CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy plays a vital and predominant role in the modern world. It is the key instrument and backbone of every country. In modern times no state can avoid its involvement in the International sphere. This involvement must be systematic and based on some well defined constructive principles. The principles and the purpose of a state are reflected in its foreign policy.

The foreign policy of any country is the product of a complex interplay of history, geography, past experience, present requirements, perceptions of the ruling elite, national interests and ideological consensus, if one exists in the country and if not of the leaders of the Government. It is also shaped and moulded by the domestic, regional and International balances of forces. It reacts to the developments in the three categories and at the same time endeavors to re-order their course to utilise them to the best advantage of the country. A state without a foreign policy is like a ship without a compass which drifts aimlessly, without any direction by every storm and sweep of events.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the architect of India's foreign policy. The policies, he enunciated like Panchsheel, non-alignment, faith in the UNO and of peace and friendship among nations - continue to be the bedrock of India's foreign policy. Since independence, the foreign policy of India has regarded, peace and friendship with its neighbours as well as other countries in the world, as of immense importance. This is the major element of India's foreign policy.
The whole of India's foreign policy from independence onwards centres around four goals.

They are:

1. The quest for security,
2. The diplomacy for development.
3. Regional Hegemony, and
4. Search for an International role.

The basic aim of India's foreign policy is not to interfere in the internal affairs of any country especially its neighbouring countries. India has a democratic set-up and it has been following an economic policy of self-reliance to the extent possible. Our leaders have been following and pursuing the above said goals and principles since independence.

South Asian International relations require an understanding and explanation of the history of war, diplomacy and politics in the region since 1947. South Asia is seen as a regional subsystem in International affairs. It is a region in which India is by far the largest nation and dominant power. India's size, population, the level of industrial and technological development, the degree of political and administrative institutionalization, and military strength give her a status of dominant power in the region. But at the same time India has striking commonalities with her South Asian neighbours in the terms of geographical factors, socio-political orientation of the elites, economic inter-dependence, historical, religious and cultural tradition. The other countries of the region too share with
India than with one another. This is why the South Asian situation is generally described as Indo-centric and the nature of inter-actions are exclusively bilateral. This peculiar situation has often made the smaller nations in the region suspicious of India rather than being reassured of her good intentions.

India's predominant position in the region tends to cause a fear psychosis among the regional partners, especially when there is a difference on vital and sensitive matters. Though India is not as powerful as her population and size may suggest, her image in the region is that of a giant. Notwithstanding the fear that India may induce in her neighbours, it can be denied that India is a peaceloving country committed to the principles of national independence, sovereignty and equality of all nations. Her non-aligned foreign policy and commitment to the national independence of all nations, especially those in Asia, Africa and Latin America would prove this. From the day of her independence, India has desired cordial relations with all her neighbours.

The history of Indo-Pak relations has been one of discord, mutual distrust, suspicion and conflict. Infact, the Indo-Pak relations have been bedevilled by many contentious issues which had their origin in the pre-partition India. The two countries have already fought three battles ever since partition took place. The relations become more strained after the creation of Bangladesh. There is an atmosphere of mistrust and animosity. Though efforts were made by India to sort out the difference and resolve all outstanding issues through bilateral talks, nothing concrete has happened so far because of Pakistan's non-co-operative attitude. Still the relations between the two countries are not cordial.
India and Bangladesh are closed-door neighbours and much interaction between the two is visible in the politico, socio-economic and cultural fields. Bangladesh emerged on the world map as sovereign independent country with the whole hearted material and moral help of India. There are a number of unsolved problems, which continue to raise their head and cause strain in their bi-lateral relations. But, today, India's relations with Bangladesh are reasonably cordial and all differences are settled by peaceful bilateral talks.

India and Sri Lanka are socially, culturally and politically linked and they have always been good neighbours as well as friends. Their approach towards the bilateral problems is thoroughly peaceful. India treated Sri Lanka like a big brother. In 1957, the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru to Colombo both India and Sri Lanka reaffirmed their faith in five principles of panchsheel recognised the importance of United Nations as an instrument for securing world peace, supported China's admission to U.N. These factors led both the countries to maintain close and friendly relations. At present, both the countries are happily placed and have no problems which would affect the amity and goodwill existing between them.

Bhutan is a very close friend of India. It is an independent state, but is guided by the advice of India in its external relations. The present Indo-Bhutanese relations are governed by the treaty concluded between the two countries in August, 1949. At present both the countries maintain good relations.
The Indo-Nepalese relations are highly complex and give rise to occasional irritants. Some of these irritants are natural and the two countries made efforts to normalize their relations as and when they come under stress. India has taken several steps to assure Nepal of its good neighbourliness and this friendly approach alone, India feels, can ensure a stable, reliable and lasting friendship between the two countries.

India and Maldives have been cordial in their relations. Both countries have share close ties in economic and technical areas. The Maldives Institute of Technical Education founded by the Government of India, was handed over to the Government of Maldives on September 16, 1996.

India always believed that good relations must be maintained with the neighbours. The birth of South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) in 1985, comprising the countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives was the outcome of this policy. The main aim of SAARC is to establish regional cooperation of a firm foundation, play an important role in accelerating the pace of economic and social development of the member countries and promote the objectives of individual and collective self-reliance and further the cause of peace, progress and stability in their regions and the world. It could become a catalyst to generate and accelerate regional cooperation in which India would have to prudently give the land without, of course, using her powerful position to dominate other members.
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study is an attempt to know India's foreign policy and its relations with SAARC countries from 1985 to 1995. The aim of the thesis is to evaluate, enlighten the principles, goals of India's foreign policy and the policies of Indian leaders towards domestic and International relations since 1985 till 1995. In India the post-Nehruvian architects were Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai, Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh and Narasimha Rao. They tried to manage the Indian power as well as seek regional and international consent. Their contributions no doubt vary in significance, yet all fall in the post-Nehru category. There are some changes and some continuity factors involved in the Indian Foreign Policy. After the end of Indo-Chinese war (1962) and Gulf Crisis (1990) some changes can be seen in the Indian Policy formulations. Throughout 1947-1995 in South Asia diplomatic and military history the distribution of power has been quite uneven. It has favoured India in terms of area, population, economic strength, natural resources, military resources and the vitality of its political system. The unequal distribution has created a fear of India hegemony over other South Asian States and is an important issue in the perceptions of most of these states and their elites. It has skewed South Asian diplomatic and military studies in a particular way. According to LEOROSE there is a great and permanent divide between India and her neighbours. All the other South Asian States have until recently considered India as the major threat to their security and national Integrity. India's aim was to insulate South Asia from interventionary pressures from outside the region, prevent violent International changes and build a stable state system.
In brief, India's relations with its neighbours like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives are based on the principles of 'Panch sheel' and Non-alignment. It is expected that in the near future Pakistan would also appreciate the sincere feelings of India and co-operate with it in transforming this region into one of peace and happiness.

The establishment of South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) was the most important and realistic approach by the political leaders of the South Asian countries to develop their political and economic conditions and resolve their bilateral problems of the region as a whole, regardless of the size and geographical locations of individual countries in the South Asian Region through the SAARC. From the first Bangladesh Summit Conference (1985) to the latest Male summit conference (1997), the SAARC achieved many of its goals in different fields, like political, economic, scientific and cultural. But some of the critics say that the SAARC did not fulfil its goals in the South Asian region, as major unresolved bilateral problems may undermine the evolution of effective regional cooperation.

Since the formation of SAARC, at Dhaka in 1985 till now, the world has witnessed the profound and dramatic transformation in the system of International relations. New structure and new balance of power have emerged. For a cooperative venture like SAARC to succeed, the member countries need to have a high degree of trust in one another. But it will be difficult, even impossible for any two partners with outstanding major bilateral problems to have adequate trust in each other when working on a regional basis. Moreover,
the major bilateral problems in the region, e.g., Kashmir, Farakka, Tamils in Sri Lanka and Nepal-India and India-Nepal migration, all have India as one partner and respectively Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal as the other. This reinforces the fear that India engenders among all the surrounding very much smaller SAARC member countries on account of her sheer size and her economic and military power.

The charter categorically excludes bilateral and contentious issues from the scope of SAARC, thus side-tracking major obstacles to effective cooperation. It is conceded that major bilateral issues may be excluded from the concerns of SAARC at the initial stages to give the Association a chance to find its feet. But unless the issues are faced and resolved within the frame work of SAARC or outside, there may not only be a dampening of the wind for the sail of the SAARC ship but there may in fact be very turbulent patches tossing it about.

Hence, the researcher attempted to trace out the basic principles and goals of India's Foreign Policy and find out how India maintained cordial relations with SAARC countries since 1985 to 1995.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Harish Kapur (1994) in his book "India's Foreign Policy (1947-92) shadows and substance" analyses how India's Foreign Policy behaviour has evolved since independence as well as the factors that have contributed to this evolution. This study identifies from major goals of India's Foreign Policy; The quest for security diplomacy for development;
regional Hegemony and the search for an International role. The study is divided into two parts; the first part deals with each of these objections and evaluates their comparative importance and traces their historical evolutions since 1947; the second part deals with the decision making process in Indian Foreign Policy.

Another work "International Relations and Foreign Policy of India" (vol.2) edited by Verendra Grover (1992) critically analyses the Foreign Policy and International Relations of India with its immediate neighbours such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. This volume is divided into six parts. This outstanding book is a treasure for all scholars and students of politics and International affairs and all those interested in the study of International affairs and foreign policy of India.

V.P. Dutt's "India's Foreign Policy" (1994) deals at length with India's relations with her neighbours and gives special emphasis to India's external economic relations as a factor in foreign policy. This outstanding work is the first of its kind and presents a total and detailed view of the countries foreign policy from its initial setting to the present study.

The book on "The Foreign Policy of India and her neighbours" (1996) written by Ashok Kapur emphasises on post-Nehruvian foreign policies of India with her neighbours especially South-Asian countries. South Asia is seen as a regional sub system in International affairs. India has to shape its position and its ascendancy in South Asia and to be mindful of developments in her neighbourhood with SAARC countries. The book also depicts the main developments between India and her neighbours with a view to defining the relationship that emerged out conflict, cooperation, indifference and competition.
The book on "The Challenge in South Asia" (1989) by Ponna Wingnaraja emphasises on India's relations with SAARC in the post-cold war era. It also focuses on the ideology of India towards its neighbouring countries and the SAARC Asymmetry issues, elements of a future agenda of SAARC.

K.P. Misra (1977) in his book "Foreign Policy of India" analyses the origin and development of India's foreign policy since Independence. This study has been divided into four parts. The first part deals with the background, the foundations and the structural aspects of the policy, the second part deals with the subjectiveness of policy during Jawaharlal Nehru's stewardship, part three deals with the post-Nehru period, part fourth concerns itself with bilateral relations which are relatively more important for India.

The study on "International Relations" edited by P. Sharma (1996) seeks to analyse India's foreign policy and its relation with India's immediate neighbours and at the same time this study emphasise the Indo-Nepal Co-operative Relationship.

Prakash Chandra (1994) in his book "International Relations" tries to analyse and explain the changing character and role in the regional organisation, and focusses upon practically all the existing regional organisation including the South Asian Region. While dealing with these regional outlifts, almost all International issues (especially South Asian Regional issues) of current concern have been separately dealt with.

One of the major studies of India's foreign policy is "India's Foreign Policy studies in continuity and change" by Bimal Prasad (1979). He deals not only with the theme of
continuity and change in Indian foreign policy, but also trace the evolution of that policy since 1947 and elucidates and analyzes its various aspects and its operation in relation to the different countries and regions of the world. There are also essays containing suggestions for improving the planning and implementation of policy. Taken together, the essays make this volume the most comprehensive study yet on Indian foreign policy.

R.S. Melkote (1990) in his book "Regional Organisation - A third world perspective" has edited a desperate collection of materials. Less than half of the papers are in a way about the third world countries perspectives. The unique section of the book comes from the contribution of the "Tensions within Regional Organisations SAARC - A case study" deals the different conflicts, and tensions among the member countries of SAARC.

Another work "The making of India's foreign policy" is by J. Bandyopadhyaya. This study, has generally paid attention to the more fundamental problem of the making of foreign policy, on which the rationality or otherwise of specific policies, depends to a considerable extent. The study of the basic determinants, political and administrative institutions, domestic process and personalities are involved in the making of India's foreign policy.

Although the book has involved considerable empirical research, it is not simply a fact-finding enterprise. It is also an analytical and perspective study intended to create and influence opinion regarding the essentials of a policy making process that would minimize the chance of non-rationality in Indian foreign-policy.
B.S.Gupta (1988) in his book "SAARC-ASEAN prospects and problems inter-regional co-operation" have edited twelve papers submitted to the seminar held under the auspices of centre for policy Research held in 1987 in New Delhi. In these papers an endeavour has been made to present the prospects and problems of co-operation between the SAARC countries.

The book on "Indo-Bangladesh Relations" by S.S.Bindra (1982), deals with the Indo-Bangladesh Relations. In this study, an attempt has been made to study various problems and other factors which were active from 1972 to 1981 and played an important role in determining the relations of the two countries. The Farakka Barrage dispute, New Moore Island and the various issues have been studied keeping in mind the internal situation of both the countries. The various factors which were responsible for the ups and downs in the relations, of the two countries have also been given place in the study. Not only political relations, but an attempt has also been made to throw some light on the economic relations of the two countries.

The study on "India, Pakistan and bangladesh - search for New Relationship" edited by Mohammed Ayooord (1975) deals with the interstate relations of the three constituent, sovereign states in the sub-continent. He also traced the new pattern of problems and relations that is emerging since the birth of Bangladesh.
M.S.Agwani (1983) in his book "South Asia stability and Regional Co-operation" contains a selection from the paper presented at the Seminar on "South Asia stability and Regional Co-operation: together with a summary of the proceedings. The unique section of the book comes from the contribution of the Regional Co-operation giving an overview and also deals with the other countries interests in the South Asian Region.

The book on "India, USA and Pakistan. A Triangular Relationship" written by Kilaru Ramachandra Rao examines the USA, India and Pakistan on the national interests of three countries which were involved for the state of strained relationship politically. It also deals with the changing trends of Indo-Pak relations.

The book on "India's search for power, Indira Gandhi's Foreign Policy 1966-1982" by Surjit Mansingh covers an area of India's relationship with Asia and African countries and emphasised much on Indian foreign policy towards various world issues during late Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership.

Lt.Gen.Kaul.B.M., (1967) in his book "Confrontation with Pakistan" analyses India's relations and problems with Pakistan especially in military aspects. The two countries had undergone the bitter experience in the year 1965. Again, if India was faced with a similar situation definitely India would become a weaker country in the Military field. And also this book deals the developments in East Pakistan and anticipates that the confrontation with Pakistan may become inevitable.
The book on "India in World Affairs 1957-58" (1975) written by Appadorai A., examines the straight-forward account of the foreign policy problems facing the Indian Government and its responses thereto. Its value lies as much in what it narrates as in the significance of the period it deals with.

Satish Kumar (1976) in his book "India and World Affairs" deals with India's role in the world affairs. This study has been divided into eight parts. The first part deals with India's role in world affairs. The second part deals with India's bilateral relations with neighbouring countries (especially SAARC countries). During this period India's relation with the South Asian countries had developed to be friendly and cordial.

Though the literature cited above highlights some of the basic issues concerning the SAARC countries, a detailed comprehensive attempt is made to focus the India's foreign policy and its formulations by the different Indian leaders. With the background of the above discussion, an attempt has been made here to study India's Foreign Policy and Relations with SAARC countries from 1985-1995.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present study is an attempt

1. to examine the historical background and evolution of India's foreign policy both at national and International level.

2. to trace the genesis and growth of SAARC.

3. to study India's relations and its problems with the SAARC countries and

4. to evaluate the personality factors of Indian leaders.
METHODOLOGY

The present study is mainly based on primary and secondary sources. The researcher collected all relevant information from various books, journals, interviews with different persons, Newspapers and SAARC conference documents. The researcher also collected material from Madras University Library, Madras, Public Library, Bangalore, Osmania University Library, Hyderabad, S.V.University Library, Tirupati and SAARC Regional Centre, Visakhapatnam.

The data collected is analysed carefully with a view to make it suitable and sufficient for the present study. After the collection of the data from the above sources the researcher analysed and reinterpreted them in various chapters.

CHAPTERISATION

The thesis is broadly divided into five chapters.

1. Introduction
2. Historical Background of India's foreign policy
3. Genesis and growth of SAARC
4. India's Relations with the SAARC countries and
5. Conclusion