

**INDIA QUEST FOR EXPANDING INFLUENCE IN THE
WORLD: CHALLENGES FOR PAKISTAN**



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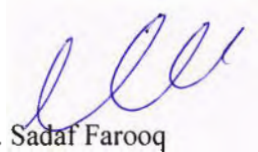
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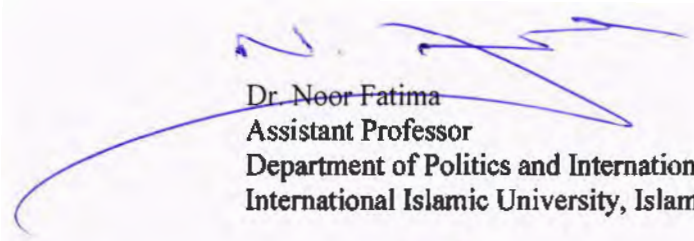
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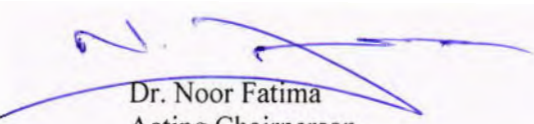


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List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATBM	Anti-Theater Ballistic Missile
BMD	Ballistic Missile Defense
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, China, South Africa
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
FMCT	Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty
GRULAC	Group of Latin America and Caribbean Countries
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MIRV	Multiple Independency Targetable Reentry Vehicle
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NAM	Non-Alignment Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty

NSG	Nuclear Supply Group
NSSP	Next Steps Strategic Partnership
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
UFC	Uniting for Consensus
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
WEOG	Western European Group

Declaration

This thesis is submitted as a requirement of MS degree in International Relations to the department of Politics & International Relations. I solemnly affirm that this research is originally my work and none of the facts and data has been plagiarized. Any material cited from a secondary source is given with proper source and citation.

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Dedication

With profound respect and honor, I dedicate this piece of research to my family and friends whose love, encouragement and prayers motivated me to carry out this research work. I am thankful for everything which they have done for me.

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I am very grateful to Almighty Allah, the most merciful and beneficent, who enables me to complete this thesis. I would like to thank cordially to my supervisor Dr. Sadaf Farooq who helped me a lot throughout the completion of my thesis and for providing me such an imaginative insight of the topic. I would like to say a bundle of thanks to all my friends who encouraged and supported me to complete this research. I would like to present my gratitude to my parents who assisted and supported me a lot in every step.

Abstract

India is expanding its influence in the world to seek great power status and to contain rising China. It has the potential to become a major power because of its military modernization, economic growth, largest population and huge middle class. Therefore, after the end of Cold War, it has rearranged its foreign policy to meet the challenges of the contemporary world. The main foreign policy aim of every Indian government is to expand its influence in the world politics. Indian government has opted different strategies such as economic liberalization, Look East and Rapprochement policy towards its neighbours for its global expansion. The study will explore two main strategies opted by India such as quest for Permanent Seat in United Nations Security Council and India-US relations in context with Civil Nuclear deal signed in 2008. The research also focuses on challenges India faces from Pakistan such as Pakistan's relations with China, terrorism, military modernization and Kashmir issue. Pakistan also has some serious reservations from India's current military, political and economic expansion as it will minimize its role in the world and will also isolate Pakistan from international community. The study will conclude Pakistan should make effective policies i.e. economic and security policies to protect its national security and stability. The study will analyse the India's quest for expanding influence in the world from the Realist perspective. The research is based on qualitative method and the study would be analytical and descriptive. The study would try to answer and evaluate the above- mentioned questions.

Chapter 1

Introduction

South Asia is considered as the most significant region of the world, because of its politics, security, geography and culture. The most important states of South Asia are Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan. Because of their geography, security, natural resources and politics these states are always in the focus of attention. In the last two decades, many outstanding issues and events have also occurred in the region which made it more notable and influential region in the world. Among them, the most prominent events are War on Terror, India-US civil nuclear deal, Pakistan-China strategic partnership, India-Afghanistan cooperation and last but not the least the strategy of India to quest major position in global politics (Ciorciari, 2011). This New Delhi's ambition has changed the whole scenario of South Asia. It is aspiring to seek global influence and position to meet the challenges of the current world and to make itself a global power. To acquire this potential global power position, it has opted the self-image of Non-Alignment, Non-Violence, and Peaceful co-existence (Kumar, 2010).

The quest to seek major position and role in global politics has been always a goal of India's foreign policy. Since independence, Indian leadership wanted to play important role in global politics to compete with major powers. But in the Cold War era, New Delhi's foreign policy and strategy were not effective. As in Cold War era, it was entangled in wars with China and Pakistan which had restricted its influence in South Asia. And apart from it, its policy of Non-Alignment also harmed its position globally. However, after the Cold War, Indian foreign policy has experienced a dramatic change. Just like, India was left alone in international politics as its biggest ally Soviet Union was disintegrated and the United States became a sole superpower. Therefore,

India has decided to rearrange its foreign policy to meet the unfold ground realities (Ciorciari, 2011). Hence India's struggle for power, influence, and position has been started after the emergence of US as a sole superpower. This was the time; it has decided to opt more calculated and planned strategies to meet the world challenges. Thus, it has started its journey towards major power to triumph the monopoly of Superpower on world affairs (Mitra, 2011). It is a general view that state's strength and potential depends on its economic development, planned foreign policy, political strength, regional stability and its position in international system and regimes. Thus, New Delhi has also adopted the same path to quest global influence and to compete more effectively with major powers (Ciorciari, 2011). It is using different strategies to expand its influence in the world. This includes reframing its policies towards the European Union, Middle East, and the United States and redesigning its strategies towards its neighbors, Central Asia and South Eastern countries. Not only this but it is also working hard to get the membership of international regimes as their membership has great significance in global politics (Hali, 2013).

The most important strategies that are opted by India to quest global influence is to seek a permanent membership in United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Economic development and strategic partnership with the US. To seek global influence, it is aspiring for UNSC Permanent membership under the G4 alliance. The purpose behind this acquisition is to get the veto power and influence global politics. New Delhi wants to project its power globally and plays important role in world affairs. But the issue is that the Permanent membership of the UNSC remains difficult to achieve as any reform of the Security Council requires the approval of at least two-thirds of General Assembly members and of all five permanent members. India has the support of the United Kingdom and France but Russia and China's stance is not clear (Jabeen, 2010). In addition, it has also received US. support regarding the Security Council permanent membership in November

2010, when President Barrack Obama visited India and offered his support for India to become a permanent member of Security Council. U.S recognizes India as a key player in the international system and hopes that it would be the supporter of the battle against terrorism and a possible promoter of democracy (Ciorciari, 2011).

But despite it, India faces huge hurdles seeking this membership. Apart from it, the other important strategy is to make a powerful and strong partnership with sole superpower US. After the Post-Cold War era, Indo-US strategic ties become as an important part of Indian foreign policy agenda. Their strategic partnership and good relation can be witnessed through their different dealings and their continuous support for each other in world affairs. India-US reconciliation also smoothes the path toward a series of arms deals and civil nuclear agreements. Their nuclear deals give an impression that USA wants the world to embrace India in the nuclear elite group even though India is non-signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). These deals have provided a great way to Indian aspiration to seek great global influence (Mushtaq & Hashmi, 2012). The purpose of this partnership is to gain superpower support on regional and international politics and to acquire modern military equipment. Apart from it, the other major reason for this collaboration is to contain rising China through the collective cooperation in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

Despite these major efforts, India is still facing serious obstructions in its rise. These challenges include terrorism, Security threats, communal violence, poverty, the annoying Indian-Pakistan relationship and territorial disputes with China. However, the most proximate challenge to India's quest for expanding its influence remains Pakistan. Pakistan is posing serious threats to India's rise (Ciorciari, 2011). The major security threat which India faces from Pakistan is Pakistan's obsession with Kashmir, military modernization, and Sino-Pak relations. Moreover, India also

accuses Pakistan of funding many terrorist organizations and separatist groups in India such as Jaish-e-Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Toiba, and Hizbul Mujahideen. New Delhi thinks these terrorist groups are creating unlimited hazards for its rise.

As Indian leaders regard Pakistan as a major threat to India's security; Pakistani leaders also regard their country as even more threatened by it. Many analysts believe that India's quest for expanding influence in the world politics has serious challenges for Pakistan. Pakistan's primary disagreement with India is Kashmir which dates to the emergence of the two countries. India's growing military, economic and political influence globally, has made Pakistan more determined in its stance on this issue (Hali, 2013). Moreover, India under Modi administration has opted multi-layered policy to counter Pakistan's will and maintain Indian dominance. This strategy comprises of building a strong military, isolating Pakistan by depicting it as the 'hub' of terrorism, extending its influence in Afghanistan and encouraging Baloch separatist movements (through Afghanistan) to weaken and disturb Pakistan (Akram, 2014).

Apart from that, India is not aspiring for great power role in the world but it is actively pursuing a permanent seat in the UNSC under the umbrella of the G4 alliance and UNSC reforms. Islamabad has serious reservations from New Delhi's permanent seat bid as if New Delhi gets a permanent seat it will create its monopoly on international affairs and sort out Kashmir issue on to its own terms. Moreover, New Delhi can also easily remove Islamabad off all negotiating tables and would even minimize its role in the international system (Jabeen, 2010). Furthermore, Pakistan has also serious reservations from India and United States relations. After Cold War, India and United States relations have improved drastically. Both US and India have the same interest in this partnership which is a military expansion, economic modernization and to contain rising China. For this purpose, both are making good relations with each other and signed the civil nuclear deal

in 2008. Pakistan considers this deal as a major threat to it and as well for the whole region as it has escalated arms race and breached balance of power in South Asia (Baloch, Memon, & Hakro, 2014). Therefore, it is the need of the hour that Pakistan should make effective policies to overcome these challenges and threats.

1.1 Rational of the study

The current study will focus on the strategies opted by India to expand its influence in the world politics and challenges for Pakistan. The study is rational in the sense that it will help to understand the strategies opted by India to acquire great global influence. There is no doubt that India is a regional power and a rising major power. And in the last some years, it has made the remarkable struggle to emerge as a strong powerful state. This study will help to understand India's strategies such as the quest for permanent membership in United Nations Security Council and partnership with the United States for global influence. It will also analyze the challenges and threats which are creating hazards for its rise and global expansion. Terrorism and security threats are the major reason behind India's instability. Moreover, the study will also examine the challenges of India's sphere of influence on Pakistan security and stability. Hence it is important to study how India is expanding its influence in the world politics to seek global influence and to contain rising China.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Just as, India is expanding its influence in the world to seek great power status it is creating unlimited security and stability issues for Pakistan. India's global expansion is not only effecting Pakistan's role in South Asia rather in whole world. Pakistan believes if India gets the great power status it will minimize Pakistan's role at international level. Moreover, India's economic and military expansion is also a serious threat for Pakistan's economic development.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are

- To explore the India's global expansion strategies.
- To put light on the hurdles India is facing from Pakistan to expand its influence in the world.
- To analyze what challenges Pakistan is facing from India's expanding influence in the world.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the strategies India is using to expand its influence in the world?
2. What are the challenges India faces from Pakistan to expand its influence in the world?
3. What challenges would be faced by Pakistan from India's expanding influence in the world?

1.5 Significance of the study

India is expanding its role and influence in the world to dominate international affairs and global politics. The aim of this expansion is to protect itself from external aggression and to ensure multipolar order at the global level. The study is important to analyze the challenges which India faces from Pakistan in its rise. The study would be helpful for the students of Political Science and International Relations to understand the efforts and strategies opted by India to expand its influence in the world politics. The study is significant for policy makers as it will help them to examine the challenges for Pakistan from India's expanding sphere of influence. This study will

also be helpful for the researchers in finding out new directions for their future research. Moreover, the study will provide recommendations to Pakistan on how to protect its national security and integrity from India's global engagements.

1.6 Delimitations

India is expanding its influence in the world politics to achieve great power status. The study will focus on strategies opted by India to expand its influence in the world politics. The study will focus on two main strategies India is using to expand its global influence such as India's aspiration to become a United Nation Security Council Permanent Membership and India-US relations in context with a civil nuclear deal signed in 2008.

1.7 Operational of the study

Key Concepts	Operational Definition	Measurements	Data Source
Expansion	The act of becoming bigger or of making something bigger: the act of expanding (Meriam Webster)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Influence• Enlargement• Development	Secondary data source from website
Rapprochement	A situation in which the relationship between two countries or group of people becomes more friendly during which they were enemies (Oxford Dictionary)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Co-operation• Friendly relations	Secondary data source from website
Quest	a long and difficult effort to find or do something	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Efforts• Aspiration• To seek	Secondary data source from website

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is the one which explains the study or issue with the help of a theory.

The theory which is applied to this topic is Realism. The main proponents of this theory are Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Hans J. Morgenthau. The basic concept of Realism is that state is rational unitary actor and state performs actions which are in their self-interest.

The core assumptions of Realism are as follow;

- States are the most important actors in world politics

- States are Unitary Actors and Rational actors.
- National Security is the primary Concern of any States
- A Realist believes that international system is anarchic which means there is a lack of a central sovereign authority at the international level to govern relations between states.
- States are motivated by a drive for security, power, and pursuit of the 'national interest'. It is power through which state can protect itself from aggression and hope for survival. For Realists, the main form of power is military or physical power (Slaughter, 2011).

Indian foreign policy also revolves around this Realist theory. Their leadership also believes that it is power and dominance through which state can make its influence at international level. The national interest and security of a state is most important factor. New Delhi believes that at international level there is lawlessness only major powers have the authority to dominate global politics so it is compulsory for India to project its power at the global level to dominate world affairs. Thus India is also expanding its sphere of influence at the global level to project its power. It is aspiring to great power status and it can be recognized as a rising power because of its material potential and growing wealthy economy. Another element which is contributing to India rise is its democracy and secularism. Throughout Cold War, India was bothered about not too involved in the rivalry between the USSR and United States. Under Nehru's leadership, India had chosen the foreign policy of Idealism, Non- Alignment and Peaceful coexistence (Singh, 2014). However, after the end of Cold War, India changed its foreign policy from Idealism to Realism. The main belief of Realist is that there is anarchy at international level, therefore, state maximizes its power and military capability to protect itself from threat and aggression and rely on authority to manage the international relations (Ghani & Chandio, 2013). Just like, New Delhi has also the same perception about international system, therefore, it is also expanding its influence in the world

politics to achieve global influence. It is using different tools and strategies to expand its influence such as India is aspiring to quest a permanent seat in Security Council to make itself a global power or to play an important role in the world politics. Realists believe that States are motivated to seek power and security to secure their national interest. India is also expanding its influence all over the world because it wants to maximize its power to save itself from external aggressions and also wants to maintain the balance of power (Singh, 2014). However, in its way of power and dominance, New Delhi is facing huge threats from its enemies. Among them, the most difficult enemy is Pakistan which is against of Indian global expansion. Historical, strategic, ideological and domestic reasons all play an important role in India's obsession with Pakistan and Pakistan's concern from Indian political and economic expansion. Pakistan believes that India's increasing influence would have far-reaching implications for it. It believes that if India would become the member of UNSC it will be able to decide Kashmir issue on its own terms and exploit the support of other countries for Pakistan at any regional and international forums. Islamabad knows at international level only major powers have dominance so it believes that if New Delhi would acquire this power and global influence it would affect its security and stability (Rafi, 2014).

3. Literature review

To explain the research questions, wide study and research are required. Literature review explains the different dimensions to the study of this topic. A literature review describes different strategies of India to expand its influence in the world politics. It will also explain the challenges India face to expand its influence in the world politics. At the end, it will discuss the Pakistan's concerns from India expanding influence.

In 2009 a comprehensive book examines the Indian foreign policy and its core values and characteristics. The main features of India's foreign policy are Non-Proliferation, Non-Alignment, regional stability, and Non-Intervention in the inner affairs of other states. The writer has explained Indian quest for great powers status and efforts made by India in this regard. He is of the view that India- US civil nuclear energy agreement reveals its desire to become a great power. The writer discusses India's role in United Nations and its perspective on UNSC expansion. India wants to get a permanent seat in Security Council to acquire a major power status. He also examines India's role in other regional organizations (Gupta & Shukla).

Waheguru Pal Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, and Bruce D. Jones explained the India's re-emergence as a great power in multilateral order. After the Cold War, India has drastically changed its foreign policy to meet the challenges of 21st century. The writer discusses the issues related to India's growing arrangements with multilateralism. The writer also elaborates changing perspectives of India's multilateralism and challenges face by India to aspire a great power status such as the rise of China, global financial crisis and international disputes over climate and energy. He also highlights Indian quest to acquire a great role in international institutions such as UNSC and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2013).

C. Raja Mohan states the Prime Minister Narendra Modi's powerful diplomacy and his desire to expand India's role in the world politics. The book explains India's relations with the major powers and with its neighbors. The writer also describes the steps taken by Modi administration to expand India's influence in the world. Modi has revived the Indian policy for greater influence in the world. He improves India's neighborhood policy, enhances partnership with Japan and Australia and redesigns the strategy towards China and Pakistan. The writer further describes some of the constraints that could limit Modi's aim to make India a 'global power' in the world (2015).

In 2015 a detailed book explores the India's contemporary role in world politics after the Post-Cold War era. The writer also discusses the views of other Non- Western states on India's role in the world. This book also provides an assessment of India's success in rapprochement with major powers and desire to maintain relations with developing country. He further explains South Africa and India collaboration in different organizations and areas (Sullivan).

Ashok Kapur is of the view that Indian foreign policy problems have historical roots. He has pointed out problems which India faced before Cold War such as policy and attitude of America and China and Pakistan's partnership to contain India. He has also explained the Post 1998 shift of Indian foreign policy and its basic reasons. The writer explains the historical context in which Indian foreign policy shaped and he also points out the current BJP government strategy to reframe India's position in the international system. He also examines India position at global economic, political, social and international Institutions and its commitments in world organization and G-20 grouping of Nations. The writer further highlights India's new policy toward its immediate neighbors Such as towards Pakistan and China (2006).

In this book Sumit Ganguly and Rahul Mukherji described the unbelievable evolution that has taken place in India since 1980; a period that began with the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The writer has described different concepts such as democracy, economic growth and social and political stability. He also highlighted the current challenges India face such as terrorism and also discuss the measures BJP administration have taken to coup up with them. The writer has described the transformation of Indian foreign policy and its economic growth which has assured India a significant place on the world stage (2011).

In this article, Lieutenant Colonel Irfan Rafi tries to explain the process of UNSC reform. The author discusses the Indian aspiration for a permanent seat in Security Council in order to become

a global power and play important role in world politics. He also examines Indian efforts to become a permanent member by joining the G4 alliance. The writer further says that India is eligible to become a permanent member of Security Council as it fulfills the criteria of Security Council reforms. Furthermore, he also pointed out India's ambition towards greater power status and its far reaching implications for Pakistan. (2014).

In 2007 a comprehensive article explained Historical Perspectives of Indian foreign policy and the India's ambition for great power status. This article examined India's domestic, security and foreign policy to acquire great power status. And discussed the factor which is threatening India's ambitions to become a great power. The challenges include terrorism, clashes between Hindus and Muslims, complicating the Indian-Pakistani relationship, poverty, and Kashmir issue and relations with China. He argued India must resolve its issues and cooperate with other states to become a great power (Kiesow & Norling).

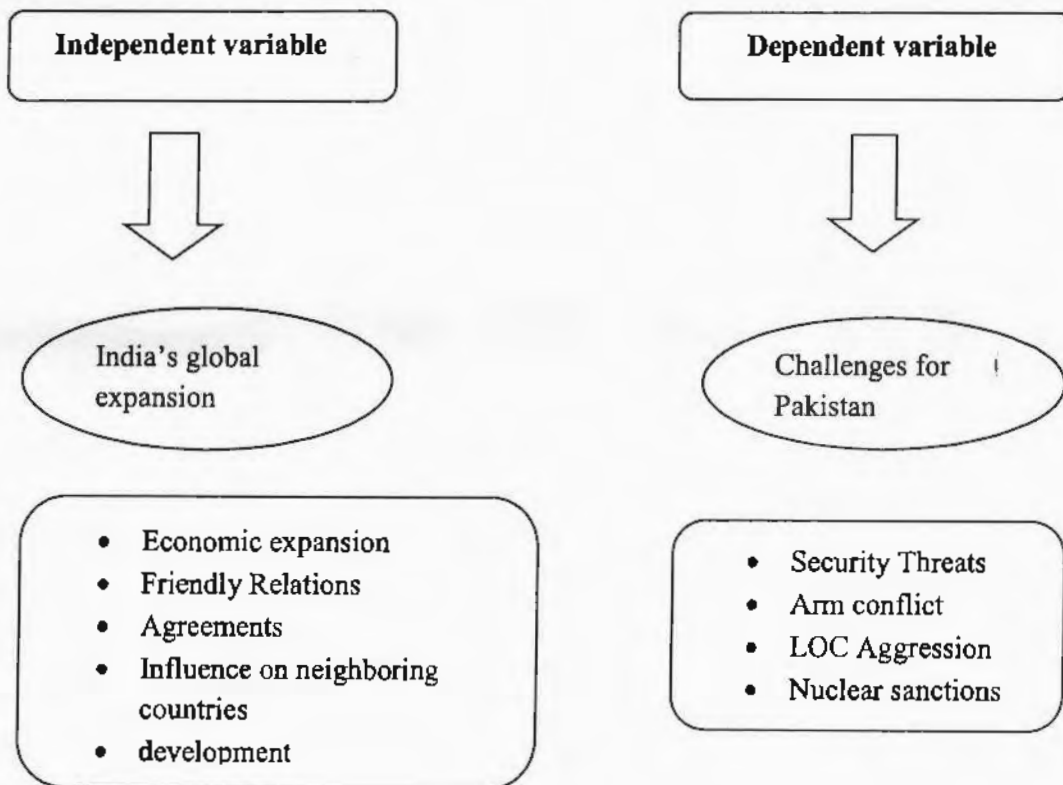
In this article, Usman Ghani and Khalid Chandio discusses the Indian rise and its aspiration to become a global power. India wants to be a great power to become a great power India has opted different strategies such as economic development and military advancement. The writer also examines the challenges to Indian Hegemonic Design. India faces many challenges internally and externally such as poverty, terrorism and border issue with China and Pakistan. They are of the view that Close analysis of India's policies and strategies shows that India cannot seek the status of a global power unless it resolves all issues with its neighboring states (2013).

4. Methodology

Methodology means methods and rules which are used in course of study and research. The research will be based on qualitative method. The research will use analytical and descriptive

approach. It will mainly rely on Secondary sources which would include different journals, books, research articles, newspapers and online articles.

4.1.1 Variables:



5. Organization of study

Chapter no 1: Introduction. This chapter is an overview of India's expanding influence in the world politics. Moreover, it includes a problem statement, literature review, and research methodology.

Chapter no 2: Historical Background. This chapter describes the historical and current perspective of Indian foreign policy to seek global influence.

Chapter no 3: Indian strategies for global influence. This chapter explains the strategies made by India to expand its influence in the world politics.

Chapter no 4: Challenges and Constraints: This chapter describes that India's global influence has far reaching implication for Pakistan's security and integrity.

Chapter no 5: Conclusion and Recommendations: This chapter will summarize the whole study and provide recommendations to Pakistan for its stability and integrity.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

Realism has been an overriding principle of India's foreign policy. Realists believe the protection, self-defense, and stability of national boundaries is the ultimate objective of a state. They believe that only through power state can achieve its national interest and ultimate objectives. It is through power state can become a strong and powerful entity in an anarchic international system and protect them from external aggression. Because of this very reason, many developed and developing countries are working hard to seek power and to balance the power structure at international level. Among them, India is also questing to expand its global influence to acquire a hegemonic presence in the international politics and to secure its national interest (Mitra, 2011). Its national interest is to become a strong country, balance the power structure, secure the country from external aggression and spread multilateralism. For this purpose, it is expanding its sphere of influence in the world politics.

India's main objective is to extend its diplomatic, strategic and economic engagement to become one of the poles of power at international level. It believes that there is anarchy at international level and no one has supreme authority, due to this India is seeking for power. It wants to protect itself from internal and external aggression and requires power for national security and economic welfare. India is extending both soft and hard power potential to attain its ambitions (Nayar & Paul, 2003). It wants to ensure a cooperative multipolar order at the international level that would restrict current world powers and give India an important position in the world politics (Ciorciari, 2011). In last some years, national security and state sovereignty threats have increased more drastically among Indian policy makers. New Delhi starts to fear that other leading powers may

erode its national security and territorial sovereignty. Thus, it has started to focus on its hard power capabilities and military advancements (Tellis & Mirski, 2013).

The major purpose of New Delhi's national and international expansion is to protect the state from internal and external threats. As India's geostrategic position and the location is the major security concern for it. It faces serious security threats from its immediate neighbors such as from Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. It has always tried to opt a planned strategy to overcome the threats proposed by these states. However, among them the most serious impediments New Delhi faces are from Beijing. The relations between India and China have been always complicated. India considers China as the biggest obstruction in its path towards great power status (Ciorciari, 2011). Beijing is Asia's regional power and rising as a great global power. India wants to contain and restrict China regionally because it thinks China's rise and emergence as great power can restrict India's rise. Because of it, India is extending and enlarging its sphere of influence in the South Asian region, Indian Ocean and on all over the world. India is concerned about China's growing influence in the Indian Ocean as China is creating serious maritime security concerns for it. New Delhi considers Beijing maritime ties and bases in Islamabad and in other South Asian countries are a threat to encircle it with a 'string of pearls' policy through which Beijing can easily exercise its naval influence in the Indian Ocean (Scott, 2008). Moreover, China is also strengthening its bilateral relations with Pakistan, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka all situated in the Indian Ocean region. Thus, India is enhancing its both soft and hard power to strengthen its ties with the South Asian states and South East Asia. Moreover, the border conflicts with China related to Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh also compel India to extend and enlarge its military capability.

In long run, to secure itself from external threats and to contain rising China, India is expanding its power projection (Bhatia, 2011). Thus, to acquire economic stability and global power status India is improving its security and domestic situation and expanding its influence and power in the world. It is working hard to acquire regional stability in South Asia to become a major power. Like, it is a common viewpoint that state, which wants to become great power first struggles to obtain regional stability and supremacy. Thus, India's is expanding its power and influence to contain the rising China and acquire global influence (Ghani & Chandio, 2013). And this has been the ultimate objective of Indian foreign policy since independence.

2.1 Indian Foreign Policy Dynamics

Indian foreign policy has experienced a comprehensive change in the last two decades. Its foreign policy has been characterized by the historical sphere of influence, disarmament, and the era of Non-Alignment, rapprochement, and economic liberalization. India's foreign policy mainly turns around on some important issues; among them, the most significant are national security, border disputes, energy requirements, international rivers jurisdiction and terrorism (Mitra, 2011). Since independence, Indian government quests to maximize its role to become a global power and in this respect, many steps have been taken by them. It has opted different ways to expand power and influence in the world politics. Like most of the rising states, India has increased its economic and military capability and enhanced its role in international regimes to represent itself at international level. Moreover, it has also made good relations with all great powers such as United Nations, Russia, United Kingdom and China to secure its national interest. Before Cold War, India did not follow all these strategies consistently and its progress was quite slow during the first two decades of its independence. However, the efforts made by India in the last twenty years are more effective

and advantageous. It has strengthened its economy, expanded its relations with the US and established more progressive relations with all the great powers (Ghani & Chandio, 2013).

2.1.1 Indian Foreign Policy in Cold War Era

The first phase of Indian foreign policy started from independence to the end of Cold War. This phase classified the development and influence of Indian foreign policy in the regional politics and International regimes. Before the end of Cold War, the whole Indian foreign policy was ruled by one family Gandhi. The initial foreign policy had an impact of the incidents occurred in that era. At the time, the world was divided into two blocs the capitalist led by US and communist led by USSR. While initiating the foreign policy, Prime Minister Nehru, embraced the principles and policies adopted by Gandhi and decided to opt the isolation policy to avoid further conflict and bloodshed in the world. Furthermore, India decided to help newly independent states of Asia and Africa rather than to drag itself into power politics. It worked hard to bring the third world countries of Africa and Asia in global politics through Asian Relations Conference and Bandung Conference in 1955 and Belgrade Conference of Non-Alignment in 1961 (Tripathi, 2011).

The main principal of initial Indian foreign policy was Non-Violence, Non-Alignment, domestic development, nuclear disarmament and anti-imperialism which differentiated India from the other great powers. As their foreign policy was based on power politics and political and cultural dominance on poor states. Apart from it, it also revolved around the Kashmir issue and its implications for India (Mukherjee & Malone, 2011). Nehru's policy regarding the status of Kashmir revolved around two principles on which the Kashmir issue must be resolved they were popular will and instrument of accession signed by the Kashmir king in favor of India (Tripathi,

2011). Not surprisingly, in Nehru era, no military and security doctrine had embraced as Nehru was a huge proponent of Idealism and had serious concerns with power politics and military expansion. Hence he embraced Non-Alignment policy to avoid war and to extend its national interest (Mitra, 2011). He wanted to ensure multilateral institutions and collective security engagements to resolve the conflicts and disputes (Mohan C. R., 2015). He was the key proponent of Non-Alignment and in 1946 he arranged the proclamation of Non-Alignment policy. The main purpose of this strategy was to detach itself from the power politics and to build India as a strong and self-sufficient country on the international stage.

Non-Alignment is based on peaceful coexistence, territorial integrity, non-participation, equality, and justice (Kumar, 2010). The full conceptual Non-Alignment policy emerged at the Bandung Conference which laid the foundation for the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). It was a technique to establish peace in the world politics and to spread the basic norms of Socialism and democracy. But it did not mean complete isolation as at that time, New Delhi was a member of the United Nations and other international regimes. Apart from it, it had also established closer ties with almost all developed and major powers and established defense relationship with the Soviet Union and security partnership with the United States (Mohan C. R., 2015).

New Delhi also opted the strategy of internationalism to promote peace and harmony in international politics. Since independence, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was determined to increase the role and influence of India in the international system through the policy of balance of power, peaceful relation, multilateralism and economic development. Thus India preferred international regimes and multilateral arrangements particularly through the United Nations to enhance its role in the world and to compete with the existing great powers. It was also

among the original member of United Nations and sought to pursue a permanent seat in UNSC in 1945. But at that time, its membership was rejected as it was not an Independent Country. As the original member of United Nations, India has always promoted the fundamental rules, values, and norms of United Nations. Indian leadership believed that multilateral engagements can be achieved through United Nations and through it India could enhance its influence at global level. It also worked for different United Nations bodies (Tripathi A. K., 2012).

As early as, 1950's India, as a founding member of NAM, had decided to help newly independent states, to project its power and influence in the world politics. United States perceived that India is attempting to project itself as a leading power. Thus, to counterbalance its influence Washington adopted military containment strategy by providing military aid to Pakistan. United States provided military aid to Pakistan to contain India's influence in the South Asian region. On the other hand, in 1950's New Delhi's relations with Beijing also became hostile as both wanted to dominate Afro-Asian and Socialist block. In these years of uncertainty, Non-Alignment and hostile relations with major powers; Indian leadership decided to change its foreign policy and came close to USSR to balance the US, China and Pakistan's influence and power (Kumar, 2010). All these efforts and India's tilt towards USSR and ongoing border issues between India and China worsened their relationship. Both China and India started perceiving each other as a threat in their rise as a major regional power.

In addition to this, in 1962, Indian foreign policy got a rude jolt when border war occurred between India and China. In this war, India was badly defeated by China which raised questions on the basic norms of foreign policy such as on Non-Alignment and disarmament. Other major events which slowed the progress of the country were the assassination of Nehru and 1965 war between

India and Pakistan. These incidents changed India's perspective about international power system. Its leadership decided to change the basic norms of foreign policy which became the obstruction in their success and rise (Ganguly, 2003).

Thus, Indian foreign policy drastically changed after 1962 war and especially after the assassination of Nehru. Unfortunately, he failed to change the India's foreign policy norms and India's defeated image at international level. However, after Nehru, the other prominent leader of India in this era was Indira Gandhi who changed the basic principles of foreign policy. The dominant objective of her foreign policy was to create India's hegemony in the region. After 1962 war with China and 1971 war with Pakistan and Pakistan-China closer ties, changed the minds and thinking of Indian leadership. Under these circumstances, it decided to put more focus on military and defense enlargement and cooperation with West. Thus, India in this era decided to focus on its hard power capabilities and it also started to link its security with politics and foreign policy (Mitra, 2011).

Moreover, in 1971 India made closer ties with the Soviet Union and signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union to counterbalance China's anti-India alliance with Pakistan. This partnership helped it to counter balance great powers strategy against it. Another achievement in this era was the creation of Bangladesh which destabilized Islamabad. In 1971, Pakistan faced severe insurgency between East and West provinces, at the time, India decided to help Bangladeshi freedom fighters and provided them military and economic help. Thus, Pakistan's territory was divided into two parts and India succeeded to shatter and disintegrate its biggest rival in the South Asian region. The diplomatic and military strategy for India in this crisis increased its say and influence at regional and the global level. Moreover, Indira Gandhi was also recognized as the

international leader (Kidwai, 2007). Apart from it, in 1974 India conducted its first nuclear explosion to counterbalance China's nuclear explosion and power. All these actions proved that India neglected its basic foreign policy objectives and norms and India's image at international level also decreased as a non-violent and peaceful state. India opted all these strategies to project its power and to show the image of stronger and powerful India (Mukherjee & Malone, 2011).

The most significant feature of Indira Gandhi's foreign policy was her policy and relations with the Arab world. She was keen to help Arab world in their quest to acquire a meaningful place in the state of mutual civility. Besides this, she always supported Palestine's quest for independence at international forums. Moreover, in 1980's when she had again held the office, discarded the previous government pro-Israel policy and revived the Nehruvian policy regarding Arab world. This was the very reason that she was largely respected by the Arab world who called her the niece of Gamal Nasser, sister of Yasser Arafat and Alsayyida Indira Gandhi (Kidwai, 2007). Besides this, she also tried to mend the relationships with China and USA and started trade, cultural diplomacy and military ties with them.

However, the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984 again put India under test and trial to expand its sphere of influence in South Asia to create its hegemony (Mitra, 2011). After Indira Gandhi's assassination, Rajiv Gandhi came into power but his foreign policy was not impressive as he was inexperienced. Yet he tried his best to made good relation with the neighboring and major countries. In his era, he visited China and US to made closer ties with these states. He had more interest in making closer ties with US rather than the Soviet Union to extend its economic liberalization policy and free market economy. His other biggest achievement was the creation of

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985 for unity, peace, and conciliation (Ganguly, 2003).

In short in Cold War era India did not achieve its aims of security, development, influence and great power quest. India has faced serious challenges to secure these aims because of its policy of non-imperialism, tilt towards the Soviet Union and domestic crisis.

2.1.2 Foreign Policy in Post-Cold War Era

This phase is very important as in this era New Delhi changed its foreign policy and put more focus on multilateralism and global influence. The foreign policy of this phase revolves around mainly on Realism. The foreign policy was affected by major events and developments. By the end of Cold War, India's biggest ally Soviet Union collapsed and India was left alone in the world politics. And the world system changed from bipolarity to unipolarity as the US became the sole superpower. After this Indian basic principle of Non-Alignment made no sense as now there was no need to confront any block. Neither India wanted Soviet military and economic help and its support in world affairs. All this demanded new foreign policy dimensions for India (Mitra, 2011). In addition, the 1991 balance of payment crisis also disturbed the country's growth and efficiency. These financial crises were more probably the result of the first Gulf War of 1991. Due to this war, the prices of oil increased immediately when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. All this created permanent obstruction of oil suppliers from Iraq as India supplied crude oil from Kuwait and Iraq on a long-term contract basis. All this put the country's economy into the worst economic crisis (Virmani, 2001). In turn, India announced economic reforms to improve country's productivity and efficiency and adopted liberal economy pattern to enhance the country's economic growth and

to meet the challenges of the unipolar world. These economic reforms opened a new era of economic development and growth in the country (Ganguly, 2003).

At another level, Indian leader P.V Narasimha Rao embraced Look East policy which was about to improve relations with South East Asian countries to enhance trade links with these countries. New Delhi decided to cooperate with South East Asia as it was looking for new markets and the relations between US and India were not improved. Thus, India established bilateral and multilateral ties with all South Asian countries especially with Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore. It was mainly a security and economic cooperation with the framework of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It enhanced New Delhi's influence in the region to restrain Beijing's influence in South East Asia (Lall, 2009).

Moreover, India also rearranged its foreign policy towards the Middle East, Central Asia, and East Asia and redesigns its foreign policy towards its immediate neighbors (Shetty, 2015). In this era, India also improved its relations with Germany, Japan, and China and established formal ties with Israel in 1992. India-US relations also improved drastically after the Cold War as they recognized each other's potential and importance in the world. Thus, they had decided to cooperate in environment, education, health and security issues. Moreover, P.V Narasimha Rao also tried to improve its relations with North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) member nations (Mishra A. , 2015).

However, the relations between Pakistan and India were remained hostile because of Kashmir insurgency and more specifically due to Kargil war. The tussle between India and Pakistan in Kashmir broke out in 1990; both the states blamed each other for the insurgency in the valley and

started threatening each other. The indirect involvement of US stopped the possible war between Pakistan and India. However, this war gave confidence to India that US and Pakistan partnership is declining and now the US had more tilt towards India rather than Pakistan (Shakoor, 1992). However, after this conflict, Prime Minister Vajpayee tried to normalize the relationships with Pakistan and launched 'Bus diplomacy' in 1999 in which he rode a bus from Delhi to Lahore and welcomed by the Prime minister Nawaz Sharif. They both decided to start a process of rapprochement and signed a bilateral agreement Lahore Declaration to avoid nuclear race and war. However, this agreement was abandoned through the outbreak of Kargil War in 1999 (Mitra, 2011). In this war, Indian leadership blamed Pakistani forces to extend over the Line of Control in Kashmir. Again, United States supported India's stance on this issue and demanded the withdrawal of Pakistan's forces from Kargil. Through Clinton administration's intervention, Both Pakistan and India withdrew their troops from the border in 1999. Therefore, the relations between India and Pakistan in Post-Cold War was same like in Cold War they could not normalize their relationships (Shakoor, 1992).

Furthermore, in 1998 Indian government conducted nuclear tests for the second time to project its power, which reassured India's rise as a major power. it contradicted with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty which was considered as a major obstruction in the path of India's great power status. This test helped India to confront the challenges posed by China and Pakistan. Moreover, after three weeks Pakistan had also conducted its first nuclear test to maintain the balance of power in the region. However, this New Delhi's second round of nuclear test was considered as a new period of Realism in Indian foreign policy. Because of this nuclear explosion United States, Europe and Japan slapped many sanctions on India's nuclear test (Gangopadhyay, 2012). These sanctions

worsened the relationships between New Delhi and Washington. But later, the US removed these sanctions upon India as it had realized India's potential and influence.

And in 2001 world witnessed a gigantic attack on US territory resulting in huge deaths and crisis. After this attack, Bush Administration started War on Terror against terrorist organization al-Qaeda to eradicate them. Many states including India offered its support to the US on this global crisis (Lall, 2009). Indian government shared intelligence information with the United States regarding al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations active in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It also offered the US to access India's military bases and intelligence cooperation. It assured United States its unconditional support on War on Terror (Kumar A. , 2010).

However, despite India's huge support, US decided to cooperate with Pakistan in War on Terror against Taliban. This US strategy had upset the Indian government as again US and Pakistan partnership revived. Despite this, New Delhi decided to extend its partnership with the Washington in other fields especially in the military sphere. Both the countries started joint military exercises in US and India to extend military cooperation, training, and arsenals. India believed that through this military expansion US might permit India to obtain dual-use technology for energy and nuclear safety purposes (Ganguly, 2003).

On the other hand, New Delhi also decided to improve its relations with its biggest regional rival Beijing to enhance trade links with it. They sought out their border issue through the recognition of Tibet and Sikkim. And in this decade, major landmark occurred when India and US signed the civil nuclear deal. It has opened the new doors for them to conduct joint military exercises, training and transfer nuclear arsenals to each other. Both the countries also started cooperating in economic

and trade development. The major area of interest in their relationships was that they wanted to contain China's rise in the world. For this purpose, New Delhi and Washington started to cooperate with each other (III, 2015). Apart from it, India also started to focus on its domestic development, regional stability, terrorism, poverty, and economy. As after 9/11, New Delhi also faced terrorist attacks and insurgencies in the country. The Mumbai attack of 2008 astonished the country's security agencies about the integrity and security of the state. And after that many steps were taken by the government to eliminate the terrorists.

Apart from that, India also started active participation in international regimes for political and economic expansions. From 1990's onward India is questing for a permanent seat in UNSC under the shadow of G4 alliance and actively participating in UN peacekeeping operations (Gangopadhyay, 2012). Moreover, it has also taken participation in consideration of major international issues such as terrorism, global security climate change, and international economy. India also joined many originations for economic and trade purposes such as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) and G-20. IBSA is a trilateral dialogue forum which consists of three multilateral and multicultural countries India, Brazil and South Africa (Chris Ogden, 2011). This dialogue forum was created in 2004 and the basic principles and policies of IBSC are coordination in human rights, multilateral engagements, economic development and adaptation of democratic values. India's role in IBSA is to project its influence in Asia pacific region and to boost its economy and trade capabilities. Moreover, through IBSA India, Brazil and Japan can contain growing China's influence and power in the world. It is a suitable forum for India to gain power and influence in world politics (Zhengduo, 2014).

On the other hand, BRICS is an Organisation of five developing countries namely Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. All these countries have emerging economies and playing a significant role at regional and international level. The purpose of BRICS is to counter western hegemony and to expand the political and economic influence of all these countries. These BRICS countries want to make a multi-polar system and to demolish the United States led economic system and institutions. India believes that world economic issues can be addressed through only cooperation and coordination. (Zhengduo, 2014). Thus, since 1990 to acquire great global influence Indian foreign policy use economy and military as a tool to acquire hegemony in the world. Its foreign policy revolves around the enlargement of trade, economic power and military modernization (Lall, 2009).

2.2 India's Current Foreign Policy

In last some years, India's progress at the world stage has drastically increased. Indian leadership advanced its foreign policy by making good relations with United States, Russia, Germany, and China. Moreover, India is expanding its geopolitical and global influence through extending both hard and soft power. Indian leaders from Manmohan Singh to newly elected leader Narendra Modi have selected different strategies for geopolitical expansion. Today India has greater military and economic power and structure.

Apart from it, India is also extending its foreign policy engagements to maximize its influence around the globe. As Joseph Nye, the proponent of soft power said that to extend soft power status the state must focus on its foreign policy and relations. This is the very reason; New Delhi is extending its foreign relations with developed and developing countries. Therefore, to engage

Central Asian countries it has announced Connect Central Asia policy to promote trade, economic and cultural relations with them. Furthermore, it is also seeking for a complete membership in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) to access natural resources of Central Asia and for military cooperation and security concerns (Mohanty, 2013).

India has also embraced comprehensive foreign policy towards South Asia as India faces serious challenges and constraints from this region such as terrorism, insurgency, unrest, communal issues, security threats and poverty. The relations between India and South Asian states are based on Neighbourhood First policy; includes economic development, trade, security, counterterrorism, cultural diplomacy and military capabilities (Chris Ogden, 2011). It is also spreading its influence in Afghanistan to strengthen its regional supremacy and to restrict Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan. Moreover, Afghanistan also provides a gateway to Central Asia through which India can fulfill its energy and trade needs. Apart from that, it has also serious reservations from Pakistan-China relations and especially Pakistan-China Economic Corridor as New Delhi thinks that it will minimize its influence in the region. In long run, India has boosted up variety of soft power features, including Yoga, democratic institutions, Bollywood, tourism, cultural exchange, dance, classical music, independent media and judiciary, International cricket and by providing aid to smaller countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and Maldives (Tandon, 2016).

Moreover, the Indian economy has also improved during the last few years. Indian leadership has expanded its economy through different agreements, reforms and policies. It has also strengthened its Look East policy with South East Asian countries to enhance its economy and trade. In recent years, the Indian economy has uplift rapidly. In 2012, India acquired the position of the third-largest economy in the world as its Gross Domestic Product was of US\$4.7 trillion (Ogden, 2014).

Regarding India's current Military potential, it has the world largest volunteer military organization and approximately one million soldiers and forces (Mitra, 2011). The constituted budget of Indian military is nearby 20 -25 percent of its total expenditure (Sypott, 2015). The purpose of military modernization is to extend its influence at the international level and to secure itself from regional enemies. To counter these threats, it is also enhancing military technology. At present India is the world's largest arms importer, third largest standing army and seventh largest military consumer (Chris Ogden, 2011). It is also planning to expand its naval fleet by developing INS Arihant nuclear-powered Ballistic Missile Submarine which can remain undersea and has the capacity to carry out Ballistic Missiles. Moreover, it is also preparing to secure the country from current threats and serious security concerns and to restrain them it has launched its first Agni-V intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). It has 5000 km range which gives it the capacity to reach the target as far as Beijing (Voll & Nanda, 2012).

As far as its potential to wage a war is concerned it is not so effective because the armed forces are engaged in different political issues. They are dealing with border management problems and are also handling the issues related to insurgency, communal violence, and turmoil. New Delhi faces serious communal violence and insurgency in Kashmir, North East and Punjab where armed forces are engaged in fighting against Naxalites and other terrorist organizations. Because of it, the military capability to secure the country from external aggression is not impressive. The biggest obstacle India faces is from its regional enemies Pakistan and China. Both are nuclear country and possess modern nuclear arsenals. Moreover, Indian army is also involved in corruption and their military arsenals and technology is not likewise skilled and modernized as compare to Pakistan. On the other hand, India's other counterpart China also possess the modern technology and occupy intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and nearby dozen sea-launched ones (Mitra, 2011).

Regarding its naval capacity and power, New Delhi's naval vessels are expert and well-experienced but their size is less than of China's fleet. In addition, its warships are improving in quality and regularly reaching on ports in South Asia. Thus, it has the capability to protect India's stake in the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. Moreover, India is also enhancing its outer space capabilities and in 2012 it has launched its very first defense satellite to advance its maritime transmission and in 2013 launched its navigational satellite. It is modernizing its military to gain power in the world and to extend its influence in the Indian Ocean and Asia-Pacific (Sypott, 2015).

Thus, the detailed overview of Indian foreign policy clearly shows its dominant ambitions and desires. It shows the struggle of Indian leadership to make India a rising country around the globe. The initial foreign policy put more focus on regional hegemony but after Cold War, the leadership desired to create India's hegemony not only at the regional level but also at the global level. To acquire this status India has faced serious conflicts and issues since its independence, which includes terrorism, communal violence, border issues, security threats and Kashmir insurgency. Even Though today, India is facing all these issues but now its foreign policy engagement and governance is improving. It is working hard to expand its sphere of influence in the world politics to become a major power. This is the very reason that it is engaging with the entire world and actively participating in international politics to project its power (Jaishankar, 2016). Therefore, now India is at an interesting point where it should balance between its regional stability and global aspiration which is not easy to harmonize.

Chapter 3

Indian Strategies for Global Influence

India regards itself South Asian Natural hegemon and is questing for great global power status. It has vast influence in the regional politics due to its largest population size and democracy, and huge middle class, developing economy and strong military. But its biggest desire is to expand its influence across the globe to meet the challenges of 21st century. Its quest is to secure international support, economic and military expansion and gain an important place in world politics. To achieve this aim, India has adopted different policies related to military, economic and diplomatic expansion (Curtis, 2007). During the early years of its independence, it was recognized as a poor and unstable country with destabilized economy, mainly depends on foreign aid. Despite this, Indian diplomats worked hard to make India an important entity at international level. They promoted the basic norms of Indian foreign policy at international level such as Non-Alignment, peace, non-proliferation and non-violence (Aiyar, 2012). However, it was the end of Cold War, India decided to build a more constructive strategy to expand its global influence.

Therefore, from 1990 onwards, the Indian government has taken major steps to expand its global influence and opted strong and planned strategies to gain international support and respect. It has introduced Look East policy towards South East Asia for trade and economic development, focused on making good and strong relations with Great Powers such as with US, China, Russia and France. New Delhi has also adopted neighborhood first policy towards South Asian states for economic and security interests (Curtis, 2007). Moreover, it has also put focus to expand its influence in Asia-Pacific to contain China's influence there. It is enhancing its influence in the

region through collaboration and diplomacy with regional players like Australia and Japan and by adopting active blue water navy diplomacy (Mishra S. , 2016).

In this regard, the most impactful strategy, India has opted is its quest for membership in international organizations. Its major desire is to get the membership of UNSC and Nuclear Supply Group (NSG). New Delhi knows it is very important to acquire the membership of different international organizations. Because of this, India is questing to gain a permanent seat in UNSC to seek veto power and to dominate international affairs. Security Council's veto power is considered as the great power status and it is the most influential instrument of the council. New Delhi is aware that if it gets the permanent membership of Security Council then it can easily dominate world politics (Jabeen, 2010).

Furthermore, New Delhi is not seeking permanent membership of Security Council but also it is expanding its relations with the sole superpower United States. It has improved its relation with United States to seek its support in International affairs and to recognize as a rising power by the Sole Superpower United States. For this purpose, it has adopted strong and calculated approach toward United States. The relations between India and United States have improved drastically after the Cold War and especially after 9/11. Washington realized that both the states have a same national interest in the South Asian region which is unipolarity and contain Beijing's rise in the region. Washington with the help of India is trying to restrain Beijing influence. They want to contain China's rise and because of this very reason, US is engaging China in the regional disputes and conflicts (Blackwill, Chandra, & Clary, 2011).

Not only US but also India has the same interest in restoring the relationship with it. India wants to emerge as a major power and because of this, it is cooperating with US in military and economic fields. It also wants to counter its biggest rival China's influence in the world. All the Asia pacific

states are concerned about Beijing's rise. India, Australia and Japan are cooperating with US in the region and moreover, in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean to swallow China's power and influence. For this purpose, India and US are increasing their military cooperation and conducting joint military exercises. US has redesigned its foreign policy towards India, removed sanctions, stopped its support towards Pakistan on Kashmir issue and extended economic and political cooperation with India. Thus, India has also taken major steps to develop closer ties with United States (Fani, 2009). Moreover, New Delhi also knows that US has vast influence in Pakistan and Afghanistan by US help India can protect its national interest in these countries as well (Blackwill, Chandra, & Clary, 2011). These strategies are further elaborated as:

3.1 India's Quest to Seek Permanent Seat in United Nations Security Council

India is primarily a regional power and seeking global influence by strengthening its relationships with other major countries and by its involvement in International Organizations such as United Nations. India was amongst the initial 51 original members of the UN when the organization was formed in 1945 (Rafi L. C., 2014). At that time, Gandhi tried to become a member of UNSC, but its membership was rejected as India was not an independent state (Mathur, 2005). Since independence, Indian foreign policy was based on the principal to support and work with the United Nations (Rafi L. C., 2014).

But its major desire is to become the permanent member of UNSC because of its influence and power in world affair. It wants to demonstrate its power and influence through this membership. And moreover, the other main reason behind this quest is to acquire veto power to protect its interest internationally against its enemies. Since the end of Cold War, India is demanding the

reformation of United Nation's Security Council and actively pursuing for a permanent seat in it. It is questing for a permanent seat in United Nations Security Council along with G4 members; consist of India, Brazil, Japan and Germany who are also seeking for this membership. India is seeking for a permanent seat to recognize as a major state by the permanent members of Security Council, yet nothing has been achieved. Indian policymakers and scholars believe that India deserves this membership as it fulfills the requirements of United Nations. It has a large population, democratic values, strong military and economy and its unlimited contribution towards United Nation and its peacekeeping missions (Jabeen, 2010).

The membership and structure of United Nations Security Council have always been the most controversial issue considered by UN member states since its establishment in 1945. United Nations Security Council is considered as the most important organ of it. It consists of 15 member states among them five are permanent members which are US, Russia, China, UK and France and other ten are non-permanent members. Permanent membership is considered as a "Great Power" status in world politics. Security Council is charged with maintaining peace and security between nations (Guzzardi J. E., 2007-2008).

As concern to non-permanent members, they are selected from different regional groups. They are African Group, Western European and others Group (WEOG), the Latin American and Caribbean Group (GRULAC), the Asian Group and the Eastern European Group. The African group has three and Eastern European Group has one representative and the rest of groups have two representatives in Security Council (Okhovat., 2011).

In Post-Cold War era, the role of Security Council increased drastically as it not only deals with inter-state wars but also with intra-state conflicts. Security Council and its veto power have been recognized as the most important and influential instrument in world politics. It is considered as

the influential instrument to dominant role the international affairs (Rafi L. C., 2014). Permanent members who have veto power use the absolute power of veto to affect the agenda and discussion of the council. The use of exclusive veto power in the last few decades indicates that this is less effective and P5 have dominance over it. They use this power for their own interest and benefits. Among all P5 members, US has used its veto power the most mainly on Israel-Palestine issue. P5 cancel or reject any proposal which is against their interest (McClellan, 2014).

Thus, many developing countries declared their dissatisfaction with the council's unrepresentative working and excessive exercise of veto power by P5. This set the stage for United Nations member states to press for reforms. The main purpose of reformation is to make the council transparent, representative and modifies the working procedure of the Security Council. Therefore, many rising and powerful states including India started to quest permanent seat in the Security Council for global influence (Kumar S. , 2008).

Despite the changing world politics in last five decades, the council reformed only in 1965 when the non-permanent membership was enlarged. The most critical factor behind the lack of reforms is the amendment process which is quite tough and difficult. Any reform of the Security Council requires the consensus of at least two-thirds of UN member states and the support of all the permanent members of the Security Council. Because of this very reason, the council reformation procedure is difficult to process. Moreover, P5 are not in favor of reforming council as it might decrease their power and role in world politics. Like in 1963, Africa and Asia tried to extend the membership of non-permanent member but P5 rejected their proposal (Okhovat., 2011).

The same effort was made by the President of General Assembly Razali Ismail, he tried to gather the support of P5 to reform the council. For this purpose, Open-Ended Working group was also created which deal with the question of equitable representation, enlargement of Security Council

and other issues related to the Security Council reformation (Okhovat., 2011). But his reform proposal was blocked by Non-Aligned Movement group, they considered it as a threat to their union, logical agreement and interdependence. However, again in 2003 Iraq war, UN faced a huge pressure from the international community to balance the structure of power in UNSC. Thus, Kofi Annan and his panel on Threats, Challenges and Change preceded a reform proposal, in which G4 members also incorporated their reform proposal. G4 members initiated their reform proposal in 2005, to enlarge the membership of council but they failed as P5 rejected their proposal (Gordon & Gowan, 2014).

Later, this Open-Ended Working Group rapidly became dead-ended because of disagreement on a reforms process. Later, states agreed to upgrade the issue and enter in intergovernmental negotiations under the auspices of the General Assembly. In 2008 intergovernmental negotiation, had taken the duty of Open-Ended Working Group and decided to negotiate on reforms proposal related to the question of Equitable Representation and increase in the membership of the UNSC (Okhovat., 2011). But all these reform proposals failed to gather the consensus of all P5.

India is fully aware of the importance of Security Council and its veto power, because of this reason, it has regularly pushed for UNSC reforms. And it has remained one of the major principal of India's foreign policy objectives. The UN Security Council was only expanded in 1963 when the non-permanent members were increased from six to ten on the demand of developing countries. Since 1979 the expansion of Security Council reforms had been agenda of General Assembly in which India played an active part. However, it had attracted little interest among the international community during the Cold War Era. It was after the Cold War era, that the demand of expansion of Security Council was increased and at that time India strengthened its campaign for reforms and created a G4 alliance (Kumar S. , 2008).

India is seeking for the status of great global power and argues that it deserves a permanent seat because it has the second largest population in the world, and has established democracy, largest economy and fourth largest army in the world. India always supports United Nations reforms and it is also a major contributor to UN peacekeeping missions. As far as India's approach towards the enlargement of Security Council, it is agreed on the United Nations decided criteria. To become a global power and marked as a major player in international politics, India is seeking a permanent seat in Security Council. It wants to increase both permanent and not permanent members of Security Council. India believes that P5 have dominance over all international and regional issues and especially veto power minimizes the role of developing countries in the world (Jabeen, 2010). Furthermore, India wants to enhance the influence of developing countries and extend the role of South in Security Council. And it also has a desire to minimize the impact of major powers in Security Council decision-making process. On the other hand, India's economic emergence on the world stage is legitimizing its claim to be a permanent member in Security Council (Stuenkel, 2010).

India also wants to reconstruct the Security Council due to the changing global order and to meet the challenges of 21st century. In 2013, Indian Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh also presented his stance on the reformation of Security Council in UN General Assembly and said that in order to meet the challenges of 21 century, Security Council should be reformed and reshaped. And many developing countries must be incorporated in it to ensure effectiveness and efficiency of the council (Jaheen, 2010).

Moreover, in 2005, India with other G4 members presented a proposal for enlarged Security Council (Stuenkel, 2010). The G4 proposed the inclusion of the six-new permanent member and four non- permanent members (Jaheen, 2010). The proposal suggests that the six new permanent

members would be taken from different regions such as two from African nations, one from Latin America (Brazil) two from Asia (India and Japan), one from western Europe and Caribbean. And four non-permanent members would be selected from Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Caribbean and Latin America. However, this proposal failed to build consensus on the expansion of security council due to the question of veto power as P-5 were not in favor of giving veto power to new members. Despite the failure of the G4 proposal, India has kept up its efforts for the reformation of Security Council (Okhovat., 2011).

Moreover, India has also rejected the proposal of 'Small 5' a group of Jordan, Switzerland, Costa Rica, Liechtenstein and Singapore. The basic purpose of this group is not to expand the Security Council but reconstruct the working process of Security Council. India along with other G4 members has refused to accept their proposal (Stuenkel, 2010). Moreover, it has been elected seven times as a non-permanent member of the Security Council making it one of the most frequent non-permanent members. In 2011-2012 India again became the non-permanent member of UNSC with the goal to expand the Security Council membership and still today, India is struggling to get a permanent seat in it.

However, to get a permanent seat in Security Council India faces some serious challenges. The Claim of G-4 countries flares up many regional rivalries. As Many countries, particularly small and middle powers oppose the expansion and enlargement of Security Council membership. The major issue in the reformation and expansion of United Nations Security Council is the veto power. Like any amendment in the Security Council require the approval of all permanent members, and if one of them Veto the reform proposal it will be rejected and not presented for reform. The veto power is the main obstacle to the expansion of Security Council. To seek the permanent seat India and other candidates must gain the support of all permanent members (Rafi L. C., 2014). As to

their response, U.S and other permanent Council members are not very supportive of expanding the Security Council. Although, India and US are increasing their mutual relationship and the statements given by US administration are indicating that US would support India's bid but it is not in favor of conferring veto power to new entries. China is also in disagreement with the expansion of Security Council permanent membership. Both China and US are not in support to give veto power to the new members. Beijing is not supporting New Delhi's bid for permanent seat in Security Council as China think later it can challenge China's hegemony in the region. He is against not only India's bid but Japan's as well and actively companying against the G4 alliance (Jabeen, 2010).

However, Britain and France have been the only two members that are in favor of reformation of United Nations Security Council and sporting India's bid. As concern to Russia, it considers India as a strong candidate for permanent membership. However Russian stance related to veto power is not clear either it is in favor of conferring veto power to new members or not. Thus, it is uncertain whether the demands of G4 nations will be implemented anytime soon (Mathur, 2005).

In long run, India along with G4 should not make veto power as its priority to take a seat in the Council. And Instead of seeking support from the US, India needs to settle the disputes and territorial issues with neighboring countries. After settling disputes at home, the path to global power will be easier.

3.2 Emerging Strategic Cooperation Between US and India

In 1492, the historical connection between United States and India had started when Christopher Columbus invented America in its way to search a new route to Hindustan. But the proper and formal negotiation between them started after India's independence. US supported Indian

independence to acquire the cooperation of newly independent states. However, soon after independence, the relationship began to decline as Indian profile did not attract US for any political, economic and military purpose. Despite this New Delhi tried to make progressive and friendly relations with Washington but it didn't happen. Indian domestic situation, non-proliferation, Non-Alignment escalated the relationships between India and US. Washington recognized New Delhi's policies especially Non- Alignment as a policy against capitalism and moreover in 1950's New Delhi's visit of Moscow assured Washington administration that It had more tilt towards Moscow (Kumar D., 2009).

Furthermore, the events of early 1950's worsened the relationship between both the countries. In this period, US created many military agreements to examine communism influence in the world. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) were firmly incorporated by Washington. US wanted that New Delhi became a member of these organizations but Indian leadership refused to join any of it and detached itself from them (Goel, 1999). Furthermore, the policies of India such as its support of China's permanent seat in UNSC, nuclear disarmament and criticism on US policies and actions in Suez and Korean wars infuriated US policy makers. On the other hand, US policies like its support for Pakistan in Kashmir issue and providing military aid to Pakistan also annoyed Indian leadership (Kumar D. , 2009). Therefore, their relationship was not so strong and progressive.

However, despite these ideological differences in the early years of Cold War, India gained huge financial aid from US. It also helped India in 1962 war against China and provided huge military assistance and equipment to it. Even though US huge military and political support, India strictly followed its policy of Non-Alignment and did not join any block in the Cold War era. Because of

this very reason, in 1971 war between India and Pakistan, US supported and helped Pakistan. US threatened and militarily blackmailed India to cease fire the war (Goel, 1999).

Therefore, their relationship reached a very low level. New Delhi wanted to dominate South Asia region but Washington continuous support and assistance toward Islamabad discouraged it by forming any good relations with it. Thus, in 1971 India signed twenty years' friendship treaty with Soviet Union which created a complete deadlock between both. India leaned toward Soviet Union to protect itself from US and regional rival's Pakistan and China. Both India and Soviet Union agreed in this treaty to provide military and economic aid to each other in times of war. Soviet Union also agreed to provide its support to India in UNSC over Kashmir issue (Kapur & Ganguly, 2007) Moreover, in 1974 India conducted its very first nuclear test to project its power which infuriated US policy makers. US in return put sanctions on India's nuclear program. Washington sanctions on its nuclear program and its more tilt toward Islamabad worsened their relationship.

However, their troubled relationship improved in 1980's, when Indian leadership decided to opt more planned strategy toward US. Moreover, in 1982, Indira Gandhi visited America to revive their partnership. And in 1985, the successor of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi also pay a visit to America which was considered his biggest achievement. Both US and India decided to work and collaborate with each other in different fields. India's and US army and navy increased their relationship and conducted joint exercises. This process of normalization was continued prior to the end of Cold War (Kumar D. , 2009).

However, in 1990, the Cold War ended with the disintegration of India's biggest ally Soviet Union and US become the sole superpower of the world. The collapse of Soviet Union forced Indian policy makers to develop new policies as now non-alignment made no sense. For military and economic purposes, it was obliged on India to make close relations with other world powers. As

It wasn't confirmed either Russia would allow India to continue purchasing its arms or not. With this regard, Indian government decided to make more good relations with US. New Delhi realized that a closer and more calculated relationship with US would help it to expand its economy and to restrain China's growing influence (Goel, 1999).

Thus, India reshaped its foreign policy towards United States and tried to build a stronger economic, political and military relationship with it. It also understood that after Soviet Union collapse good partnership with US would be more appropriate for geostrategic purposes (Kapur & Ganguly, 2007). On the other hand, US revised its bilateral relationship with India because, after Soviet disintegration, it realized now it made no sense to remain isolated with India. Moreover, Washington thought that in South Asia, New Delhi would be a more appropriate partner than Islamabad for peace and security (Chou, 2003). Therefore, both India and US redesigned their partnership for military and economic cooperation (Kapur & Ganguly, 2007).

But again, this normalization process was badly affected and got a rude jolt when India conducted its second round of nuclear test in 1998 for power projection. Thus, the Bill Clinton government imposed a range of sanctions on New Delhi's nuclear technology. He also wanted to eradicate India's nuclear ability. Certainly, it had created national and nuclear security concerns for India and as a result, India had increased its nuclear weapons and capability. Thus, this again led to the slap of sanctions on New Delhi nuclear assets which worsened the relationship between the two countries (Chou, 2003).

Although, after this nuclear test, United States acknowledged India's growing military development and strength, thus, US decided to bring it on board again. Therefore, many dialogues and negotiations were held to restore the bilateral relationship between them and to remove the sanctions on India's nuclear program (Goel, 1999). US agreed to negotiate with India because

these sanctions were also harming its economic interest. Therefore, after series of dialogue both state restored their relationship in 1999 and US also removed the sanctions from India's nuclear program. In the same year war broke out between India and Pakistan in Kargil, US openly supported India in this war and pressurized Pakistan to evacuate its forces from the line of control. The Washington support and help in Kargil issue assured India that now US have a more strategic interest in New Delhi than Islamabad (Kapur & Ganguly, 2007).

Their relationship in 21st century become more strong and powerful through negotiations and cooperation in different fields. Moreover, in 2000, the visit of President Clinton in India took the relationship at next level. It was considered a major milestone as after 22 years any United States President visited India for negotiations (Chatterjee, 2010). During the term of President George W. Bush, US-India relations changed more drastically. He opted the India First policy for geostrategic purposes. Bush administration was concerned about the China growing influence and considered it as the major challenger in the world. He openly called China a strategic competitor and rival of the US. To counter China's emerging influence Bush administration opted this 'India first' policy. US believed that both India and China are major rivals in South Asia and only India has the potential in South Asia to counter China's economic and military expansion (Chou, 2003). For this purpose, US and India decided to cooperate and collaborate. But again, the September 2001 attack changed the US strategic policy from China's concern to the War against Terrorism. The 9/11 incident provided India a major opportunity to help US in this crises to extend the relationships between both the countries (Bukhari, 2011).

Therefore India offered military and political support to United States in War on Terror. Though New Delhi offered its unconditional support to US but US decided to cooperate with Pakistan rather than India. This again restored the strategic relation between Pakistan and US to counter

terrorist groups in the South Asia region. To eradicate Taliban US revived its Cold War relations with Islamabad as it shares a long border with Afghanistan. India was upset with US decision to restore relation with Pakistan, however, it had decided to cooperate with US on other aspects such as military, democracy and economic development (Chou, 2003).

And in 2002, both US and India signed a weapon deal by which India got huge modern weapon technology from it (Fani, 2009). Both Bush administration and Prime Minister Vajpayee decided to expand their strategic partnership which was noted as 'Next Steps Strategic Partnership' (NSSP) and decided to enlarge missile defense discourse. NSSP helped them out to build cooperation in nuclear field and space technology. All these agreements and partnership not only increased trust and cooperation between them but also helped them to expand their nuclear trade and development. And in 2005, both countries astonished the other South Asian states by signing the civil nuclear agreement to expand and enlarge their nuclear cooperation which further bolsters India-US relationship (Bukhari, 2011).

All these Indian efforts convinced United States administration that India is interested in making good and strong ties with it. Hence Indian foreign policy after Cold War was based on making closer ties with US to secure its strategic and economic desires and to gain US support in International and regional affairs (Mukerjee & Malone, 2011)

.3.2.1 India- US Civil Nuclear Deal

International relations are greatly influenced by the national interest of the state. Policies are initiated by the states on their national interest. Both India and US incorporated and reconciled and signed the civil nuclear deal because it goes with their national interest. India's national interest was to erase sanctions put by US on its nuclear program and to expand its nuclear program to

become a major power. And US desire was to take advantage of India's nuclear market and furthermore to make India a strong country in South Asia to counter China's influence and expansion. (Bano, 2015) Therefore, In July 2005, the India-US nuclear civil deal was initiated in a joint statement by Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and United States President George Bush. This nuclear deal was a defense agreement to extend and enlarge nuclear arsenals and missile system (Jangir, 2012).

This deal has put huge impact on Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), Missile Technology, Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) all are the component of global Non-proliferation regime. Non-proliferation regime is created to manage and control the nuclear activities and trade of nuclear technology and equipment in the world. This India-US nuclear deal helped India to remove sanctions from its nuclear program and trade. Like, India is neither a member of NSG nor NPT; therefore, it is not qualified to trade with other nuclear states and NSG members. However, by this deal, India got the opportunity to trade nuclear equipment. The US Congress approved the agreement on October 1, 2008, to facilitate nuclear civil cooperation between the United States and India. Furthermore, in 2008, after strong US campaign NSG members gave a waiver to India which allowed it to trade nuclear technology and equipment with member states (Riaz, 2012).

The deal has consisted of four basic features related to military, economic, political and nuclear cooperation. The first aspect of this deal is to the spread of democracy and democratic values across the globe. The economic aspect deals with economic and trade cooperation and draws a model based on US economy. The Third aspect is related to military assistance and agreement. And the last feature of this agreement is based on the enlargement of nuclear arsenals and cooperation (Jangir, 2012).

The most important features of this deal are; that Washington brought India under the control and observation of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). IAEA is responsible for enforcing and implementing the NPT. New Delhi agreed that it will place all his following civilian thermal and nuclear reactor under IAEA safeguards. Furthermore, it was also inked in this agreement that New Delhi continues its prohibition on nuclear testing. It was also decided to negotiate with US on FMCT to ban the production and making of fissile material for weapon use. By this agreement, Washington companies would be able to construct nuclear reactors in India. As a response, India got the permission to purchase dual-use technology from US, Russia, Canada and Europe. This dual use technology will be used to enrich uranium which will help in creating nuclear bombs. (Bajoria & Pan, 2010).

Furthermore, US also agreed to provide New Delhi international nuclear assistance which was stopped for it after its very first nuclear test in 1974. Due to New Delhi's refusal to sign NPT, it stayed outside from the trade, transfer and cooperation of nuclear equipment's developed by the major states during the last thirty years (Mian & Ramana, 2006).

Many analyst and policy makers acknowledged this deal as the greatest success for India to extend its nuclear capabilities. By this deal, India has gained the recognition of de facto nuclear status. Apart from it, this deal has also enhanced the quality, quantity and efficiency of India's nuclear arsenal and allowed to boost and increase its nuclear weapon project. It allowed India to develop Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) which are used to confront the upcoming ballistic missiles before they accomplish their target (Khan Z. A., 2013). India also agreed to cooperate with United States in maritime security and accepted to join United States in Logistics Support Agreement to cooperate in natural disasters and security risk and danger. Nicholas Burns, the Under Secretary of State, the negotiator of this bilateral defense agreement, describe the significance of this deal

that now India and US has embraced a new phase of defense cooperation and we hope that it would enlarge and extend cooperation between them in nuclear exercises, arsenals and training. This deal has been proven beneficial for India as it helped India to acquire nuclear technology and minimized its oil requirements from the Persian Gulf. It has also assured New Delhi that US will help India to equalize its nuclear capability with China (Jangir, 2012).

The US ambassador of India Robert black stated that both US and India have the same interest to negotiate this deal that is China factor. Both India and US negotiated and inked this agreement to counter Beijing influence in the South Asia region. He further said that without the China element the US government did not initiate and congress did not approve this agreement. The strategic and most dominant factor behind this deal is Chinas growing economic and military expansion. The other important aspect of this deal was the huge Indian market and economy (Bano, 2015). It helped US to gain the advantage of India's huge market. Their cooperation in nuclear field has amazed the other major power especially China. However, they are collaborating and cooperating regardless of huge reservations and hazards.

After this deal, their partnership has become more strong and powerful. Their strong ties were also witnessed when US helped and supported India after the Mumbai attack in 2008. Washington provided unconditional support to New Delhi to overcome terrorism and instability in the country. However, in the early years of Obama presidency, their relationship got interrupted and fade. Their ties were not so strong and influential as they were in Bush era. However, later, their relationship got improved and Obama administration called India as an essential partner (Bajoria & Pan, 2010). In the year 2010, President Obama visited New Delhi, supported its permanent seat quest in UNSC and signed a trade agreement with it.

And now President Modi is also expanding its trade and nuclear cooperation with US to seek its support in world affairs (Bano, 2015). His foreign policy objectives revolved around three aspects. The major aspect of his policy is to make India a rising and major power in the world. To quest this dream, he is expanding its sphere of influence in East Asia, West Asia, South Asia and incorporating with a major power such as Russia, US and Japan. The other aspect of his foreign policy is to make strong relationships with US to acquire multiple goals related to military expansion, economic modernization and to contain China and Pakistan. Thus, they have increased military and economic ties to contain China's rise and influence. It is also trying to depict Pakistan as the hub of terrorism and wants to isolate it internationally (Bajoria & Pan, 2010). And this desire can't be achieved without the support and help of US. Thus, with unlimited aims and desires, New Delhi is expanding its relationship with Washington and many analysts believe that in future their ties will expand more for geostrategic purposes.

Therefore, to balance the structure of power at international level and to dominate international affairs, India is trying to shift international system from unipolar to multipolar. For this purpose, it is opting different economic, political and military strategies and tools. New Delhi believes that if it gets the UNSC seat and expand cooperation with US it will increase its say at international level. And moreover, with the support of Sole Super Power US it can easily counter China's economic and military expansion in the world.

Chapter 4

Challenges and Constraints

The world system has been transformed in the 21st century through the rise of emerging new global powers and economies. Mainly the emergence of globalization and multilateralism has changed world politics. The rise and emergence of new major powers such as China India, Brazil and Russia are leading towards the emergence of a multipolar world. In this new phase, every state wants to embrace a significant role in the global domain. Realist believes that in world politics there is no permanent friend and enemy only the national interest is permanent.

Therefore, the foreign policy of the states is based on national interest which depends upon state's internal and external circumstances. Every State is questing to acquire more power and hegemony to pursue their national interest and secure themselves from new global Security issues. These new challenges and realities of the world are demanding that states must implement more organized and planned strategies to triumph the global crisis. Similarly, South Asian is also involved in this great global power competition. South Asia region is considered as the most important subregion of Asia consists of Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, India and Maldives (Kataria & Naveed, 2014).

There are many factors and incidents which make South Asia as the influential region of the world such as ongoing tussle between India and Pakistan, unsettled Kashmir dispute, Nuclearization, Afghan war, War on Terror and India -US civil deal (Malik, 2012). Among these South Asian states, Pakistan and India is considered as the most important and potential game changer states of South Asia. Both the states are working hard to protect their national interest and become an

influential state in the world. In the last few years, Pakistan has incorporated new policies and strategies to quest major position in the world (Voll & Nanda, 2012).

But still, the progress level is slow due to corruption, terrorism and instability. However, the policies and strategies adopted by the Indian government to quest global role are more progressive and influential than Pakistan's policies. To reshape the South Asian politics and to counter global challenges, India is expanding its strategic reach all over the world. Apart from it, India's geostrategic location is also very significant as it is placed between Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and Middle East. And shares borders with Pakistan to the West, Bangladesh to the East and China and Nepal lies in Northeast of India. The current strategy and policies of Indian government have also changed the old perspective about it. These policies and its struggle are astonishing all the world. The government and the bureaucratic institutions are working hard to expand its diplomatic, political and economic influence around all over the globe (Wulf, 2013).

The foreign policy of New Delhi has been also reframed to balance the power in world politics and to extend its global influence. Because of this very reason, the Great Grand Policy is initiated by the government to project power and maintain its foreign relations with other world powers. This strategy is split into three spheres which are about to expand relations with immediate neighborhood, extend neighborhood and with global powers. The ultimate purpose of this strategy is to engage with all the regional states to secure itself from threats and to protect its national interest (Mohan C. R., 2006).

The Indian leadership is also working hard to gain the significant position at international level. To reform and reshape western authoritative international system and to play a significant role in global economic decision-making procedure New Delhi is cooperating with G20, BRICS, IMF, World Bank, UN and many more regional and international regimes (Wulf, 2013). Not only this

but New Delhi is also working on its military and nuclear expansion. As it is a general belief that the power and supremacy of any state can be tested through its capability to wage war. Thus, to achieve this potential global power status Indian leadership is working hard to modernize its military power. The status of its military potential and strength is very impressive. India being a nuclear country possess fourth largest air force in the world (Voll & Nanda, 2012).

The struggle to expand the strategic influence is not revolving around military modernization but also involves around economic advancement and growth. To encounter threats and challenges and to acquire global power position, Indian economy also has been modernized and reformed. After the Cold War the ride of economic expansion increased and now the status of Indian economy is massive and grand. The country's current economy is recognized as the third largest world economy after US and China in terms of purchasing power parity (Pardesi, 2015).

The desire to project power and to expand its economic growth New Delhi is enlarging its relations all over the world. The Indian leadership is trying to engage all regions such as Middle East, South Asia, South East Asia, Europe, Central Asia and Africa to expand its political and economic sphere of influence. It is improving its relation with African region for multiple purposes. New Delhi is expanding its influence in Africa to take advantage of its vast resources and to counter China's emerging influence in the region. India's major challenge in this global power competition is China and its emerging geopolitical influence. China is posing serious threats and challenges for New Delhi's rise. Thus, New Delhi is engaging with all other immediate regions to counter China's domination and to deepen its power and influence (Voll & Nanda, 2012).

The Africa and South East Asia is not the only regions with whom New Delhi expand its sphere of influence. It is developing a relationship with Russia, Australia, Japan and US for its strategic and political purposes. Like it is cooperating with Russia for strategic purpose and with Japan to

contain China presence in the South China Sea (Hussain M. S., 2012). On the other side, India is also expanding its influence in the third largest ocean through maritime expansion, extended trade and political and diplomatic strategies. It enlarging its presence in the Indian Ocean to control Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean. Thus to contain China, India is engaging and establishing security relations with Indian Ocean littoral state like Maldives, Seychelles, Mauritius and Singapore. Through this expansion and expanded partnership with US, India believes that it can contain Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean, and secure its maritime interest and can also recognize as a major power by the world sole superpower US (Tariq, 2014).

Hence, India is making all these struggles to acquire the global great power status and to play leading role in world affairs. The Indian policy analyst, scholars and politician also believe that now India must play a larger global role rather than to entangle in regional rivalries (Wulf, 2013). Because of this very reason, India is modernizing and expanding its military and economic power. However, India's process of emergence and rise is slow because New Delhi faces serious problems and threats. The problem with India's rising is its internal and external political and security threats and obstacles. Which are explained further:

4.1 Challenges to India from Pakistan

For power, monopoly and dominance, New Delhi faces huge hazard within and outside the country. The internal threats and challenges which it faces are poverty, insurgency, climate changes, illiteracy, political instability and corruption. All these issues are considered as the major obstacles in its way to achieve great power status (Wulf, 2013). The insurgent group Naxalite is also considered as a major threat to the stability of the country. Indian security analyst believes that this group gives rise to instability and Communal violence in the state. Apart from it, the

insurgency and violence in Kashmir valley is also swallowing India's peace and global influence aspiration (Mukherjee & Malone, 2011).

On the other hand, the external challenges which are haunting India's aspiration are unsolved territorial disputes with China and Pakistan, Al Qaeda, Talibanization, security threats in Kashmir valley, China's growing influence and political instability in South Asian states. Further, Indian leadership is also worried about the cooperation and expanded relationship with China and Pakistan. New Delhi believes that China is trying to contain its influence in Indian Ocean through the "string of pearls" strategy (Kanwal, 2012).

Moreover, over Beijing growing sphere of influence in East and South China seas are also creating serious threats to Indian aspiration. However, to resolve China's problem, New Delhi is working hard to engage with its government and trying to sort out territorial disputes with it. But the real irresolvable problem which is annoying India's rise is Pakistan. It faces serious security challenges from Pakistan because of unstable relationship, conflicts and deadlocks between them. Since independence, Relationships between Islamabad and New Delhi have been nerve racking and rigid. Both states considered each other as a threat to their national security and integrity. Since independence, they have tangled into different conflicts, deadlock which led to three major wars. And their relationship became worst after the process of their nuclearization. (Jauhari, 2013).

To secure themselves both have started to expand more on their nuclear arsenals which has threaten the security and peace of South Asian region. All the regional states have huge concern that they may entangle in nuclear war which will disturb the security environment of whole region. Many times it was felt that both India and Pakistan might start nuclear war like at the Kargil but due to the global interference it wasn't turned into nuclear war. However, the problem of trust exists between them but regardless of that both the government tries to normalize their relationship every

time. But unfortunately, each time this normalization process is disturbed due to LOC violation, terrorism and Kashmir instability. (Noonari, Noonari, & Shaikh, 2012).

The Kashmir issue is the major cause of conflict between them and because of it they have fought three wars. Other long-established issue between them is terrorism, military tension and water security. However, after the Cold War and specially after 9/11 the nature of conflict has changed between them. Before the end of Cold War, the more focus was on territorial disputes and after Cold War they have made terrorism and violence as a focus of attention (Jauhari, 2013).

And today now again their foreign relations are very disturbing and challenging. India's current strategy to gain international status and compete with new emerging global powers faces huge threats from Pakistan. The biggest threat India believes that Pakistan is creating for its global ambition is its military expansion. As Islamabad is expanding its nuclear arsenals and developing more new nuclear equipment to deter Indian military expansion. In response to the India-US civilian nuclear deal Pakistan has decided to enlarge its military equipment and missile (Lavoy, 2008).

For this purpose, many new military arsenals and missiles are incorporated by Pakistan which are extremely potential and India specific. The Ballistic Missiles of Pakistan like Ghauri and Shaheen have the capacity to attack the Indian cities. Islamabad is also seeking to progress a multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV) holding various warheads on a single missile and can hit the several targets across a broad area. Apart from it, it is also trying to launch Art cruise missile which has the capability to carry out the second-strike capability in a nuclear warfare (Noonari, Noonari, & Shaikh, 2012). The other Ballistic Missile which is developed by Pakistan to obstruct the Indian technology is Nasr. It is an Indian specific missile and can used to deter

Indian troops and missiles. The analyst believes that this missile is used to contain India's cold start doctrine which is about to harm and damage the Pakistan military (Ahmed, 2014).

The other area where Pakistan is creating hurdles for India is the dynamic relationship between China and Pakistan. In the early years of its independence, India had good and close relations with China, it had also advocated China's membership in UNSC. However, their relationships were interrupted by the territorial dispute which led to a major war between India and China. Therefore, Pakistan improved its relation with China to get its support and assistance in Kashmir dispute. China always helps Pakistan in military, political and economic problems. Therefore, New Delhi considers both as a serious threat for its hegemonic aspiration. As China is expanding its sphere of influence in South Asia via Silk Road strategy which will further expand Pakistan economic growth and development (Jacob, 2015).

Moreover, the development of Gwadar port in Pakistan through the help of China is a serious challenge for India. As it will boost Pakistan economy and allow China to access the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and Central Asian resources. Many Indian political analysts believe that Gwadar is a strategy to contain emerging India's influence (Sengupta, 2010). This port will also decrease the distance between Central Asia and Pakistan, as a result, Pakistan can easily access the rich resources of Central Asia region (Siddique, 2014).

Thus, Pakistan influence will expand in Central Asia which will harm India's interest in this resource-rich region. Apart from it, the military collaboration between China and Pakistan partnership is also posing a serious challenge for India. In response to India-US nuclear deal Pakistan has also decided to seek help from China for military and nuclear expansion. China is providing huge military arsenals and assistance to Pakistan which is destabilizing India's security environment (Ramana, 2011). From 1990's onwards China is helping Pakistan in the development

of its nuclear arsenals and weapons. As in 1990's US had slapped number of sanctions on Pakistan nuclear program and rejected to give F-16 jets to it. In this hour of need China helped Pakistan and become its close ally. And even now China is helping Pakistan in its nuclear and missile program which is threatening India's security (Noonari, Noonari, & Shaikh, 2012).

Furthermore, China-Pakistan nuclear deal has also created great concerns for the security of India. It has helped Islamabad in the progress of JF-17 thunder jets and assisted in the build out of nuclear power plants to sort out the energy issues. The purpose of all this expansion is to make Islamabad strong and to show the world that its position is quite impressive and powerful. Because of this cooperation, Beijing has also decided to help Pakistan in the development of chashma 3 and chashma 4. Although this nuclear cooperation faces huge criticism hut instead of that they both are enlarging their military and economic relations (Bukhari & Attiq-ur-Rehman, 2011). India' stance is that this agreement will breach the international conventional related to the exchange of nuclear arsenals and weapons. This agreement shows China's emerging influence in the world politics and the aspiration of both China and Pakistan to contain India's influence and dominance in the region (Lal, 2010).

Apart from it, the other threat in its way to quest a great power status is terrorism and terrorist activities. Although India is facing terrorism and violence from decades but in last some years especially after 9/11, these terrorist organizations and radical Islamic groups have increased drastically. Among them the most prominent terrorist organizations are Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar e Taiba which are involved in insurgency, violence and killing of innocents in India. These separatist and extremist groups are also operating in Kashmir, considered as the grave concern for the territorial security of India. The later was involved in major attacks in Indian state such as the attack on Indian parliament in 2001, 2008 Mumbai attacks and large scale attacks on Indian army

and civilians. New Delhi blames that Islamabad is involved in supporting these terrorist activities and their networks (Goswami, 2013).

In 2008, many terrorist activities occurred in India, resulted in the killing of hundreds of innocent peoples. India believes that these terrorist organizations are sponsored and funded by a foreign country. These acts of terrorism have worried Indian government and its security institutions and stressed them to initiate a more planned strategy against the terrorists (Lal, 2010). However, the most destructive province by terrorism is Jammu and Kashmir. Because of these terrorist attacks on Indian commercial areas and major cities, its international image has been damaged. Thus, these terrorist and separatist activities are the biggest threat to India to become a global power (Goswami, 2013).

It does not end here New Delhi's quest for a permanent seat in UNSC to hold global influence also faces strong opposition from Islamabad. The UNSC permanent seat is considered as the most influential organ of UN. As the permanent member of security council are vested with veto power through which P5 dominates the world politics. India is also aspiring to get this membership to dominate international affairs and to resolve Kashmir dispute in its favor. Because of this very reason, Pakistan has strong disagreements and reservations from India's side. Pakistan believes that if India would get this seat it would minimize its role at international level and will also use veto power in Kashmir case against Pakistan. Pakistan believes that the India's demand of UNSC expansion is selfish, illogical and partial. Therefore, Islamabad is creating many hurdles for India in UNSC. For this purpose, The Uniting for Consensus (UFC) group is established by Pakistan along with 12 other countries. The purpose of this group has put an end to the expansion of the UNSC permanent membership (Okhovat., 2011).

This group actively participating and campaigning against G4 demand. Therefore, to quest this great membership India not only faces opposition from Russia and China but also faces strong obstacles from Pakistan. New Delhi's quest and struggle towards great global influence is strongly challenged by Islamabad but this doesn't mean that it is unable to resolve these issues and threats. It is working hard and trying to gather international support to isolate and obstruct the challenges posed by Pakistan. With the cooperation of US, India is making huge threats for Pakistan's military expansion and economic development. Thus, India is incorporating different strategies to eliminate the challenges posed by Pakistan which is in return creating serious and far-reaching implications and challenges for Pakistan's future (Zurich, 2010).

4.2 India's global influence quest: A challenge for Pakistan

Per Realists, the state can only survive through security and power. It is the main component through which state can maintain its stability and protect itself from internal and external aggression. As concern to Pakistan, the issue of national security is the main challenge it faces. The internal instability and external challenges are badly hitting its peace process and stability. The internal issues which Pakistan is facing are corruption, lawlessness, instability, undemocratic institutions, poor economy and terrorism. As far to external challenges, the immediate neighborhood is a major threat to its national security (Sarwar, 2011).

Pakistan foreign relations with Afghanistan, Iran and India are creating huge problems for its national security and state stability. Moreover, the 9/11 incident, changed the whole security situation of Pakistan. As due to this now Islamabad internal and external situation is very disturbing and poor. Many other states are also trying their best to weaken its security and stability through different activities. The role of security agencies of Blackwater, CIA and RAW is very negative and alarming. These agencies are doing their best to disturb the security environment and territorial

integrity of Pakistan. Fata and Baluchistan are the major victims of these obstructive activities. These agencies have made their strong bases there and creating insurgency and instability in the state. Among all these issues the scariest one which is damaging Pakistan's stability is India's disturbing role. The relationship between both the countries is alarming since independence but in the 21st century, it became more threatening and insoluble. Moreover, the desire of India to quest global expansion and influence has been threatening the national security and integrity of Pakistan (Hamid, 2015).

As Islamabad believes that New Delhi's rise would eventually create a serious setback for Pakistan. As the strategies opted by India for its global rise are creating huge troubles and challenges for Pakistan. India's foreign policy either in South Asia or around the globe is creating serious reservations for Pakistan's foreign relations. India is expanding its sphere of influence in Iran, Afghanistan, South East Asia, Central Asia, Africa and the US to quest global influence. The major concern of India's rise is that it will make difficult for Pakistan to sort out Kashmir issue, water crisis and to balance the power system in South Asia. Like, India if get major position internationally that would affect Pakistan's position and, moreover, it would undoubtedly resolve the Kashmir issue on its own will. Even now India under the leadership of Modi is trying its best to isolate Pakistan at international level and trying to declare it as a terrorist and failed state. Therefore, Pakistan is facing huge challenges and threats from India's emergence and its global influence. The major concern for the national security and for Pakistan's stability is India-US relation and India's quest for a permanent seat in UNSC. Both these strategies are considered as the major threat for Islamabad's future (Sarwar, 2011).

Pakistan has deep reservations from the Indian aspiration of a permanent seat in Security Council as it has put severe pressure on its economy and security. It is questing for this membership from

many decades and now some analysts believe that it is near to achieve this seat. And in future, if New Delhi acquires this seat it would create serious challenges for Islamabad (Sarwar, 2011)

The major obstacle Islamabad can face is in the resolution of Kashmir issue. Both India and Pakistan are entangled in Kashmir dispute for more than Five decades. Pakistan recognized Kashmir as the most important organ of it and urges to resolve the issue on Security Council resolution. On the other hand, India also recognized its integral part and called it a territorial issue (Cheema, 2015).

Islamabad believes that if the UNSC will be expanded and India get its permanent membership it can reject any proposal regarding Kashmir issue. It will get the position to sort out Kashmir disputes on its own terms like it can hand most of Kashmir territory to itself and little part to Islamabad. With veto power and huge military strength, it will capable to influence decision making process regarding Kashmir in UNSC. If it occurs, it will create unlimited problems for Pakistan as geographically and economically Kashmir is very significant for it (Sarwar, 2011).

Not only will this, but security environment of the Islamabad also pays huge if Kashmir becomes New Delhi's part. As Islamabad, would become enclosed and surrounded. The other major problem Pakistan would face from UNSC expansion is a water issue. It has a fear that New Delhi, would cut off the water supply as the three main rivers come in Pakistan from Kashmir river. Furthermore, it would create a huge issue for Pakistan agriculture base economy. As its agriculture relies on the water that comes from these rivers in Sindh and Punjab. Hence Pakistan has a fear that India can control over the river water which would create huge water crisis for it (Cheema, 2015).

Apart from it, the veto power is used by P5 to dominate international affairs. They use this power for their own national interest rather than international peace and stability. Moreover, India is a

nuclear country with huge arsenals and equipment's so it can threat Pakistan militarily through this veto power to quest its global interest in UNSC.

It's not only the Kashmir territory which could be snatched from Pakistan but also it fears of loss of Siachen and Sir Creek areas. The Siachen glacier is very important geo-strategically for both Pakistan and India as lies where the line of control ends between Islamabad and New Delhi. Since 1984, it is a major issue between both states when the Indian troops captured the area by defeating Pakistan (Ramachandran, 2016).

For Pakistan, it is important as it is situated near Chinese region, Aksai Chin. Thus, through it, India can separate Pakistan and China's link and get access to Central Asia (Singh S. , 2016). Still, now New Delhi and Islamabad has deployed their arms troops in the area. Thus because of this ongoing tussle, Islamabad has a deep reservation that New Delhi might be in future influence and dominate the Siachen after becoming a permanent member of UNSC. It has a concern that if India will get this glacier it would be a huge strategic achievement from it. It would be able to expand its influence in the region and restricts the freedom movement between Gilgit-Baltistan and Aksai Chin. Moreover, New Delhi's presence nearby Karakorum highway and Aksai Chin would harm trade between Pakistan and China. Apart from it, the region is also abundant in natural resources such as minerals and oil. As concern to the glacier, it has a huge storage of water which can be used to resolve water crisis. Hence, if India will get the chance to capture, it would be a great strategic defeat for Pakistan and Pakistan would lose a resources-rich area (Kharb, 2014).

Other than this, if New Delhi gets permanent membership of UNSC it would also affect the Sir Creek area as well. It is also considered as a major bone of contention between both the states. This area is recognized as the economic hub of both New Delhi and Islamabad. It is situated

between the India's state of Gujrat and Pakistan's Sindh province. The importance of the area is that it opens into the Arabian Sea and has rich gas and oil resources (Joseph, 2016).

Both the states claim that they have legal right to access the area. Many negotiations were held to sort out this issue but it couldn't resolve. Many analysts believe that if India will get the membership of UNSC it would try to sort out this issue in its own favor. It would be economically a major defeat for Pakistan to lose such an economically potential area of Sindh (Khan D. M., 2013).

In addition, it would also use the Security Council platform to create hurdles for Pakistan nationally and internationally. It has the power to exclude any draft which is against its national interest. As a natural enemy of Pakistan, there is no doubt that it would use the Security Council platform to weaken Pakistan's position internationally and isolate it. And it would also try to manipulate Pakistan's foreign relations with major powers. Through veto power, it would reject any proposal which is in favor of Islamabad and would try its best to harm Pakistan image and status internationally as much as possible (Sarwar, 2011). Moreover, New Delhi would also get the chance to harm Islamabad's economy as well. Just as by getting a permanent seat it says in world financial regimes would increase. (Khan D. M., 2013).

Thus, it can easily influence International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and prevent them stop giving aid to Pakistan. Hence, Pakistan whose economy is already weak and unstable would face issues to get aid from these global regimes (Sarwar, 2011). Thus, Pakistan should make some sophisticated strategy to counter the challenges which India is posing for its survival and security otherwise, Islamabad would pay huge.

Not only this India's Security Council membership quest is threatening Pakistan's security but also the India-US partnership. Both India and US are expanding their relations for economic, military

and political purposes; which has been disturbed the security environment of Islamabad. Through this partnership, New Delhi's role and influence has been increased in South Asia and all over the world. Pakistan stance on this partnership is crucial as it believes that it has interrupted Pakistan-US relations and helped India to acquire global influence (Hussain D. M., 2011).

Due to this India-US partnership, Pakistan's position in foreign relation has decreased and it has also lost US support on Kashmir and other issues between India and Pakistan. This New Delhi's strategy to seek a global sphere of influence through US cooperation has put Pakistan back in US foreign policy. As now Islamabad is recognized as the diplomatic ally of US on the other hand, India is recognized as its necessary ally. Moreover, it has also damaged US-Pakistan defense cooperation which is essential for Islamabad to contain New Delhi's military potential and supremacy (Bukhari, 2011).

Many analysts believe that the strategic and defense cooperation between US and India would breach the balance of power in South Asia which would create huge conflicts and nuclear threat in the region. The hegemonic design of India's foreign policy is creating security threats for Pakistan. The major obstacle for Islamabad is the future of outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan. As if New Delhi achieved this status than it would difficult for Islamabad to resolve the Kashmir issue and water issue on its own terms (Hussain D. M., 2011). Through the support of sole superpower United States, it is quite easy for India to gain its favor in Kashmir issue. However, still US doesn't support India's stance on Kashmir issue but might be in future it will get it. As US and Pakistan relations are now not so strong and impressive so it seems easy for India in future to gain US support on outstanding issues between India and Pakistan. Pakistan wants US support in the resolution of Kashmir issue but it believes that US unconditional support towards

India making difficult to resolve Kashmir issue which will lead to nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan (Kumar & Kalis, 2015).

Thus, this partnership has created unlimited hurdles for Pakistan within the region and outside. Especially, after 2005, US foreign policy has changed in South Asia region; it has favored India in regional affairs rather than Pakistan. US is also supporting and helping India in its quest for great global influence (Khan Z. A., 2013). US wants to make India a strong country to contain rising China and especially to make India a strong military state in South (Kumar & Kalis, 2015). Apart from it, the civil nuclear deal between India and US has added more fuel to the fire. This agreement has created fear and security threats in South Asia. All the regional countries, especially Pakistan have great apprehension and insecurity from this deal as it would create arm conflict and regional instability (Khan Z. A., 2013).

Pakistan also wants to sign a homogeneous nuclear agreement with US but it could not happen. Islamabad has a doubt that New Delhi may turn its civilian nuclear program into nuclear arms. As by this deal, India is making a struggle to enhance its military equipment and intelligence sharing to demolish or eliminate huge targets (Kumar & Kalis, 2015). These nuclear weapons can demolish Pakistan's nuclear technology and strategic resources. (Khan Z. A., 2013). The major reservations of Pakistan are the development of India's missile system. It is aspiring to acquire the Anti-Theater Ballistic Missile (ATBM) defense shield which would further snatch Islamabad's strike capability. (Ahmad, 2014).

The basic purpose of its missile systems is to equalize the nuclear air strike by its enemies, especially from Pakistan and China. Moreover, the enlargement of India's anti- ballistic missile system breaks the balance of power in the South Asia region and disturb Islamabad's missile defense potential. Hence India's huge development and enlargement of its nuclear arsenals,

equipment, ballistic missiles and aircraft have stressed Pakistan to increase its nuclear capability to balance the nuclear power in the region (Kumar & Kalis, 2015). Moreover, India has purchased civilian nuclear technology and nuclear weapons from US and US has allowed India to create nuclear arsenals and fissile material (Hussain D. M., 2011).

The critical factor of this partnership is that New Delhi has acquired counter-force capability which is used to attack opponents' nuclear facilities and equipment's (Kumar & Kalis, 2015). Moreover, through this deal, India has recognized as a major nuclear power and envisage the consigning of Indian air crafts, without the consent of UNO, in US-led interventions and operations across the globe (Khan Z. A., 2013). All this stressed Islamabad to increase its military capability to secure itself from aggression and nuclear threats (Bukhari, 2011).

This strategic partnership has proved very harmful for Pakistan's security and for its integrity. By this relationship, India is trying to seek hegemonic power in South Asia and to seek influence in world politics. It has weakened Islamabad position in South Asia and affects its relationship with other major powers. Because of this partnership, New Delhi's sphere of influence is increasing day by day in every region. Just as the presence of India in the reorganization of Afghanistan also fears Pakistan for its security. Islamabad believes that New Delhi intelligence agencies are operating in Afghanistan to create insurgency in Baluchistan. New Delhi uses Afghan land to disturb security environment of Baluchistan and of whole Pakistan (Hussain D. M., 2011). Moreover, US is also enhancing India's presence in Kabul which would create security risks for Pakistan (Bukhari, 2011). Washington considers New Delhi as the only doorway to dominate South Asian politics so it is enhancing its role in the region. US is encouraging India's role in Kabul and might be in future it would allow India to hold its military presence in Kabul (Ahmad, 2014).

Not only Kabul but both India and US are also incorporating in Central Asia and the Indian Ocean to dominate South Asia. They want to access the resources-rich region Central Asia and want to contain China influence in the Indian Ocean. Thus, this military, political and strategic partnership is creating huge hazards for Pakistan's security. As by these engagements, Pakistan's role in South Asia is decreasing and on the other hand, it is creating security threats for it in Baluchistan and other unstable areas.

All this scenario is very alarming and dangerous for Pakistan as if the present situations continues it will break the balance system in the region. Just as, both India and Pakistan relations are not so strong they are continuously creating hurdles for each other. And in this tough period, the US-India defense expansion is quite threatening for Pakistan. As if this situation remains same than the region might witness low-level nuclear war. Because of the great game of major powers, the region might have to pay huge. Moreover, India's global expansion would affect Pakistan's security and would isolate Pakistan from the international community.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

Although many developing states are trying to expand their sphere of influence in the world politics, but the effort made by India in this regard is quite impressive. It is trying, since its independence, to seek a major position in world affairs. To quest this dream, Indian leadership has always opted planned and calculated strategies. From Nehru to Indira Gandhi, from Rajiv to Narasimha Rao and from Manmohan to Modi, all these state heads struggle hard to expand New Delhi's influence and power in global politics. The policies of these leaders might differ from each other but the ultimate objective is always same which is power, dominance, monopoly and influence. The basic purpose of this ambition is to hold major position in world affairs, dominate international politics and create its hegemony in South Asian region.

There is no doubt that India is powerful state in South Asia and working hard to enlarge its influence in the world politics. Because of this very reason, it is expanding its both soft and hard power capabilities. It is enhancing its economy, modernizing its army and expanding its diplomatic relations. From North to South and from East to West, it is expanding its sphere of influence to project its power and influence. New Delhi thinks that at international level there is a monopoly of developed countries on global politics and these states dominate world affairs and rule over the other poor states. Thus, to balance the power structure at international level, it is increasing its military strength and economic growth. As India believes that in this power politics it is obliged on it to enlarge its economy, military and foreign relations. The major desire of New Delhi is to change the international system from unipolar to multipolar to delimit the power of developed states. India's major enemy at international and regional level is China who has a major influence

on world affairs. Because of Beijing, many times New Delhi faces huge issues at regional and international level. Just like, it is unable to get the membership of many regimes such as UNSC and NSG because of the opposition of China.

Not only China is a major threat to India's global rise but many other regional and developing states are also creating hurdles for it. Hence, to restrict their influence and power, New Delhi is aspiring for major power status. For this reason, it is opting different strategies and policies at regional and international level. Like, to make India a leading power, it is expanding its foreign relations and engaging with almost every region. For economic development and growth, it is engaging with South East Asia and for military purposes, expanding its relations with US and Israel. To discover new markets and possess rich resources, it is expanding its foreign relations with Central Asia and Iran. It wants to acquire energy resources in Central Asia and Iran to sort out its energy issues.

Apart from it, for security and stability in South Asia and to access Central Asian resources, it is expanding its relations with Afghanistan. India wants to hold its influence in Kabul to restrict Islamabad's influence and to project its power in South Asian region. Not only it is enhancing its foreign relations but also actively participating in international and regional organizations and seeking for their membership. It is part of many important international organizations such as BRICS, IBSA and SARAC. New Delhi considers that these organizations are a good platform to expand its state's influence.

The road does not end here, the most overwhelming strategies opted by India to expand its global influence are India's relations with US and the quest for permanent seat in UNSC. New Delhi believes that strong relations with Washington will be a great success for its security, economy and military. The purpose of this India-US strategic relationship is quite gigantic. One of the major

purpose is to expand relationship with sole superpower US to recognize as a major state by it. And the other important reason is to counter China's rise and influence at regional and international level. As India considers China as a biggest obstacle in its rise and power. To counter its influence, New Delhi is engaging with US in Indian Ocean, South China Sea and South Asia.

Apart from it, it also wants US cooperation and support in its quest to seek permanent membership of NSG and UNSC. These organizations have important role in shaping world affairs so New Delhi is questing for their memberships. India is also familiar with US influence in Afghanistan so to gain Kabul support against Islamabad it is trying to acquire good and strong partnership with Afghanistan. And last but not the least, India wants to make itself South Asian military strong country to counter threats from Pakistan and China. Both Islamabad and Beijing are a major threat to India's security and integrity.

Thus, New Delhi wants to enhance and expand its nuclear arsenal and weapons to balance the power system in South Asia region. These all are the main reason of US-India strategic partnership. On the other hand, to seek global influence it is also seeking permanent seat in UNSC. Security Council is considered as the one of most significant organ of United Nations. This United Nations organ has a vast impact on global politics. And apart from it, the other thing which makes it an influential organ is its Veto power. Through this veto power, P5 can cancel any proposal or issue which is against their will. Many developing states are familiar with the importance of veto power in world affairs.

Thus, they are questing to gain its membership to dominate global politics. Among these developing countries India is also questing to seek this UNSC seat. To quest this membership, India has created G4 alliance consist of Brazil, India, Germany and Japan, all are questing for

permanent membership. Their basic aim is to expand the membership of UNSC from five to ten. India is working hard to represent its stance in UN.

Apart from it, it has also worked for the UN peacekeeping mission and have a strong commitment to humanitarian works. India is making every effort to seek this permanent seat to gain multiple objectives. The main reason for this quest is to hold veto power to dominate international and regional issues. It wants to influence global politics and spread its sphere of influence in international regimes. As by having this seat, it would be recognized as an emerging major power. Moreover, India wants to sort out issues through this membership which are threatening to its influence. Like, in South Asian region it is entangled in many issues with Pakistan such as Kashmir, Siachen and water.

Thus, it wants to sort out these issues and specially Kashmir through the command of this veto power. It would use this platform to protect its national interest and to pressurize Islamabad. Not only Pakistan is a major threat to rising India but also China is a gigantic risk for it. And China is a part of UNSC so to compete with China, India is trying to opt this membership. But the story doesn't end here as if you make struggle to achieve something you must pay for it. Hence, to achieve this global influence, New Delhi is facing serious threats within and outside the region. Many states are creating unlimited hazards for it. But the two most threatening enemy of India's rise are Pakistan and China. They are against of India's global influence as it will threat their security and stability.

Thus, both are competing in their own way to contain India's rise. Although China-India equation is difficult but they both are trying to sort out their issues. But as concern to Pakistan-India their relationships seem difficult to resolve as both have rigid behavior and attitude. Both consider each other as a threat to their security and instability. The major area of conflict is Kashmir issue,

Siachen, Sir Creek and military modernization. Because of these issues, they are in conflict since ages. Even today they are entangled in deadlocks, LOC violation and security issues. Apart from it, the stability and progress of one state is acknowledged by other as a threat and a major risk for it. Like, India's rise is recognized as a threat for Pakistan and Pakistan's progress is a challenge for India's interest.

Thus, one success is other's challenge and failure. Hence, India faces huge challenges from Pakistan to expand its global influence as India's rise would create huge security issues for Islamabad. Thus, Pakistan is creating huge challenges for India's rise and emergence through different strategies. Pakistan to contain India's rise is cooperating with China to counterbalance India-US strategic partnership. They are cooperating in economy and military fields and working effortlessly to open Gwadar port as soon as possible. It is also collaborating with Russia for military and defense purposes. It is also creating hurdles for India to seek permanent membership through the group called UFC.

The other major problem which is threatening India's rise is Kashmir insurgency and terrorism. New Delhi blames Pakistan for insurgency and terrorism in the country which has disturbed the normalization process between them. Indian leadership says that until Pakistan stops these terrorist activities in India their relationships can't be continued. On the other hand, Islamabad negates New Delhi's blame as these terrorist activities are sponsored by them.

Both states are not ready to resolve the matter through negotiations, which is damaging their national interest, therefore it would be difficult for India to attain global influence. As if it doesn't sort out its issue with Pakistan specially regarding Kashmir how can it be eligible to get permanent seat in UNSC. It will also create security and nuclear war threats for it which would eventually slow down its path towards rising. As it if will engage in South Asian region than it would be

difficult to get the major power status. And moreover, a country which is indulged in regional conflicts and wars, can't be able to expand its influence in world. And on the other hand, Pakistan will also have to pay huge. It is already facing several issues within the country. Although it has started operation against Taliban but still they are posing threats to it. It also wants to stable itself regionally and internationally but until its relations with India would not become good it is unable to achieve security and stability. As New Delhi is creating hurdles for Pakistan in Baluchistan and enhancing its military arsenals which are daunting its peace and stability. Thus, Islamabad should make strong strategies to overcome these threats.

5.1 Recommendations for Pakistan:

- Pakistan should take some serious steps to improve relations with India through dialogue, negotiation and new initiatives.
- It should seek a proper solution to all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan.
- Islamabad should analyze the cost and benefit of India's engagements across the globe on its national interest and security and then address it with proper and clear foreign policy.
- It should formulate more effective policies to protect the state from external aggression.
- Pakistan should focus on social, political and economic development and growth of the country to make it strong and independent country.
- There is a need to reduce trust-deficit with the superpower US for the security and stability of the country.
- It should layout an effective policy to present its stance and reservations on UNSC reformation.

- It should improve its international image by eradicating terrorists and terrorist organization. Security and stability are the main tools through which it can improve its position at the global level.

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