

CHAPTER - ISECTION - II N T R O D U C T I O N

Foreign policy has become a part and parcel of every country in the present day world. A close look over international relations would reveal the fact that in the last few decades. It has undergone a tremendous metamorphosis. This is largely due to significant changes in the fields of science, technology and many other fields. The invention of the thermo-nuclear weapons changed the impact of science and its social use in almost every aspect of Foreign Policy. This impact is amply expressed in the description of Raymond Aron when he stated : "The free choice between war and peace, essence of sovereignty in the traditional sense of the word no longer has the same meaning now that the choice of war implies or could imply the annihilation of the nation itself. Another important result of scientific developments was a revolution in communication technology resulting in an incredible shrinking of the world.

Prior to the world War II, the international community was small and international relations signified relations among members of Western community of nations. After the Second World War, International Relations became really international and a large number of newly independent States of Asia and Africa outnumbered the western nations in the international affairs. Then,

contemporary foreign policy has to deal with almost two hundred independent nations having different cultures, different stages of Economic development and different levels of political consciousness. During the year 1969, a nation like India had to participate in One hundred and Seventy One international congresses, conferences and Seminars, moreover, India has to maintain active relations with more than 130 nations. The conduct of foreign policy has become much more complicated due to the introduction of new forms of Economic relationships as reflected in different kinds of aid, trade and tariff controls having passed new challenges and opportunities to foreign policy of all nations of Asia and Africa. Apart from this for a country like India, the conduct of foreign policy have become unusually difficult for several developments in the international situation.

Besides these External facts of the foreign policy, there is a powerful bearing of the domestic environment on it. The link between the External and domestic pressures is very close and the interaction between them is very active. James Rosenall highlighted the closeness of the relations between the domestic environment and the foreign policy of a nation, in his two volumes - 'Domestic sources of foreign policy' and 'Linkage politics' - This factor is evident on the reaction of communal riots in our country and our internal problem in Kashmir and Punjab, and on our international relations. This comprehensive study of the Indian foreign policy would facilitate the understanding of foreign policy making and its impact in determining

nature of relationship with the Soviet Union, a super power.

India is the Seventh largest country in the World and it occupies a strategic position in the Asian continent, having three important seas in three sides, the Arabian sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. Naturally, the Super powers consider India as an important power holder not only in Asia but also in the World. Since the achievement of India's independence, there has been a constant feature of India's foreign policy to maintain a friendly relations with the Soviet Union Historically and Geographically there were some common factors between the two countries which brought them into a close relationship. Jawaharlal Nehru in his famous book "Discovery of India", pointed out that the "Group memory of past achievements, traditions and Experiences is one of the most powerful forces that influence people. Many years back, there has been a relation between India and the Soviet Union on the basis of flow of trade, cultural and educational communications religious bonds. How this Indo-Soviet friendship developed? How has this edifice has been built?

In the 15th Century, a Tver merchant Afanasy Nikitin visited India, and his work, A Journey Beyond three seas, was included in the collection of most important Russian manuscripts. Nikalri Karamzin, an outstanding Russian historian admired the works by Kalidasa. "For me, Kalidasa is no less important than Homer," he wrote.

If we look back to the history of ancient times, we can

see that, India had found a place in Russian legends and fables some 600 years ago, and the book the Relation about India or the Story of India the Rich is the testimonial of it. On the other hand, we get reference of one Bengali Merchant Shikh Bhikhu of Malda in the book 'Statistical account of the district of Malda' by W. W. Hunter Published in 1876. According to Hunder " .....about three hundred years ago one Sheikh Bhiku, who used to trade in Maldahi Cloths, such as Katar and Musri, set sail for Russia with three ships laden with silk cloths and that two of his ships were wrecked somewhere in the neighbour hood of the persian Gulf"... But there was no mention of date and year of sailing of Sheikh Bhiku in the book.

Of the Russians who visited India after Afanasi Mikitin up to the end of 19th Century - F.S. Yefremov, Gerasim Lebedev, Karamzin, P. Petrov, K. Kossovich, I. P. Minayev, N.A. Dobralyubov are worthy of mention.

Gerasim Lebedev, who was in Bengal for several years, may be called the father of Russian Indology. He was the founder of European style theatre in India under the name of Bengalee Theatre on November 27, 1791 at Domtala Lane, Calcutta. After his return to Russia, Levedev emphasised the need for a Scientific study of Indian Society and culture and for mulate a Schme For Starting a Cultural Exchange between the two countries. N.A. Dobrolyubov, a well known author, who wrote a book giving the details of British atrocities in India in the wake of the Revolt of 1857. I. P.Minaev,

a professor of St. Petersburg University, paid three visits to India and neighbouring countries during the period from 1874 to 1886 and established personal contacts with Indian leader, writers and scholars like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R. G. Bhandarkar, K.T. Telang, S. N. Banerjee and to visit leading educational institutions in India.

Indo-Russian relations entered a new phase in early twentieth century. The Russian Revolution of 1905 helped to forge new bonds between the national liberation movement in India against the British rulers and the progressive movement in Russia against the autocracy of Tsarist regime there. After the All-Russian general strike in October 1905, Gandhiji's interest in the Russian movement became deeper. Gandhi's closest bond with Russia developed through the famous writer and man of learning, Leo Tolstoy. He looked upon Tolstoy as teacher and named his head quarters in South Africa as "Tolstoy farm". Not only Tolstoy, the writings of the great Russian writer Maxim Gorky and his moral support to the fire-brand emigrants of India. Gorky maintained correspondence with Madam Cama, an Indian revolutionary, living in exile in ~~parisi~~ paris.

Lenin, the greatest leader of Russian people, figured prominently the condition of India under British rule and the struggle for freedom of Indian peoples in his thought. Several reference to India can be found in the collected works of Lenin which contain his observations in India from 1900 to 1923. Lenin's

first reference to India appeared in Iskra when the first issue of the paper was brought out in December 1900. His most significant reference to India was in his famous article "Inflammable material in world politics" published in proletariat, dated August 1908. In this Article Lenin made a pointed reference to the condition of India at that time and strongly condemned the policy of repression of British "Chinghiz Khan". Lenin continued taking interest in the cause of Indian independence till the last days of his life.

The greatest event in the Soviet Union which influenced the course of freedom movement in India and the wakening of Asia, was the Great October Revolution in 1917. Though it was given a new turn by the great October Social in Revolution it started, much earlier than 1917. However, Indo-Soviet relations became highly offered by the great Octor Revolution. Indian people and freedom fighters took a deep interest out of this revolution from various points of view. The main points of this revolution were peace, freedom, self determination which deeply stirmed the consciousness of the Indian people.

The friendly ties and mutual understanding which had been established between the peoples of the USSR and India in the past, became consolidated in fruitful Indo-Soviet co-operation after the independence of India.

The Indo-Soviet friendly relations is nothing short of a phenomenon. Notwithstanding the fact that the two countries represent complete different ideologies, political systems, economic and

political status.

Indo-Soviet relations are a model of relations between the states following different Socio-Economic and political systems. The relations are deeply embedded in the common historical destiny of socialism and national liberation and in their common objective of achieving economic and social progress, in giving rebuff to the intrigues of imperialism and reaction in averting the halocaust of nuclear war and safe guarding the world peace and international security.

Jawaharlal Nehru's first interaction with the Soviet Union came in 1927 when he paid a visit to Moscow in the summer and wrote his experience in a booklet entitled Soviet Russia. According to Nehru the October Revolution "has advanced the human Society by a great leap; it has lit the bright flame which can not be smothered, it has laid the foundation of a new civilization towards which the world can advance."

India won her independence in the year of 1947 after remaining under the Yoke of Foreign rule for about two hundred years. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of India and continued in the past till his death on 27th May, 1964.

India's policy towards the Soviet Union has been consistent since 1947. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru initiated this friendly process. In the sphere of Foreign Policy, during the Prime ministership India and the Soviet Union came closer. In the United nations, both the countries worked together on issues like eradica-

tion of racialism in South Africa, fight against colonialism and imperialism. During the Korean war, the Soviet Union supported Indian initiatives. India-China agreement on panchasheel was also praised by the Soviet Government in 1954. Moreover, Nehru's visit to the USSR in June 1955 and return visit of the Soviet leaders. Khrushchev and Bulganin to India, in the same year, further strengthened the ties between the two countries.

Five years after independence, India was already going through an economic crisis. The American government opposed India's nonalignment and socialistic objectives. Indeed, both the USA and UK were even opposed to the very industrialisation of India. It was in this agonising context that the Soviet Union offered its assistance to India and emerged as an alternative source of help. The impact of Soviet aid to India was momentous, and it became a factor of utmost consequence in the struggle for Economic independence of the developing countries. Since the Bhilai Steel plant, it has been a series of success stories with giant plants coming up one after another, assisted by the Soviet Union.

In 1964, after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lalbahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister of India. The traditional friendly India-Soviet relations continued to evolve under his leadership. He followed the path of Nehru and kept the friendly relationship with the Soviet Union. After the death of Shastri on the 11th January 1966 at Tashkent, Mrs. Gandhi was the nation's obvious choice for Prime Ministership in 1966, two years after the

death of her father Jawaharlal Nehru.

In 1966, when Mrs. Indira Gandhi came into power, she also took the policy of friendly relationship with Soviet Union. Indira Gandhi reigned India for 16 years. During her long term tenure, Indo-Soviet friendship reached its climax and the "Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" 1971, signed between India and the USSR was the best Expression of Indo-Soviet relationship, during the first term premiership of Mrs. Gandhi from 1966 to 1977. She was the architect of the 1971 Treaty of Peace, friendship, and co-operation with the Soviet Union, which helped foil the aggressive plans of India's enemies, and eliminate the possibility of India being flanked in the west and the east by Pakistan, which was armed and equipped by the US military - Industrial complex. But mention may be made of the positive and beneficial role of the Soviet Government played over the Kashmir issue, the liberation of Goa, the Indo-China war (1962) and the war between India and Pakistan in 1965.

After her Second return to power in January 1980, the Indo-Soviet relations were further strengthened. During this time, on all major issues of international importance, India and the Soviet Union had not only identical views but also offered almost identical solutions. So, it is clear that Indo-Soviet friendship has, during this period, acquired an international significance and is no more confined to the field of bilateral relations and bilarral co-operation. "We can justly claim that Indo-Soviet

friendship has been an enduring factor for peace and stability in the World" said Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi at the Kremlin banquet.

The Indo-Soviet relations have become Matured and have grown steadily due to the contribution of Rajiv Gandhi since 1984, when he became the Prime Minister of India.

The new phase of a higher and newer level of Indo-Soviet relationship was symbolized by the Delhi Declaration jointly issued by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev in November 1986. Gorbachev characterised the Delhi Declaration as a document in which "Our philosophical and political approach to the construction of a nuclear weapon free and non-violent world merged with the approach of the great India and billion of people represented by the non-aligned movement. Since 1984 due to rapport between Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachev, the Indo-Soviet relations have become qualitatively new and dynamic.

It is rightly said that Indo-Soviet friendship is treated by time. This relations were built brick by brick. Every trial was ~~xxx~~ crowned with confidence and mutual trust. The Indo-Soviet relationship has all along been sustained between Nehru and Khrushchev, Indira Gandhi and Brezhnev, Rajiv Gandhi and Gorbachev.

The course of the development of India's relations with the Soviet Union, particularly in the past Nehru period makes 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 i.e. the Soviet Union, Indira Gandhi has made a rich contribution to this precious heritage. In this sense, it would not be incorrect to describe her as the noble architect of Indo-Soviet friendship in the past Nehru period.

## SECTION - II

### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present study while analysing the nature of foreign policy of India will seek to high light the exact nature and the making of Indian foreign policy under the premiership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi from the beginning of the working of the Indian constitution upto 1989. This exhaustive study will focus on the theory of Indian foreign policy making, Nehru's role in the foreign policy making. It would also include the specific ingredients of Nehru's foreign policy and also analyse the role of Nehru in the development of the principle of Monalignment and its impact on the Indian foreign policy making. This study will further focus on the relationship of India with Soviet Union during the tenure of Nehru. Finally Nehru's role in the world affairs. Simultaneously, the study will focus to the Indira regime regarding Indian foreign policy. It will also take into account the relationship of India with USSR during the tenure of Mrs. Gandhi and also towards her contribution of leading a head the principle of non-alignment. It will also take into consideration

the role of Rajiv Gandhi in Foreign policy making and the advancement of relationship of India with USSR. Finally, this study will seek to draw a comparative picture of Indo-Soviet relations under the regime of Nehru, Indira and Rajiv.

The study will seek to answer the following major research question :

1. What are the different national and international factors that exert influence on the making of India's foreign policy?
2. What are the nature of Foreign policy making under Nehru?
3. What was the pattern of Indo-Soviet relationship under Nehru?
4. What are the important contribution of Nehru in India's foreign policy making?
5. What was the nature of Foreign Policy making under Indira?
6. What are the significant contribution of Indira in India's foreign policy?
7. What was the pattern of Indo-Soviet relationship under Indira?
8. What was the nature of Foreign policy making under Rajiv?
9. What are the important contributions of Rajiv in India's Foreign policy making?
10. What was the pattern of Indo-Soviet relationship

under Rajiv?

11. What are the points of departure in the Indo-Soviet relationship under Nehru, Indira and Rajiv?

### SECTION - III

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are a plethora of works on Indo-Soviet relationship and my studies have been undertaken so far by different scholars. But this study may demand a great deal of academic significance from the point of view of carrying three important prime ministers and from the same family. This study is also significant because perhaps no such works have been undertaken by any scholar so far. Considered from this view point, this study will fill a research gap and will open new <sup>vistas</sup> ~~vistas~~ of research.

INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS - DIMENSIONS

In the contemporary situation of world politics relations between States have three dimensions - One direct and two indirect namely (a) correlative (or bilateral), (b) regional (or multilateral), and (c) global (or international).

(a) The correlative or bilateral relations are direct and ordinarily indicate the degree of proximity between the states. This can be measured by assessing the volume and nature of transactions between the states in term of their import, export, trade, cultural and educational inter change, mobility of persons, diplomatic relations popular image as reflected in the mass-media and the degree of personal relationship between the dominant leadership.

(b) Regarding the second dimension of relations between states, a distinction is sought to be made between 'multilateral' and 'international' relations in order to distinguish between the 'region' the 'neighbouring States', the 'hemisphere', from the larger human community, the wider world, the total universe of the international State-system, Regions are increasingly acquiring a sub-international identity for variety of reasons. Every state today has one or more relevant regions, of which it is a part by the compulsion of geo-politics. Developments in the region or regions close to a State have repercussions on many aspects of its life and policy. Therefore, multilateral relations in this sphere are different from multilateral relations generally.

(c) The third, that is the global or international dimen-

sion of the relations between States, includes two major aspects : relations within the frame work of the united nations and its agencies and relations with reference to three categories of human issues : (i) dominant human movements (liberation struggles ~~against~~ fight against racism and colonialism, for regional and international peace and solidarity of people, etc.). (ii) World wide concerns (ecological, cultural, Scientific, technological, etc.) and (iii) big power politics.

Closely Examining the nature, expanse and the level of Indo-Soviet relationship within the framework of the theoretical perspective, stated above, it is quite evident that both in the pursuit of a new national identity and legitimisation of the political system and as well as in all the three dimensions of interstate relationship ... i.e., bilateral, regional and international, Soviet Union not only stands but as the state that has acquired a place of primacy in friendship, but also (and this is most significant) it is the only State in such an Exalted category of closeness of relations with India based on the convergence of mutual trust, common interests, and closely shared objectives of international development.

(1)

However, within the framework of present analysis it is apparent that Indo-Soviet relations grown steadily during the last two decades and more have Expanded in their range and ~~expanded~~ depended in their cordiality year after year. That this has been so despite manifest differences in Social structures, political

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system, ideological preferences and wide range of internal - priorities, makes it all the more a classic Example of the best and the highest form of inter-State relations based on the principles of peaceful co-operation, mutuality of interests and respect for each others distinctive identity and sovereign differentiation. (2)

INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union were established primarily as the result of the influence of the historic development of each of the two countries on its neighbour, the manifestation of the world revolution any process. The revolutionary struggle in Russia, the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution on 1917, and the building of Socialism in the USSR and the progressive development of the national liberation movement in India, which led to independence all played the greatest part in the establishment of these ties.

The great October Socialist Revolution, one of the most important events in world history, also occupies an important place in the history of India's march towards independent nation hood. It at once became a great source of inspiration to the Indian people, who saw in it a victory of the common people against the forces of despotism and reaction and immediately grasped its significance for the future of their own struggle for national freedom. (3) The October Revolution of 1917 marked the point of transition from the era of capitalism to that of Socia-

lism on a global scale. It was also a major blow to the Western capitalist system and the imperialist order, which the colonial power had established over the larger part of the world. The October Revolution was thus able to inspire the colonial people more because the colonies were weak links of imperialism. (4)

In the Soviet perspective of anti-imperialism, a strategic part of which was the national-liberation-movement of the eastern people India always occupied a prominent place ever since the October Revolution. In many respects, India stood "at the head" of many colonial and dependent countries in the struggle for its national liberation. This was the assessment of India's national movement which Lenin had clearly formulated at the Third congress of the comintern. Stalin formulated it quite cogently as he said:

"I need merely allude to the nationalist movement in larger colonial and dependent countries such as India and China whose every step towards national liberation is revolutionary, even if it infringes the cannons of formal democracy for every such step on the part of these countries inflicts "smashing blow on imperialism".

Starting with Lenin's disagreement with M. N. Roy, the Soviet Union had made a positive assessment of the Indian National Movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. In his work entitled foundations of Leninism, Stalin noted in 1924 that in India the imperialist chain might "break earlier than other countries" that

"the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, Punjab and Bengal," the most significant fact that under the impact of the October Revolution, the revolutionary elements in the colonial countries were imbued with the spirit of Marxism Leninism which left its own imprint on the character of national liberation itself, upon its forms and struggle. (5)

The great October Revolution was a great source of inspiration to the Indian people for their national independence. News regarding the success of the Russian revolution and the happenings in the Soviet Republic and the stand taken by the New Socialist State on various issues gradually became known in India creating a wave of excitement throughout the country.

The impact of the October Revolution on contemporary Indian literature and vernacular press was equally great. Thus, as early as 20 November 1917, barely 21 days after the occurrence of the Revolution, the great Indian poet, - Subrahmanya Bharati, wrote in one of the Tamil Newspapers that the Socialists of Russia under the leadership of 'Sriman Lenin' had achieved their goal and commended the principle of distribution of wealth "between peoples of the world on the basis of equality." (6) Another great Indian poet and authors like Kabiguru Rabindra Nath Tagore, Vallathal, Munshi Premchand, Mohammad Iqbal and several others were influenced by the fast changing life in Soviet Russia and above all, by the message of the Great October. Tagore, who considered the October Revolution as "the morning Star," "heralding the dawn of a new era", xix

visited the Soviet Union in September 1930 on invitation from the Soviet Society for cultural relations. He wrote in his letters from Russia that whichever way he looked, he was filled with wonder. The great poet observed, ".....It is unlike any other country .....radically different from top to bottom". Tagore, while referring to some grave defects and mistakes, felt deeply impressed by Soviet achievement in the field of education and remarked, "what was pleased me most here is the complete disappearance of the vulgar concept of wealth." .....I am in Russia, had I not come my life's pilgrimage would have remained incomplete" the poet added.

Modern Review, Amrit Bazar Patrika, Atma-shakti, Bharata Varsh Sankha, Bongvasi, Dainik Basumati, Nayak, Anand Bazar Patrika (all from Calcutta), The Hindu, Indian Review (Madras), Bombay chronicle, Swarajya (Bombay) Kesari, Maratta, Lok Sangharsha (Poona) Abhyudaya, independent, Leader (Allahabad) Aaj (Banaras) Hurriat, Raiyat (Delhi) Tribune, Deshi, (Lahore) Sansar (Kanpur) and many other well-known journal published articles on the Bolshevik Revolution, life of Lenin and the Changes which were being brought about in Soviet Russia.

(7)

The strong Indian feeling of admiration and friendship for the Soviet Union came out most clearly in the tributes paid to Lenin by the Indian press after his passing away on 22 January 1924. Thus the Abhyudaya (Allahabad) remarked : "World's greatest man of the age has passed away from this world. It is most heart

breaking to publish the News of Lenin's death". The Ananda Bazar Patrika (Calcutta) wrote on 30 January : "The nobel minded Lenin, the friend of humanity, is dead ..... The most moving tribute came from the Labour Kishan Gazettee (Madras), Edited by M. Singaravelu Chettiar one of the pioneers of the communist movement in India, on 30 January:

"Lenin the Great has passed away and joined the chairina-visible. The world, the worker's - world, it to day poorer by the passing away of its great Teacher and Redeemer. Today, the vested interests ..... are silent over the great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their great pratagonist. It is the worker the true salt of the earth - that maurns for him who showed him the path of deliverance from bon-  
(8)  
dage, privation and misery".

There also appeared a number of books, both in English and Indian language, devoted to a sympathetic exposition of the attractive features of the Soviet - Experiment and the Exemplary qualities of leadership shown by Lenin. Here I mention the Name of the books, Authors, Language and the year of Publication.

1. Roos Ki Rajya Kranti (Hindi, 1920) Rama Shankar Avasthi
2. Bolshevik Jadugar (Hindi, 1920) Rama Shankar Avasthi
3. Gandhi Vs Lenin (English, 1921) S.A. Dange
4. Nikolai Lenin : His Life and works (English, 1921)- G.V. Krishna Rao.

5. Roos Ka Punarjanma (Hindi, 1921) - Som Dutt Vidyalankar.
6. The leader of Freedom : Lenin and Russian Revolution.  
(Urdu, 1922) Mehta Anand Kishore.
7. Bolshevism in Russia (Marathi, 1921) Laxmi Narayan Joshi.
8. Fonder of Russian Democracy, Nikolai Lenin (Marathi,  
1922). Rama Krishna Gopal Bhide.
9. 'Lenin' - (Bengali, 1921) Phanibhushan Ghosh
10. Roos me Yugantar (Hindi, 1923) Vishwambhar Nath Jijja
11. Roos Ka Panchayati Rajya (Hindi, 1923) Pran Nath  
Bidyalankar's.
12. Bipleb Patha Russeiar Rupantar (Bengali, 1924) Atul  
Sen.
13. Liberater of the Poor in Russia - Nikolai Lenin  
(1924                    )<sup>(9)</sup>Gorkh.

The Russian revolution also influenced the trade union activity in the country. In its report submitted in April 1920, the special Bureau of Information of the British Government admitted that there was appreciation of the infiltration of Bolshevik ideas in the Labour and Peasant Movements in the country. Student unions came into being and finally the communist party itself. B.G. Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Annie Besant, D.F. Andrews, B.C. Pal and other Congress leaders took an active interest in trade union movement. All these helped to bring into the mainstream of India's struggle varied sections of the Indian population. <sup>(10)</sup>

The strong fascination felt by the Indian revolution aries

for the October Revolution was expressed most poignantly in 1930. The date was January 21, the Sixth anniversary of the passing away of Lenin, the place the court room of the District and Sessions Judge at Lahore. Bhagat Singh, the most famous Indian Revolutionary hero and one of the greatest names in the history of the Indian struggle for freedom, was facing trial along with his comrades. That day all appeared in the court wearing red scarfs. After taking their places in the dock, they raised the slogans : "Long Live Socialist Revolution, Long Live the Communist International Lenin's name will Never Die ! Long Live the people ! Down with imperialism" Bhagat Singh then read out the text of the following telegram with a request to the court to transmit it to the comintern :

On Lenin Day we send hearty greetings to all who are doing something for carrying forward the ideas of Great Lenin. We wish success to the great experiment Russia is carrying out. We join our voice to that of international working class movement. Proletariat will win,  
capitalism will be defeated, Death to Imperialism. (11)

The October Revolution exerted its influence on the minds of important congress leaders like Annie Besant, C.R. Das, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawarhalal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and many others.

Mahatma Gandhi, who helped the Great October Revolution in high esteem and acclaimed Lenin as a Master spirit, observed in an article published in young India on 4 May 1921 that any attempt

to crush Bolshevism by force would be futile. It is true that Gandhi was basically against communism, violence, an omnipotent state, a materialistic interpretation of history, and class war doctrine, but it should not be denied that he viewed the October Revolution with great sympathy and admired Lenin with great regards .  
(12)

In an interview to News Chronicle, he said : "My sympathies are undoubtedly in favour of China and Russia". When in early 1942, Mahatma Gandhi who was then under arrest, was told that Russia might lose the war, he said : "No, Russia can not lose the war. If Russia loses the war, who will look after the interest of the poor of the world. Russia must not lose the war".  
(13)

For Nehru, the Revolution of 1917 was a tremendous event, unique in history, "First revolution of its kind", "challenge to other countries and an ~~exmpt~~ example for many revolutionaries all over the world". In the words of Nehru, "This was one of the most astonishing feats in history ..... essentially, it was a victory of the self confidence, the faith, the self-sacrifice, and the unflinching determination of the Russian people."  
(14)

There is indeed, no doubt that, of the Indian leaders, who were exposed to the Russian Revolution, Jawaharlal had a better understanding of the historical process which brought about this momentous development in history. His anti-imperialist orientation naturally drew him to the Russian Revolution. Though he understood the cause of the Revolution, he did not know then the philo-

sophy of Marxism, which inspired the Russian Revolution. In a conversation with Tibor Mende, Nehru spoke about the Russian Revolution as such : "Our sympathies were very much with Lenin and others, without knowing much about Marxism. I had not read anything about Marxism by then".

To Jawaharlal, the Russian upsurge was not only a nationalist development. He saw in it a far wider import, in fact, the emergence of a new form of Society which could be applicable to the rest of the world. The Revolution, "ended the age-long domination of the upper classes," and so it was natural, he said, that those who enjoyed power and privileges in society should oppose and malign the Russian Revolution. (15)

In the 300 Nehru's attraction to the Socialist ideal, which had been a distinctive characteristic of his youth and become stronger after the victorious October Revolution, turned into a firm conviction. This was promoted both by the events in India and also by Nehru's own introduction to the international labour and communist movement and his acquaintance with the Soviet Unions' first socialist gains.

His contacts with international working class and communist activists and with freedom fighters from other colonies and semi-colonies, as well as his participation in the Brussels congress of oppressed nationalities and his visit to the Soviet Union, made him a champion of joint actions by the world anti-imperialist forces.

There were three factors accounting for Nehru's sympathy for the Soviet Union and interest in its achievements. Each of those factors was significant in its own right, but each reason was fundamentally related to the others.

The first factor was the Soviet Union's consistent anti-imperialist struggle and support for national liberation movement. This factor shaped Nehru's and also many other freedom fighters attitude towards the Soviet Union. Addressing a student rally in Calcutta in 1928, Nehru said : "In spite of her many mistakes, Russia today is the greatest opponent of imperialism : What she had done for the peoples of the East is just and generous. Russia goes to the East as an equal, not as a conqueror or a race proved superior. It is surprising that she is welcomed?"

Secondly, Nehru emphasised the significance of the Soviet people's Economic and cultural efforts of time when the Soviet State had only begun to gain Experience, showing his amazing but logical foresight. In his book Soviet Russia he wrote that "the USSR and India both were ..... vast agricultural countries with only the beginnings of industrialization and both had to face poverty and illiteracy". He also pointed out that if Russia finds a satisfactory solution of those, our work in India is made easier".

Thirdly Nehru's attraction to the Soviet Union could be attributed to his progressive aspirations, which had first manifested themselves during his youth and later matured in the atmosphere of a new wave of the freedom struggle in the 20<sup>s</sup> and the 30<sup>s</sup>.

To a great extent, these aspirations stemmed from the traditional concern with the world's progress by liberal Indian politicians and freedom fighters as early as the 19th century. Referring to the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Nehru wrote : "I had no doubt that the Soviet Revolution had advanced human Society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and that it had laid the foundations for that new civilization towards which the world could advance. (16)

During his stay in Moscow Nehru attended, as a guest, the world congress of friends of the Soviet Union and made the acquaintance of prominent Soviet States men and public figures. ~~After~~

After his visit to the USSR and his discussions with Soviet leaders, Nehru arrived at the conclusion that Soviet Russia had no political or economic motives for invading India, that Russia was in need of stable peace and could not possibly want war, and that its "aggressive plans" with regard to India were the treacherous fabrications of imperialist propoganda aimed at justifying measures to further strengthen British colonial rule in India and - toughen the colonial policy of repression there.

For scholarly as well as practical purposes, Nehru examined the October 1917 Socialist Revolution and the experience of Socialist construction in the USSR. Being an adherent of parliamentary democracy, he was made anxious by the excessive power wielded by the executive bodies and some of the coercive methods used by the State. Yet his conclusion was optimistic "The dynamic

forces released by the revolution of 1917 have not played themselves out. They have made history and they will continue to make history and no man can afford to ignore them." But being an objective researcher, Nehru could not help being aware of the formidable difficulties facing the Soviet Union. He wrote : Russia has passed through ten years since the Bolshevik Revolution. But it must be remembered that the first five of these ten years were entirely taken up in war against foreign and internal enemies and in the harder struggle against famine and blockade .....

"It is only during the past five years that she has had comparative peace and a chance to develop her resources. But even during this period she ~~has~~ has had to contend against the hostility of most of the governments of Europe and of the super capitalist United States of America ..... If she has progressed then during these five years it has been despite these difficulties."

Even at that time, many years before India's achievement of independence, Nehru was certain that his country should establish extensive and friendly relations with the Land of the Soviets. "Russia can not be ignored by us he wrote" because she is our neighbour, a powerful neighbour, which may be friendly to us and co-operate with us or may be a thorn in our side. In either even we have to know her and understand her and shape our policy accordingly". Nehru sought mutual understanding and friendship with the world's first socialist state. He made this point clear :  
 "Ordinarily Russia and India should live as the best of neighbours".

On April 13, 1947, four months before the proclamation of India's independence, Nehru settled the issue of establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR. He appointed his own sister, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, as Ambassador to Moscow and personally instructed the entire embassy Staff to make up for lost years and do everything possible to enhance ties with the Soviet Union - that was his mandate. The two countries now had a broad foundation on which to develop friendly relations and cooperation at all levels and in all areas.

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DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

On April 13, 1947, an official press communique issued in New Delhi, announced the agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR. On June 25, 1947, two weeks before the Mountbatten plan for the partition of India was announced, Nehru announced the appointment of his sister, Vijaya Laxmi Pandit as India's first ambassador to the USSR. On October 23, 1947, the Soviet Union also announced the appointment of its first ambassador to India, K. V. Novikov. The Indian ambassador presented her credentials in Moscow on August 17, 1947 and the Soviet ambassador on January 1, 1948. (18)

After the conclusion of the Second World war the historic process of decolonisation began and India was one of the first countries to gain freedom. On the eve of its freedom, India organised the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947 in Delhi to which several delegates from the Central Asian Republics were invited. They came and made a handsome contribution to the deliberations of the conference which was widely appreciated.

After assuming the Prime Ministership of independent India, Nehru lost no time in directing the two distinguished Menons - V. K. Krishna and KPS - to establish contacts with the Soviet delegation which had come to attend the session of the UN General Assembly. In a significant manner, Jawaharlal Nehru provided ideological basis of Indo-Soviet relations by enunciating the

basic framework of our foreign policy, the pillars of which were : Nonalignment, peaceful coexistence and anti-colonialism. These were the concepts which were closer to the foreign policy principles of the Soviet Union also. (19)

The Soviets did express sympathies with India and other newly free states. In a major policy speech at the founding meeting of the cominform in September 1947, one of Stalin's leading ideologues, Andrei Zhdanov, emphatically declared that the world had become divided into two irreconcilable blocs - the imperialist i.e., the Anti-democratic camp headed by the US and the anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Zhdanov included India among those exceptional States, that while not socialist, was not part of the imperialist camp. India was also seen to be sympathising with the anti-imperialist, i.e. the Soviet Camp. (20)

The partition of the country left many issues unresolved. Kashmir was one. As the ruler of this Muslim majority State a Hindu was in favour of independence, Pakistan unleashed the pathan tribesmen on the State to force his accession to Pakistan. In the event, the Maharaja acceded to the Indian Union and called for Indian military support. For five years, the Kashmir issue not only vitiated the atmosphere in the sub continent, but also gave a handle to the Anglo-American powers to blackmail India.

Kashmir is contiguous to China and Afghanistan and even close to the Soviet republic of Turkestan. Thus in the eyes of the Western alliance, Kashmir was of considerable strategic impor-

tance. It was natural that in the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, the West customarily supported Pakistan.

To add to these problems, was the negative stand of the Indian communist party towards Indian Independence. It refused to recognise India's independence as genuine, joined forces against the New Government and was generally disruptive. But the most serious challenge came when the communist party decided to launch an armed peasant revolution from Telengana in 1948, more or less on the pattern of the Chinese revolution. This adventurism had the support of Moscow. The Nehru Government banned the communist party and arrested thousands of communists, who were detained without trial.  
(21)

Nehru had indeed greeted the Soviet Union with much warmth and hoped on his part, to work with her in the resolution of world problems for the common good of mankind.

For some time, however, Indo-Soviet relations did not grow rapidly as might have been desired. Indeed it would not be wrong to say that during that period, however, India, and the Soviet Union found themselves working together in the United Nations on the issues of colonialism and racialism.

The initiative that Nehru took to try to end the war in Korea and Stalin's positive response to it signalled the start of a new recognition. There were, of course, occasions when the Soviet Union did not agree with India's stand on some specific issues about

to the Korean problem, but she always acknowledged the sincerity of India's intentions and, by and large, supported her efforts. India's prompt recognition of the people's Republic of China and her insistence that its representatives should occupy the place allotted to China in the United Nations also created a favourable impression in the Soviet Union and made its leaders conscious of India's capacity for as well as intention of pursuing an independent path in world affairs. It was with enthusiastic Soviet support that India was appointed the Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea, a signal honour at that time, which boosted India's prestige as a non-aligned country ardently working for world peace.

(22)

On the other hand Soviet Union began taking a more active interest in the Kashmir problem. This was clearly reflected in the <sup>speech</sup> ~~speech~~ of the Soviet delegate in the Security Council in the course of the debate on the Kashmir problem on January 17, 1952. The Soviet delegate unequivocally declared that Kashmir was an integral part of India.

In 1952, Stalin gave his first interview for foreign diplomat in two years to the departing Indian ambassador, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. In 1953, in a further gesture of goodwill, Stalin granted an interview to the New Indian ambassador KPS Menon. Simultaneously, trade began to improve. A significant trade agreement was concluded in December 1953. This was an important pointer to the change in Moscow's attitude towards India. There were cultural exchanges, too. All these were explained not merely as a reaction

to the changes in China's attitude towards India but also as a Soviet recognition of India's positive and independent role in world affairs free from western influence. (23)

The turn to a new level in Indo-Soviet relations came with the death of Stalin in 1953 when incidentally, Nehru paid him a glowing tribute. The process of change in the Soviet Union and in its perception and approach to the world began then, and it is reaching a dramatic climax now. (24) His death was followed by many important changes in the life of the Soviet people, more especially in the domain of home and foreign policies of the country. K. P. S. Menon recounts in his memoirs that a "with the death of Stalin, Soviet policy towards the neutral and non-aligned States and especially India entered a new phase. The Soviet government began to recognize independent India as a State ~~Union~~ which counted in international affairs." (25)

In a speech to the supreme Soviet in August 1953, premier Malenkov acknowledged that India had made a "considerable contribution" to the efforts of peace-loving countries aimed at ending the war in Korea. "Our relations with India ~~are~~ are growing stronger; and cultural and economic ties are developing. We hope that relations between India and the Soviet Union will continue to develop and grow with friendly co-operation as the keynote" he said. (26)

If we just re-count the numerous instance of the development in relation between India and the USSR during the year 1954,

it shall be obvious that the beginning of a new phase in Indo-Soviet relations was very much round the corner. In April 1954, the Soviet Union proposed the inclusion of India in the UN disarmament Sub-Committee, although Britain opposed it tooth and nail.

Seen in the light of the preceding discussion, it becomes clear that by about the end of the year 1954 and the unfolding of the year 1955, there started a new phase in Indo-Soviet relations. The peace-making efforts of India in the Korean war, her role in the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, her refusal to join the military alliances aimed at the USSR, her ever increasing influence among the non-aligned countries and her proven capacity to prepare a common ground, where East-West differences could be narrowed down - these were the pertinent factors, which helped the process of India and the Soviet Union coming closer to each other.  
(27)

At the time of India's independence, India had no direct economic dealings with the USSR. Indian goods used to go via London to Moscow and were handled by British traders. However, in April 1949 a better deal was made with the USSR. Nehru felt that the Soviet Union was in no position to offer aid to India. In any case, bilateral relations were not close enough for meaningful economic exchanges.

In India, there was, however, strong opposition to economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, both in the ruling party as also in Indian business circles. It was feared

that the Soviet Union would try to export communism to India.

In these circumstances, Nehru was compelled to move closer to the West, if only for the reason that the latter was eager to cultivate India's friendship, though it had characterised non-alignment as "immoral". At the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in October 1948 at London, Nehru gave his support to the Brussels Treaty, in which Britain was associated, but which was opposed by the USSR. India also decided to join Britain in giving military aid to Burma against the communist rebels in that country (Apparently, there was an Indian interest here).

Thus, in the first two years of India's independence in the face of continuing Soviet hostility to Indian leaders, India tried to move a little closer to the West, while preserving its anti-colonial and anti-imperialist image.

Nehru's visit to the USA in October 1949 came in for severe criticism in the USSR. Nehru's visit to the USA was his first to that country. This itself was significant. His mission was by no means to seek US Aid, though there was considerable ~~spec~~ speculation on this.

Though the United States wanted to enter the Indian market, a close preserve of Britain earlier, it was hesitant till 1949. Only when it knew that the Kuomintang was going to be ~~driven~~ driven out of China, Washington showed a real interest in India as an alternative to China.

Nehru's US visit was not a success. In fact, it was a

debacle. Chester Bowles, former US ambassador to India has written that Nehru was "particularly irritated by the insistent assumption of many Americans, both in and out of the public life, that if he was unwilling to accept completely the American analysis of the world situation, he must be pre-communist".

In the meantime, there was a change in the policy of the Indian communists from revolutionary violence to legal agitation. In 1950, the CPI gave up the 'left' strategy of armed struggle in favour of a broad front of left parties opposed to the Nehru Government. While the left front improved its parliamentary position at the 1952 general election, it provided tactical support to the progressive foreign policy of the Nehru government. In April 1951 the CPI put out a New party programme and issued a statement eschewing violence. In September 1951 it promised to follow constitutional means of struggle. (28)

The smooth development of Indo-Soviet relations during this period was a shining example of the implementation of the five principles of co-existence between two widely different political systems. The growth of Indo-Soviet amity during this period was particularly significant since it also coincided with our maturing relations with the USA. The competitive economic patronage showered on India during this period towards the implementation of the second Five Year Plan by the two great powers led Mr. Nehru to comment, "This makes India a kind of an area of agreement between the opposing ideological forces. (29) This period in Soviet politics was characterised by an almost continuous process of libera-

lization, which had started since the death of Stalin in March, 1953, and gathered momentum after the 20th party Congress in February 1956.

At the time of Stalin's death, Soviet foreign policy was already trying to break out of the fetters. There were several pointers of a realistic approach, particularly toward the newly free countries. But the transition from Stalin to Khrushchev took sometime. By June 1953 the dreaded KGB Chief, Beria was eliminated and September saw Khrushchev become the First Secretary of the CPSU, thus ensuring his supremacy. Though Malenkov continued to head of the Government as Chairman of the council of ministry the Khrushchev era began with a collective leadership which tried to move away from the dogmatism of the Stalin period. This became particularly noticeable in Moscow's attitude to New Delhi.

During 1954, the two countries exchanged a number of delegations to promote economic and cultural relations. The same year, negotiations began on concluding an economic agreement for Soviet assistance to India's industrial development.

By 1954, Soviet media was full of praise for Nehru and his foreign policy. But it also began to point out how the Soviet Union had contributed to the national liberation movement, and how it was a factor in consolidating that independence.

The signing of the first economic agreement between India and the USSR on February 2, 1955 for the construction of the Bhilai Steel Plant, alongwith a financial credit, was a major

event, which heralded a new phase in Indo-Soviet cooperation. It must be pointed out that both Britain and West Germany had earlier refused to help India to set up a Steel plant. Soviet assistance came at a time which India was launching its second Five Year Plan with emphasis on industrialisation. (30)

The Bandung Conference of 29 Afro-Asian States, held in Indonesia from April 18-25, 1955, Nehru's contribution to the successful organisation of this conference. Moscow hailed the Bandung conference as an anti-imperialist move and as a positive contribution by India. The Bandung conference was praised by E.M. Zhukov, a leading Soviet academician. Bandung further confirmed the credentials of India as a peace loving country, willing co-operate with the socialist community, be friend China and support the principle of peaceful co-existence.

The year 1955 marked a real milestone in Indo-Soviet relations when Jawaharlal Nehru visited Soviet Union in June, and later in November-December, the Soviet leaders Bulganin and Khrushchev paid a return visit to India. The cumulative result of these visits was to raise Indo-Soviet relations to a very high pedestal.

The Indian Prime Minister and his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi were given an unprecedented welcome. This was no put-in affair, for even the Western press noted its spontaneous nature. There was no parallel to it either before or since. Nehru was received at the airport by a whole galaxy of Soviet leaders

Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, Malenkov, Mikoyan and others. Of the sixteen days in the Soviet Union, Nehru spent ten days visiting the Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenir, Kazakhastan and Uzbekistan. It was the first time that a Non-communist leader was allowed to travel so extensively within the Soviet Union. (31) No one has ever received a more turmultuous welcome" - Menon records in his autobiography. The Washington post observed that "the reddest of the red carpets" was unfolded for Nehru. Pravda editorially welcomed the Indian Prime Minister in a manner reserved exclusively for a leader from communist country.

Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union proved a success. India's authority was recognised by a great power. Indo-Soviet joint communique noted that "the relation between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding". Both the Prime Ministers expressed their desire to develop relations between their two countries in the spirit of panchsheel and expressed their conviction that "the wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations and pave the way for greater international cooperation". The success of Nehru's visit was admitted even by the New York times, which wrote that Nehru was the first non-communist leader who was given the rorest honour of addressing a public meeting at Moscow - "The most tremendous reception indeed. (32)

During his visit, Nehru realised that Soviet people

and Government were fully committed to peace. At no time, Nehru and similar confidence about Western Governments, particularly of the USA. To the USSR, the ideological question had become secondary. The stress was on peace. The Soviet Union strongly believed that war could not be an instrument of policy in a nuclear age. In other words, the Soviet Union was unlikely to promote its ideology through violence. All these helped to build up confidence between the two countries. (33)

The return visit of the Soviet leaders to India 1955 (18 Nov-13 December) was equally momentous, for Khrushchev and Bulganin struck deep chords in Indian minds by bestowing generous praise on Indian leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and offering their undiluted support. Among the Soviet delegates were Gromyko, the Soviet foreign Minister, Mikhailov, Minister of culture and Kумыkin, Minister of Foreign Trade. The welcome was unprecedented in scale. About a million of people lined the road from the airport to the Rashtrapati Bhavan. For most of the Soviet delegates, this was the first visit to country outside the Socialist orbit.

From this visit of the Soviet leaders followed the general Soviet support to India's non-alignment to the issues of Kashmir and Goa's liberation in 1961, when the West introduced a resolution in the UN General Assembly to condemn India as an 'aggressor'. There were frequent references to India as a "great power" in Soviet speeches. The Soviet media kept the limelight on India. Pravda and other major dailies gave their front pages to

the visit for the entire three weeks. To pravda the visit was "unforgettable and historic."<sup>(34)</sup> All these provided the setting for closer Indo-Soviet relations and brought about a measure of independence to India's foreign and domestic policies.

#### IMPACT OF THE 20th PARTY CONGRESS

The 20th CPSU Congress (1956), a memorable one in Soviet history, dramatically enunciated Soviet policies towards the newly freed nations. Khrushchev realised the importance of the demise of colonial empires and the upsurge that this had brought about in many parts of the world. The outcome of the twentieth congress of the CPSU was welcomed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Welcoming the changes, Nehru in a speech in parliament said: "There can be no doubt that this congress has adopted a new line and a new policy. I hope that this development will lead to a further relaxation of tension in the world. The impact of the 20th party congress on the growth of Indo-Soviet friendship was stressed by the Indian Ambassador Mr. K.P.S. Menon in a speech broadcast from Moscow on 22 June, 1956 - in the past certain ideological distortions stood in the way of our friendship. These obstacles have now been removed by the courageous decisions taken at the 20th party congress in regard to certain fundamental principles. Among these decisions is the recognition that there can be different varieties of socialism; that violence is not essential for the transformation of society and that parliamentary institutions can be a means to the

(35)  
establishment of socialism. These decisions are welcome to India. It may be mentioned that in April 1956, the cominform - which had been an organ of International communism and openly condemned by the Indian Vice-President Dr. Radha Krishnan as a cause of international dissension in April, 1953, was dissolved by the Soviet Union. The friendship and understanding between India and the Soviet Union were already enhanced by the visit of Mr. Nehru to the Soviet Union in June, 1955 and the visit of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev to India in November-December 1955 which were associated with magnificent and spontaneous welcome extended to the leaders by the people on both sides.

Indo-Soviet relations and India's relations with others socialist countries became, from 1954 onward, the most important factor in India's foreign policy and thereby a compulsive influence on the foreign policies of many other countries also. But for the undeviating line of friendship between India and the Soviet Union, the American and British attitude to non-alignment would have continued to be one of contempt and suspicion. That it had to be changed, at least officially, to one of grudging tolerance was a great triumph for Jawaharlal Nehru because it had forced the American policy makers to modify open hostility to non-alignment. Another consequence of Indo-Soviet friendship in this period was that it exposed Chinese chicanery and opportunism in international affairs.

(36)

During the Hungarian developments, India played a

major role. As a non-aligned country India, could not have resorted to the emotional outbursts of the Western countries. Through the Hungarian development, India demonstrated moderation, restraint and a constructive approach.

Nehru's first reactions were rather groping. He said that what happened in Hungary was a 'nationalist upsurge'. He feared that many Hungarians were not satisfied with the regime and wanted independence from Moscow. He had hoped that the 20th congress would inevitably lead to a liberal Soviet system, and had pleaded with the West to encourage this process. But the West choose to remain frozen in its cold war postures.

India abstained from voting on the resolution at the 4th November, UN General Assembly session which 'condemned' the Soviet intervention, called for Soviet withdrawal, upheld the right of Hungarians to form a government of their choice .... India did not like the condemnation of the Soviet Union as also the investigation into Hungary's internal affairs by the UN. India however, opposed the resolution of 9th November, which called on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops in preparation for a general election in Hungary under U.N. auspices. Menon's major objection to the resolution was that Hungary was treated in the resolution as if it was a colony and not a sovereign State. "We can not subscribe to the idea that any sovereign State can agree to election under the UN organisation" he said. (37)

In spite of the frictions caused by India's stand on

Hungary, the Soviet leader gave importance to the role India was playing in the international arena to promote peace and disarmament. This was clear from its veto on the Kashmir resolution in the UN General Assembly in February 1957. The resolution brought up by Britain, USA, Australia, and Cuba sought to introduce a UN force into Kashmir to carry out demilitarisation preparatory to holding a plebiscite under UN auspices. (38)

The rapid deterioration of Sino-India relation began in 1957. In early 1959, there was a wide upsurge in Tibet, which forced the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans to flee the country. Though Nehru did not criticise China over this new development, he gave political asylum to the Dalai Lama and his entourage. But China was in an aggressive mode and had already taken a decision to teach India a lesson.

In February (11-16), 1960 Khrushchev visited India to consolidate the friendly relations between the two countries, he declared that Indo-Soviet relations 'have never before rested on a mere solid basis of' friendship and understanding.

Moscow had also made it clear to Beijing that it valued the friendship of India. The CPSU had told the Chinese communist party orally that "one can not possibly seriously think that a state such as India, which is militarily and economically - immeasurably weaker than China would really launch a military attack on China and commit aggression against it. This was revealed by Chinese sources during the polemics between Moscow and

Beijing. Moscow was thinking of economic sanction against the China and even expulsion of the Chinese communist party from the world communist movement. In August 1960 Moscow began to pull out Soviet technicians from China and China called back its students from the USSR. At the Bucharest conference of communist party in June 1960, Khrushchev gave vent to the true feelings. He attacked China's ideological position and its international behaviour. He said that China's actions against India had harmed socialism. (30)

Nehru's third and last visit to the Soviet Union took place in 1961, and again the Soviet people cordially welcomed India's Prime Minister. During the official visit, Nehru had talks with Soviet leaders on the most urgent issues of international relations and on the further development of Indo-Soviet cooperation.

Nehru also said in one of his speeches then "I came here last time six years ago. We all know ..... that the friendly contacts between our two countries developed greatly in the course of these years, as did our economic and cultural contacts. We have received very many presents from you but the most valuable of them all is your friendship. Sincerely trust that this friendship will develop and grow stronger." (40)

The Mig agreement was signed in 1962 when India's relations with China had begun to deteriorate on the border issue. In fact the problems between India and China were becoming a test for the growing Indo-Soviet relationship. China invaded India on

October 20, 1962. The first Soviet reaction came in the form of editorial in the pravda and Izvestia on October 25. In these editorials India's contribution to the cause of world peace was lauded and it was pointed out that strained relations between India and China would benefit only their common enemy. They urged both sides to seek a peaceful settlement of their dispute and further pointed out that their conflict would disrupt the Soviet Union's relations with "paternal" China and 'friendly' India. It said in a another editorial that the Soviet Union would not remain indifferent when the blood of brothers and friends flows, and called for a cease fire. (41)

In 1963, a new five-year trade agreement was negotiated. In 1964 the Soviet Union also offered to build the Bokaro Steel Plant, the biggest such undertaking. The Soviet Union also offered to establish yet another seed farm at Jetsar in Rajasthan. (42)

Jawaharlal Nehru died on May 27, 1964. A memorial meeting was held in Moscow in the Hall of Columns, where eloquent tributes were paid to the late Prime Minister, a rare honour for a non-communist leader. Pravda hailed him as "an outstanding statesman and a sincere friend of the Soviet Union." (43)

Jawaharlal Nehru laid down the firm foundation of India's foreign policy and domestic policy. The policy of non-alignment will ever remain as his most significant foreign policy contribution. As far as India as concerned it will always remember Jawaharlal Nehru as the architect of the policies in which Indo-Soviet friendship is rooted, for the same reasons he is remem-

bered in the Soviet Union. He made a deep impression in the memories of millions peoples of the two countries. Those people will always remember Jawaharlal Nehru as an outstanding politician, prominent statesman of our time, champion of peace and International cooperation and supporter of friendship and mutual understanding between the two countries.

#### INDO-SOVIET ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Indo-Soviet economic cooperation form an important component of the wide range of friendly, historically developed good-neighbourly relations between India and the Soviet Union. They have been going on uninterruptedly and without any serious snags and have proved to be of manifold importance to both theory and practice of international economics.

Soviet aid to India began against the background of dramatic circumstances. 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.

The economic cooperation between India and the Soviet Union has enabled India to build up huge industrial complexes ~~with~~ will have become of decisive importance for the national economy

of the country. Some of the largest public sector undertakings build with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the Bhilai and Bokaro Steel Plants and machine building plants in Ranchi, Hardwar and Durgapur (USSR); Oil refineries in Barauni, Koyali, and Gauhati (USSR and Romania); heavy machine tools plant, foreign plant in Ranchi and heavy ~~xxxxxx~~ electrical equipment plant in Hyderabad (Czechoslovakia); alumina plant in Kobra (Hungary); a number of power stations (USSR; Poland, Czechoslovakia); Pharmaceutical enterprises (USSR and Bulgaria); coal mining projects (USSR and Poland); and designing institutes ~~x~~ in the fields of metallurgy and machine building in Ranchi and Bangalore (USSR, Czechoslovakia).  
(44)

However, Western aid came with strings. This was more so in the case of the USA. Apart from political dividends set out of economic assistance, the aid was used to pave the way for private investment and to boost exports. These, in turn, helped the west to avoid crises in the post war aid were thus more  
(45)  
onerous than that of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has been charging an "interest rate of 2.5 percent per annum with the provision for repayment over the period of 12 years and a grace period of one year. During the same period West Germany has been charging 3 to 6 percent, Britain 5 to 6.5 percent and United States between 3.5 to 6 percent. Accordingly it is estimated that the total interest paid for a 12 year credit from socialist countries is always 60 to 70 per-

(46)  
cent lower than the corresponding payments to Western countries.

Soviet loans are better than Western loans because there is no danger of penetration of foreign capital in India with which results in out flows and cancels whatever little assistance is got from the development loans and grants. If analysed in this broader perspective Soviet loans are decidedly soft in comparison to the West. (47)

Amiya Bagchi, an Indian economist, comparing the terms of aid of socialist and capitalist countries points out that the effective rate of interest (after considering the difference in the nominal interest rate and the grace periods) on credits of socialist countries is lower. (48) The distinct advantage of rupee repayment that India does not bear the cost of foreign exchange.

Trade between India and the Soviet Union is an integral part of the relations between the two countries. From a negligible level of trade in the early fifties, in recent years the Soviet Union has emerged as a major trading partner for India.

The basic principle of the economic and technical cooperation of the Soviet Union with India is, therefore, the establishment of modern industrial units in the Key sectors of the economy. These industrial projects have become potent factors in India's struggle for economic independence. Scientific and technical cooperation between India and the Soviet Union too has been growing rapidly.

The raising of Soviet-Indian economic relation to a new higher level found its reflection in the results of the summit talks during the official visit of Brezhnev to India in 1973. At that time agreement on further development of economic cooperation on a long-term basis were signed and a joint Soviet-Indian declaration was adopted.

Whatever facts have been presented above show that if India has been able to march on the path of building a modern industrial economy, it has been to a great extent due to Soviet aid. This has weakened the imperialist hold and India has been able to withstand political and economic pressures from imperialist camps.

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