CHAPTER II

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Geographical location of a country is invariably an important determinant of its foreign policy. Indian foreign policy too has a deep imprint of the geostrategic factors.

India's vast size is so impressive that it is often described as a subcontinent with an area of 32,87,263 Sq. km. India is world's seventh largest country after the USA, Canada, China, Brazil and Australia in that order. Her population is biggest in the world after China. India extends between 8°4' and 37°6' north latitudes and 68°7' and 97°25' east longitudes and thus lies wholly within the northern and eastern hemispheres. Its maximum stretch measures 3,214 km. from north to south and 2,933 km. from east to west.

The globe shows the Indian subcontinent as the southward extension of the great landmass of Asia. The Indian peninsula tapers towards the Indian Ocean, dividing the oceanic realm into the two flanking expenses of water,
known as the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. These two seas have played an important role in determining the nature of interaction of the Indian people with those of the surrounding regions in Africa, South-west and South-East Asia. At times, they have provided easily negotiable maritime communication links between India and the peninsulas and the archipelagos of South-east Asia and the littoral countries of West-Asia and East-Asia. The link role of these water-bodies is seen in the cultural influences of India getting diffused into the distant lands to the west and the east. It is also reflected in the assimilation of new cultural elements coming from its maritime neighbours into Indian Society, adding a new flavour and richness to it. On the other hand, these expenses of the seas have promoted a certain degree of isolation and have fostered a unique homogeniety in the Indian civilization.

India also occupies a pre-eminent position in the Indian ocean. No other country has such a large coastline on this ocean as ours. The Deccan peninsula projects itself into the Indian ocean, thus making it possible for India to look bothways towards South-east Asia and the Far east from its eastern, other countries
except Srilanka (Sri Lanka) bound the Indian ocean. India is in it.

Being located at a very strategic position, at the cross-roads of world's major routes and her richness in natural resources together exerted tremendous impact on India's foreign policy. The above mentioned favourable forces of geography make India an important and independent factor in international relations in her own right. It would not be proper for India, therefore, to play a role in international relations like a small nation. Jawaharlal Nehru was fundamentally right when he said, "I can understand some of the smaller countries of Europe or some of the smaller countries of Asia being forced by circumstances to bow down before some of the greater powers, because they can not help it, the power opposed to them is so great and they have nowhere to turn to. But I do not think that consideration applies to India. India is too big a country herself to be bound down to any country, however big it may be. India is going to be and is bound to be a big country that counts in world affairs".¹

¹. Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy* (Delhi, 1961) p.32.
After a tough and long battle, India could free herself from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism on 15th August, 1947. India's independence from British rule demanded for shaping out her foreign policy that suits to Indian taste and to her people. A far sighted foreign policy was badly needed because of India's survival was at stake due to gross exploitation of her by British rule. At the same time, with the growth of science and technology, world has become a much smaller place. Interdependence between nations has grown and the need for mutual exchange in the fields of knowledge, science and technology, culture, trade and commerce have become more urgent than even before. One may say that not only progress and prosperity but the very survival of mankind is dependent upon this realization. No doubt, it is foreign policy of a country which virtually provides the grounds to materialize the above mentioned goals. "It is the adjustment of the actions of states in favour of one's own state which George Modelski calls" the purpose of foreign policy".  

India which got herself in an unprecedented situation at the time of her independence due to the division of the world into two antagonistic military blocs

i.e. the western bloc led by United States of America (U.S.A.) and the Socialist bloc led by Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.) just after the second world war. Thus India had to choose her foreign policy under the clouds of cold war.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India who is also known as a architect of India's foreign policy, adopted certain general principles to deal with international relations. These general principles, later, became the fundamental key to the India's foreign policy. To understand India's foreign policy in post-war Asia a brief discussion of these fundamental principles of India's foreign policy is desirable.

In an age of atomic and hydrogen bombs, ballistic missiles and vastly destructive weapons, world peace is not a mere fervent hope but an urgent necessity. When India got independence her leaders were convinced that pursuit of world peace must be one of the cardinal principles of India's Foreign Policy. In a broadcast from London on 12 January 1951, Nehru said, "What we need is a passion for peace and for civilized behaviour
in international affairs. It is the temper of peace and not the temper of war that we want, even though peace is sometimes casually mentioned.... If we desire peace, we must develop the temper of peace and try to win even those who may be suspicious of us or who think they are against us. We have to try to understand others, just as we expect them to understand us. We can not seek peace in the language of war or of threats." Moreover, when India became free, one of our main problems was economic development. Economic development requires peace. When the British government handed over power to India, the economy of the country was totally shattered. The World War II which ended a mere couple of years earlier had made the economic condition still worse. During war all resources of a country are diverted towards war, thereby trade and commerce are affected. Having won independence at a time when the world had not yet been able to overcome the horrors of World War II, Indian leaders made the achievement of world peace as the basic tenet of her foreign policy.

Non-alignment is another important element of India's foreign policy. The Second World War ended

3. A. Appadurai and M.S. Rajan, *India's Foreign Policy and Relations* (Delhi: South Asian Pub., 1985), p. 44.
with two blocs. One bloc was led by the Soviet Union and
the other was led by the U.S.A. There were also in exis­
tence Military Alliances and Pacts such as NATO, SEATO,
CENTO and WARSAW. This kind of mutually opposed blocs
and pacts created in the world an atmosphere of tension,
distrust and suspicion which came to know as the cold war.
India considered these blocs as injurious to world peace.
She did not join any alliances or military pacts. Thus
the essence of India's foreign policy has been to keep
out of the blocs and not to join any pacts and to express
our views on world events independently, Nehru defined,
"Nonalignment means not tying yourself with military blocs
of nations, or with a nation. It means trying to view
things, as far as possible, not from the military point
of view, though that has to come in sometimes, but in­
dependently and trying to maintain friendly relations with
all countries". 4

It has been India's policy that, as far as
possible, international disputes should be settled by
peaceful means and not by force. Indian Constitution
also directs the government to work for peace and to

4. Ibid., p. 39.
attempt the settlement of international disputes through arbitration.

India has consistently opposed racialism and racial discrimination. India vehemently opposed the racial policy of the Government of South Africa.

Besides this, India expressed genuine sympathy with the sentiments of the colonial people to be free. India opposed French Imperialism in Indo-China and the U.S. war in Vietnam. She has raised her voice in favour of freedom struggle of such Portugese Colonies as Angola. Thus, India has always supported those nations which oppose imperialism and struggle for their independence.

Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of India's foreign policy has been explained through the "Panchsheel". The five principles of peace or the 'Panchsheel' was first promulgated on 29 April, 1954 in the Sino-Indian agreement.

Following are the five principles of Panchsheel :-

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Mutual non-aggression;
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
4. Equality and mutual benefit; and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

These principles have formed the basis of the foreign policy of our country. While India respects the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries, she considers the defence and maintenance of our territorial integrity equally important. Peace and co-existence do not mean that India should not defend herself against invasion by any other country.

In the context of above mentioned general principles, India's foreign policy was formulated to deal with global affairs. India maintained her relations with the international community in the light of these fundamental parameters. Since we are concerned here with the foreign policy of India towards postwar Asia, thereby it is not desirable to discuss India's ties with the world community. However, India's relations with the nations of Asian continent are discussed below:-
"Every nation-state like every individual has distinct personality of its own. No two nation-states are quite alike, just as no two individuals are. The personality of an individual is shaped by a combination of factors-inherited traits, habits acquired from interaction with environment, and habits consciously acquired through self-discipline and sustained attempts. A personality thus moulded, contributes to society of which it becomes a member, although in exceptional cases he may choose to opt out of his social environment and retreat into solitude as a result of conscious diction. Nation-states; too, are moulded first of all by their historical evolution—the process through which such states find themselves in current states of socio-political existence. In addition, their personality is developed through interaction with their geographical (and political) environment as well as through decisions taken consciously or through compulsions. However, unlike individuals, nation-states do not have the luxury of opting out of the "world environment" and, therefore, have to make continuous adjustment to their personality as expressed through their policies in dealing with the outside world."

5. World Focus, "India's Foreign Policy," Nov-Dec.-1991, p. 27.
Asian continent which was dominated by foreign imperial and colonial masters gave a sense of Asianism to Indian people. The Indian renaissance, which cultivated patriotic feeling among Indians, was integrated with a sense that the entire Asian continent is passing through imperialistic suppression and racial discrimination in one form or another. Therefore, all nations of Asia have got a same kind of destiny. No doubt, India's ancient culture that had its widespread impact on various countries of Asia also contributed a lot in the growing spirit of Asianism in India. The freedom movements in different countries, particularly, emergence of Japan as a strong challenge to the colonial countries after the Meiji Restoration and her victory over a powerful European country i.e. Russia in 1905, further accentuated the sense of Asianism. "From the end of the first world war the Indian National Congress talked, year after year, almost without interruption, of the need for an "Asiatic Federation". In 1928 the Congress resolved that "India should develop contacts with other countries and peoples who also suffer under imperialism and desire to combat it" and directed its working committees to convene "The first session of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India"."
In the following year Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the Congress, spoke eloquently of the past glories of all Asian nations, now in a state of humiliation and subjection under Western nations, not only in the realm of thought but also in military and political spheres. "We have forgotten", he said "that far millemia the legions of Asia overran Europe and modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of these invaders from Asia." India's leadership of freedom struggle was quite conscious that Western imperialist and colonial masters can be compelled to grant independence to India or other country of Asia only in a situation when there is a whole-Asian continental challenge thrown to them. Therefore, combined fight from all Asian nations was the only way to get rid of the colonial shackles of slavery. Thus, the victory of a country is a sign of victory to all nations. In 1942 Congress resolved that "the freedom of India must be a symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also

attain their complete freedom". Thus when Jawaharlal Nehru convened the first Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March 1947 and observed in his inaugural address that "in order to have one world, we must also in Asia, think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal. He was merely giving concrete expression to a long-felt idealistic aspiration of the Indian national movement".7 When Indian leaders shaped out India's foreign policy after her independence, India made it clear to the world that Asia will remain a priority region. But in Asia itself there are different regions like South Asia, West Asia, South-east Asia and East Asia which received India's attention differently according to geographical importance.

South Asia is encompassing seven countries of Asia and India is one of them. This region becomes utmost important and very vital to India because India resides in this region. India shares many historical, cultural, social, economic and political bonds with these countries of South Asia. Since independence India's main purpose had been to maintain cordial relations with all the countries, particularly with neighbours. Indian leadership was well convinced that good relations with neighbours

7. Ibid., p. 76.
is of vital significance for her progress and prosperity. That is why South Asian region got priority in the foreign policy of India. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The neighbouring countries had the first place in our minds". As he put it, "the second place went to the other countries of Asia with whom India was intimately connected."

Despite the fact that India kept on making laborious ventures to have most cordial relations with all nations of South-Asian region there has been a sign of very pessimistic response from all the countries particularly Pakistan. The year of 1947 is a landmark in the history of South Asia because India was partitioned. Pakistan came into existence but the Princely states in had to take their own decision about acceding to either of the two states. The Jammu and Kashmir got acceded into India but Pakistan refused to accept this accession. This stubborn attitude of Pakistan has not only given a severe jolt to their bilateral relations but also impeding any meaningful multilateral cooperation in this region. Pakistan has already gone to war with India thrice-in 1947-48, 1965 and 1971 but there is no sign of change.

in it, attitude and actions. Pakistan has not only tried to have ties with those nations which are regarded as anti-Indian but at the same time it is constantly making all efforts to destabilize Indian Society. Pakistan has aided and encouraged terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir. Though, India has pleaded Pakistan plenty of times to stop such destructive acts and must stick to the pursuit of peace but all these prayers have fallen on deaf ears. So many proofs have been collected by Indian Government which show an active involvement of Pakistan in spreading and aiding terrorism in India. No doubt, Pakistan is still posing a threat to our unity and integrity. Therefore, Indian Government is bound to protect its integrity. Even, U.S.A. has warned Pakistan to declare her a terrorism sponsored state. Thus, Pakistan's unhelping and uncompro­mising attitude has certainly compelled Indian foreign policy makers to doubt about the honesty and integrity of Pakistan which has led two countries relations in doldrums. Still, India's efforts are going on to improve her relations with Pakistan.

India's relations with the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal remained very good right from India's independence because of India's commitment to have peaceful and cordial
relations with all her neighbours. Due to some undesired steps of Nepal, relations between the two countries got strained in recent years but could be resolved successfully. "The relations with the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal which had deteriorated significantly during 1989 as a result of India's hardened stand over the questions of extending the Indo-Nepal Trade and Transit agreement as a reaction to Nepal's decision to import weapons from China (and thereby upset India's security interest in the region) and to impose restrictions on the entry of Indian nationals into the Himalayan Kingdom by imposing work permits on Indian workers, were resolved peacefully in June 1990 when the two countries signed an accord to restore the status quo ante. As a result of the accord Nepal agreed to withdraw the system of work permits to Indian workers and call off its purchase of arms from China in appreciation of India's security sensibilities. The Indian side responded by agreeing to reopen its transit point on the border, resume supplies of oil and coal and thus relieve the ordinary citizen of Nepal from hardship and increase stand by credit facility by ₹10 crores. Not only was the status quo ante restored but also the earlier cordiality and warmth in the bilateral relations between the two nations. 9

Indo-Sri Lankan relations which received a jolt due to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka, are now fast improving. India's stand to send IPKF to Sri Lanka under Rajiv-Jayawardene accord was misunderstood by Premdasa Government as an Indian interference in Sri Lanka. India withdraw IPKF and proved her faith in peaceful co-existence and non-interference policy. "Indo-Sri Lankan relations also showed considerable improvement in the last two years following India's decision to not only withdraw IPKF from the Sri Lanka but also, more importantly, pursue a policy of non-interference in the island's ethnic problem".  

India played a significant role in the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. Since Bangladesh is the poorest country of the region, her domestic compulsions do not demand that Bangladesh leadership adopt a policy of confrontation with India. India is equally sincere about the pitiable plight of Bangladesh. Therefore, India has always been too eager to have good neighbourly relations with Bangladesh. By and large both the countries are honest towards each other.

As far as Bhutan and Maldives are concerned, India enjoys extremely satisfactory ties with these two

10. Ibid., p.191.
tiny countries. India, the most powerful nation of South Asia never tried to spread her hegemonic wings on her small neighbouring countries. Instead, India stood with these small nations at the time of crisis. Maldives' Government headed by Maoon Abdul Gayoom was helped by Indian Government when he was dethroned by some powerful mercenaries. Thus, India's commitment to her fundamental principles of foreign policy, by and large, cultivated an image of India as a peace loving nation in South Asian region.

Recent global changes have further widened the gamut of Indian responsibility because India is the only nation which can be considered as a super power of South Asia. Therefore, India must make all her efforts to ensure peace and prosperity in this region. For this, SAARC forum will be a safe ground to nurture above dreams. "India should in the years to come try to use the SAARC forum to not only strengthen its bilateral relations with its South Asian neighbours but also strengthen regional cooperation in such vital sectors as trade, industry and finance. It is noteworthy that at the Maldives Summit the SAARC leaders agreed to bring trade related issues into their regional cooperation activities. The post-cold
war situation resulting in the withdrawal of the super powers from fuelling Indo-Pak tensions should be a favourable input in strengthening cooperation in South Asia.\textsuperscript{11}

West Asian region has also exerted tremendous impact on India's foreign policy. India and West Asian region had their contacts since ancient times. Arab people used to come in India as traders who sometime settled on Indian soil. These trade relations even led to diffusion of culture between Indian and Arabian culture. "India and West Asia have had extensive contacts since the dawn of the civilization. The Nile Delta civilization in Egypt, the Euphrates River civilization in Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley civilization in India were not only contemporaneous, but were also in contact with one another—each contributing in its own way to the enrichment of human life and culture. History is strewn with the evidence of mutually advantageous relations between the two regions, for example, it was the Indian muslim which the Egyptians used to wrap the mummies. Similarly, it was the Arab craftsmanship which is believed to have produced figurines for the Indian temples and homes. The extensive trade contacts between India and the Arabs gradually led to the semi-permanent Arab settlements on the western and southern

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 192.
coasts of India, and of the Indian communities along the Gulf as well as in the city of Alexandria in Egypt. After the advent of Islam, the Arab Indian contacts were further strengthened. Apart from good relations between India and West Asian world, West Asia has become virtually important to India in post-war period due to following reasons-

1. The area produces 80% of the world oil.
2. It is a major source of monetary and military support to Pakistan.

Since India is always in need of oil import from West Asia, it has therefore, always made serious ventures to improve her relations with all Arab countries. India always stood behind Palestine in its problem with Israel. India has always condemned Israel for its hegemonistic and imperialistic actions against palestine people. India feels that Palestine is a sovereign and independent state and its sovereignty must be respected. In pursuance of this principle, India vehemently criticised Iraq when it captured Kuwait and extended her support to Allied forces

in Gulf war by providing fuel to Allied War Plans. But recent changes in international calculations have brought a change in Indian foreign policy towards West Asia. Now India has resumed her diplomatic ties with Israel. "It may be recalled that New Delhi accorded recognition to Israel in September 1950, and was contemplating on establishment of diplomatic relations on the eve of the nation's first general election. Had it then been accomplished the event would have been as a logical follow up of the decision on recognition. But that was not to be. The consumation of that process now after a lapse of more than forty years acquires special significance for two nations: firstly, because in the intervening period New Delhi had been projecting absence of full diplomatic ties as proof of its (its) support for the Palestinian cause, and secondly, because the decision came close on the heels of India's support in the United Nations General Assembly for revoking its earlier resolution equating Zionism with racism."^{13}

The far reaching changes that the global community has witnessed in recent years have led to a little change in India's foreign policy, but West Asia still occupies

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utmost importance on Indian Agenda. India is making full
blooded attempts to improve her bilateral ties with all
the nations of West Asia.

In order to have a conspicuous picture about (of)
India's relations with Asian Pacific region, it is essen­
tially required that India's ties with earstwhile Soviet
Union and China firstly and briefly. It is because these
two countries played a key role in shaping out the India's
foreign policy in this region.

India was favourably disposed towards Soviet
Union before independence. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru
was a strong supporter of the Russian revolution and
greatly admired the support extended by Soviet Union to
the Indian freedom movement. Russia's open castigation
against imperialism also made India to have a sympathetic
attitude towards Soviet Union. That is why Jawahar Lal
Nehru showed too much interest towards Soviet Union and
never doubted its integrity which was aired by Western
powers.

This aspect can be summed up best in Jawahar Lal's
words written in 1929: "We have grown up in tradition,
carefully nurtured by England of hostility to Russia. For long years past the bogey of a Russian invasion has been held up to us and has been made the excuse of vast expenditure on our armaments. In the days of the Tsar we were told the imperialism of Russia was for ever driving South, coveting an outlet to the Sea, or may be India itself. The Tsar has gone but the rivalry between England and Russia continues and we are now told that India is threatened by Soviet Government. It is inconceivable that Russia, in her present condition at least, and for a long time to come, will threaten India. The two countries today are too similar to be exploited by each other, but there can be no economic motive for Russia to covet India. Ordinarily Russia and India should live as the best of neighbours with the fewest points of friction. The continued friction that we see today is between England and Russia, not between India and Russia. If we face the facts, we can only come to one conclusion and that is that India has nothing to fear from Russia. And having come to this conclusion we must make it clear that we shall not permit ourselves to be used as pawns in England's imperial game, to be moved hither and thither for her benefit".  

14. V.P. Dutt, op. cit., p. 132.
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was deeply impressed by the dramatic and stunning progress and prosperity of Soviet Union in a very short span of period. Nehru used to believe that Communism can not be adopted by us because it is not in the conformity with Indian taste. But the purpose of communism to create an egalitarian society certainly injected ever lasting impression on Nehru's psyche.

Indeed, even before independence, Nehru had appreciated the potential power of the Soviet Union and showed an eagerness to befriend it. Its main attraction had been that it did not have an "imperialist" stigma but was "the greatest opponent of imperialism". Moreover, while Nehru expressed some reservations about communism, specially its suitability to Indian conditions, he professed to believe in communism as "an ideal of society" in so far as it represented socialism in essence. He, therefore, saw no reason why independent India should inherit Britain's suspicions of Russia. However, when India became an independent nation in August 1947, the global scenario was quite unprecedented and alarming one.

Since the world had already been divided into two blocs that is Western and the Eastern one, India kept itself aloof from both and adopted non-aligned pursuit. Due to this, India's relations with Soviet Union could not develop along cordial lines and certain tensions began to appear. India's membership of commonwealth, opposition to the Communist Revolution in Malaya, support to Greece and above all the decision to adopt the policy of non-alignment was interpreted by the Soviet Union as pro-western policy.

However, after 1950 the relations between the two countries began to improve. The recognition of the Communist Government of China by India in 1950 and vocal colonial stand in the United Nations removed the misgivings prevailing among the Soviet leaders. In fact, Soviet Union started showing deep goodwill and came forward to India's rescue whenever India was in need of its help. Since independence India virtually made her earnest overtures to have good relations with both the Super power namely, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. But Pakistan which started crying all of a sudden that Kashmir is not an integral part of India, certainly posed a threat to
Indian national integrity and security. Now India wanted that Pakistan must be condemned by both the super powers since Kashmir is an integral part of India. In a few years India realized that U.S.A.'s attitude was quite which encouraged Pakistan's devilous design to destabilize India. But in this hour of need U.S.S.R. stood with India and even criticised vehemently her fellow country China when it attacked India in 1962. Therefore, India was bound to reciprocate Soviet Union's response. "India was virtually wholly dependent on Soviet sympathetic attitude in the Security Council to obviate the adoption by the Council of totally unacceptable resolutions that were sought to be moved by western countries on the Kashmir issue. This was followed in 1955 by unequivocal Soviet acceptance of the position that Kashmir was an integral part of India. Also indispensable was Soviet aid in developing a heavy industrial complex in India. Then came the Soviet refusal to accept Chinese arguments and position on the conflict with India, which was converted into open criticism of China for the armed action against India in the winter of 1962."

A new turn was provided to the Indo-Soviet relations in 1971 with the conclusion of Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. This treaty was concluded at a time when Pakistan was displaying a belligerent attitude towards India and there were imminent chances of a war between the two countries. Under this treaty India and Soviet Union agreed to respect each other's foreign policy and to work for peace in Asia as well as the world. The leaders of the two countries were to hold regular contacts and discussions on international problems and to cooperate with each other in resolving international issues. Above all the two countries agreed not to conclude military alliances against each other. The two countries were to hold reciprocal consultations in case either of the party was subjected to an attack. This provision of the treaty assured India Soviet support in case of Sino-American intervention in conflict between India and Pakistan. In fact, the conclusion of other treaty brought a change in India's foreign policy. It was the first political treaty concluded by India with any big power. In certain quarters an allegation was made that this treaty was in violation of the principle of non-alignment, However, the Indian leaders asserted that this did not affect the non aligned character of India's foreign policy. It was because of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's tremendous diplomatic
vision to provide priority for national interest rather than ideological moorings. "The treaty lent a new dimension to the Indo-Soviet relationship wherein Soviet backing came to be crucial for warding off the most serious threat to India's integrity and socio-economic polity. For the first time Soviet friendship's bearing on the fundamental national interests of India seeped down in mass consciousness. No ideological justification were needed."  

No doubt, after this treaty, relations between India and Soviet Union improved leaps and bounds in all spheres like economic, scientific and cultural etc. This was a historic development in the Indian foreign policy because it did not only change India's attitude towards Soviet Union rather changed the entire gamut of India's relations with the world community particularly in Asian Continent. But after the collapse of Soviet Union there is a sea change in the global situation. Therefore, India is compelled to bring a shift in her foreign policy accordingly.

China, another giant of Asia also influenced India's foreign policy as a whole, particularly in Asian

17. Ibid., p. 155.
region. India and China have maintained close relations since ancient times. The foundation for these relations was laid by the Buddhist preachers who went to China and spread this religion through the length and breadth of the country. A large number of Chinese Buddhist scholars came to India in search of knowledge. The prominent Chinese scholars who came to India included Fa Hien, Huen-Tsang etc. A large number of Chinese students also came to India to study at a university like Nalanda.

In the modern times, India expressed sympathy for China when she was subjected to Japanese aggression. After independence, the two countries could not develop very intimate relations on account of preoccupation with their respective problems and their relations in the main remained formal. However, with the emergence of the people's Republic of China, the relations between the two countries started improving. India consistently supported the case of China's entry into the United Nations. India showed keenness to develop friendly relations with China despite its military action in Tibet. In 1952, India concluded a treaty with China with regard to Tibet and recognised the determination of the two countries to
conduct their relations on the basis of Five Principles (Panchsheel) which have already been discussed in detail in the beginning. "In explaining the significance of the Agreement to the Lok Sabha, Nehru said; It is a matter of importance to us, of course, as well as, I am sure, to China that these countries, which have now almost about 1,800 miles of frontier, should live on terms of peace and friendliness, respect each other's sovereignty and integrity, and agree not to interfere with each other in any way, and not to commit aggression on each other. By this agreement, we ensure peace to a very large extent in a certain area of Asia. I would earnestly wish that this area of peace would be spread over the rest of Asia and indeed over the rest of the world. But the things took a serious turn in 1962 when China launched a fullfledged attack on India without any sign of sensible reason. It was certainly a great setback to the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru was even charged by his partymen that Nehru had not been conscious about overall situation at global level

and showed a gross neglect towards security measures. But the fact is that Nehru himself was shocked and astonished on the China's stunning and sudden shift in its foreign policy. This invasion of China on India virtually brought the relations between the two countries to standstill for a long period. "The cooling of India-China relations was greatly abetted by the developments in Tibet, the Khampa revolt, the flight of the Dalai Lama and the large scale exodus of Tibetan refugees to India, and the consequent embitterment of relations. In its wake came the border dispute and the 1962 war. Nehru's policy towards China lay in shambles, even though the postulates on which it was founded were not wrong and are still valid. Nehru had not realized the full extent of the change in Chinese foreign policy and its implications and public opinion in India had been left totally uneducated by the mass media in this regard; in fact the newspapers made their contribution to the irrational and unrealistic approach on the border conflict at the time. The conflict left a trail of bitterness whose traces are still present in their relations. For many years to come their mutual hostility determined their
foreign policy. There were no ambassadors in each other's capital for many years and there was virtual absence of contact. Internationally, they traded abuses and generally adopted opposite standpoints. The domestic constraints were much greater in the case of India, but both the countries suffered from a fair degree of obsession of each other and the return to normalization was necessarily an agonizing and long process. In spite of all this, India supported China's entry into the United Nations and showed keenness to resolve outstanding disputes with China amicably. The Chinese leadership also responded favourably. As a result, several rounds of talks were held between the two to find out a solution of the prevalent problems. But in the last few years very serious and earnest efforts were made by the leadership of both the countries to bring India and China (closer) on a quite cordial line. The visit of Narsimha Rao, Prime Minister of India to China in August 1993 opened a new chapter in the history of India and Chinese relations signing an Indo-Chinese pact. This pact certainly has created a conducive atmosphere between the two countries to improve bilateral ties.

No doubt, various developments between Indian and Chinese relations since independence, particularly, the invasion of China in 1962 brought an overall change in the entire gamut of Indian foreign policy which left its impact on India's relations with global community particularly with Asian relations.

South-East Asia remained an important region for Indian foreign policy makers since independence, India has many common historical, social, economic and political bonds with the nations of these regions. "India's links with South-east Asia reached back into history and legend. All over South-east Asia one finds numerous symbols of these ancient ties. Indian philosophy, culture, religion, Buddhism, art and literature architectures languages, all these left abiding impact on many countries of South-east Asia". 20 South-east Asian region played a vital role even in Indian freedom struggle.

Subhash Chandra Bose, one of the greatest leaders of Indian National Congress went to this region and mobilised Indian Community in this region for the cause of India's independence from the Yoke of British rule. Southeast Asia from geographical point of view is also quite closer after

20. Ibid., p. 345.
South Asia. "India's relations with South-east Asia are of abiding importance to her. Next to South-Asia, India has vital stakes in South-east Asia whose independence and security are bound up with her own". Therefore, the foreign policy orientations and attitude of India towards the nations of this region had been very positive right from India's independence. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, "India was the gateway to both West and South-east Asia and, therefore, inevitably came into the picture. The independence and security of South-east Asia served to strengthen India's own independence and security and any serious setback there constituted a potential threat to India too. It was with this understanding that India played an active role in mobilizing opinion against the then Dutch Government's effort re-imposition of colonial rule in Indonesia in 1948 and the active interest taken by India in various phases of the struggle in Indo-China". From strategic point of view, South-east Asian region attracted utmost to Indian foreign policy. Indian territories of Andaman and Nicobar islands make India a maritime neighbour of Burma, Thailand, Malaysia.

21. Ibid., p. 345.
22. Ibid., p. 345.
and Indonesia. The distance between the Great Nicobar island of India and Indonesian island of Sabang is less than a hundred miles. The great channel between these two islands provides direct access to the Malacca Strait. India thus share long land border with one South-east Asian country, Burma, and maritime boundaries with four countries-Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Hostility of any of these countries can pose a credible danger to India. Therefore, the newly emergent India under Nehru's leadership looked forward to an Asian role and an Asian personality, and South-east Asia figured quite prominently in India's world view. India's keen interest was seen in South-east Asian region when Jawaharlal Nehru reacted sharply to the newly born Republic of Indonesia in July 1947 in following words, "no European country, whatever it might be, has any business to use its army in Asia. Foreign armies functioning on Asia soil are an outrage to Asian sentiments."\(^{23}\) Since the mid fifties India's global involvement in the interest of global peace had pushed South-east Asia and regional affairs, to a secondary place, and there is little evidence of

serious thinking about Indian policy towards this region. By the mid sixties, India's relations with Indonesia had deteriorated partly because of neglect and partly because of the changing international situation in South-east Asia. The Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) consisting of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand came into being in 1967. Initially India showed keen interest to join the ASEAN, but countries like Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines were not in favour of India joining the same because of the possible risk of India dominating the Association on account of her vast size and resources. India's close ties with U.S.S.R. also stood in the way.

In fact, changes which occurred in India's foreign policy in fifties and sixties, only due to the impact of cold war. No doubt, considerable emphasis was again associated to this region when Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to power. "Initially perhaps because of the sharpness of cold war India seemed to accord disproportionate attention to big powers and global politics but that was because the issues of war and peace and colonialism in general hung precariously in the balance and the Cold War
threatened to devour most, if not all, countries. Gradually, however, the focus veered inevitably towards Asian-African countries, particularly neighbours and South-east Asian nations and the West Asian and Gulf region. It was during Mrs. Gandhi's first tenure as Prime Minister that a much greater emphasis on the countries around us became noticeable.²⁴ Mrs. Indira Gandhi made India's intentions clear in Wellington (New Zealand) during her visit there in May 1968, "Progressive nationalism", she said, was the "best guarantee against subversive influences and external pressures". India was against any outside force filling the vacuum left in South-east Asia after the British military withdrawal.²⁵

In shows, that India had always tried to improve her relations with all the nations of South-east Asia. If there had been cool attitude from the side of India then it was only in the context of

²⁴ Dutt, op. cit., pp. 345-46
²⁵ Ibid., p. 346.
world situation prevalent at that time. But the recent changes at global level compelled Indian foreign policy makers to take a new look of India's relations in the new international order. Southeast Asia will certainly assume greater significance in India's foreign policy due to its emergence as one of the most economically prosperous region(s) of the world. To give a stable to its economy India is bound to improve her ties with this region.

India's relations with Japan which had already emerged an important economic giant of the world, are discussed in detail in the next chapters.

The era of global changes could be defined as systematic changes, in which old alignments yield to new pressures and an entirely a fresh approach seems to be desirable after thoroughly going into the new equations of power balance. However, these changes look differently to different nations and groups of nations; it can not seem to be similar from Delhi, Beijing, Washington and Moscow. India has to make its own appraisal and identify the emerging realignment of forces as helpful
or injurious to our national and international interests. "The changes in the global equilibrium of power and ideology during the last few years has imposed upon all countries the need to reassess familiar foreign policy strategies. It is true of all states, big and small.  

The almost sudden and cataclysmic dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991 which remained a super power for almost four decades since the end of the Second World War, and an alternative pole of Socialist ideological world-view for over seven decades after the October Revolution in 1917- had been a major and decisive turn in global affairs. It has basically altered the power-equations in world politics, world economy and the world security system". This is the first task of foreign policy in contemporary era; a deep, continuing appraisel of world forces at work and identifying changes that are actually or potentially hostile.

In the post-cold war world, India has also brought changes in her foreign policy in order to get adjusted in the altered global context. It is in this

new perspective of the changed international scenario that India has to review its earlier policy assumptions, reshape its foreign policy priorities and reevaluated its role at global level, especially in the Asian continent.