INTRODUCTION

The principal objective of this work is to analyse the working of the Indo-Soviet relations in the broad framework of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation of 9 August 1971.

Indo-Soviet relations have come to occupy a prominent place in the foreign policies of both India and the Soviet Union. The relationship between India and the Soviet Union is unique and both of them have a significant past and an enduring and promising future. India is the only non-communist developing country with which the Soviet Union has been able to maintain stable, friendly relations over a prolonged period. They are based today neither on expediencies nor on personalities, but on national interests and on the logic of global developments.

India and the Soviet Union are friends. Neither has sacrificed any vital interests for the sake of the relationship. In general neither can be said to depend on the other for the defence of its vital interests. United States arms aid to Pakistan and the opposition of the United States to India's stand on Kashmir, Goa and Bangladesh, China's aggression against India and its continued support to Pakistan to wage wars against India, and the formation of Sino-US-Pakistan axis stimulated the factors of closer relations between India and the Soviet Union and the forgoing of Indo-Soviet Treaty.
The purpose of this study is to examine the Indo-Soviet relationship focusing on the period from 1971 to 1980 with special reference to the impact of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation on bi-lateral relations. The establishment of diplomatic ties between India and the Soviet Union emphasised the desire of the two big nations to live in peace and co-operation. The interplay of practical politics, viz., the protection of national interests of both the countries necessarily forced them to stand hand in hand. The geographical proximity of these two nations and the identity of interests in respect of the burning problems of this region led them to establish cordial relations whereby the two countries remained good friends in the comity of nations.

In the mid-1950s Soviet Union chose India as one of the major focuses of its policies in the developing world. An era of warm Indo-Soviet relations was ushered in by the year 1955 when both the countries reaffirmed their faith in Panchasheel and expressed their desire for promoting further cultural and economic co-operation. Soviet attention has also been apparent in policies like military assistance, trade, and diplomatic, political, and propaganda support all of which India has received in large quantities. India rapidly became a major factor in a broad range of Soviet foreign policies; this is exemplified not only in the Soviet Union's global competition with the United States, which the inclusion of Pakistan - India's chief adversary in South Asia - in the Western alliance system facilitated, but also in the Soviets growing rift with the People's Republic of China due to Moscow's
implicit support of New Delhi in the Sino-Indian border clashes of 1959 and 1962.

From the very beginning, India's relationship with the Soviet Union was clouded with suspicion, largely over India's policy of non-alignment. Moscow thought that India was a running dog of imperialist forces. But, as years passed on, this country could get over the initial reservations and accepted India as a non-aligned country of great significance. As a result, in the early 1950s India enjoyed considerable influence in world politics and many world capitals looked to New Delhi to hear what India's thinking was on a particular international issue or event. India tried to pursue a policy of judging world issues on merits, without fear or favour.

The Soviet Union has shown great foresight in appreciating the progressive role of Non-Aligned Movement in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racism as well as the initiatives for re-structuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality and justice. The cordial relations between India and the Soviet Union culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation on 9 August 1971. It was the logical outcome of a long and successfully developing co-operation between India and the Soviet Union.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971 was the fitting response to Sino-US-Pakistan axis which had led to a dramatic shift to the
disadvantage of India. The treaty added to India's diplomatic and military power enabling it to deal with Pakistan while tackling the Bangladesh problem and to forestall Sino-US moves in their defence of the repressive dictatorship in Pakistan during that crisis. It is quite possible that if the Soviet Union had not acted in support of the Indians and East Bengalis, India would not have won the war. India's victory and the consequent break-up of Pakistan, however, made it the dominant power in South Asia, and reduced its need for Soviet support.

This study further shows that despite several concerted efforts made in certain quarters with a view to trampling the shine and glitter of their multi-faceted political relationship, India and the Soviet Union have succeeded in basing their friendly ties on a sound keel. The prime reason behind it has been the clear identity of interests and basic convergence of perceptions between the two countries. In no small measure the geopolitical and strategic factors have strengthened the bonds of traditional friendship between New Delhi and Moscow.

Soviet Union is a socialist country while India is a non-aligned country with liberal democratic institutions. Both countries, however, maintain close relations without sacrificing their respective positions. If India aligned with any of the power blocs, India would have sacrificed her national interests. By signing the Treaty, India recognized the realities of the world situation especially the emergence of a new alignment of countries.
viz., the United States, Pakistan and China. However, the signing of a treaty with Soviet Union invited criticism from quarters particularly from the west, branding it as pro-Soviet.

The division of Pakistan resulting in the establishment of a new state called Bangladesh in the Indian sub-continent posed a threat to the territorial integrity of India. This necessitated India to strengthening her position by entering into treaty relations with friendly countries that would safeguard her security. It was in this background India signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation with the Soviet Union on 9 August 1971. But this did not involve surrendering Indian sovereignty to Soviet Union or diluting her non-alignment posture. By signing the Treaty India did not join any military bloc headed by the Soviet Union. It was not like the Warsaw Pact headed by the Soviet Union or NATO headed by the United States. It was only a security pact, and a security pact is different from a military pact.

Broadly speaking, the study proposes to analyse the impact of the Treaty on bilateral relations. In this context the study would investigate certain important aspects of Indo-Soviet relations viz., the nature of Indo-Soviet relations; the factors that have conditioned Soviet considerations in extending co-operation to India; the international context necessitating the signing of treaty; the political and economic impact of the Indo-Soviet Co-operation; and the effect of the Treaty on India's policy of Non-alignment.
This study is based on the following hypotheses: (i) The relations between India and the Soviet Union leading to the signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation on 9 August 1971 were conditioned by the national interest of India. (ii) Indo-Soviet ties strengthened the political and economic fields. The non-aligned position of India also became strong as a result of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation during the period under review. The study is devoted to prove these hypotheses.

This study is divided into eight chapters and organised chronologically, beginning from the pre-independence days to 1980 in the period of Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership, but emphasis is given to the nature, content and ramifications of the Indo-Soviet relations in the light of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation of 1971 for a period of ten years.

The first chapter attempts to set the stage for a comprehensive Treaty by providing the background of contemporary period i.e., the foundations of Indo-Soviet relations.

Second Chapter analyses the timing points in the Indo-Soviet relations during 1969. Here the study concentrates on the changing perceptions of India and Soviet Union and analyses the factors which led to the signing of Indo-Soviet Treaty. The chapter examines the initial Soviet push for a system of Collective Security in Asia through a combination of nations against China which wanted to establish her hegemony in South Asia.
Chapter III highlights the provisions and implications of the Indo-Soviet Treaty. The preamble of the Treaty emphasized a general identity of outlook among the signatories on important global issues such as decolonisation, freedom and independence, racism, disarmament, international co-operation for solving international problems and so on. Moreover, the signatories expressed an abiding faith in the principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation among all the states. As such the Indo-Soviet Treaty was not directed against any other state and set before itself the objective of attaining security through friendship and co-operation. China and USA clearly understood the implications of the treaty provisions.

Chapter IV examines how the Treaty operated and the consequences and after-effects of the Treaty on Indo-Soviet bilateral relationship. India claimed to have ended her isolation as a result of this Treaty while safeguarding her independence and territorial integrity and placed a deterrent to aggression from any quarter. The purpose of the Treaty was to expand and strengthen the friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union and to consolidate security in Asia as well as throughout the world.

Chapter V deals with the politico-strategic dimensions of Indo-Soviet bilateral relations. It focuses on the impact of the politico-strategic relations on the basis of the Treaty and analyses how the Treaty worked to strengthen the political relations of both countries. With the eclipse of antagonists - Pakistan and China
India emerged from the Bangladesh crisis as a regional power with the help of Soviet Union. India also proved to be skillful enough to utilise the Treaty to serve her own ends, particularly, in her approach to socialism as a means to render justice to the common people.

Chapter VI analyses the economic dimensions of the Indo-Soviet relations. It examines the impact of the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty on the dynamics and dimensions of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation and trade relations. The successful development of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation rested on the national interest of the two countries based on the terms of the Treaty. As Soviet policy was to give priority to large scale industrial developments in the public sector, Soviet assistance played a decisive role in advancing and strengthening the public sector industries and enhanced India's general economic potential.

Chapter VII examines the impact of the Indo-Soviet Treaty on India's non-alignment policy and attempts to examine whether signing of the bi-lateral treaty was a deviation from India's non-alignment policy. India's policy of non-alignment is not designed to put up one super power against the other or to achieve equidistance from the two. The policy was meant to judge each international issue on its own merit.
Chapter VIII concludes the study by seeking to pull these threads together for an overall assessment of the relationship between India and the Soviet Union.

In as much as the problems under investigation are extremely complex, the study is set in historical-analytical method, though statistical evidence is also used to prop up the main objectives.

**********