The purpose of this study is to survey relations between India and Indonesia during the period of seven years from 1961 to 1967. The choice of the starting year is deliberate. It is during 1961 that the process of alienation which started at the first Asian-African Conference in Bandung (West Java) in April 1955, came to a full circle. The year 1961 thus marks a turning point in the two countries' relations in recent times.

The fund of goodwill as bequeathed by centuries' old relationships and strengthened by India's support to Indonesia during the latter's struggle against the Dutch, seemed to be diminishing by the close of the nineteen-fifties. The two countries failed to fulfil the expectations aroused at the time of the signing of the Friendship Treaty in March 1951. The unsatisfactory performance in the fields of trade and cultural co-operation merely reflected on the two countries' failure to evolve an institutional framework through which regular flow of men and materials from one country to the other could be assured. Besides, various factors and forces hindered the growth of cordial relations between India and Indonesia and thus set the trends for future relations.

The first Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) in September 1961 provided a forum where these unsatisfactory trends were confirmed. The following four years witnessed a sharp fall in Indonesia's image of India. The leaderships in the two countries tended to ignore each other's susceptibilities on issues of vital interest to them. The differences of approach to issues of war and peace and to questions relating to
South-East Asia and Afro-Asia went to strengthen misunderstandings
between them, both at personal and ideological level. The pattern
of domestic politics, the nature of political leadership and the
type of national priorities set by them, did not prove to be
conducive to good relations. Disregard of each other's feelings
on issues of vital importance showed the decreasing importance
the two countries attached to each other in their foreign policy
calculations. By the beginning of 1965, anti-India sentiment in
Indonesia rose to a high pitch. Following a pro-China line of
hostility towards India, the Indonesian Communist Party made a
major contribution to it. Friendship of the early fifties changed
into mutual indifference, then into rivalry and, by September 1965,
to actual hostility to each other.

All along these years, China and Pakistan proved to be
significant external factors trying to damage Indian-Indonesian
relations. In order to serve their own objectives, they pursued
avowedly hostile policies towards India and attempted to drive a
wedge between India and Indonesia. The anti-India policies adopted
by Indonesia during the Indo-Pakistan conflict in September 1965
showed the degree of success China and Pakistan had in achieving
their objectives.

The Indonesian coup attempted on the night of 30 September
1965 reversed the domestic and foreign policy postures of Indonesia
and led to the discrediting and elimination of various factors and
forces which had practised a policy of "axis" with China and of
alignment with Pakistan. This provided an opportunity to India
to seek normalisation of its relations with Indonesia. The
developments in the two countries' political attitudes and
bilateral relations in the following two years showed encouraging
prospects for future relations.

While surveying Indian-Indonesian relations between 1961 and 1967, the author has applied a historical analytical approach. The two countries' attitudes to various issues of vital importance to them as these emerged during this period have been examined and analysed. The author has also made an effort to critically examine the impact of political strains on bilateral trade and economic relations between India and Indonesia.

The thesis is divided into eight Chapters including Conclusions. The first Chapter surveys various facets of Indian-Indonesian relations until 1961. In the light of India's support to Indonesia during the latter's struggle against the Dutch, it studies the actual implementation of various bilateral agreements until 1961, examines the nature and strength of various factors inhibiting growth of normal relations and identifies certain disturbing trends emerging in the two countries' relations. The second Chapter is devoted to the study of Indian-Indonesian attitudes at the Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade in September 1961. An attempt has been made to focus differences, both at ideological and personal level, between the leaderships of the two countries, as these emerged at this Conference. The third Chapter examines their reciprocal attitudes on various occasions and on various issues of direct interest to them. The study of the question of Malaysia in the two countries' relations as a backdrop of their attitudes towards South-East Asia, forms an important part of it. The fourth Chapter deals with the Indian-Indonesian attitudes towards the Second Afro-Asian Conference and highlights their differences of approach towards this Conference.
and the Conference of the Non-Aligned countries. The next two Chapters are devoted to the study of two external factors in Indian-Indonesian relations, China and Pakistan. The author has endeavoured to examine these two countries' policies and diplomatic efforts which caused damage to the Indian-Indonesian relations. The seventh Chapter deals with the developments in the two countries' relations in the period following the attempted Indonesian coup until December 1967. Finally, Conclusions contain the major findings of the thesis.

In the course of his research work, the author received generous help and guidance from a number of persons. First of all he is extremely pleased to acknowledge the debt of gratitude he owes to Dr. Vishal Singh, Head of the Division of South-East Asian Studies of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. His constant inspiration, encouragement and guidance, have been an important factor in the completion of this thesis. The author is also thankful to Dr. Pushpesh Kumar Pant of the Centre for Diplomatic Studies of the School of International Studies, for having gone through three of his Chapters, at the early stages of research, and for having made valuable suggestions in delimiting the subject. While in Indonesia, the author had the opportunity of discussing various aspects of the subject of his study with most of the top Indonesian political leaders of the nineteen-fifties and early nineteen-sixties, besides various leaders of Government, Parliament, political parties, press and Universities today. He is extremely grateful to all of them for their kindness and for their useful suggestions and pieces of valuable information supplied by them during the interviews.
The author expresses his sincere thanks to the Indian School of International Studies (now School of International Studies of the Jawaharlal Nehru University) for the award of 3-year scholarship (utilised only for October 1966-December 1967), and also for bearing the major expenses of his field trip to Indonesia from September 1969 to February 1970. The author collected materials relating to this thesis from various libraries in New Delhi and Djakarta. He did most of his work in the joint library of the Indian Council of World Affairs and the School of International Studies at Sapru House. For this he is thankful to Shri Girja Kumar, the Librarian (now Librarian of the JNU Library), and other members of the library staff for their help and co-operation. The author also thanks the authorities of the Press Information Bureau library and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry library, for allowing him to consult some relevant materials. In Djakarta, the author consulted and collected materials relating to his thesis from various libraries such as Department of Information library, Department of Foreign Affairs, Research Bureau library, Department of Education and Culture, Central Museum library, Antara National Newsagency Institute and Jajasan Idaju (Toko Buku Gunung Agung) for newspaper clippings. He expresses his thanks to the authorities of these institutions for their kind permission and ungrudging co-operation in facilitating his research work.

The author is grateful to all the friends in Indonesia who inspired and helped him in various ways. In this connection, he is happy to mention respectfully the names of Mrs. Miriam Budiardjo, Head of the Political Science Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia, Djakarta, Mr. Kapto
Sunoto, Head, Foreign Information, Department of Information, Mr. Ilen Surianegara, Director, Education Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Izak Mahdi, Director, Research Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs, Djakarta. Still another person whom this author remembers with gratitude for his kindness and co-operation is Professor Sumantri Praptokusumo, Secretary and Treasurer, Jajasan Siswa Lokantara, Djakarta. In the end, the author is thankful to all the friends in New Delhi who encouraged and helped him in various ways.


(BHAGWAN DASS ARORA)