INDIA’S LOOK EAST POLICY: CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS FOR PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The article focuses on India’s emerging trajectory of foreign policy under Narendra Modi’s premiership and its moves to evolve closer relations with the eastern economic powers, especially Australia and Japan and its implications for Pakistan. India and Pakistan, the immediate neighbours, are locked into an incessant rivalry since their inception. The change of political rule or a policy schema in either country brings profound implications for the regional competitive environment. This paper seeks to identify the patterns and processes which are likely to be altered in Indian Foreign Policy under Modi and possible responses from Pakistan. The theoretical conception of cognitive interconnectedness of ideas and actions has been used to explain this new trend in the Indian foreign policy.

Introduction

The India-Pakistan relations are a haunting tale since their inceptive years more ostensibly in the realm of mutual antagonism and the character of animosity in which they are embedded. The construct of the relations and mutual suspicion which take over the discourse, these bilateral relations can be exhaustively interpreted in the framework of contained instrumentalism which kept the communitarian differentiation intact based on the character of identity.

The interconnectedness in the mutual relations of India and Pakistan has made these polities largely proportional to one another. The eventuality in respect of one brings profound implications for the other. India’s threat spectrum and its immediate neighbours are contradictory to one another. India envisages cross border terrorism and external manoeuvring as a major threat as far as the frame of internal security is
concerned. Whereas, on contrary, Pakistan largely identifies internal security threat as the existential one and more fundamentally suspects India’s involvement in it. Pakistan ruling elites’ preferences in concordance to India are quite evident

- Pakistan government led by Nawaz Sharif intends to boost economic relations and trade ties with India
- Pakistan aspires to move ahead with the regional integration as the beneficiary of India’s rampant economic growth
- Pakistan wants a process of political normalization with India to avoid tragedies like Mumbai and Samjhota.

On the contrary, Narendra Modi, the prime minister of India represents a mind-set of Hindu nationalist and a non-accommodative behaviour towards Pakistan at large. His anti-Pakistan sentiments, which he repeatedly reiterated in his election campaigns, speaks volume of the animosity in the relations and dealing towards Pakistan.

Ways are not convenient for Pakistan. An oppositional and ferocious response awaits Pakistan in its bilateral relations with India. India’s intransigency and furious reactionism is likely to remain prevalent. The foreign policy relations in South Asia particularly India-Pakistan, largely termed as sub-continental security, is by far the least complex and most accessible. In an anarchic setting with struggle of power and maximization of material capabilities, especially the military kind is of utmost concern. The asymmetry in military capabilities has been leading to a security dilemma, resulting in an outgrowth of military build-ups.

**India’s Electoral Process: Rise of Bharatya Janta Party (BJP) in Power**

It is quite pertinent to narrate that Hindu nationalism of BJP with extreme centrist right ideology, in its first tenure, could not crank out the anticipated outcomes rather proved to be a disaster. A deliberate attempt to alter and modify the
character of national identity through forced Hindutva, religious projectionism, Babri Masjid fiasco and amendments in syllabi counterfeited. Since 1991, the Janta culture in India has been on demise. The public acceptance and the Janta narrative were on verge of decline. This two decades’ surge is something worth intriguing and raised a question why was Congress defeated and orthodoxy and conventionalism triumphed?

Nehruvan model of Indian democracy is fundamentally based on democracy but Indian secularism is based on majoritarianism. The will of majority precedes and dominates. Indian secularism is dual faced when it comes to the case of criminal prosecutions. It has been substantiated with the exoneration of Modi in the case of Gujrat massacre. At centre, secularism operates superficially but at the state level the Hinduization takes the lead. How Modi moves ahead with the culmination of Hindu identity and the Indian secularism, will be having far lasting imprints on Indian polity in coming years.

While elucidating the cognitive structure of Indian Elite in the formulation of foreign policy, it appears that ideology no longer plays an important role. India has become rational and pragmatist in pursuing its national goals, the core of them being to preserve the country’s pluralistic democracy, protect its territorial unity and integrity, sustain and expand its economic and industrial growth by fully utilizing the opportunities of economic reforms and globalization. The BJP’s foreign policy is an amalgamation of ferocious Hindu nationalism and rationalist pursuit of policy choices.

India, a committed status-quo country, aspires to play its role at global level. Indian elite takes into account its unique geographical position, ancient history, natural resources, democracy and culture and is yearning for a conducive and supportive global environment which could pacify India’s global aspirations. India longs for a stable neighbourhood, that a prosperous and stable India needs to be at peace with itself and its neighbours need not to be emphasized, for a
troubled neighbourhood not only limits India’s global ambitions but also jeopardizes its internal security.

**BJP’s Foreign Policy and Divergences from Congressional Rhetoric**

Bharatya Janta Party (BJP) is perceived as a party on communal basis seeking to eliminate the secular characterization of the Indian polity in which state and society coexist. Political Hinduism and Indian Muslims’ Ritualism are often projected as absolute identities contradictory to one another. Multiple identities communitarian caste based and some with regional outlook exist in India and compete to preserve their identities and traditions. The BJP as furious proponent of Hindutva seeks to dominate the value systems and traditions based on majoritarianism.7

Political Hinduism8 is extremely impactful on the contours of national politics in India. An attempt is based on majoritarian culture and to remove the secularism from the equation of liberal democracy with Hindu nationalism having replaced Indian nationalism. The notion and construct of Hindutva and its everlasting imprints on the spectrum of Indian politics can be shrugged aside.9

Congressional rhetoric, since the inception of India, has been Liberal democracy + Composite Culture + Indian secularism. *Bharatya Jana Sang* and Janta Culture are counter rhetoric to the Congressional composite culture and their rhetoric is Liberal Democracy + Hindutva + Majoritarianism.10 BJP is the extension of Janta culture and is primarily obsessed with Hindutva doctrine. Democracy is a defining parameter in India’s foreign policy.11

When it comes to the foreign policy doctrines of both the mainstream parties, Congress believes in the externalization of the relations with systemic variables more in focus and takes a global manifestation of the foreign policy processes. BJP on the other hand, internalizes the foreign policy variables and believes more in the channelization of domestic
variables. That’s why war mongering, war hysteria, and war mania at the home are very likely to happen when a crisis situation occurs in BJP’s tenure. The fervent border escalations with the immediate neighbour can also be explained in the given framework.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Modi’s Redefined Foreign Policy}

India’s Look East Policy is not a new policy. It was developed during the tenure of Prime Minister Narsima Rao and successor governments of Vajpayee and Manmohan also pursued this policy.\textsuperscript{13} Under this policy, India intends to build cumulative security, economic and strategic ties with Southeast Asian Nations to bolster its status as a regional power. Modi’s East mantra is not a new phenomenon but he has re-asserted and redefined it by focusing on Australia and Japan as potential allies.

At the domestic level, Modi is focused on the Delhi-Bombay corridor; and at the regional level, Modi wishes to develop relations with Bangladesh, Myanmar and the Far East. Additionally, the overtone of Modi’s eastward push is strategic; it is meant to prove India’s relevance in any anti-China collation with the United States to balance off China in South China Sea and invite American capital investment and sophisticated technology to provide India with a semblance of a power equal to China. In this regard, the Australian apprehensions about the growing Indian naval strength around its seas should also be noted because it will be an opportunity for Pakistan to counterbalance the Indian naval superiority.

\textbf{Modi’s East Mantra: From Look East to Act East}

A number of key bilateral and multilateral engagements are the clear manifestations of India’s diplomatic push for economic cooperation towards the East. Narendra Modi has moved one step ahead by developing “Act East Policy” in order to illustrate the recent diplomatic expeditions into the South East Asia and Australia.\textsuperscript{14}
By shifting the India’s Asia policy from “Look East” to “Act East”, Prime Minister Narendra Modi indicated that he would be more focused and proactive in the region than his predecessors. From the very beginning of its tenure, he has been actively involved into this region while deliberately excluding Pakistan from its priority list. Not only in the diplomatic sense but also from the economic and strategic point of view, India is intentionally undermining the cooperative postures towards Pakistan.

In a situation where Pakistan has been kept at the back burner, Pakistan has to design a pragmatic roadmap in order to come up with its own version of look East vision. Pakistan has also embarked upon the policy of Look East yet little is heard about how successful it has been for the state.

India’s Look East Policy: between the Rhetoric and Substance

India’s look East policy can be primarily dubbed as “act East policy”. Given India’s look East policy Modi is fundamentally targeting Australia and Japan where trade, investment, maritime cooperation, security ties and creating linkages at societal level are his focus areas. PM Modi visited Australia after the hiatus of 28 years when PM Rajiv Gandhi went there in 1986. He became the first Indian PM who addressed the Australian parliament.15

India, Australia and Japan had their high level trilateral moot in June 2015. Indian foreign secretary represented India in these talks whereas vice foreign minister of Japan and secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs Australia attended the meeting. The trilateral moot discussed a wide range of issues with maritime security as the top agenda. Cooperation vis-a-vis free navigation in the South China Sea, Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean was also discussed. The greater prospects for economic cooperation were deliberated upon. A joint three nations’ naval exercise is also on the cards.16
India-Australia Relations

Australia and India are sharing history of positive Defence relationship after 2006 when India and Australia signed MOU on Defence cooperation and in 2009, signed a joint declaration on security cooperation. The Defence relationship between Australia and India has grown and includes new forums for strategic dialogue, and a frequent interaction through visits of senior officials. Training exchange programmes and staff talks are also boosting the bilateral relations.

In his visit to Australia while making speech to the parliament of Australia, Modi touched on all important aspects of bilateral relations between India and Australia with the spin of regional and global political and strategic setting. He stated that Australia was not in the periphery of their vision; it was in the center of their thought. With Australia, Modi signed five agreements on social security, arts and culture, combating narcotics trade, tourism and transfer of sentenced prisoners.

The current trade between India and Australia stands at 15 billion dollars which is much below the potential agreed by both the leaders. In 2012, in a meeting between the then Indian PM Manmohan Singh and Australian PM Julia Gillard, it was committed to enhance bilateral trade to 100 billion dollars by 2015. Both the countries are working to finalise a free trade deal by the end of next year. The aspiration and decision was also prompted by a comprehensive trade deal signed between Modi and Jinping during the visit whereby 95 percent of Australian exports would go to Chinese market with zero tariff.

Modi’s Make in India

Modi’s mantra “Make in India” can be complemented with “Spend in India.” From building toilets to smart cities, he invites investment from the potential investors. Demand, development and demographics are the key drivers for
investing in India. 800 million people are below the age of 35 which presents a rosy scenario for cheap and skilled labour-an attractive message to the investors. Though power development index is still a major problem and poverty still haunts India to the large extent.

Modi said that opportunities existed for Australians in different sectors including energy, agriculture, infrastructure, food, finance, manufacturing processing, technology and mining. He urged providing finances, resources, technology and expertise to working partners and investors. Modi claimed that overall trade ties between the two countries would be grounded in familiar democratic framework.

Security and Strategic Aspects

India and Australia earlier concluded a strategic pact in 2009 but considering the lukewarm follow up this time, they decided to upgrade the strategic ties. A Framework for Security Cooperation was signed between the two leaders. Action plan to lend weight to the framework has also been established. As per the plan:

- Annual summit and foreign policy exchanges and coordination
- Defence policy planning and coordination
- Counter-terrorism and other transnational crimes
- Border protection, coast guard, and customs
- Disarmament, non-proliferation, civil nuclear energy and maritime security
- Disaster management and peacekeeping
- Cooperation in regional and multilateral fora

Counter-terrorism figured prominently in Modi’s engagement with the Australian leadership. He underlined the need and importance to work at regional and global level to form a strategy to counter the global threat of violence.
Maritime Cooperation

Modi intends to build close naval partnership with Australia. Knowing the reach and significance of Australia in terms of its maritime potential, he is seeking cooperation in this regard. “The oceans are our lifelines. But, we worry about its access and security in our part of the world more than ever before,”

The security dimension is again at the core of maritime cooperation with an aim to counter piracy, securing sea-lanes and harnessing the economic potential of the marine resources. Maritime security has also been included in the framework for security cooperation, marking its importance to advance the bilateral ties as well as regional security complex.

Civil Nuclear Deal

India wants Australia to expedite the civil nuclear deal so that uranium can be imported by India. Building a case for uranium import from Australia after the agreement, Modi confidently stated that the deal would give Australia an opportunity to be the part of one of the safest and secure nuclear energy programme. The assertion was aimed at Abbott who earlier minced no words that the nuclear deal would be finalized if all goes well and with suitable safeguards in place. Australians want to ensure what any deal with India would be in line with their commitment for cleaner energy.

Nuclear commerce and trade is an important issue in Indian foreign policy ever since the Civil Nuclear Pact was concluded with the US in 2008. India was treated as nuclear pariah due to its status as non-NPT member having incurred restrictions by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). India could not engage by any means in nuclear trade; be it a military or civilian purpose. However, India got NSG waiver along with an additional IAEA protocol and the amendment of the US domestic laws relating to regulation of nuclear commerce. India started being treated as an exception to the rules and regimes of global non-proliferation and all that was
made possible to facilitate the Indo-US nuclear deal (2008) which otherwise was not in coming.22

Following the Indo-US nuclear deal, India became eligible to engage in nuclear commerce not only with the US, but all other countries possessing nuclear technology and signatories of NPT at the same time. Following this breakthrough, India has signed nuclear deals with Russia, Kazakhstan, France, UK, Argentina, Namibia, South Korea, Canada and Mongolia. The Indo-US nuclear deal which in fact is the deal between India and NSG members, allowed India to expand its nuclear complex for civilian purposes whereas sparing its military facilities from IAEA scrutiny.23

Australia is interested in selling civilian nuclear technology to India. Even the US gave a rationale while concluding the agreement with India that it would benefit the former economically creating 27 thousand jobs annually and bringing 1 billion dollars to the national kitty. India is aware of untapped potential to expand nuclear commercial links with countries which are willing to trade with it. In this connection, PM Modi made it a point during his visit to Japan to accelerate the stalled talks on the issue. The visit of Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot to India in September 2014 brought dividends to India as both have agreed to cement the ties with nuclear trade topping the agenda.

India and Australia started negotiating on uranium sales in 2012 right after Australia lifted a long-time ban on exporting the uranium ore to Delhi to meet its ambitious and high capability nuclear energy programme.24 Australia, the third largest uranium producer, had previously declined such exports to India amid India’s non signatory status of the non-proliferation treaty. This is where the nuclear deal with the US came handy for India paving the path for vetting the appetite to augment its civilian nuclear programme. Australia aims to sell 10 thousand tons of yellow cake/uranium by 2017. The ambition fits well with the Indian efforts to import nuclear energy for civilian purposes what they term as peaceful and for power generation.
India argues that, as a fast-rising economy, it needs nuclear energy to keep pace with its emerging profile. According to the World Bank, 400 million people in India are without electricity. India insists to accumulate nuclear energy to meet its electricity demands with a view to lighting-up villages in its nooks and crannies. India hence, successfully puts a humanitarian spin on its desire to optimize its civilian nuclear capability. The agreement will allow India to add 20 small plants in operation at present. Moreover, it will lessen India’s reliance on coal and make a shift to more environment-friendly nuclear energy for power generation.

**India-Japan Relations: From Economics to Nuclear Cooperation**

Given the priority of nations, civil nuclear cooperation is an important aspect of Japan-India bilateral relations and is expected to be on the top of agenda list for the prosperity of two nations as defined by their policy makers. Both the nations intend to continue the use of civil nuclear power, having recognized its risks. Japan’s nuclear policy had been a hurdle while negotiating with India, Turkey, South Africa and other nations on civil nuclear agreements; so most of the deliberations went inconclusive.\(^\text{25}\)

With the rollover of new century, the peaceful persuasion of nuclear power got recognized as one of the workable and effective measures to combat global warming and to surge economic growth. The Great East Japan Earthquake in May 2011 and the unfortunate occurrence of Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant triggered new rounds of discussion and deliberation on the risks and threats of civil nuclear power, not primarily in Japan but also in many countries. \(^\text{26}\)

As indicated by the media reports, arrangements are being continued and basic assentation was arrived at with Turkey in March 2012. India-Japan mutual ties have extended in areas of vital concerns including security and economic ties. India-Japan collaboration in the trading of nuclear technology has high potential for development. India is searching for different
avenues to measure up the expanding demand to support its economic development. Japan has developed into a country with high nuclear sophistication and the conjunction of these two variables is taking the India-Japan relationship forward. Both the nations have focused on the requirement for controlling the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs).

In December 2001, in a joint statement, heads of both the governments had consented to work as partners against non-proliferation and to take some serious measures in the export of dual used, sensitive and cautious technology. The nuclear issue has two angles, to be specific, the interest for abandoning nuclear weapons and crafting a mechanism for the peaceful use of nuclear technology.  

Japan is very precise to the issues of nuclear proliferation and public opinion is concerned about the issues of nuclear proliferation of any form. Despite the fact that Japan is now at understandable level of India's position and history of use of nuclear energy for non-military and civilian purposes. India-Japan ties went under severe turmoil after India's 1998 atomic tests at Pokhran. Japan deferred all its monetary help to the then on-going ventures. The move was perceived in India as Japan's hyper response and absence of comprehension of India's impulses. Political relations consistently enhanced from 2001 onwards. In the field of conceivable participation in the areas of common interest between India and Japan, divergences do exist.

Amid his visit to India in December 2009, Hatoyama had insinuated the likelihood of Japan beginning to export nuclear supplies and other high tech technology in his discussion with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The Japanese government and in addition the general population appears befuddled on what stance Japan ought to bring with respect to nuclear cooperation with India. While there is no sharp rift in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) or the decision Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) that would debilitate a part in either party on the issue, the DPJ ends up amidst characterizing a
course that would not forsake Japan’s expressed strategy on nuclear disarmament. Meantime, encouraging nuclear exports with India. In spite of the fact that still wary, Japan recognizes India’s strategic significance. There is more appreciation in Japan that peaceful use of nuclear technology would help India battle with global warming.

The two nations had their first round of discussions on 28 June 2010 went for fixing a respective civilian nuclear cooperation agreement. Under this agreement, Japan would export nuclear innovation and related gear to India while barring India from utilizing them for military and strategic purposes or proliferation them to any other nation. In particular, Japan needs to cooperate with India, for the reasons mentioned below:

- The political orientation of this cooperation
- The India’s drive to deal with energy scarcity
- The increasing threat of global warming;
- The promotion and enhancement of cooperation in science and technology
- The contribution of Japanese exporters involved in nuclear power.²⁸

Japan is one of the few well equipped advanced producers of nuclear power reactors. If Japan relaxes its policy and consents to cooperate with India, the nuclear market itself will unleash growth potential in a decade around $100–150 billion.²⁹ This is a huge attraction for Japan to reconsider its position soon.

Consortium of 13 Japanese companies joined hands on 22 October 2010 to establish International Nuclear Energy Development of Japan Co. Ltd. (JINED), headquartered in Tokyo, to commence and engage in activities that may lead to the proposals supporting nuclear power projects in the emerging countries.³⁰

Pakistan and Japan share a history of long relations. Japan is the second major donor to Pakistan after United States.
Realising this fact, India under Modi’s government, is trying to craft a sustainable roadmap of relations with Japan. This is a fact that no visible change in the bilateral ties has occurred yet. The nuclear agreement is yet to be reached, and the cooperation on the US-2 is only a dream for the distant future. In Japan nowadays, not much attention is paid on the negotiations between the two counties. The Japanese business circle might have expected a “miracle” at the initial stage of Modi government, but no substantial development has occurred.

**Modi’s Policy: Myth and Reality**

Since Modi got elected as the Prime Minister, there had been much hue and cry across the globe. Modi was presented as a messiah. His personal attributes and his charisma were the most debated topics in national and international press. The reality after one and a half year in the government presents a very different picture.

Modi’s policy revolves around more rhetoric than substance. He is aggressively pursuing the options but nothing substantive has been achieved or reached out yet. Admittedly, Asia’s new geopolitics revolves around India, Japan and Australia but Modi, though is pushing for the strategic framework in the indo-pacific with considerable currency, but the only success in this regard is the trilateral dialogue.

Modi at home, is facing some serious challenges in meeting the promises, he made during his election campaign. There had been a drastic decline in his popularity at home. Corruption still remains India’s biggest predicament. BJP lost elections in Kashmir and was defeated at the hands of Aam Admi Party in the state elections of Delhi. Modi phenomenon in India is slightly fizzling out.
Pakistan in the Matrix: Lessons and Recommendations

The policy by Narendra Modi towards the East marked by a number of key bilateral and multilateral engagements is the manifestation of diplomatic push towards the unexplored continent. The strategic and security considerations are also weighed in to the desired extent. Engagement with NRIs and the domestic audience of the host countries are also on the front burner. The cosmetics of the diplomatic niceties however, should not cause the onlookers to overplay the downside of the broad engagement by Modi.

Pakistan has to confront and respond to the challenges posed by Indian designs and manoeuvres. The policy dispensation of BJP would have a direct implications for Pakistan. Keeping a checkmate on India’s moves is vital. Strategic countering is necessary but economic restructuring of the country is direly needed. Modi is inviting foreign companies and corporations to invest in the sectors of energy and human development. Pakistan should also conceive and chalk out a comprehensive plan to rehab economy, foreign investment and regional trade.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): A Possible Antidote

It is important to note that trade is always linked with security. It can reduce antagonism and aggravate rivalry at the same time. CPEC can prove to be both. However, India’s look East policy clearly depicts that India will not only have access to capital investments and technology from the developed world but also acquire a strategic backyard to assert its hegemony in South Asia. CPEC will increase China’s stakes in the region. The economy-led security apparatus will lure China into saving its interests in Pakistan, thus reducing the power imbalance created by Modi’s Look East policy.

Pakistan can facilitate and contribute to the regional trade. Pakistan’s relations with the Islamic world can prove pivotal
in revitalizing the importance of its strategic location. It can also become the central point in any kind of future free-trade agreement among the Muslim countries. Pakistan-China Economic Corridor provides Pakistan with an opportunity to assert the importance of its strategic location, especially vis-à-vis Persian Gulf.

In addition to providing China with a short route, Pakistan can also facilitate other countries for transit trade with Central Asia. Pakistan’s growing relations with SCO countries will benefit the member states to use Gwadar for their trade. Once the member states start trading through Pakistan, strategic importance of the latter is likely to increase.

Economic Corridor is not only aiming at building massive road infrastructure but also wants to develop telecommunications and energy infrastructure. A comprehensive analysis needs to be made of the economic prospects regarding this economic route. This massive investment plan of China in Pakistan will make Pakistan a regional economic hub and would further boost the bilateral ties between China and Pakistan. CPEC can be termed as game changer and the fate changer in the region. Chinese are not just only offering Pakistan a massive infrastructure but are making Pakistan a key partner in this grand economic ambitions that relate to the proposed 21st century Silk Route initiative. The corridor would enable China’s access to the Indian Ocean lead to the massive investments, and help easing out power shortages that are obstructing economic growth of Pakistan. Corridor will connect significant economic agents along predefined geography. It will connect economic hubs and certain landscapes where substantial economic resources and actors are concentrated.

Conclusion

If the Indian moves succeed, it will be the first time after independence that India would become geo-strategically relevant to the international politics. In that case, India will not only have access to direct capital investments and
technology from the developed world, but also acquire a strategic backyard to assert its hegemony in a more aggressive manner in South Asia.

Pakistan has to craft a realistic roadmap to follow its own version of “Look East vision.” In reaction to Indian moves, countries located in East can be engaged. Pakistan needs to counter India by emphasizing its own strategic position especially in the Indian Ocean, its Islamic linkages and the economic opportunities that could result by contacts with Central Asia, South West Asia and beyond. Instead of being reactive in approach, Pakistan should be proactive in policies. A foreign policy white paper in the wake of current regional dynamics focusing on look East vision can be the first step in this direction. The white paper can identify key interest areas, viable measures to secure these interests and find Pakistan’s relevance in the political, commercial and strategic configuration of the region. Matching India move to move is definitely not viable, but Pakistan can make its presence felt in countries where India is making big inroads.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor is a game changer. It will connect Pakistan with the emerging Central Asian economies, Pakistan, an inroad to the new silk route, will increase the significance of Pakistan as a key regional player. Pakistan can make a multilateral foreign policy that could reassert its position. Pakistan can further improve its relations with Russia, though in this regard, both the countries recently have signed a landmark defence deal for the purchase of MI-35 helicopters. Optimization of pragmatic foreign policy choices and decisions in the wake of changing regional scenario is much needed to counter the proactive Modi mantra.

Notes

1 Contained instrumentalism is a theory that explains the manipulation of identity variable and its instrumental usage to solidify the identity differences.
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4 Nehruvan State is a phrase used by the researchers and academics to describe the early years of Indian polity when Nehru was Indian Prime Minister from 1947-64.
5 Mujeeb Afzal, Ibid
6 Mujeeb Afzal, Ibid
7 Ibid, Mujeeb Afzal, 225.
8 Political Hinduism is a philosophy that believes in the manifestation and accentuation of Hindutva doctrine and believes that the superiority of Hinduism lies in the vedic era.
10 Majoritarianism is usually associated with the Hindutva philosophy of Hindu nationalists that presumes the definition of Indian political processes to be based on the definition of majority i.e Hindus.
11 S.D. Muni, India’s Foreign Policy The Democracy Dimension, Cambridge University Press Limited India, 2009.
12 See Also Aparna Pande, Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: Escaping India (Routledge: Contemporary South Asia Series, 2011)
16 PM Narendra Modi’s address to the Australian Parliament, *The Indian Express*, November 18, 2014.  


17 India, Australia agree on new security cooperation framework, *India Tribune*, November 18, 2014.  

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21 Modi’s Speech, Ibid

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