

SECTION - I

The nature of the problem - The Theoretical Frame Work.

Foreign policy has become a part and parcel of every vountry 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 ~~world~~ ~~was~~ 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 relationship 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 Rosenau highlighted the closeness of the relation 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 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.

CHAPTER - IIISECTION - IIOVER VIEW OF THE EXISTING LITERATURE

In the field of Indo-Soviet relations there are several works carried out by the leading scholars. Special mention must be made of - K. Ramamurty, M.P. and S. N. Talwar's book "The India-Soviet phenomenon contributions of Rajiv Gandhi has focussed on the roles of Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi in helping evolve these friendly bonds. The India Soviet friendly relations in nothing short of a phenomenon. Notwithstanding the fact that the two countries represent different ideologies, political systems, economic and political status, It is amazing to see that the two countries have almost extraordinary and unique friendly relations. It studies in particular the contribution made by Rajiv Gandhi ever since he assumed the office of Prime Minister of India. The study analyses the impact of historical Delhi Declaration in changing the international environment and humanising the international relations.

Regarding international relationship in the light of perestroika and Glasnost, mention should be made to S. N. Talwar's book "New political thinking and international relations". The new political thinking has brought revolutionary changes not only in the socio economic life of Soviet people but also in the domain of international relations. The theoretical postulates of perestroika Glasnost combine are no longer confined to the national boundaries

of Soviet Union. Based on the spirit of self-criticism, the new political thinking is gradually helping the process of confidence building among countries of different socio-economic backgrounds in the true spirit of an integral and interdependent world.

Vinod Bhatia's edited book "Jawaharlal Nehru as scholars of Socialist countries see him is a unique present at the bicentenary of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru believed in Socialism and hailed the October Revolution of 1917 as a new era for mankind. He considered the new Soviet State as a powerful factor in the struggle of the subject peoples against colonialism and imperialism. Nehru was the Architect of friendship with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, and he considered the emergence of the freedom and development of the colonial peoples and against reversion of the world to prewar conditions. The cooperation between India and the Socialist community helped to a large extent to preserve peace in the world, and the economic assistance provided by the socialist countries advanced the economic independence of newly free-nations. In this compilation, scholars of socialist countries assess the greatness of the man that was Jawaharlal Nehru, and his contribution to peace and friendship between India and the Socialist world.

The non-aligned movement is committed to strive for a world peace, justice and prosperity the prerequisites for the dignity of mankind and its survival. The composition, methodology and certain inherent weakness of NAM, have on many occasions come in the way of effective conflict resolutions and crisis management. Since the regional conflicts impinge upon the world peace, there is an urgent need to evaluate the operation efficacy of NAM. Dr.

Sunder Raman edited book "NAM and Regional problems" is an attempt in that direction.

E. Komarov's book "Lenin and the national liberation movement in India" is an attempt to comment on Lenin's statements about India in the light of concrete events and phenomena in Indian history, especially in the history of the Indian national liberation movement. The book contains Lenin's most important statements about India. The book also deals with the critical attitude to British rule in India on the part of progressive minded people in Russia and their warm feelings towards Indians which were displayed in the course of the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the early 19th Century and which were further enhanced at the turn of the 20th Century at a new stage of the revolution led by Lenin's party.

How did the thoughts and ideas of Lenin reach the countries of the East, India in particular, despite the strong counteraction of the entire powerful colonial apparatus that was attempting to build an insurmountable bostacle to the dissemination of any truthful information about the country which had a victorious socialist revolution? Who were those representatives of the Indian people who, at grave risks, went to Moscow, to see Lenin and hear directly from him the truth about the triumphant revolution? What was the reaction of the progressive public of India to the first acts of Soviet Russia's solidarity with India? Which ideas of the October Revolution aroused India the most? Leonid Mitrokhin's book "Lenin and Indian freedom fighters" attempts to answer this and other questions.

D. N. Haksar's book 'India's foreign policy and its problem's covers different aspects of India's foreign policy. In this books Mr. Haksar critically examines and candidly puts into proper perspective the problems and challenges our foreign policy makers face into day's interdependent world and recalls what Nehru's prophetic mind foresaw over three decades ago : that "basic thought structures of mankind would need to be changed if it were to take on squarely the emerging reality of the world; that in the neclear age, pre-nuclear thinking is not merely an anachronism but a potential threat to the future of mankind. The book makes a distinctive contribution to the solution of problems of international relations.

There is a growing tendency to define the very concept of non-alignment in different way's : genuine non-alignment, equidistance, neutrality and so on. Such understanding of the concept have been prevalent in the past in the advanced capitalist countries. To day some of them particularly the USA, have become very much concerned about the "genuineness" of non-alignment and the alleged deviation of the movement from "genuine" non-alignment first under the leadership of cuba and now under India. Unfortunately, such sentiments have begun to find an echo in some non-aligned countries and even in some influential circles in India. Subrata Banerjee's book "non-alignment to-day challenges and prospects" is the effort to understand the current international realities and the role and problems of the non-aligned movement in that context.

Regarding the relationship between India and the

USSR, mention should be made to V.D. Chopra edited book "Studies in Indo-Soviet Relations" Indian, Soviet and Western Scholars have been studying various aspects of Indo-Soviet Relations for over last three decades. This book makes an attempt to analyse Indian's relations with the world's oldest and the biggest socialist country with a fresh perspective. The merit of this book lies in its objective analysis of the evolution of Indo-Soviet relations in politics, economy, cultural relations and above all.

The Institute of oriental studies USSR academy of sciences published book "Jawaharlal Nehru Reminiscences and studies. This book is a collection of reminiscences of those soviet people and specialists who worked in India and met with Nehru, and studies analysed his views and activity. The scholars of this countries present samples of their researches into various facets of Nehru's life and concerns as a historian, a planner of economic development of a large, newly free underdeveloped country, a fiery internationalist and a man of culture.

In the field of Relationship between India and USSR, Vinod Bhatia's book 'Indira Gandhi and Indo-Soviet Relations' is a leading contribution published from New Delhi. Indo-Soviet relations have come to occupy a prominent place in the foreign policies of both India and the Soviet Union. If Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect of Indo-Soviet relations, Indira Gandhi built-up a solid edifice of friendship, which has been tested by time and has many dimensions. She realised that if India was to follow a truly mixed economy, with the public sector not only serving the cause of economic justice but

also India's economic independence, Soviet assistance has vital to India. Similarly, she realised that the struggle against imperialism, racialism and neocolonialism could not be pursued successfully except through a concert of like-minded nations. Indira Gandhi raised Indo-Soviet relations to commanding heights, leading ultimately to the Indo-Soviet Treaty, because she realised that these relations had proved to be a substantial national interest, particularly with regard to Indira's security and development as well as for world peace. The present book narrates the story of Indo-Soviet relations as they were shaped during Indira Gandhi's tenures as Prime Minister.

It is a leading contribution in this aspect. Mention must be made to G. I. Ivaschenko and Nikolai Kaltsov's 'The Soviet - Indian phenomenon'. The relations between India and the Soviet Union represent a unique phenomenon. The fact that these two countries have different socio-political systems has not been able to impede the dynamic development of the ties between these two lands of vast dimensions. Their durability has withstood all the challenges thrown up by geo-political intrigue and machination. The Soviet leadership has been assessing the importance of Indo-Soviet relationship for developments in the region and the rest of the world in superlative terms. In this book two Soviet scholars trace the development of ties between the two countries beginning from olden times to the contemporary period.

Girish Mathur's edited book 'Sinews of self-Reliance' deals with the fundamental aspects of the relationship between the two countries. Four decades of cooperation between the two countries have opened up prospects of realising, what at one time could look like,

utopia, a nuclear free, non-violent world, by the end of the present country or in another 20-30 years. On a narrower plane, this cooperation has been mutually beneficial to the two countries. For India it has provided an alternative to dependence. It has helped build our sinews of self-reliance. This country can now join the on going revolution in science and technology and hope to enter the next century with confidence. Not that this cooperation has not faced problems. It has and problems continue and will continue to come up. In this volume, 12, specialists have examined different aspects of Indo-Soviet relationship, the problems it has encountered and its future prospects.

R. K. Bharna's edited book 'Indo-Soviet cooperation and India's Economic Development' has focussed on different aspects of economic cooperation between the two countries. After attaining independence India embarked upon the path of rapid, comprehensive economic development. In this arduous task it strove to secure aid and assistance from the development countries of both west and the east, mainly from the USSR and the USA.

6, specialists have examined different aspects of India's economic aid relations with developed nations to a detailed scrutiny. Two of the contributions attempt a comparative study of US and Soviet economic assistance to India, while two others devote themselves exclusively to various facets of Indo-Soviet economic ties, one of the contributors appraises the tempestuous growth of trade between India and the Soviet Union, exposing the fallacies of arguments offered by ill-informed or ill-intentioned critics in the West and in India itself with the objective of giving Indo-Soviet trade exchanges a low rating in comparison to India's trade with Western countries. Another

contributor discusses the impact of Soviet Economic aid on the Economic Development of different Indian States.

P.N. Haksar's edited book 'Nehru's vision of peace and security in Nuclear Age' has focussed on the roles of Jawaharlal Nehru in world affairs. This volume draws a sober and realistic analysis of to day's nuclear age where illusion and false notion can lead to an all out disaster. It is the key problem over which an intense struggle is unfolding itself. In this context lies the importance of Nehru's vision of struggle for international peace and security against militarism and colonialism. The roots of this philosophy of peace for which all the democratic foreign policy and peaceful co-existence laid down by the great visionary.

Vinod Bhatia's edited book 'The October Revolution and 70 years of Indo-Soviet Relations' has focussed on relations in the light of October Revolution and Indian Freedom Movement. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 is 70 years old. The Soviet Union has emerged in these years as a mighty global power, with a positive foreign policy and a solid Socio-economic base. Indo-Soviet relations were built brick by brick. Every trial was crowned with confidence and mutual trust. But these were not without a strong foundation. Indeed, the Socialist Revolution in Russia and the Indian freedom movement, born in different contexts and circumstances, and carried out in a different way, formed an integral part of the tide of history against imperialism and for the creation of a better world order. The world to day also wants to know what is the future of socialism, and one can only quote the great Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State. Socia-

lism continues to inspire the peoples of the world as and ideal and ideology. The papers presented in this volume by leading specialists provide a variety of perceptions on Soviet policies as well as on Indo-Soviet relations.

S.P. Singh's political Dimensions of India - USSR Relations deals mainly with the political aspects of the Indo-USSR Relationship. In this book the Author has focusses on the political dimensions of India - USSR relations from the haloyon days of Jawaharlal Nehru upto the formative phase of Rajiv's ~~xxw~~ stewardship. It indicates that starting from a cautions beginning and subsequently passing through several phases of multi-facted cooperation, Indo-Soviet ties have influenced the contemporary events of bilateral, regional and international significance. This analysis further shows that at the present critical juncture, when the regional responsibilities and global interests of these two countries coincide probably more than ever before, there is every possibility of the bright prospect for the healthy development of Indo-Soviet Relations in the future.

Vinod Bhatia has made a brilliant attempt to cover the different aspects of the relationship between India and the Soviet Union, on the light of Nehru birth centinary in his book "Jawaharlal Nehru : A study in Indo-Soviet relations. Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect of Indo-Soviet relations. The Soviet people gave in return their deep and abiding friendship. By supporting non-alignment and the economic independence of India, the Soviet Union contributed to the success of Nehru's policies. India was oppo-

sed to the cold war and its ideological bigotry. It chose to remain non-aligned, thus preventing the polarisation of the world in two armed camps. Thus, in defeating the cold war, India and the Soviet Union played the most significant roles. The end of the cold war opens up prospects of a better world order. This book is a humble offering in this centenary year to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru the man who laid the foundations of India's foreign policy. Prof. Y. Etinger Edited NAM history and Reality has to caused on non-alignment movement from the global context. NAM today has more than 100 countries in its fold. The movement emerged in the past Second World War period as a response of the newly free countries to the cold war unleashed by the US and some other Western countries against the Socialist state. The leader of the newly free countries wanted to stay clear off the military groupings and to evolve a foreign policy course that could secure their economic and political interests. It was Jawaharlal Nehru, India's First Prime Minister, who formulated the idea of non-alignment. He thought that future of India could be secured only through maintaining an independent position in international affairs. Since that time the concept of non-alignment has been further enriched by various statesman of the third world and the movement has become one of the most significant phenomena of contemporary life and an important achievement of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This study, prepared by a group of Soviet scholars, comprehensively surveys the tempestuous development of the non-aligned movement and assesses its import and efficacy in the current international context.

Vinod Bhatia's edited book, 'Indo-Soviet relations : ~~xxxxxxx~~ problmes and prospects cover some fundamental aspect of the

relationship between the two countries. Indo-Soviet friendship today has also far-greater significance than it ever had in view of the danger of a nuclear war threatening man-kind. And Indo-Soviet economic, trade, and scientific cooperation, has increasing importance in view of the steady fast opposition of America to a new world order, and its determination to clamp on the world capitalist order dominated by US multinationals. The present book, a collection of brilliant essays by some very eminent scholars and public men in the country all specialists in their own right will make a significant contribution to broaden our understanding of India's relations with the Soviet Union. It certainly covers a wider area of relations than what has been dealt with earlier by other writers.

In the field of Indo-Soviet relations there are several works carried out by the leading scholars, special mention must be made of 'Indo-Soviet relations : 1947-1972' by Bimal Prasad, which contain different aspects of Indo-Soviet relations. This book presents for the first time a comprehensive documentary account of Indo-Soviet relations during the twenty five years since the dawn of Indian independence. The documents comprise not only the joint communique or statements issued from time to time by the head of state or government of the two countries and important agreements signed by them, including the famous Indo-Soviet treaty of 1971, but also the speeches delivered by Soviet representatives at the United Nations on such issues as Kashmir, Goa and Bangladesh. Through them the reader will have a full view of the nature as well as the evolution of Indo-Soviet relations from 1947 to 1972. These documents

have been appropriately classified under various chapters in the context of their historical background. Every chapter begins with an exhaustive introduction followed by relevant documents.

In this book 'The Delhi six and Soviet Policy' journalists Viktor Samarin and Vladislav Okalov attempt to give comprehensive and accurate account of the activities of a unique association of the leaders of six states, so different from each other, for the sake of protecting civilisation and ridding the world of nuclear arms.

The book present a comprehensive analysis of modern international affairs and cites the objective and subjective factors resulting in the profound harmony between the position of the group of six and the policy of the worlds first socialist state. The authors present a detailed account of the cardinal transformations taking place in the Soviet Union in the course of the restructuring of all the spheres of socialist society's life and examine the influence this process is exerting on the restructuring of international relations and on the enhancing of the role of the group of six in the contemporary world.

Relevance of Bundung is not limited to the past. The historic forum still means much to day and would mean much in the days to come. Jawaharlal Nehru used to say that Bandung would leave its imprint on the visage of the world. Now that the new political thinking is making head way in the world setting up new patterns of international conduct the topicality of the essential message of

Bandung is revealed with great clarity even after three and a half decades. Yevgeni Rumyantsev's book 'The Bandung spirit to Day' is an important work in this context.

R.B. Gour's 'Afghanistan Expanding Social Base of Revolution' has made an analysis of Afghan crisis, particularly from the global context. Following the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments, as announced by the Soviet leadership last year, this unilateral ceasefire has received very positive response except from the US and other followers of its political line. The present book, based on first-hand knowledge, analyses the situation in Afghanistan and provides the background to present developments there.

Regarding the relationship between India and USSR mention should be made to A. Roy's compiled and edited book 'India and Soviet Union : A chronology of Trade, Economic, Technical and Scientific cooperation. The Author has prepared an excellent chronicle of friendship and cooperation between India and Soviet Union for about the last four decades, or to be more precise, from April 1945 to September 1982. It is a detailed day by day register, the importance of the chronicle is considerably enhanced by the Appendices giving the most important documents relevant for the main theme of the book. Added to these is a brief sketch of the earlier roots of Indo-Russian relations given in the introduction.

Saral Patra edited 'Socialist World Trends and perspectives has made an analysis on perestroika and Glasnost. In this volume some Indian journalists, who have had the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the recent past,

have recorded their understanding of the on going process of perestroika under conditions of socialism.

Kathleen Healy's book 'Rajiv Gandhi : The years of power is an out growth is intensive research (1985-88) on the policies of Government of Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister.

K.S. Murthy's 'Indian foreign policy' deals with the relationship between both USA and USSR with India in general.

It is leading contribution in this aspects mention must be made to Jyotirmoy Banerjee's 'India in Soviet Global Strategy this book deals with the role of Soviet Union in the world affairs in relation to India.

In the field of relationship between India and the USSR I.A. Benediktov's 'Bonds of friendship' is a leading contribution published from Moscow. It deals with different aspects of the friendship of India with USSR.

B. Chatterjee's 'Indo-Soviet friendship' is a landmark study in the field of relationship between the two countries. It is an analytical study. In this volume the Author have examined different aspects of Indo-Soviet relationship.

In the field of relationship between India and the USSR, mention should also be made to S. Choudhury's 'Indo-Soviet Treaty' which deals with the different aspects of the treaty and the bonds between the two countries.

Indian foreign policy and the Soviet Union by P.C. Ghosh also deserves mention. This book deals mainly with the cultural aspects of the relationship between the two countries.

Maya Kulkarni's 'Indo-Soviet political relations since the Bandung Conference of 1955' although an old book, but covers some fundamental aspects of the relationship between the two countries. It deals with the based of relationship between the two countries.

Niranjan M. Khilani's 'Reality of Indian foreign policy' has focused on secular aspects of Indian foreign policy and Indira Gandhi's contribution towards the development of the concept of non-alignment.

C.S. Jha's 'From Bandung to Tashkent' has made an analysis of Indian foreign policy, particularly from the aspect of non-alignment movement.

'The non-aligned diplomacy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi' by Gandhijee Roy is a recent book relating to Mrs. Gandhi's foreign policy, particularly from the non-alignment perspective.

Reasons of state by Shashi Tharoor is an exploratory study on political development and India's foreign policy under Mrs. Gandhi.

Surjeet Man Singh's 'India's Search for Power' covers different aspects of foreign policy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi during her tenure as the Prime Minister.

Nemai Sadhan Bose's 'India in the Eighties' has focussed on India's foreign policy. This book deals with the relationship between the both USA and USSR with India in general.

Joyashekar's book 'Leading sectors in Soviet economic development is a leading study on the relationship between India and the USSR. In this book the author has focussed on different aspects of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Andrei Maravyov's 'Soviet Indian Economic Relation's Trends and Prospects' deals with Indo-Soviet Economic relationship, the problems it has encountered and its future prospects.

Why has Tagore been so near, so dear to the Soviet Union? How do the Soviet people love Tagore and why did Tagore see in Soviet Russia the dawn of a new civilisation? Why were Tagore's eternal dreams in his own words, fulfilled in that country? These and many other questions the Author A. P. Gnatyok Danilchuk seeks to answer in his book Tagore India and Soviet Union. A dream fulfilled.

The Non-aligned movement is a new and unique phenomenon in the system of international relations, which is still a puzzle to many people. Disputes often arise around the movement and even within its ranks. The questions asked are seemingly simple: what is the non-aligned movement? How old is it? With whom does it not align itself and why? Who are its friends and enemies? What roles does it play in the world arena? Why does it enjoy international prestige? How does the movement develop organisationally? Yuri Alimove attempts to give answers to these and other questions in his book The Rise and Grow of the Non-aligned Movement.