CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters of this study confirm the working hypothesis that there has been a close link between ideology and the Soviet foreign policy ever since the October Revolution and that the specific Soviet foreign policy doctrines have been based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology that was worked out and sanctioned by the Party.

It has also been noted that ideology itself has been constantly reviewed and revised to take into account the reality. This was reflected in Lenin's revision of Marx through a theory of the Party, State, Revolution and Imperialism. Stalin revised Marxism-Leninism comprehensively through the concepts like 'Socialism in one Country', revision of the laws of dialectical materialism, and the introduction of economic 'laws' of socialism. Khruschev, while retaining the basic framework of Marxism-Leninism, revised certain aspects of the Stalinist world view though the concepts like 'peaceful-coexistence', 'world-socialist system', etc.

Under Brezhnev, when the cold-war was at its height, the principles of 'proletarian' and 'socialist' internationalism were stressed and the 'ideological struggle' became integral to the concept of 'developed socialism', which served to undertake the problems of the society and pushed the goal of communism to distant future. Andropov, picking upon the trends in the ideological debate which began in the last years of Brezhnev and
was critical of some aspects of the socialist theory and practice laid stress on the perfection of socialism. Under Gorbachev, a comprehensively revised revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory has begun and an alternative concept of "humane, democratic socialism" which dilutes the traditional concept of 'socialism' has been propounded. Most of these revisions of the socialist theory have been done in the name of 'creative' development of Marxism-Leninism. The point made in this study is that these ideological changes, made in order to take account of the reality, have deeply affected the Soviet foreign policy, its formulation and conduct.

Ideaology and the Foreign Policy upto the End of Brezhnev Years

A few specific instances illustrating the link between ideology and the Soviet foreign policy upto the end of Brezhnev era can be mentioned:

- During Lenin's time, the fundamental task of the party and the socialist state was perceived to be the defence of socialism in the face of external military intervention, economic blockades, isolation in the international affairs and acute socio-economic problems at home. Lenin, firmly believing in the tremendous potential of socialism, strengthened the ideological basis of the Soviet foreign policy when he organised the establishment of the Comintern and emphasised the need for the unity of progressive, pro-socialist forces on global scale and realised the anti-imperialist potential of the liberation movements. At the same time, mindful of the need for political and economic cooperation with the capitalist contd.
countries, he advocated "peaceful cohabitation" of socialism and capitalism. This was essential from the point of view of the survival of the Soviet state. Thus, the Soviet foreign policy under Lenin acquired a dualism - revolutionary goals and peaceful cohabitation - that continued to remain as one of its key features in the subsequent years.

Under Stalin, the Marxist-Leninist theory was suitably amended to include the concept of 'Socialism in one country'. Marxist-Leninist theory was also simplified and codified in the manual called A Short Course. Consequently, the Soviet foreign policy was also affected. It was influenced by the concepts of "Capitalist encirclement", "inevitability of war" and the Stalinist interpretation of 'Strategy and tactics', etc. Under Stalin, the interests of the state came to be identified with that of the party and the supreme leader of the party. Therefore, the Soviet foreign policy became extremely pragmatic thereby making possible the Nazi-Soviet pact. The party became the final arbiter on the formulation and the conduct of the Soviet foreign policy.

Khrushchev's attempts at destalinisation at home, the enunciation of the principle of 'peaceful co-existence', the efforts to end the siege mortality, the stress on the economic competition with the West, relative openness at home were some of the factors that made the Soviet foreign policy formulation and conduct much more sophisticated and effective. The 'two-camp' view of Zhdanov's was modified. Khrushchev tried to harmonise the class approach to international relations with the imperative of peaceful coexistence in the age of atomic weapons. The result was the principle of "peaceful coexistence", which although rooted in Marxism-Leninism, was nevertheless a major innovation in the ideological sphere. The principle of "peaceful coexistence", in essence, meant underemphasis on the class approach to the international relations. Under Gorbachev, the class-approach to international relations has been given up fully. Significantly, it was under Khrushchev that a number of think tanks on foreign policy were established and developed. This indicated that the Soviet foreign policy formulation process included not only the party officials but also the non-official foreign policy experts. These think tanks have played an important role in the articulation and elaboration of the 'new political thinking' under Gorbachev.
Under Brezhnev, some no-Stalinist trends began to emerge as the reforms process begun by Khrushchev came to be thwarted in the USSR. Excessive stress on military parity affected the economy badly. The emphasis on 'Ideological struggle' as a component of class-struggle led to the isolation of the Soviet economy and science and technology from the world mainstream. Further, the problems at home were either underplayed (i.e. economy) or ignored (i.e. nationalities). The impact of all this on the foreign policy was that such doctrines as "correlations of forces" and "limited sovereignty" came to be propounded to maintain the tempo of 'ideological struggle'. In order not to weaken the concept of the 'ideological struggle', it was repeatedly emphasised that the 'peaceful coexistence' itself was a specific form of class struggle in the international sphere. This had several adverse effects like lack of real detente and projection of the 'Soviet threat' by the West. Soviet foreign policy options were severely restricted due to the extreme stress on 'ideological struggles'. It must, however, be noted that the Brezhnevian foreign policy, although conducted under the overall parameters of the ideological struggle, nevertheless, managed to usher in a period of East-West 'detente' howsoever shortlived it proved to be. The CSCE process was given a boost during the 'detente' years. It is indeed significance that in the present circumstances, when the Europe is overcoming its post-war divisions, increasing reference is being made to the Helsinki agreements signed during the Brezhnev years and Helsinki-II, is in the offing. It was the excessive ideologisation and the militarisation of the Soviet foreign policy which contributed to the negative perceptions of the USSR in the West.

I:ieology and (the) Soviet Foreign Policy in the Post-Brezhnev Period

In the late Brezhnev period, a limited debate had begun in the Soviet academic, scholarly and political circles on the question of ideology and also politics. For instance the very concept of the developed socialism and the stages to the final goal
of communism came to be discussed. Similarly, there was also a critical discussion on the nature of contradictions and antagonisms in the Soviet society. Brezhnev's speech at Tula in 1977 had foreshadowed the 'balance of interests' and 'reasonable sufficiency' doctrines worked out under Gorbachev.

Under Andropov, there was a heightened concern for the ideological purity, but, at the same time, also a realisation that it was necessary to improve socialist thought and practice. Andropov had foreseen the urgent need for economic reform and, in due course, of political reforms too. However, his approach was cautious as he did not wish to loosen up suddenly. The international situation, the wake of the Afghanistan crisis and the deployment of medium range missiles in Europe by both sides led to East-West tensions. Despite these handicaps, it was under Andropov that some progress towards Sino-Soviet normalisation was made, and, a review of the Soviet policy towards the third 'world' began.

Under Gorbachev, during the initial years of perestroika and glasnost, the emphasis, as during the Andropov years, continued to remain on the improvement in socialism. The reform programme presented at the April 1985 plenum of the CC, CPSU and the 27th CPSU Congress had many elements common with the Andropovian concept of reforms. It was after the 19th Party Conference in 1988, and in the wake of the developments in East Europe that a comprehensive revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory was begun and an alternative concept of 'humane, democratic,
socialism' as a counter to the traditional concept of 'socialism' - as propounded. The acute economic, social and political problems in USSR has imparted a certain urgency and acuteness to the vigorous debate on ideology which is currently underway in USSR.

The Soviet debate on 'deideologisation' brings out several points which are relevant to the examination of ideology's link with policy, particularly, the foreign policy.

Firstly, 'deideologisation' does not mean a complete absence of ideological inputs to the policy making. The restructuring is not to be carried out in an ideological vacuum. In fact what is needed is a new ideology which can counter the old ideology, explain the changes that have taken place in the world, and also be a guide to future. Perestroika has been termed as the 'ideology of renewal' and attempts are being made to seek its roots in so-called, the 'humanistic' aspects of Marxism that deals with the theory of 'alienation'. In the current phase of developments in the spheres of ideology and politics, a large part of Marxist-Leninist theory is being discarded and Lenin himself is under critical scrutiny. But the need for a proper ideology for perestroika which would perform its traditional functions - cognitive, axiological and as a guide to action - is still felt in the academic, scholarly and political circles of the USSR. It is considered necessary that theoretically a link between perestroika and the 'communist perspective' of the Soviet policies should be demonstrated unambiguously.
Secondly, the 'new political thinking', based on the declassed approach in the direct offshoot of the new thinking on ideology and politics. The primacy of human values over class values, interconnectedness of the world, futility of war, the need for humanising and democratising international relations are not just the ideological and philosophical underpinnings of the 'new political thinking'. These concepts also reassure the former adversaries that the USSR is now altering its world view and is prepared to acquire a new one. The new look Soviet foreign policy has no doubt contributed significantly to the changing of the bipolar character of the world. However, a simplified view of the end of cold war can prove to be counterproductive. What has ended is the ideological component of the cold war. The possibilities of conflicts between the states and the possible reasons for future conflicts on the grounds of nationalism and economic remain. Whether the world will henceforth become multipolar or unipolar remains to be seen. In view of this uncertainty, the 'new political thinking' itself may undergo further development.

In the framework of the 'new political thinking', the 'ideological struggle' between socialism and capitalism is sought to be replaced by cooperation. Whether cooperation is possible automatically on the end of confrontation phase is a point of great theoretical and practical importance and remains to be elaborated fully. What can, however, be said with certainty is that the pragmatism of the Soviet foreign policy makers, presented
in the form of 'new political thinking', which, in turn, borrows heavily from the Western liberal thought and the humanistic side of Marxism, has radically changed the Soviet foreign policy. This study examined in some detail the changing Soviet perspectives in the three key areas: East Europe, third world and the Soviet security and military doctrines.

The Soviet perspectives on the East Europe are now based on the concepts like the 'freedom of choice'. Thus, the concept of 'world socialist system', the 'unity and cohesion' of the socialist world, the 'socialist integration'; the 'Brezhnev Doctrine', etc. have all been given up. Similarly, under the influence of the 'new political thinking', the world communist movement has weakened and the concepts like 'proletarian' and 'socialist' internationalism have been given up. The Soviet foreign policy towards its former socialist allies is now based on the imperatives of the 'common European home' and the CSCE. The 'deideologisation' of the Soviet foreign policy has had a significant impact on the restructuring of the European relations.

The Soviet attitude towards the Third World is rapidly changing as the 'new political thinking' is implemented. The deideologisation of the Soviet Union's Third World policy consists in the realisation that in the new phase of East-West cooperation, the anti-imperialist potential of the national liberation movements and the developing countries has become out of place. The Third World policy of the Soviet Union is now guided by the consideration that the Third World is now an 'arena of conflicts' and its problems are of global nature and potentially dangerous to the global
stability and order. In the new theoretical framework, the third world problems are to be tackled 'jointly' and the security of the world is to be tackled 'collectively' in which all countries have a role to play. The recent Presidential decree speaking to restructure the Soviet foreign economic relations will have the impact of reducing Soviet economic involvement in a number of third world countries.

In the field of security and military doctrine, the concepts of "reasonable sufficiency" and "sufficient defence", which are now being revived, have had impact on the (a) arms control process, (b) East-West relations, and (c) demilitarisation process in the Soviet Union as evident in unilateral radical military reforms and defence conversion. The concepts of 'comprehensive, universal security', 'equal security of all', 'collective security' etc. are the direct result of the 'new political thinking'.

Hitherto, the importance of the party in foreign policy making was paramount. With the increasing separation of the party from the state and the weakening of the party influence inside USSR, the foreign policy making is increasingly being left to the Soviet President, the presidential council and the set of close advisers to the president. Thus, the 'deideologisation' of the Soviet foreign policy has also had an impact on the institutional structure of the decision making. Further, the foreign policy making is also being influenced by the acute economic, social and political crisis within the USSR. Behind the desire to
normalise relations with the West lies the expectation that cooperation with the West and integration of the Soviet economy with the international mainstream would help make perestroika succeed. The 'new political thinking' easily lends itself to pragmatism in the Soviet foreign policy.

The present period in the USSR is essentially a phase of transition. The exact shape of the Soviet society in future is a question for the future as the very concept of 'humane, democratic socialism' is nebulous at this stage. Whether the Soviet commitment to 'socialism' and 'communism' will remain intact in future is a matter for debate. Therefore, the link between the Soviet foreign policy and the new socialist ideology that is being developed will change with time. The present trends are that while the aims of achieving a "human, democratic socialism" in USSR and a 'non-violent, non-nuclear' world will guide the Soviet foreign policy generally, the conduct of the foreign policy will be based on the Western concepts of international law, international relations and the Western world view. In this sense, the Soviet foreign policy, in its day to day operations, will be increasingly freed from the traditional ideological constraints. But, it also must be borne in mind that the authority and effectiveness of the state institutions might be adversely affected if the socio-economic crisis in the country continues to deepen. This could seriously handicap the foreign policy formulation and its implementation.