

## Visions and Missions of Foreign Visits: Exploring Modi Doctrine in USA

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### Abstract

Modi was sworn in as the Prime Minister of India on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2014 after a landslide victory in 2014 general election to Lok Sabha. His foreign policy has been called ‘Modi Doctrine’. The main element of Modi doctrine was his back to back foreign visits for several reasons. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs calls this action as ‘Fast Track Diplomacy’. As on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2018, Modi has landed over ninety times in foreign Airports. He has covered almost all parts of the world with multiple visits often to the same country. He has landed five times in USA, Russia and China. Four times in Nepal and Germany, three times in Singapore and France and couple of landings in Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan, UK, UAE, Malaysia, South Africa, Afghanistan and Switzerland. Foreign visits and bilateral meetings carried out by Prime Ministers are not very uncommon and it has been a part of track 1 diplomacy always, whereas Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been investing a huge amount of time and efforts particularly on foreign visits. It is evident from Prime Minister’s engagements outside India that his primary target is to raise the volume of ‘Foreign Direct Investment’ by improving relationships with governments, business communities and Diaspora. He has made a tremendous attempt to spread the essence of ‘Yoga’ as a culture of India and utilised it as a soft power to connect with people outside. This paper is an attempt to study the engagements of Narendra Modi during his five visits to USA as the Prime Minister of India from 2014 to 2017. This paper is divided into three sections. The first section deals purely with Narendra Modi’s engagements in USA, second section deals with the analysis of Narendra Modi’s engagements in USA and the third section is the conclusion of the study.

**KEYWORDS:** Modi Doctrine, Bilateral Meetings, Diplomacy, Business Community, Diaspora, Soft Power, Trade, Foreign Direct investment

The United States of America is considered as the world leader in civilisation, Science and Technology, Education, Health care, Defence and for almost all aspects of life in the World. Current world is considered as multi polar however practically it is US centric in many respects. India has been dependent on the USA for several reasons from post-independence. American Multi-National Companies have strong roots round the globe even before the global economic liberalisation of 1980s. Several American corporate giants have heavily invested in India mainly in industries such as Information Technology, Automobile, Pharmaceuticals etc. American quality standards have been recognised as the global bench mark even from early ages of Industrialisation. It is evident that Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s consecutive visits to USA over the last few years is targeting the heavy flow of investments from American corporate to various sectors and industries in India, which will result in creation of new job opportunities, rise of foreign exchange reserve, development of infrastructure, industrialisation and improvement in life style. Modi has mentioned several times in his speeches at multiple locations that his aim is to make India a global manufacturing hub with global quality standards and improve the quality of living standard of all. He has also noted that India’s wealth is its young and skilled

manpower and the greatest challenge of his government is to productively utilise this population for the development of the nation.

The Indo-US relationship impaired when Indian economic growth slugged down in 2012 and 2013, cutting foreign direct investment, as the congress led UPA government was bogged by corruption allegations and failed to implement promised reforms in retail, insurance, energy and infrastructure sectors. The UPA government injudiciously imposed discriminatory taxes on foreign investors and enacted protectionist measures. A series of Indo-US trade disputes took centre stage, disappointing the political and military ties that had been the catalyst of the growing partnership and preventing the two countries in cooperating for new economic agreements. Prime Minister Narendra Modi never made any comments on his earlier US visa denial issue moreover he was happy to choose USA on top of his list of travel after USA restored his Visa. Modi's interest to tighten the relationship with USA has created a unique opportunity for Obama to reciprocate and it was evident from Obama's presence as the chief guest for Republic day parade in New Delhi on January 26<sup>th</sup> 2015, accepting the invitation from Modi. Obama and Modi had no other choice than to rebuild their economic ties brick by brick. (Burns, 2014)

Narendra Modi is often described as India's Deng Xiaoping. He is expected to lead India towards the path of economic reforms and development. Modi has tried to engage with India's neighbours to strengthen the regional ties: simultaneously, he has engaged with great powers. Modi received a grand welcome by the huge Indian expatriate community during his first visit to USA in 2014. He has electrified the audiences at Madison Square Garden, the United Nations General Assembly etc. This was the start of a successful relationship with Obama administration. (Tandon, 2016)

Below is the brief summary of Modi's visit to USA from 2014 to 2019.

SN	Year	Country	City	Dates	Purpose
1	2014	USA	New York City, Washington	26-30 September	General debate of the United Nations General Assembly
2	2015	USA	New York City, San Francisco	24-30 September	United Nations General Assembly and Official visit to Silicon valley.
3	2016	USA	Washington	31 March-1 April	Nuclear Security Summit
4	2016	USA	Washington	6-8 June	State visit
5	2017	USA	Washington	25-26 June	State visit

(Narendra Modi - Timeline)

### **First Visit to USA in September 2014**

Modi landed at New York on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2014 for his five days maiden visit to USA as Prime Minister of India. Modi started his day in USA by writing in an Op-Ed piece "Unleashing India's Energy and Drive" in the Wall Street Journal where Modi mentioned that "India and USA have a fundamental stake in each other's success for the sake of our values and our many shared interests". Modi's first meeting was with New York Mayor Bill de Blasio during which the issues related to large cities, threats of terror, policing, public housing and crowd management in the events like "Kumbhmela" were discussed. Following the meeting with New York Mayor, Modi made his maiden speech at UN general assembly where he said that India desires for world peace and Harmony. Modi added that India is ready for peace settlement talks with Pakistan. Modi also spoke about Yoga in UNGA. He said that Yoga is a valuable tradition of ancient Indian tradition and it embodies peace of mind, thought and action. He added that Yoga is a holistic approach to health and well being. Modi met Jewish group in New York where he told that India is proud that it is acknowledged by all Jewish people that they were integral part of the Indian society for 2,000 years and never suffered discrimination. Modi addressed the Indian community at the Madison Square Garden in the heart of Manhattan city. At least twenty thousand people gathered in the indoor stadium where he explained the formula of 3D, Democracy and demographic dividend, will help India to grow faster. Modi noted that 65 percent of India's population is under 35 years, and it is a potential resource for the country. Modi stated that "There is no reason to be disappointed. India will progress very fast and the skills of our youth will take India ahead. The 21<sup>st</sup> Century will be that of India. By 2020, only India will be in a position to provide work force to the world". Modi spoke about the success of India's indigenous project of sending unmanned spacecraft to Mars, Mangalyaan. He noted that India achieved it with a smaller budget than a Hollywood movie. Modi announced that Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) cardholders will get lifetime Indian visa and also American tourists will get visa on arrival. He also announced the merger of PIO and Overseas Citizens of India schemes to facilitate hassle-free travel to the Indian Diaspora. He added that the instruction to PIO card holders staying in India on long-term basis, to report to the local police station will be discarded. Modi held fruitful breakfast meeting with Top American CEOs of Fortune 500 companies<sup>1</sup>. Modi highlighted about investment opportunities in India and urged the CEO's to explore further in Indian market. Modi met former US President Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary Clinton and held talks. Modi made an address at Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) where he said that the relationship between India and USA are similar to that of a husband and wife. He added that even if the relationship were not smooth always, there is a long-term bond existing between both the nations. Modi finally met US President Barack Obama at a

<sup>1</sup> American multinational investment management firm Blackrock CEO Laurence D Fink, Boeing CEO James McNerney, KKR CEO Henry Kravis, IBM CEO Virginia Rometty , General Electric CEO Jeffrey R. Immelt , Goldman Sachs Chairman Lloyd Blankfein , Google CEO Larry Page, Carlyle Group CEO David M Rubenstein , Citigroup CEO Michael L Corba, Caterpillar CEO Doug Oberhelman , Cargill group CEO David W MacLenna , PepsiCo CEO IndraNooyi , Merck CEO Kenneth C Frazier, MasterCard CEO Ajaypal Singh Banga , AES Corporation CEO Andres Gluski , Warburg Pincus CEO Charles R. Kaye, Hospira CEO Micheal Ball etc were the prominent personalities among them.

working dinner. Modi gifted a 'Gita by Gandhi' in Khadi cover and audio-video clips from the 1959 India visit of Martin Luther King, to President Obama. Modi said to Obama that America was an integral part of India's 'Look East, Link west' policy. Both leaders agreed to improve the economic relations between the two nations and discussed on a host of issues including trade, terrorism etc. An article co-authored by Narendra Modi and Barack Obama titled 'A renewed US-India partnership for the 21<sup>st</sup> century' has been published in The Washington Post on the following day of Modi-Obama bilateral meeting. Modi also met defence secretary Chuck Hagel and Maryland Governor Micheal O' Malley. Modi attended an event organised by US Indian Business Council (USIBC) where he highlighted about India's potential to become a global manufacturing hub. Modi invited Obama and his family to visit India. Modi also visited the 9/11 Memorial in New York and the Gandhi Statue in Washington DC before leaving for India after his first US visit as Indian Prime Minister. (DNA, 2014) (The Economic Times, 2014) (The Wall Street Journal, 2014)

### **Second Visit to USA in September 2015**

Narendra Modi reached America for second time as Indian Prime Minister on 24<sup>th</sup> September 2015. The main agenda of the visit was to attend United Nations General Assembly and an official visit to Silicon Valley. Modi landed at John F Kennedy airport in New York. Modi addressed the general assembly at United Nations. At UNGA, Modi spoke about using renewable energy sources and cutting carbon emission to defend the global climate change. Modi met Bhutan Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay and President of Republic of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades at the sidelines of the general assembly meeting. Modi hosted a special G4 Summit in USA with German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Japanese PM Shinzo Abe and Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff where he discussed regarding global challenges. Modi headed to California to meet CEOs from media, technology, communication and entertainment industries. Modi was received by the Mayor of San Jose, Sam Liccardo and his wife. Modi took a tour in Tesla Motors in Palo Alto, California. Tesla Motors is a leading electric car manufacturer. He also met Apple CEO Tim Cook in San Jose, California. Modi invited Apple to set up a manufacturing base in India. Modi attended the Digital India dinner in San Jose along with Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella, Adobe CEO John Chambers, Google CEO Sundar Pichai, Qualcomm Chairman Paul E Jacobs etc. Sundar Pichai commented that "India is the fastest growing start up nation in the world. Google is proud of what's happening in India". Modi said at the event that Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc are the new neighbourhoods of our new world. Modi added that "We must ensure that technology is accessible, affordable, and adds values". Modi visited Facebook headquarters in Menlo Park, California. He was received by CEO Mark Zuckerberg and COO Sheryl Sandberg. Modi held a one to one meeting with Mark Zuckerberg and also attended an interaction session after that. Modi wrote 'Ahimsa Paramo Dharma', 'Satyamev Jayate' and 'Vande Mataram' at the visitors' book in Facebook headquarters. Modi visited the Google campus in Silicon Valley. Google offered to install WIFI hotspot device in 500 railway stations in India. Modi met the US Secretary of Energy, Ernest Moniz. He attended a meeting on renewable energy hosted by Sanford University. He also attended the India-US Start-Up Konnect at Fairmount Hotel in San Jose. Modi addressed the Indian community at SAP Center in San Jose. Around 18500 people gathered there. Modi started his speech by saying that "Today is 27<sup>th</sup> of September here. In India, it's 28<sup>th</sup> September. This is the birth anniversary of India's brave son Shaheed Bhagat Singh. I salute him. May he always

be remembered". Modi spoke about the history of Indo-US relationship. He announced a direct Air India flight from Delhi to San Francisco thrice a week starting from 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015. Modi headed back to New York to rejoin the UN General Assembly summit where he held meetings with British Prime Minister David Cameron and French President Francois Hollande on the sidelines of the summit. Modi held bilateral meeting with US President Barack Obama at UN head quarters in New York. Obama commented that this was an opportunity to define Common Principles between India and US. Modi noted that India and US can do a lot for achieving the sustainable development goals. Modi attended the UN Peace Summit where he noted that Indian Army is one of the largest volunteer in the World history to the UN peace keeping force. In his last few engagements in New York, Modi met Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto. (NDTV, 2015)

### **Third Visit to USA in March 2016**

Prime Minister Narendra Modi reached Washington for two days program on 31<sup>st</sup> March 2016 to attend the 4<sup>th</sup> Nuclear Security Summit (NSS). Modi was received at the Andrews Air Force Base Washington by US Ambassador to India Mr Richard Verma and Indian Ambassador to the US Mr Arun Singh. The NSS was hosted by American President Barack Obama. 53 nations and 4 international organisations such as the European Union, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Interpol, and the UN participated in the summit. On the first day, Modi held bilateral meeting with the Prime Minister of New Zealand Mr John Key. Both leaders deliberated on strengthening bilateral relationship. Modi met the Indian community in Washington. He visited the Laser Interferometer Gravitational-wave Observatory (LIGO) and interacted with the scientists there. He witnessed the Exchange of LIGO project agreement between Department of Atomic Energy and National Science Foundation. Following that, Modi arrived at the White House to attend the Nuclear Security Summit dinner hosted by US President Barack Obama. Modi started his speech by appreciating the US President Barack Obama for his sincere service to global security. Modi said that we need to focus on three contemporary features of terrorism such as Violence, technology and involvement of State actors. Modi noted that Terrorism is globally networked but states still act only nationally to counter this threat. Modi asked the nations to drop the notion that "terrorism is someone else's problem and that "his" terrorist is not "my" terrorist." Modi concluded his intervention at Nuclear Security Summit 2016 by saying, "this legacy of President Obama must endure." (India Today, 2016)(Singh, 2016)

### **Fourth Visit to USA in June 2016**

Prime Minister Narendra Modi reached Washington D.C. for a three-day bilateral visit on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2018. Modi landed at the Andrews base in Washington. Modi was received at the airport by US ambassador to India Richard Verma and assistant secretary of state for south and central Asia Nisha Biswal. Modi began with a visit to Arlington National Cemetery to pay tributes. He laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the Space Shuttle Columbia, in the memory of Kalpana Chawla. Astronaut Sunita Williams and family members of late Kalpana Chawla was also present at the occasion. Later, he attended a ceremony for Repatriation of Cultural Property. United States returned to India over 200 stolen cultural artefacts. These are considered to be more than 2000 years old and worth over 100 million US dollars. Speaking at the event at Blair house for the return of stolen artefacts to India,

Modi said that in the last two years various countries have endeavoured to return India's stolen cultural heritage. Modi added that India is grateful to the United States and President Barack Obama for returning these treasures to India which joins us to our past. Items returned included religious statues, bronzes, terra-cotta pieces, a statue of Saint Manikkavichavakar (A poet from the Chola period, circa 850 AD to 1250 AD, stolen from the Sivan Temple in Chennai) etc. US Attorney General Loretta E Lynch attended the function. Modi rushed to meet the representatives of prominent US Think-Tanks<sup>2</sup>. The aim of the meeting was to understand how Think-Tanks see global trends, the challenges and what US and India could do together for the world. Modi addressed the 40<sup>th</sup> Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the USIBC (US India Business Council) and met business leaders from US. Modi delivered a long speech highlighting the investment opportunities in India. He noted that India is a reliable partner and a source of high quality scientific, engineering and managerial talent. Modi mentioned that a very unique feature of the Indo-US relationship is the critical role of the Indian community in the US economy. He also stated that the measures took by government of India to improve the Ease of Doing Business has brought in positive results. Modi highlighted about 'Make in India' initiative and noted that a transformation process has already started in India. He invited the business community to join the journey of India's transformation. Modi told the business community that this journey will definitely offer exciting possibility of not only building a better balance sheet for the company, but of building a better India, building a better America, and building a better world. Modi ended by commenting that India will soon become a human resource powerhouse of the world with a young hard-working population. Modi met Obama and other senior officials and discussed a host of bilateral issues that needed to be expedited from both sides. Modi and Obama released a joint statement, outlining the main bilateral deliverables of this state visit which includes cooperation in defence, cyber security, financial aid, clean energy, climate change, terrorism, tourism, sustainable development, trade etc. Both leaders applauded the enhanced military cooperation between the two countries especially in joint exercises, training and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR). They expressed their desire to explore agreements which would facilitate further expansion of bilateral defence cooperation in practical ways. The visit gave way for finalization of the text of the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA). Obama agreed to support India's Make in India Initiative and expand the co-production and co-development of technologies under the Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI). Obama thanked Modi for his government's support for the defence POW/MIA Accounting Agency (DPAA) missions in India, including a recovery mission that resulted in the recent repatriation of remains of the United States Service Members missing since the Second World War. Modi addressed the joint session of the US Congress and he became the fifth Indian Prime Minister to do so. Modi was invited to Capitol Hill by House of Representatives Speaker Paul Ryan. He touched on issues ranging from climate change to terrorism, defence and security cooperation to trade and economic relationship. Modi deliberated on shared values between India and US and he also spoke about Yoga as the unique culture of India. Modi noted the contributions of US-India community to both Indian economy and US

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<sup>2</sup>. The think-tanks that were represented at the meeting were Brookings Institute, Council on Foreign Relations, Centre for American Progress, Atlantic Council, Hudson Institute, Centre for National Interest, Global Energy Capital, Carnegie Endowment, Asia Group, Pew Research Centre, the US Institute of Peace and Foundation for Defence of Democracies.

economy and he compared the similarities and cultural ties between both the countries. Modi urged for an enhanced and continued cooperation between both nations for achieving sustainable development in both nations. He focused mainly on global transformation that can be achieved if India and US work together. Modi also noted India's support to Afghanistan in building infrastructure there. Modi noted that US is India's largest trading partner and he requested US to come forward to counter terrorism and other global challenges. (The Economic Times, 2016) (Soni, 2016) (The Times of India, 2016) (NarendraModi.in, 2016) (NDTV, 2016) (The Indian Express, 2016)

### **Fifth Visit to USA in June 2017**

Narendra Modi reached Washington DC for the fifth time as Prime Minister of India on 25<sup>th</sup> June 2017. Modi started his day with a roundtable meeting with 20 top American CEOs<sup>3</sup>. Modi explained that government of India has made 7000 reforms for improving ease of doing business in the country by utilising the principle of "Minimum government, maximum governance." Modi emphasised on government's insistence on efficiency, transparency, growth and benefit for all. Modi noted that whole world is looking at Indian Economy due to the factors such as young population, cheap raw materials, rising middle class etc. These factors are generating interest from global players in the fields such as manufacturing, trade and commerce. Modi mentioned that India is seeking global partnerships to achieve its goals. He highlighted about the initiatives such as Digital India, Make in India, Start-Up India etc. Modi interacted with the Indian community in Washington DC. He noted that Indian Diaspora rejoiced whenever there was good news from India, and wanted India to scale newer heights. He appreciated the role played by the Indian community in the American economy. Modi said that people in India are now getting opportunities and the right environment. He expressed confidence that soon, they would transform the country. Modi spoke about the role of technology in reducing corruption and also he expressed his confidence that through technology-driven governance, a modern India is being created. He added that when appropriate policies and governance are in place, the aspirations of the people of India can be achieved. Modi met US Defence Secretary James Mattis and held talks on boosting defence partnership. Senior Indian officials, including National Security Advisor Ajit Doval were also present at the meeting. Modi also met US secretary of state Rex Tillerson and held talks on a wide range of issues to strengthen the Indo-US relationship. Then came the most awaited meeting between Modi and newly elected President of United States, Mr Donald J Trump. Modi was received by Trump and his wife Melania at the White House. Trump hosted a working dinner at the White House. The two leaders deliberated on a wide range of bilateral and international issues. Making a brief address to the media, Prime Minister Modi thanked President Trump and the First Lady for the warm welcome. President Trump said that it was a great honour to welcome the leader of the world's largest democracy and the meeting would make the ties between both countries stronger. President Trump also appreciated people, culture, heritage and traditions of India. He added that "India and USA will always be together in friendship and respect". Addressing a joint press statement at the Rose Garden of the White House, Trump said that "You have a true friend in the White House...our ties have never been stronger and better". Trump also said that "Modi invited my daughter

<sup>3</sup> The CEOs at the roundtable included Apple's Tim Cook, Google CEO SundarPichai, Microsoft's SatyaNadella, Jeff Bezos of Amazon, John Chambers from Cisco etc.

Ivanka to lead US delegation to the global entrepreneurship in India, and I believe she has accepted". Modi noted that India and US agreed to work closely on boosting maritime trade and cooperation. President Trump stated that both the nations will work towards destroying radical Islamic terrorism. He also said that US is looking forward to export more energy to India as its economy continues to grow. Modi presented President Trump a folio containing an original commemorative postal stamp that had been issued by India in 1965 to mark the death centenary of Abraham Lincoln, the 16<sup>th</sup> President of the United States of America. Modi also gifted a wooden chest with intricate inlay pattern, a specialty of Hoshiarpur in Punjab, to President Trump. For First Lady Melania Trump, Modi presented a hamper from India containing a traditional, handcrafted Himachali silver bracelet, tea and honey from Kangra valley, and hand-woven shawls from Jammu and Kashmir. Modi invited President Trump and his family to India. Delegation level talks were also held between India and USA in the cabinet room of the White House. The US side was represented by Vice President Mike Pence, defence secretary James Mattis, secretary of state Rex Tillerson and National Security Adviser Lt Gen. H.R. McMaster. India's National Security Advisor Ajit Doval, foreign secretary S. Jaishankar and the Indian ambassador to the US, Navtej Sarna accompanied Prime Minister Modi for the Indian side. Both sides deliberated on a range of issues to enhance Indo-US partnership in key sectors. (Venkatraman, 2017) (PMINDIA, 2017) (The Economic Times, 2017) (The Indian Express, 2017) (Livemint, 2017)

### **Embracing United States of America**

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visits and engagements in USA is none of a kind. It is evident that the five consecutive visits from 2014 to 2017 have brought in a great amount of synergy between both the governments and business communities. The activities done by Modi in USA reveals that he wanted to promote Yoga, wanted to connect more with Indian Diaspora and acquire investments from them, need to market the young and potential human resource available in India, promote tourism in India, wanted to attract investments from American MNCs and Industrialists, wanted to maintain a good rapport with the Political leaders and gain support for the betterment of relationship etc. Modi has given equal importance in addressing concerns such as climate change, terrorism, promoting use of clean energy and other global challenges.

It is evident that Diaspora was one among Modi's top list of targets while he visited US. Modi urged the Diaspora to contribute their capital, expertise, time and energy to India's growing economy. It was the same message he conveyed at Madison Square Garden in New York City (September 2014), Allphones Arena in Sydney (November 2014), Ricoh Coliseum in Toronto (April 2015) and Wembley Stadium in London (November 2015). Modi believes that many Diaspora members are proud of India's ancient civilization and modern achievements and are looking for opportunities in their home country. Major Indian cities have already benefitted from Diaspora remittances and foreign investment, especially in the information technology (IT) sector and IT-enabled services (ITES) sector. Modi was able to find a resolution to visa related complaints from Indian Diaspora in America. The decision to merge the Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) and Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) cards into a single identity card has given a great relief from complicated Visa procedures. (Mazumdar, 2018)

His engagements with Indian community in USA have become trending news worldwide due to the massive gathering and response from the targeted segment of population. Modi never failed to convey his words of appreciation to the Indian community in USA for their great contribution towards American economy as well as Indian economy. Modi has tried to resolve the visa related issues for Persons of Indian origin if they wish to stay in India for a long term. Modi has also offered Visa on Arrival to American Tourists which will impact the Tourism sector of the country positively. There has been a great acceptance by American CEOs in the roundtables towards Modi's request to explore Indian Market. Modi has always kept his eyes opened towards American investors and Industrialists. He never missed to highlight the government of India's initiatives to improve ease of doing business in India and has elaborated on several occasions regarding his idea of 'Make in India', 'Digital India', 'Start up India' etc. Moreover he has tried to make a personal connect with the American MNCs especially with IT giants from Silicon Valley such as Google, Microsoft, Facebook etc. Another major achievement of Modi's visit to USA was the repatriation of cultural property that was stolen from India which worth over \$100 million. Modi' has conveyed India's gratitude to Obama for his decision to return the artefacts.

Modi has been vociferous about the advantages of Yoga in United Nations General Assembly and also on several other occasions. The 2016 survey by the Yoga Alliance states that there are around 37 million Yoga practitioners in the World. Prime Minister Narendra Modi could productively utilise the worldwide popularity of Yoga. He has clarified on several occasions that Yoga is not a religious practice. Modi has used Yoga for the promotion of India's ancient culture and heritage abroad and this has been a key element in his soft power strategy along with Buddhism. Modi has promoted Yoga as a cultural asset of India and it serves as a bridge between India and practitioners across the world, moreover he could scale up Yoga as one of India's major contributions to the rest of the world. The proposal for "International Day of Yoga" at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in September 2014 is a strong evidence for Modi's soft power strategy through Yoga. The 177 member states of UN including USA, UK, France, Germany, Russia, China, Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia, Nigeria, Iran etc supported the idea of International Day of Yoga, leading the UNGA to declare 21<sup>st</sup> June as International Day of Yoga. This was a remarkable victory for Narendra Modi and his team on the international front. The widespread support received from various countries also demonstrated that Yoga was not simply a Hindu (or Indian) cultural product, but a practice that had helped people achieve physical and mental wellbeing across the world. It was also recognition of India's soft power by the international community. The International Day of Yoga will definitely add to increase India's attractiveness to the world outside and also it enhances India's credential as a rising power. (Mazumdar, 2018)

Modi could make a remarkable personal connect with former and current Presidents of United States such as Bill Clinton, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. He met Obama several times in white house during his tenure and held long bilateral meetings. Modi and Obama covered a host of bilateral and global issues during their discussion. Likewise Modi held fruitful discussion with President Trump in Whitehouse. Modi could gain US support for India in enhancing Trade, defence partnership, Technology, Investments, energy, counter terrorism etc. Modi often maintained gift diplomacy while meeting the heads of nations. His gifts to Obama, Trump and Melanie Trump are a part of it. He has sought US support for countering

Global Climate change as well as promoting clean energy. His visit to Tesla factory in California, which is among the largest manufacturer of electric vehicles, marks his interest in clean energy. Modi called USA for joining International Solar Alliance to promote use of solar energy and cutting carbon output.

After the economic liberalisation policy of 1991, dramatic changes have happened in Indian economy which has made India globally more visible. India's economy has grown rapidly reaching as high as 8 percent of GDP per annum. India has attracted high levels of foreign direct and portfolio investment particularly in information technology sector and the quality standards of products and services have improved to adjoin with global standards. Jobs in India's Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) firms were in news in 2004 presidential election in USA and were much discussed. Major changes in the Indian Diaspora also have enhanced India's visibility in US. The Indo-American community is not only the highest proportion qualified group but also they belong to the group of highest family income in US. The Indo-American community has become one of the most effective foreign policy lobbying groups in US. The US- India Political Action Committee (US- INPAC) has great influence in the US House of Representatives. The Indo-Americans are effective players in US politics and in the making of US foreign policy now. (RUDOLPH & RUDOLPH, 2006)

Modi's visit to United States and his meetings with President Obama in 2014 did not get the extensive mainstream media coverage that it did in India. However the observers expressed optimism about the range of subjects discussed and also noted the overriding and unspoken issues which were not on the active agenda. This visit restored a degree of confidence to a neglected relationship. (Crossette, 2015)

Substantive developments have taken place in Indo-US relations during Modi's fourth visit to USA in June 2016. The agreement of Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) was signed which enables both the nations to use each other's military bases for refuelling and other logistical support. Modi went ahead with this agreement despite the predictable criticisms from the opposition parties at Indian Parliament, about the loss of India's "strategic autonomy". This agreement shows that both countries have moved closer towards security cooperation. India has also signed a ten-year defence cooperation framework for critical weapons acquisitions which includes helicopters, heavy-lift transport aircraft and maritime patrol aircraft. Modi, unlike his predecessors, do not have a considerable ideological reservation about a closer relationship with the United States and this has enabled him to adopt a more pragmatic approach. Moreover this move has brought in a substantive counter mechanism towards rise of China in the region. This has driven Indo-US to expand the range of security cooperation. (Ganguly, 2017)

Unlike other prime ministers of India who granted considerable leverage to the bureaucrats in the Ministry of External Affairs, Modi has adopted a more centralized form of decision-making in India's foreign policy. Modi has given Ajit Doval, National Security Adviser, a reasonable role in making foreign and security policy. He has also maintained a close rapport with Foreign Secretary, Subrahmanyam Jaishankar. Jaishankar, who was supposed to retire from service in January 2017, was granted a one year extension. However the key levers of foreign policy are seems to be held with Prime Minister's Office and not in the Ministry of External Affairs. The centralization of policymaking may have yielded certain advantages to the

regime. Utilizing reliable and trusted aides has enabled Modi to mold a foreign policy filled with a specific vision. The drawback of such a personality-dependent policymaking style is that it may alienate the career of diplomats who may see an attenuation of their formal roles and duties. Modi has been able to get the permanent foreign policy bureaucracy to implement his expansive agenda and he may continue to rely on his set of advisers while continuing to persuade and urge the Foreign Service bureaucracy to implement his policies. (Ganguly, 2017)

The Indian foreign services is inefficient to adequately serve all its international missions due to several reasons and is even incapable of conducting high-level diplomatic exchange. Institutionalising the foreign policy bureaucracy and reducing its dependency on personality-based relationships will aid the bureaucracy in better addressing India's foreign policy needs and goals. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been tirelessly launching new initiatives and strategic partnerships. Though India do not have a good track record of implementing the proposals, it remains to be seen whether Modi can sustain this outburst of energy and follow through on the several deals and treaties signed by him. It is an encouraging sign that Modi has attempted to re-launch several good ideas by his predecessors and this supports the notion that he is going to be India's Deng Xiaoping. (Tandon, 2016)

A foreign policy doctrine is considered as a transparent framework and coherent strategy that acts as a guiding principle in international relations of a state. It is evident that Modi's priorities for India include promoting economic growth and convalescing national security, followed by enhancing India's international profile and stature. Indo-Asian News Service Journalist Mr Arul Louis stated that Modi doctrine has replaced the Nehruvian foreign policy with an open dialogue and engagement policy which focus on democratisation of Indian tradition of 'Vasudevyakutumbakam' (the world is one and hence stands together for loss or gain together). The famous International Relations observer, Professor Amitabh Mattoo commented that those who expected Modi's foreign policy to be a muscular one would have be disappointed. He also noted that the Modi doctrine includes key elements such as - enlightened national interest, stable and economically linked neighbourhood, emphasis on soft power through trade and technology, multi-track alignment Instead of non-alignment. Senior scholar of International relations, Ian Hall states that Modi's foreign policy includes economic development, enhanced regionalism and improved security. Professor Anil Gupta argues that Modi is passionate about economic development and defence and all his international dealings are towards achieving these two goals. He also argues that Modi is not only a politician but also a businessman whose strategy is to make alliances with everybody for different purposes. Scholar Avinandan Choudhary commented that Modi's foreign policy is a 'unique blend of pragmatism and idealistic co-operation as well as gestures' and he calls it as a neorealist approach. Professor Harsh Pant claims that the Modi doctrine is replacing India's long-term foreign policy of non-alignment which was first initiated by Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Professor Pant also stated that the Nehruvian idealism has been replaced by realpolitik thinking among the top brass of the country's administrators. (Tandon, 2016)

### **Strong base has been laid, results awaited and uncertain**

The objectives of foreign policy are of two types, long term and short term. Foreign visits have a crucial role in materialising foreign policy objectives. The

success of foreign policy can only be determined by considering long term achievements and losses. High level foreign visits are medium of foreign transactions. However some aspects are immediate and apparent. Long term aspects like economic gains and strategic gains are more important. The favourable atmosphere created through visits enable a country to be an achiever in the long run. The idiosyncratic features of the leader of the country have a great role in generating favourable atmosphere. This process of developing favourable atmosphere is an important task in determining the success of the foreign policy. How Narendra Modi attempted to do this in India's relations with United States through his visits is important while analysing his foreign policy.

Former American diplomat Mr Nicholas Burns has said that India has not always been an easy or even compatible friend to the United States. He says that during 1980s and 1990s, US Presidents and Secretaries of state struggled to find common grounds with Indian prime ministers. Burns noted that there is a strategic value in the current Indo-US relationship. There has been many positive changes in US relation with India during the Bush and Obama administrations. Both India and US supported the Afghan government against the Taliban, and India values the US military role in Afghanistan. As victims of terrorism, both the countries have become closer on security matters. Defense ties between India and USA will continue to broaden and deepen and both share a common concern regarding China's newly aggressive behaviour in the East China and South China Sea. These shared concerns with India have produced concrete benefits for the United States. China is at the center of the new strategic cooperation between the United States and India. United States and India will stand together to compete China in military power in the region, hence both nations will continue to strengthen security ties so as to balance China's increasing power in Asia. (Boggs & Burns, 2015)

Modi has upgraded India's relationship with US creating new commercial opportunities, securing foreign direct investments and also by attracting American tourists to visit India. The sources of India's soft power include Ayurveda, Bollywood, Buddhism, Cinema, Cricket, Cuisine, Diaspora, Arts, Information Technology and Yoga. Modi has primarily focused on soft power resources such as - Buddhism, Diaspora and Yoga. He could seek US attention to India's soft power resources and project India as a benign rising power. He could successfully reach out to the Business community and Indian Diaspora in US, re-energizing public diplomacy efforts and promoting India as a destination of tourism and investment. (Mazumdar, 2018)

Modi has been using India's soft power assets and tools fruitfully in India's foreign policy. It is notable that his primary objective is to achieve traditional diplomatic goals. The cultural diplomacy (Buddhism and Yoga) and Diaspora diplomacy have been used to complement India's conventional diplomacy and to boost India's international image and also to project India as peaceful rising power. The ultimate aim of these activities is to improve relations with foreign countries and attract investment, technology and tourists in order to promote economic growth and development. (Mazumdar, 2018)

When Modi visited US in June 2016, the US Navy and the Indian Navy agreed to share unclassified information on 'white shipping' in addition to other maritime information, which will give awareness to Indian Navy regarding the

detering vessels used by non-state actors. Both the countries also signed the Information Exchange Annex (IEA) through which aircraft carrier technology data is shared from US Military to Indian Military. This will also boost India's 'Make in India' initiative. As far as Indo-US defence relations are concerned, the transition from Obama administration to Trump presidency has been a consistent one. The Obama administration has laid a firm foundation for its successor to take relations with India forward, by engraving India as a Major Defence Partner (MDP). The Trump administration cleared the sale of 22 unmanned Guardian drones to India in response to an earlier request made by the Indian Navy and also it has successfully overseen the passage of a \$621.5 billion defence policy bill that proposes advancing defence cooperation with India, by the US House of Representatives. The growing Indo-US defence trade and cooperation in various sectors is obviously a sign of geo-strategic shift in Asia against rise of China. Both India and the US share an interest in preventing Asia from being dominated by a single power. (Mishra, 2018)

Modi could fully embrace the US law makers, investors and business community, Diaspora and even the US citizens. Modi could spread the heritage culture of India. He could gain promises and offers from the US business community which may add to India's FDI in the coming years. As Modi envisioned his idea of improving quality of life style of all Indian citizens despite the class, productively utilising the young potential youth, transforming India to a global manufacturing hub etc, the United States have positively reciprocated towards his dreams. Analysing the visits of Narendra Modi to USA as the Prime Minister of India in the last few years, the one short conclusion is that he has paved a strong foundation for making favourable gains from Indo-US relations. However by recognising the general fact that the determination of success of foreign policy can be done only by taking long term results into consideration, the outright declaration of his foreign policy as a grand success is premature.

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