If India could utilise this opportunity in the most efficient way, the chances of India becoming a leading power, not only in the context of regional system but at the global system as well, increases quite exponentially. Covid-19 and the backlash against China would definitely going to benefit India in the near future, it depends how the country responds to it.

15. CONCLUSION

This study dealt with the Indian foreign policy and how it has been influenced by the domestic political changes. I used the Hanreider's theory of Compatibility and Consensus which provided me an excellent opportunity to understand the domestic and international linkages from various dimensions. I focused entirely on the Indian state to understand the growth in its international potential and a strong, stable power. The study revealed that how the domestic policies were managed to aid the diplomats assert their views outside and the reverse as well, when the strong decision making at the international forum indirectly helped the government domestically. I also studied the effects of the absolute majority of a party over the socio cultural and political aspects, including the historic decisions taken by the government without any fear of International outrage. The research found that the rapidly growing Indian economy has become the most powerful weapon in the hands of state now, as the western countries respect the market which India provides, thereby significantly decreasing their interference in internal matter. India's massive diaspora also played an important role in the outreach of Indian diplomacy during the past six years and this has been ably utilised by the Indian Prime Minister through his mass appeal and superior oratory skills. India also expanded its foreign relations with many countries and became part of new organisations, either as observant or a member.

It can be concluded that there is always a linkage between domestic and international policies of the country and the consensus at the home, does help in a smoother compatibility at the international level. In the research, it was observed that despite sharing difficult relation with China, India still maintains a healthy economic partnership on the other hand. Though, now India is pushing itself rapidly to stand as an alternative to the Chinese manufacturing powerhouse. There is continuous socio, cultural, political and security reforms by India, both at domestic and International levels.

India has invested heavily in providing skill training to the youth to make them better workforce, had drastically improved the digital infrastructure in the country by improving the Internet facilities up to the zero level. On the gender gap issue as well,

India has been growing at a rapid pace and would narrow the gap up to negligible numbers in near future. Women education has been one of the primary focus for the governments across timeline and they have done that not only in their own country rather started the program in SAARC countries as well.

New India as mentioned in the title as well aims to provide new energy and wider acceptance to the new world order. It is scratching to get bigger role in the world order and would definitely be a key role holder in the post pandemic world order. The three referents theory had mentioned, internal, external and systematic, have shown that India has focused on the domestic level to build an image at international arena despite the prevalent issues in the country. India's growth story will continue to rise in the post Covid world, with the changing world order. Even though we are noticing the increase in the protectionist behavior around the globe, India's approach of converting nationalistic behavior in its favour and support other economies too, would be a unique approach. The multi-aligned, multi-polar world will see many changes, among them would be the rise of India's stature at the global level. Geopolitical transitions in the Indian Ocean will have to be led by India and the domestic stability would definitely aid its policy in the immediate future. I believe if India choses the right options and utilizes the resources it has, the next decade would definitely be of India and would cement India's place not as the global power in the region but also at the world level. Indian diplomacy will be on edge for the considerable time in the future and it would require not only compatible environment at the international stages but also a consensus built at home to welcome and effectively implement the wider changes.

16. BIBLIOGRAPHY

16.1 Annotated

1. Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*. New York: Penguin Books, 2015.

In this book by renowned Diplomat Henry Kissinger, the author tries to provide an image of world order from different perspective and how it has changed over the year and the continuous process of evolvement. It talks about the idealistic and realistic schools of foreign policy while giving various incidents from the past. It talks about the concept of world order and how it has changed in present world time where there are various instances of converged ideas of interdependence of countries for their specific benefits. He talks about the concept of balance of power being defined by the Indian thinkers like Kautilya way before the European thinker, providing the layout and an elaborative intensive course termed 'circles of state'.

2. Soroos, Marvin S. *Beyond Sovereignty: the Challenge of Global Policy*. S.I.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

This book tries to define the global issues and politics from the views of the policy issues which helps the state at national and local level. The author talks about the domestication of the global politics and how the cooperative mechanism has helped the growth of Multilateral approach of nations. It does deal with the power struggle within the major nations and the conflict arises out of them but with a reminder that the global relations do keep happening at the same pace at various regional, multilateral levels. It basically talks about the policy effort put by nations to solve the global problems while not ignoring the problems nation face while dealing with them.

3. Hanreider, Wolfram F. "Actor Objectives and International Systems." *The Journal of Politics* 27, no. 1 (1965): 109-32.

This article by Hanreider defines the behaviour of actor in the International system. He speaks about the objective of the actors and the steps they take to meet

these objectives under the specific International System. It also defines the systematic ways in which the International System ensure the actor objective's inclines to the need of the International System as well. He also mentions about the internal and external dimensions of the foreign policy which affects the determinants of the objectives at the global level.

4. **Hanrieder, Wolfram F. "Compatibility and Consensus: A Proposal for the Conceptual Linkage of External and Internal Dimensions of Foreign Policy." *The American Political Science Review* 61, no. 4 (1967): 971-82.**

In this article, Hanreider talks about the challenges of the state at the world level while being compatible with the world power and building consensus at home. He has tried to link the internal and external aspects of the foreign policy and how does the domestic politics affect the International relations of a country. It talks about the concepts of International politics from the prism of domestic relations within a nation.

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This book talks about the systems led down by the International System. The entities within it and how it affects the functioning of the global bodies. The book defines the International actors as well and what has been their role in the formation of the global government structure. It led downs the integrative and disintegrative nature of the International processes and how the realm of values changes with the countries. It also delves upon the national interest of the nation and then leads to the effects of the same over its international posture.

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The entire process of Nation building and political development are part of the total development procedure at the world level.

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PLEDGE OF HONESTY

On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Academie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

Akash Bhatt

MAIS 2