Chapter-I

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Democracy is one of the most widely advocated forms of government. But the growth of modern democracy cannot take place without certain conditions. Among the conditions a healthy, democratic and stable party system occupies a unique place, even though it is an extra-constitutional growth. The party system not only democratises politics but also it makes responsible government responsive. Therefore, party system is indispensable in democratic societies.

The foreign policy of a country is the projection of domestic policy. The policy-makers are linked with the internal and international environments. During the recent times internal and international and domestic politics have become increasingly inter-related.¹

In a modern democracy, the interaction between foreign policy and domestic politics can be best understood by examining the party system and its role in the
policy processes. Therefore, any significant understanding of foreign policy would be difficult, without some understanding of the domestic political environment. Consequently, we should also recognize the impact of foreign policy on the domestic political environment.

The Problem: Definition and Elaboration

The study of the political parties has two aspects: the study of individual party or parties and the study of the party system. This distinction is recognized by scholars. For instance, it has been stated: "one involves their characteristics as discrete entities for example, their various social bases, histories, goals and appeals, formal organizations and actual power structures. This is the study of party "Units". The other involves the competitive interaction patterns among party units. This is the study of "party systems ...."?

According to Roy C. Macridis, there are two
approaches to foreign policy. One is the ideological approach, according to which foreign policy is considered a function of the political system in action or the preferences or convictions of political leaders who carry out its programme. The second approach to foreign policy is analytical. At the heart of this viewpoint is the proposition that policy rests on multiple determinants including the state's historic tradition, geographical location, national interest and purposes and security needs.

But in the last two decades there have been reactions against the ideological approach. The perception of foreign policy as outcome of domestic politics could hardly explain the continuation of the policy. Certain factors in policy formulation compel every policy-maker to continue the national policy. In this context, the national interest is one of most important permanent guiding factors in policy formulation. Out of the interplay of a durable international position with the permanent
national traditions and institutions, the larger nation­
states have fashioned foreign policies that, in broader
outline, have been consistently, maintained over long
periods, even in the face of drastic changes on the
domestic political scene.4

The above two approaches have been combined in
this study. We assume that a leader is empowered
officially to take decisions in foreign policy. But
the domestic political systems presuppose a party
government. We have also to bear in mind that there
are more than one party in the system. In the process
of evolving the foreign policy the political parties
will hold different views on goals and or means of
achieving the goal. An attempt has been made here
to examine critically the interaction between domestic
and foreign policy in India as demonstrated in the
working of the party system. The party system is a
crucial and fundamental part of our political system.
Therefore, it is important in this connection to
analyse the relationship between the nature and
functioning of the Indian party system and the
process of evolving Indian foreign policy.

For this purpose, the parties have been taken as units of analysis. The parties selected for this study are the seven national political parties: the Indian National Congress(R), the Indian National Congress(O), the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India(Marxist), the Socialist Party, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party. Competitiveness is a basic or central aspect of a democratic party system. Hence, we have chosen for concentrated attention national political parties which can competitively interact with each other in a substantial way.

Thus, the focus of the present study is on the question of how far the nature and functioning of the Indian party system has influenced the process of foreign policy formulation. Here, influence means participation in the decision-making process but no power to make a formal decision. What is the impact of the Indian party system on the political institutions involved in the process of foreign policy
making? What is the impact of the Indian foreign policy on internal political development in India?

This work was originally designed to cover the period since 1969 to date. But the length of the period was later reduced to that from 1969 to 1977 in the interest of depth analysis. The year 1969 constitutes an eventful year in domestic politics as well as in international politics. So it has been chosen as the starting point of the study. We were influenced by the following significant considerations in this decision.

Firstly, the year of man's landing on the moon has been a significant year in many ways, but 1969 will perhaps be remembered most in India for the extra-ordinary political changes that took place. The conflicts (internal) in the Congress party in post-Nehru era ultimately resulted in the split of the Congress party in 1969. The split had considerable impact on the party system. One of the
important, immediate repercussions of this split in the Congress was that Mrs. Gandhi's government was reduced to a minority in the Parliament. The split reduced the strength of the Congress(R) party from 283 to 228 in a House of 519 as 65 members of Lok Sabha supported the Congress(O) Party. For the first time in modern India's history the Congress party failed to hold a majority in the Parliament. This compelled Indira Gandhi to enter into alliance with the Communists for the support of her government.

Secondly, no party or combination of parties had been able to get recognition as an official opposition in the Lok Sabha from 1947 to 1969. The recognition of the Congress(O), in 1969, as an official opposition in the Lok Sabha for the first time was a landmark in the history of opposition in India. Another crucial event of 1969 in the history of the opposition was the further split of Communists into the CPI(M) and the CPI(ML). The CPI(ML) challenged the fundamentals of Indian political system. There was also shift in the
style of the opposition attack on the Congress government. During the Nehru period, the party, not the leader, was the target of criticism. From 1969 onwards the opposition concentrated its fire on Indira Gandhi and not on the Congress.9

The year 1969 marks a critical phase in the history of politics of individuation in India and thus also a landmark in India's political development.10 It has been noted that individuation of politics meant the personalization of power conflicts and the consequent competition around personalities.

Thirdly, Jawaharlal Nehru had been successful in building up an ideological and institutional consensus. But he began to lose his grip over ideological consensus from the time of the Indo-China war of 1962. The Rabat issue of 1969 accelerated this process of upsetting Nehru's ideological consensus. The victory of the opposition parties in the Fourth General Elections, enabling them to form coalition governments in some of
the states disturbed the institutional consensus. In addition to this, the split of the Congress party in 1969 undermined the institutional consensus. There was thus lack of both ideological and institutional consensus in 1969.

Fourthly, the crucial development in international politics in 1969 was the emergence of detente. This changed significantly the course of world politics. The bipolar world was replaced by a multipolar world. Both the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States held talks in Helsinki in connection with the limitation of strategic arms. The US State Department announced in July 1969 a relaxation of its trade and travel restrictions on China, and the change in the attitude of the USA can be seen in the admission of China to the UNO.

An interesting development in this year was the proposal by Leonid Brezhnev to establish an Asian
Collective Security System. A world Communist parties conference was held in June 1969 in Moscow, in which, China, however, did not participate. This intensified the rivalry between these two Communist powers. However, the talks to open negotiations were held in October 1969 between Peking and Moscow.

India's delegate was insulted at the Islamic Conference held in Rabat from 22nd to 25th September 1969. In Pakistan, President Ayub Khan handed over power to Gen. Yahya Khan in March 1969.

These developments had profound significance on international politics even though international relations to-day and in future cannot be determined exclusively by relations amongst the big powers alone but also by a multiplicity of forces including the role of middle and small powers as well as by world public opinion. A country's foreign policy cannot be rigid, for it has to change in accordance with the changing situations. Indeed, one of the major merits of the foreign policy
enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru was that it has never been rigid and doctrinaire but was a positive and dynamic policy based on principles which allowed it to grow and adjust itself to changing conditions and needs. Therefore crucial developments took place in the changing international scene during the period 1969-1977. These developments include the Rabat issue, the Bangladesh crisis, the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1971 and the Simla Agreement.

Review of Relevant Literature *

We shall only examine briefly the major works in the field in order to make clear how this study relates to the previous works or in what distinctive manner it contributes to that literature.

The Indian National Congress was an organisation of the freedom movement before 1947, which used to react to the various international developments. * Please see next page for foot-note.
Footnote:

*This survey does not take into account, regretfully, Shashi Tharoor's work, "Reasons of State Political Development and India's Foreign Policy under Indira Gandhi, 1966-1977", New Delhi, Vikas, 1982, as it appeared too late for inclusion here. However, it must be pointed out that though our thesis and that work contain much overlapping material, we are more specifically concerned with the study of party politics and party system in India, as they affect foreign policy. Tharoor's work goes beyond this to examine the political system as a whole in relation to foreign policy.*
Bimala Praeada's book, "The Origin of Indian Foreign Policy" is a study of the reactions of the Congress party to world affairs. Though the author has adopted an historical approach, it is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the foreign policy involvement of political parties in pre-Independent India.

K. Raman Pillai's work, "India's Foreign Policy: Basic Issues and Political Attitudes", presents the attitude of the opposition parties towards India's foreign policy. This study covers four opposition parties; the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party of India, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party. The author examines the stand of the opposition parties on foreign policy issues and its impact on foreign policy decisions or the conduct of foreign policy.

After providing a background to the origin of the opposition parties and the Congress party, and their approach towards foreign policy in pre-independence period, Pillai discusses the views or the
reactions of the opposition to the issues of the cold war, the relations with Pakistan, foreign aid, the relations with China, the membership of the commonwealth, Indians overseas, Colonial and Racial Discrimination.

The finding of this work is that the influence of the opposition parties on the conduct of foreign affairs can be seen only after 1959, and that, from 1959-1963, there had been increase in the influence of the opposition parties, Pillai holds that the opposition parties, on the whole, made their contribution to the thinking on foreign policy in India.  

Mohammed Ali Kishore, in his book entitled "Jana Sangh and India's Foreign Policy", focusses on the approach of the Jana Sangh to the foreign policy of India. Kishore discusses first the ideology, programme and basic principles of foreign policy of the Jana Sangh. Then he goes on to explain the attitude of the Jana Sangh towards Super Powers, Eastern Europe,
On the basis of the party programme and manifestos, the speeches and writings of the Jana Sangh leaders on Indian foreign policy, he finds the party pro-American, but at the same time aggressive. Jana Sangh emphasised the "cultural affinities" and "spiritual bonds" (with Nepal and Indians overseas) but found India surrounded and scared by the twin threats of an Islamic bloc (formed by Pakistan in West) and a Communist Empire (across the Himalayan borders and Southeast Asia). Secondly, he also points to the possibility of their continuing the Nehru policy of goodwill for all and malice to none.

His first finding proved to be wrong when the Jana Sangh merged to form the Janata Party. The foreign policy of the Janata Party was entirely distinct from the foreign policy of the Jana Sangh even though the Jana Sangh's eminent leader,
A.B. Vajpayee, was the minister for External Affairs in the Janata government. The Jana Sangh had regarded both Pakistan and China as natural enemies of India. But the visit of Vajpayee to Pakistan in February 1978 and China in February 1979 demonstrate that there was little impact of the foreign policy of the Jana Sangh on the foreign policy of the Janata government.

"The Communist Party and India's Foreign Policy" by Taufin Nizami is a study of the programme of the CPI and CPI(M). In the words of Nizami, it is "an attempt at analysing and critically examining the programme of the CPI and CPI(M) with regard to India's foreign relations as reflected in the pre-independence pronouncements of the united CPI and indicated in the post-independence strategy of the two Communist Parties, as the phase of "unity" and later of their "split" into separate organisations."15

Nizami discusses critically the approach of the CPI and CPI(M) towards foreign policy, Super Powers.
non-alignment, the Commonwealth, colonialism and racialism, UN, Pakistan, Germany, Korea, Congo, Vietnam and Chinese aggression. Nizami finds that "both the CPI and the CPI(M) look at the Indian foreign policy differently which reflects the rift in the international Communist movement." Nizami points out that the approach of the CPI to the above mentioned foreign policy issues, is based on the dictates of either the USSR or China and it has no nationalistic sentiment.

The purpose of S.M. Mohiuddin Subhani in his work entitled "Attitude of Socialists towards India's Foreign Policy" is to present the approach of the PSP towards India's foreign policy. Subhani first gives an account of the origin of the various Socialist Parties during eight phases between 1934 and 1971. Then he examines the views of the Socialists towards non-alignment, anticolonialism and anti-racialism, foreign aid, defence, relations with the West and Soviet bloc, relations with China
and Pakistan, West Asia, South and Southeast Asia.

The author concludes that "the area of its agreement with the government was rather wide. Normally, even while agreeing on official principles, policies and stands it pointed out to their defects and put forward its own suggestions for improvements which were often constructive, generally charged with ideological and patriotic fervour and as such often oblivious of practical difficulties besetting their implementation and, at times emotional. On the whole, its behaviour was more rational than emotional."^{17}

But it does not cover the foreign policy of the SSP, though the title of the book implies the attitude of all Socialists parties. In other words it does not make clear whether there was any difference between the foreign policy position of the PSP and SSP.

Our last work, Aswini K. Ray's "Domestic
Compulsions and Foreign Policy: Pakistan in Indo-Soviet Relations*, emphasises how the evolving foreign policy of Pakistan influenced Indo-Soviet relations and internal political developments in Pakistan and India.

Our brief review of the literature reveals that there has been little study of the complex interaction between domestic politics and foreign policy. We also find that Indian political parties have been studied more by foreign scholars than by Indians. The primary purpose of this study is to contribute broadly to this area, and specifically, on the problem of the process of foreign policy-making in a competitive one-party dominant system. We hope to make good some of the lacunae in the existing literature.

Firstly, the works examined above contribute to the study of the political parties as individual organisations whereas the objective of this study is to concentrate on the party system. Secondly, the above works cover the development only up to
The need to study the foreign policy involvement of political parties from time to time, arises because political parties change their position according to the changing domestic and international environment. The changing position of parties will have immense impact on the nature of the party system. Therefore this thesis examines the developments since 1969, in order to analyse the nature of the party system and its impact on the process of foreign policy formulation.

Theoretical Concepts Used in the Thesis

First we shall deal with the definitions of the concepts and then discuss the inter-relationship between the concepts. The definition of a concept is essential to understand the use of the term in any context and the essential nature of the concept.
The term party is derived from Latin word "Partire", which means to share or divide. Burke defined the party as "a body of men united to promote the national interest by their joint endeavours upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed." Giovanni Sartori states that "a party is any political group that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office." According to Webster International Dictionary, "Party is a group of persons organised for the purpose of directing the policies of government especially by providing the principal political personnel and usually having as a basis for common action one or more factors as principle, special interest or tradition upon which they have substantial agreement." The definition given by v.C.Key is that "political party is an entity which rolls into one the party in the electorate, the professional political group, the party-in-the
Taking into account these various definitions, we shall conceptualize the party as a group of people, organised for the purpose of providing the political executive through winning an election, mobilizing public support for the party-based government, and generally functioning as a channel of communication between the public and the government, with regard to policy-making. Further, when the party sits in opposition by losing the electoral battle, it has the function of keeping a watch over the government, channel public reactions to its policies, and to prepare for the next electoral battle. In short, we assume that the parties play a crucial role in policy-making in a domestic political system, whether in power or out of it.

The Party System

Giovanni Sartori points out that, "parties make
for a "system" then only when they are parts (in plural) and a party system is precisely the system of interactions resulting from inter-party competition."23

Harry Eckstein argues that a party system is
"concerned with the interaction patterns among significant and genuine electoral organisations in representative governments in which systems serve preeminently (whether well or badly) the functions of providing a basis for effective authority and for defining choices that can be resolved by electoral process."24

We shall define a party system as a system in which individual parties function as component units and generate structured patterns of inter-party interactive relationships. When defined in this way, party systems can be classified on the basis of the nature of their structural interrelationships. For instance, we can classify party systems broadly into (1) one-party, (2) one-party Dominant, (3) Two party and (4) Multi-party.
Foreign Policy

According to one source, "Foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretations of national interest to the highly fluctuating situational factors of international environment to develop a course of action followed by efforts to achieve diplomatic implementation of policy guidelines." Fredrick H. Hartmann writes that "a foreign policy consists of selected national interests presumably formulated into a logical consistent whole that is then implemented, any foreign policy can be viewed analytically in three phases: conception, content and implementation." The definition of Joseph Frankel reads that "foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involve to some extent relations between one state and other." M. Rutnaswamy suggests that "foreign policy now is the bundle of principles and practices that regulate the intercourse of a state with other states."
Cutting across these definitions, we shall hold that foreign policy, as distinct from domestic or home policy of a political system, to be its policy towards foreign governments, in terms of its ideological objectives and long-range as well as short-range national interests. Such a policy forms the basis of a whole range of relations between the political system and the foreign governments. We also distinguish between the broad functions of a foreign policy and their specific applications in specific contexts.

**Parliamentary Democracy**

Leon D. Epstein states that "parliamentary government or Cabinet government is the form of constitutional democracy in which executive authority emerges from, and is responsible to, legislative authority." According to Garner, "cabinet government is that system in which the real executive the cabinet or ministry is immediately and legally responsible to the legislature or one branch of it
(usually the popular chamber) for its political policies and acts, and immediately or ultimately responsible to the electorate; while the titular or nominal executive, the chief of one state—occupies a position of irresponsibility.” Sir Ivor Jennings has described as cabinet government one, in which there is a complete fusion of legislative and executive power at the common apex of the executive and the legislature—the cabinet.”

We shall conceptualise parliamentary democracy as a political system in which a legislature elected on the basis of adult franchise, not only supplies the personnel of political executive, i.e., the Cabinet, but also holds the latter accountable to it in a formal, constitutional sense.

The Inter-relationship between Concepts, Party Politics, Party and Party System

By nature man is a social and political animal
who attempts to establish a stable society on the basis of mutual interest. Political party reflects this nature of man. While men differ from one another, at the same time they unite on some issues. So whenever we want to take decision in a society on any subject, it is natural that one group differs from another. Therefore, party politics, as group activity, is inevitable, especially in a democratic society.

Party units and party systems are closely related. A party is part of a larger entity, as it presupposes the existence of other parties. In this context, a party is one of the units of a party system. The interactions between parties are determined by the characteristics of, and the political competition between, individual parties. Such interactions, taken in their totality, may be said to constitute the party system.
The Party System and Foreign Policy in a Parliamentary Democracy

In a parliamentary democracy the executive or cabinet is the policy-making authority. The ruling party may be divided in its support to the leadership and policy. However, the government will be in power as long as it retains the majority in parliament and it is responsible to the people through the parliament. Sometimes the government may have to seek the support of the opposition for its survival. The replacement of the ruling party by another party may not change the fundamentals of the foreign policy. Perhaps it may change the methods and techniques of policy-implementation.

Hans J. Morgenthau states that "the outcome of an election or a civil war determines the future course of nation's foreign policy." If a leftist party wins in the elections, it may align with, or become soft towards, the Soviet Union, but, if a rightist party
comes to power, the foreign policy could support the United States.

Discussion is a necessary and vital process in the life of any organised community and every member is entitled to contribute to this process. But it is not possible for all the people to participate in the process of policy formulation in a complex, modern society. Therefore, the political parties take part in the discussion on behalf of the people and they act as a link between the public and the government. In this manner the party system democratizes policy formulation.

In a parliamentary democracy, discussion plays a vital role in policy formulation. The parliamentarians question the concerned minister, asking for particulars about an issue, apart from their participation in the main foreign policy debates. The quality of discussion and debate is mainly determined by the nature of the party system. The
functioning of the political institutions of parliamentary democracy is influenced by the characteristics of the party system.

**Methods and Techniques**

This study employs chiefly documentary techniques and methods i.e., a systematic examination of primary, secondary and incidental documents. Accordingly the data for the work have been gathered from primary sources, reports, resolutions, presidential addresses in the party meetings or sessions, articles by eminent leaders of different political parties in their party newspapers, editorials of the party newspapers, and the statements of the leaders of parties in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The documentary investigation is supplemented with some interviews. Though originally, we had intended to interview all the important leaders of different parties, it was possible only to interview four leaders, J.P. Mathur, Madhu Limaye, Dinesh Singh and Ravindra Verma.
The bibliography given towards the end of the thesis gives some idea of the sources consulted. There is also a list of abbreviations of some of the terms used in the thesis. Footnotes have been gathered and listed at the end of every chapter.

The thesis did not involve any problem of either computerisation or language. Since the data are not quantitative, the question of computerisation does not arise. Since the main language of the documents examined is English and since even non-English material was easily available in English translation, we had no language problem to deal with.

The Plan of the Work

The thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter begins with a statement of the problem, a brief review of relevant works, theoretical conceptualisation and methodology. The second
chapter examines the Indian Party system, its types main features, origin and development. The third chapter explains the process of foreign policy making. The fourth chapter analyses the content of foreign policy position of the parties, specifically on the central issues of 1969-1977 period. In the fifth chapter, we examine the role of the party system in the process of foreign policy making in the context of party and government, parliament and public opinion. In chapter six, the argument of the thesis is summed up so as to present a perspective of party politics in relation to the process of foreign policy making to bring out its essential characteristics.
References


3. Roy. C. Macridis (Ed), "Foreign Policy in World Politics", 3rd edn., Delhi, Prentice-Hall of India, 1979, p.3.

4. Ibid., p.4.


8. It might be recalled that earlier in 1969 the then CPI was split into CPI & the CPI(M).


12. Ibid., p.18.


16. Ibid., p.257.


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