

CHAPTER - VIIISECTION - I

Comparative analysis of Indo-USSR relationship under Nehru, Indira and Rajiv.

Jawaharlal Nehru

The relationship between the two countries did not turn up all on a sudden. Nehru had always advocated against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and simultaneously he was very much fond of socialism. These two factors played a special role in establishing the foundation stone of friendly relationship between India and the Soviet Union. As Nehru had deep love and respect towards the Soviet Union, he appointed his sister Vijoy Laxmi Pandit as the first Indian Ambassador to that Land.

Though the political relationship between the two countries was established functionally on the 13th April, 1947 - the life of which was of much longer period, which Nehru realised out of his own experience. He was deeply moved by the Great socialist October Revolution and in the later period he was very much annoyed with the Nazi attack to the Soviet Land.

Jawaharlal Nehru's interest in international affairs began seriously with his attending the Brussels International Congress against colonial oppression and imperialism in 1927. Nehru's participation in the Brussels Congress no doubt the most important experience of his stay in Europe. He came in touch there with a number of distinguished radical intellectuals and political figures of the world.

It is generally known that Nehru began to take interest in the Soviet Union and ~~xxxx~~ communism after visit to Moscow. On his first visit to the country during the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Great October Socialist revolution. He was accompanied in this trip by his father Motilal, his wife Kamala and sister Krishna. Nehru was greatly impressed by whatever he saw in Moscow and his admiration for the Soviet Union grew immensely. It has now been revealed that even as early as 1919, he proclaimed himself a supporter of socialism and welcomed the victorious socialist revolution in Russia. He set upon himself the task of ~~xxx~~ establishing multilateral relations with Moscow and the close relations between India and the Soviet Union. Nehru was a symbol of the traditional bond between the Indian liberation movement and international progress. Jawaharlal was different from the older generation of Indian national leaders, because his social and political outlook was formed after the victorious October revolution, during a period when the organised struggle of Indian workers, and later of the peasants, was gaining momentum, when socialist ideas grew increasingly popular and when the Indian national liberation movement was becoming a powerful factor. He never supported the opportunists' idea of establishing counteracts with the Nazi regime. He was deeply concerned about the Stalingrad campaign and admired the courage shown by the defenders of that city. He understood that the defeat of the Soviet troops would open the way to the south for the fascists to the Caucasus and to India.

The Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union which was launched in June 1941, only consolidated Nehru's friendship and

solidarity with the Soviet people. He regarded the USSR as the bulwork of anti-Nazi and anti-imperialist forces. In a "confidential" draft resolution which he wrote for the working committee of the congress on December 25, 1991 Nehru condemned the Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union. He also expressed the firm belief in the Soviet Unions ultimate victory, stressing that the Soviet people were fighting for the progress and happiness of the entire human race.

Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution in strengthening and consolidating the many sided facets of friendly cooperation between India and the Soviet Union. Throughout the seventeen years of his stewardship of India's destiny, he worked hard to enlarge the scope of Indo-Soviet friendship with the full cooperation and understanding of the Soviet leadership. There are reasons behind this. The Soviet Union carried out socialist transformation of society for the first time in human history and blazed the path of a new civilisation through heroic sacrifices and countering heavy odds. On the other hand India led the struggle for independence against the most powerful and well entrenched imperialism. The successful outcome of that struggle played an important role in weakening the entire structure of imperialism in Asia and Africa and thus paved the way for the disintegration of the colonial system throughout the world. By bringing these two mainstreams of the world - The socialist mainstream as represented by the Soviet Union and the anti-imperialist mainstream as symbolised by India Jawaharlal Nehru played a memorable role indeed, in the recent history of the world. It is on these firm foundations that Indo-Soviet relations, based on equality

and mutual respect, have been steadily build. When India achieved political independence, the economic front presented a picture of dependence. India had a few consumer industries like cotton textiles, sugar, jute, and very limited base industries like coal, steel and electric power. India did not have anything like a strong industrial base. Private ownership dominated Indian Industry and our foreign trade was largely geared to the western market.

Thus the need of the hour for independent India was to build a strong and independent economy with a powerful industrial sector to strengthen political freedom and make it meaningful for the vast masses of the people by providing them with opportunities for betterment and with employment.

Soviet to India began against the background of dramatic circumstance. India first approached Britain and other western countries for assistance, particularly for the construction of a steel plant. This was denied on the ground that India had taken the wrong path of development. It was said that India did not have resources and technological competence. It was at this time that the Soviet Union agreed to assist India in its industrialisation. Soon, other socialist countries too, joined the Soviet Union in providing assistance to India so that the world socialist community became a factor of utmost importance to India's industrialisation.

However, western aid came with strings. The terms and conditions of western aid were thus more onerous than of the Soviet Union. For instance, the interest charged by the Western countries was invariably higher than that of the Soviet Union (12%). The

Soviet Union charged a uniform interest rate of 2.5 per cent and it made no political demands on the recipients of its aid. The Soviet example forced the west to change its own policies in the course of time.

The Soviet offer to build the Bhilai steel plant, the first major public sector project, not only restored India's confidence in its ability to carry out a minimum planned industrialisation programme but also changed the attitude of the capitalist nations towards India's aid requests. They did not want to be left out of the new ~~new~~ opportunities in India.

The growing influence and attraction of the socialist world and the beginning of economic cooperation between India and the Socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union with the signing of the Indo-Soviet agreement in 1985 for the building of Bhilai Steel Plant, made it possible for India to lay emphasis on heavy and basic industries and assign a greater role to the public sector.

Nehru became sad about the role played by the western countries in connection with the reconstruction of the Indian ~~economy~~ economy. But the help of the western countries was taken in some fields admitting these conditions due to the demand ~~of~~ of needs. Side by side the economic help of the Soviet Union with easy conditions having the opportunity of repayment in Indian rupee played the role of a real friend. It became clear to Nehru who was the real friend in distress. This ~~was~~ magnanimous view and co-operation of the Soviet Union played a vital role in establishing

friendship between the two countries.

During Nehru's Prime Ministership, the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Kashmir issue became a factor of some importance in the relations between the two countries. The Soviet Union gave significant support and this was greatly appreciated by the government and the people of India. Right from the early 1950's it openly recognised Kashmir as an integral part of India. On the Goa issue also the Soviet Union defended India's sovereignty. This was the issue on which the entire western world was, as it were, up-in-arms against India, assailing it in the UN for a duplicity, treachery, and a fall from its own declared Gandhian principles of non-violence etc. It was the forth right Soviet political and diplomatic support for India's liberation of its own territory of Goa, culminating in the Soviet veto in the security council debate in 1961, that helped India in one of the most difficult phase of its diplomatic existence.

The most important part played by the Soviet Union in the wake of the Chinese aggression against India in October 1962, difficult certainly as it was for Soviet Union, due to its close ties with a socialist state, was probably one of the severest test of its abiding friendship with India, and the clearest indication of its adherence to firm principles of international conduct. It emphasised the need for peaceful settlement of all disputes, including those concerning border adjustment, and underlined the importance which it attaches to maintain good relations with both India and China. The Soviet Union confirmed its commitment for the

supply of MIG fighter planes agreed two months before the outbreak of Indo-China hostilities in August 1962. In 1964, Soviet Union, through an agreement, supplied 4 squadrons of MIG 27 supersonic aircrafts.

In evolving this policy the towering personality of Jawaharlal Nehru and the values he stood for became a decisive factor though some people over simplify the prevalent objective conditions and conclude that any other leader in Jawaharlal Nehru's place would have pursued an identical policy. There is no such thing as automatic reaction in real life. Only a farsighted and courageous leader like Nehru could have realised more clearly and consistently than any other leader of that period from which quarters the threat to Indian freedom came and how it could be countered. He alone could foresee that national interests of India, demanded that she should build friendly relations with the socialist countries on an honest and equal footing. Such positive developments in India's foreign policy combined with Nehru's stiff and unrelenting opposition to imperialism also led to signs of a thaw in Moscovs attitude towards India. In 1952, Moscow broke its silence over Kashmir in favour of India at the UN. First, these changes were reflected in certain gestures. In 1952, Stalin gave his first interview to a foreign diplomat an ~~xxx~~ two years to the departing Indian ambassador, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. In 1953, in a further gesture of good will, Stalin granted an interview to the new Indian Ambassador K.P.S. Menon. Simultaneously, trade began to improve. A significant trade agreement was concluded in Decem-

ber 1953. This was an important pointer to the change in Moscow's attitude towards India. (1)

The Soviet Union stopped up its aid to India especially in the field of defence. In 1961, it supplied helicopters. In December 1962, two months after the Chinese aggression, the Soviet Union agreed to set up a factory to manufacture helicopters in India, 1963, Moscow began supply of all types of arms and equipment for mountain warfare as also MIGs, missile, submarines and tanks and agreed to build a factory in India to manufacture MIG-21 fighter planes. And then, came the agreement to put up another steel plant at Bokaro, which the US Government had promised to take up but finally backed out because of political pressure from the anti-India lobby. Thus, the Nehru era saw the transformation of Moscow's initial influence to friendliness for India. It was through experience and the convergence of interests that this change was brought the two countries together in the past Stalin period were different from what consolidated their friendship in the early sixties. In the early fifties, both India and the Soviet Union were opposed to the military alliances that were being set up by the USA in Asia, obviously directed against both the USSR and China, but with significant adverse consequences for India and other newly free countries. India was particularly opposed to Pakistan's inclusion in these alliances, as also to the US arms supply to Pakistan, thus forcing India into a dangerous and costly arms race. Moscow could not have been oblivious to this, as Pakistan soon became a spying centre for the USA against the USSR. (2)

Economic factors had also by now began to play an important and positive role in Indo-Soviet relations. Trade between the two countries had grown from Rs. 1.7 million in 1953 to about Rs. 200 crores by 1965, and India had emerged as the first country among the non-communist nations with whom USSR had trade ~~rix~~ relations. Soviet assistance had already helped India to build the first steel mill, to start construction of a number of power stations, heavy machine building plants at hardwar, Ranchi and Durgapur. The UNGC was already there for oil exploration work on the pharmaceutical plants had also begun. All these had brought about a change in the attitude of the west towards the development needs of the newly free countries, though with different motives.

Jawaharlal Nehru died on May 27, 1964. But before his death, he had laid down the firm foundations of India's foreign and domestic policies. The policy of non-alignment will over remain as his most significant foreign policy contribution.

As the first Prime Minister of India Nehru did spend his full tenure for the reconstruction of the economy of the country. He had to spend the tenure fighting against various obstacles. The way in which the Soviet Union outstretched its helping hands towards the reconstruction of the economy of the newly independent India, proved its support for the non-alignment movement. The Soviet Union supported India without any hesitation regarding the issue of Kashmir and Goa. At the time of border conflict between India and China in 1962, the Soviet Union being a

very close friend of China, played the role of neutrality and supplied India the arms and ammunitions as per the pre-assured promise. It was decided through all these the future of friendship between the two countries. It was also decided who was the real friend of India at the time of distress. This friendship is time-tested. Nehru created this friendship step by step with the light of his experience.

Notes and Reference:

1. Bhatia Vinod - Indira Gandhi and Indo-Soviet Relations (Panchsheel Publisher, New Delhi, 1988), p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 17.

Comparative analysis of Indo-USSR relationship under Nehru, Indira
and Rajiv

Indira Gandhi, the only daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister from 1947 to 1964, came to power on the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in January 1966. She was relatively young among the congress veterans and yet the choice fell on her because she was the most acceptable person in the party. She was also President of the Indian National Congress for a short period. Even as a child she had shown interest in the country's struggle for freedom. Few in India occupied such advantage position as she did, living with her father meeting great and ordinary people. She was on familiar terms with many of the world figures and had acquired a grasp of global developments, which could not be claimed by only of her Congress - colleagues. Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership in all lasting for about fifteen years in her two political incarnations, was extremely significant from the point of view of Indo-Soviet relations. Here was a period full of important happenings domestically as well as internationally. She gave a dynamic direction to India's foreign policy with a view to meeting unprecedented challenges. India's problems with Pakistan had not come to an end.

The advent of Indira Gandhi to power raised hopes in Washington that she would be more pragmatic than her father and free from ideological predispositions, such speculations both in India and elsewhere created fears in Moscow. But such prognos-

fications were misplaced, because she showed no intention to change the basic policies of her father, particularly the policy of non-alignment and support to public Sector. ⁽¹⁾ Within months after assuming office Indira Gandhi visited the Soviet Union in July 1966. During her discussions with the Soviet Leaders she convinced them that she was essentially following the basic frame work of policy laid down by her father in all important areas whether it was non-alignment or Indo-Soviet relations or Vietnam or disarmament.

Around 1970's India faced a grim situation on account of the happenings in what was then East Pakistan. On the basis of election there, the Awami League and its leader Mujib should have been allowed to hold governmental power. Instead, the popular verdict was disregarded and military suppression was resorted to. This led to the millions of people coming to India as refugees, thus creating ~~serious~~ considerable Socio-Economic and security problems for us. Indira Gandhi worked tirelessly to mobilise world public opinion against the military rulers of Pakistan. The West gave her deaf ear. Since the pressure on India was almost intolerable and the repression on East Pakistanis too grim. She thought of arming India with Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation concluded on 9 August, 1971. It was, and continues to be the watershed in Indo-Soviet relations. Though it was not a military alliance and was also not antithetical to the basic principles of non-alignment, it did give much needed political and psychological support to India at a time when there was a fear that China and the US might support Pakistan. The treaty greatly facilitated India's support to freedom

fighters of East Pakistan which resulted in the creation of a New State Bangladesh. (2) At the time of the conclusion of the treaty, there were some people, within and outside India, ~~though~~ who thought that it was likely to circumscribe India's freedom of thought and action in International affairs and thus damage its non-alignment status. The point to remember is that the significance of a treaty lies not only in its contents but also in the performance of the contracting parties subsequent to its conclusion. If one, examines India's international behaviour since 1971. It becomes evident that there are at least some issues on which its position is different from that of the Soviet Union. Hence India's autonomy has not been impaired briefly, during Indira Gandhi's time relations with the Soviet Union continued to grow practically in all spheres and the variations in perspectives on certain issue did not adversely effect them.

When it became clear both to Washington and Beijing that India would continue to follow the policies of Jawaharlal Nehru under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, America started exploring the means to make Pakistan stronger through enhanced supply of arms. While India was kept on the tenterhooks about economic assistance, massive US economic aid started pouring into Pakistan under president Ayub Khan. A gift of 7½ million dollar loan was made to Pakistan, which the then newly appointed US Ambassador to Pakistan, Eugene Murphy Lock, termed as the earnest of "a welcome turn in US-Pak relations" most of the loan was without strings and could be used by Pakistan for buying almost whatever she wanted

from abroad. It was after this loan that Pakistan entered in various arms deal with countries like west Germany, Iran and Soudi Aribia.

In assessing India's relations with the Soviet Union in the past Nehru period, particularly during the period after this Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of the Country, it will be obvious that Jawaharlal Nehru had not only laid the solid foundations of India's foreign policy of which strenghtening of relations with the Soviet Union was a very important constituent, he had also given a qualitative turn to this policy. This change, however, took place gradually and a number of internal and external factors contributed to the necessity of following this direction and no one knew it better than Indira because she not only watched how this policy was shaping (3) but had participated in this process as a congress leader.

The entire course of developmant of India's relations with the Soviet Union in the past Nehru period make it abundantly clear that by giving expression to the aspirations of the Indian people for building friendly relations with the first socialist country of the world, Indira Gandhi had made a rich contribution to this precious heritage. In this sense, it would not be in correct to describe her as the noble architect of the Indo-Soviet friendship in the past Nehru period. And if the Soviet leaders as Brezhnev put it during his last visit to India, has a 'particular liking' for Indira Gandhi, they had good reasons for this. Indira Gandhi, as they have put it was the (4) "outstanding political and state figure of contemporary India".

In short, when Indira Gandhi took over the reins of

power in ¹⁹⁶⁶1966, after Shastri's death, the Indian economy was already under going certain basic changes, changes which influenced its relations with the other countries ~~in~~ in general and the Soviet Union in particular. It is against this background that one can correctly assess the evaluation of Indo-Soviet relations in the past Nehru period, which are based on the principles of peaceful co-existence between two different social systems and are of mutual benefit. However this assessment has to be made in the context of the changing world situation. Without this one can not grasp what impact these relations have made on the international situation and how they have proved to be beneficial to both the countries.

Here another important fact need to be mentioned. After Jawaharlal Nehru's death, a concerted drive was made to ~~reverse~~ reverse his policies both internal and external, including growing relations of India with the Soviet Union, both by internal reaction and imperialist countries. That is why since she became the Prime Minister of India till she was assassinated, Indira Gandhi became a special target of their attack.

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Though Indira Gandhi was not very much directly involved in the struggle for India's Independence, she was brought up in the environment of the freedom movement. During struggle for independence she was closely in touch with Mahatma Gandhi and her father Jawaharlal Nehru; after the Independence she became the companion of different foreign tour of her father Jawaharlal Nehru. It was with her father she travelled Moscow for the first time. While on the cabinet of Lalbahadur Shastri as minister for information and broad-

cast Indira travelled the Soviet Union and received there standing ovation, Breznev himself welcomed her personally to visit Moscow, it was possible only because Indira was the ~~only~~ daughter of Nehru. In other words Indira took her lesson in politics from her father Jawaharlal himself and she prepared herself in that way. She was deeply influenced with her father Jawaharlal Nehru's love for the Soviet Union. The foundation stone of Indo-Soviet relationship laid by Jawaharlal was made adamant bit by bit Indira during her premiership.

When the Western countries raised the motion related to Kashmir in support of Pakistan in the security council, Soviet support for India led the conspiracy to a fiasco. When the demand for declaring the Indian ocean a Zone of peace was raised, Indira felt concerned about American harbour in Diago Garcia and American assistance of armaments to Pakistan. During this time Indira gained the valuable support of the Soviet Union. The non-alignment movement whose founder was Jawaharlal has flourished to day by Indira's effort. To separate Pakistan from the West Kosygin entered into a treaty with Pakistan with a view to assisting Pakistan with armaments and other things and with this end in view Kosygin ~~tourned~~ toured Islamabad and Ayubkhan Moscow. That time a doubtful atmosphere with regard to the relationship of the two countries was made. Then Indira Gandhi showed the mark of much patience and intelligence. The history of the latter period is known to all. The American selection Pakistan as the resort of imperialism in the South East Asia. It was the first and the last and none had to be worried about the relationship of the two countries thenceforward. The name of Indira will remain forever

in the history of Indo-Soviet relationship; the treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation for five years which was contracted by her in 1971 with the Soviet Union has united the two countries in unbreakable bonds. The Soviet Union has not only given political support but also helped in different ways. The Soviet leaders were charmed with Indira's towering personality and eloquence. Indira followed the foot prints of her deceased father whose endless influence was noticed throughout her life.

How Jawaharlal prepared Indira, had she enjoyed the companionship of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal during the freedom movement, how she took part in active politics, side by side how she learnt the lesson of International politics from her father, she introduced the experience successfully in Indian politics, International relations in a broad sense in Indo-Soviet relationship, But Rajiv Gandhi did not have that opportunity. Rajiv Gandhi was decidedly a progeny of the past Independence. He had but little associate with his father Feroze Gandhi or grand father Jawaharlal. Though brought up in the Nehru family, no attraction for politics was marked in him. When his brother Sanjoy was playing a significant role in Indian Politics, the people of India could not trace his existence. Rajiv was then strictly engaged in his pilotage. He stood of his mother at the death of his brother Sanjoy and thus was his advent in politics. It was because of his mother's tragic death in 1984 he came to the foot light of Indian politics, to the centre of Indian politics.

After taking over Prime Ministership, Rajiv declared that he would follow the foot prints of his grand father Jawaharlal

and mother Indira. The duration of Rajiv's premiership was much less than that of Jawaharlal and Indira. During this short period he was able to leave his stamp on the foreign policy. The taking over of Rajiv Gandhi in India and the upheaval of Gorbachev opened up a new horizon in the sphere of Indo-Soviet friendship. In Indian sub-continent as well as in world peace, security, and aiming at a world free of nuclear weapons Rajiv Gandhi was able to lay impression on International politics as a companion of Gorbachev. In July 1986 he and Gorbachev signed the historic Delhi Declaration. The Russia festival was held in India and the Indian festival was held in the Soviet Union during this period Gorbachev travelled India two times.

Indira Gandhi during her period made relationship of the two countries deep rooted, Rajiv after taking over added a heightened and a new dimension to that relationship. Although he followed the policy of Indira Gandhi, he showed some personal distinctness in international politics. In this respect he had some differences with his grand father Jawaharlal Nehru and mother Indira. He was not ready to give the Soviet Union blank cheque in every case, the proof of which are noticed during the Afghan crisis, mention can be made here about his answer in the different questions of the western reporter's with regard to this. Since Gandhi's accession to power the question Western reporters ask him most frequently concerns India's supposed "tilt" toward Russia or "balancing act" between Russia and the United States. He anticipates questions concerning "tilting" and balancing even before they are asked. Only five months after his election, he responded to an American reporter in the Uni-

ted States "We have not tilted toward the Soviet Union and we are not carrying out balancing act between the United States and the USSR we are being non-aligned. Being non-aligned means having the right to speak our own minds on every issue as we think correct. It is in a way raising democracy to a world level where every nation has the right to speak its mind. The very same week an article in US. News and world Report suggested that Rajiv was doing "a high wire act between East and West" Gandhi explained patiently that India wants to strengthen relationship with both the United States can supply to India. But his desire does not imply that India must disagree with Russia on every issue. (6)

As pointed out by S. Nihal Singh, it is unreasonable to think that India could become a Soviet dependency. One can not imagine Moscow suffering from such a delusion. India has its interests; the Soviet Union has its own. Moreover, the two countries are not in competition and they need not be. Rajiv Gandhi has stated that India has two approaches to Russia : geographical and political. He adds : what can we learn from Russia's economic system. (7) Undoubted it has certain good aspects. But it is impossible to govern India by a system other than democracy we can learn from them (the Russian), but we cannot copy their system. As for Rajiv Gandhi himself, he repeats consistently that Russia has helped India when India needed help since back in the 1950's. Then insisting on democracy and non-alignment. Rajiv adds. "But we want to keep our option of individuality open. We stand by certain Principles, certain ideologies, and we don't compromise on them,

whether it is the Soviet Union or the United States.

Even a brief chronological check of Rajiv Gandhi's own statements clarifies his position on Afghanistan so lucidly that one wonders why the misinterpretations of his position ! For Example:

- 1) India desires to "stop the interference and the intervention in Afghanistan bring normalcy back get refugees back home..... and have a good non-aligned government in Afghanistan.
- (2) Both the 'Soviet troops' in Afghanistan and "interference from across the Pakistan border" must be stopped. (3) If "all the parties concerned can get together "a" solution" is possible. (4) Our position has been clear from the beginning and we have not shifted our position. We are against any interference or intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and we would like to see it stopped" (5) India has stated its position on Afghanistan in 1983 and 1985. (6) We want "a neutral non-aligned Afghanistan". (7) Question- "You want the Soviets out of Afghanistan?" Answer : "Yes". (8) It is really a problem between the United States, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, who are the four countries involved in this particular dispute." (9) "I do not think we have betrayed the friendship of Afghanistan at all". (10) India's position is not ambiguous. We are against both in intervention and interference in Afghanistan and we would like Afghanistan to be an independent non-

(8) aligned state. No one will deny that Rajiv was attracted to the Western culture. Though he did not lend his voice to the hue and cry of the west on the Afghan problem some comments of his would merely be displeasing to the Soviet leaders. Side by side he said this too that the withdrawal of the Soviet army depended on the non

support of the western countries of the Afghan rebel. If the Americans promised that they would in no case help and support the rebels, in that case only the Soviet Union would withdraw its army. In this respect his reaction was contradictory. In melt the ice which fell on the relationship of the two countries after the Indo-china war, Rajiv's effort was praiseworthy. After Jawaharlal Rajiv was the first Prime Minister who travelled China. Gorbachev supported the attempt which Rajiv undertook to normalise the relation of India and China.

In fact in 1953 commercial treaty between the two countries was contracted. The turnover of Indo-Soviet trade in 1953 was 1.75 crore rupees which became 120.56 crore rupees in 1964. When Indira came to power in 1966 the turn over of trade of the two countries was Rs. 237.17 crore which amounted to Rs. 3764.00 in 1984. It was this time Rajiv Gandhi come to power and the turn over of trade be came 88 billion Dollers from Rs. 3764.00 crore. Co-operate measures which grew up between the two countries were signed and plans out of those measures have put into effect mostly during premiership of Indira Gandhi. The real development of the relationship of the two countries took place during her times. The Indo-Soviet pact in 1971 opened up a horizon of relationship of the two countries. °

During the times of the Janata Party, the Western countries were joyaus because of the declaration of Morarji Deshai and Atal Behari Bajpayee with regard to making the non-alignment movement a genuine one. But during Janata party's rule there was no marked difference of relationship of the two countries. In fact none dared to go against the public opinion of India.

It will not be right in all cases comparative analysis of Jawaharlal, Indira and Rajiv in respect of Indo-Soviet relationship. The first thing is that while Indira Gandhi remained in power for Seventeen years Rajiv Gandhi only five years. The period of premiership of Jawaharlal was the childhood of India and the time of construction. But as Indira Gandhi got the facility of Jawaharlal Nehru's introduction, so also Rajiv Gandhi was honoured in Soviet Union as the son of Indira Gandhi.

Nehru participated in the Brussels converance held in 1977 and was introduced with the anti imperialist inernational personalities there. Beside he was acquainted with the success of socialism during his tour to Soviet Union with his father Motilal Nehru and this ~~grew~~ grew in him anti-imperialism and devotion to socialism. Afterwords the veto of the Soviet Union in the security council against the motion of the west over the Kashmir and Goa issue, addition of Neutrality in Indo-Pakistan was in 1962, unconditional support of India over the Kashmir and Bangladesh issue, even during the time of Indira brought the two countries close together although Nehru criticised the Soviet Union over the Hungery dispute. Not only in International field but also in internal matters of India the Soviet leaders supported some measures of Nehru and Indira. As for example, when Indira Gandhi promulgated emergency in the country in 1975, the Soviet Union having supported, it became the built of criticism of parties other than congress and CPI.

Although the anti imperialism and anti colonialism images of Jawaharlal and Indira in the International sphere and their

devotion to socialism are known to all but they opposed communism in India e.g. they dismissed the first communist Government in Kerala formed under the leadership of E.M. S. Namboodiripad. Again the same opposition has been noticed in communist ruled West Bengal, the influence of which was not seen in the relations of the two countries.

The time tested Indo-Soviet friendship inspite of diametrically opposed political, social and economic system between the two countries has created a new model in the world sphere. The first and chief architect of Indo-Soviet friendship was Jawaharlal, in other words he prepared the ground of relationship of the two countries. Indira grew crops in it by making it fertile through nurturing and watering which Rajiv Gandhi not only consumed the crops but also widened the ground more.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the Architect of Indo-Soviet relationship from the Indian side followed by Indira and Rajiv Gandhi, from the Soviet side all leaders since Khrushchev have subscribed to the theory and practice of Indo-Soviet relationship, then L.I. Brezhnev and now President Mikhail Gorbachev a new dimension is being given to this relationship. The Indo-Soviet relationship has all along been sustained between Nehru and Khrushchev, Indira Gandhi and Brezhnev, Rajiv Gandhi and Gorbachev. That is why in India governments have changed, different political parties have come to power but our relations with the Soviet Union have continued to grow. On the otherhand in Soviet Union leaderships have changed but their view about cooperation with India have

remained consistent.

Notes and References

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