Chapter - VII

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
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At the outlet before going into details of India's foreign policy towards Union of Soviet Socialist Republics after achieving independence it seems necessary to give its background in brief. During the British rule, India considered the U.S.S.R. a threat to India's security. However, Indian leaders did not accept this view of the Britishers. So far as the British Government was concerned, it almost always maintained that there was a serious danger from Russia to India's security. As Jawaharlal Nehru expressed himself in the following words on the issue:

We have grown up in the 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 that imperialism of Russia was for ever to drive South, connecting 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 the Soviet Government.¹

Thus, Indian leaders did not follow the policy of the British Government because this policy was that of a dominant imperial power of the world.

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, Soviet Russia: Some Random sketches & Impressions, Bombay, 1929, p.191
The Editor of Kesri, Mr. R.G. Tilak observed that Lenin's foreign policy did not aim at annexing any foreign territory or interfering in the internal affairs of any state, adding that all this led to the conclusion that the only true devotees of the principle of self-determination were the Bolsheviks.² Mahatma Gandhi pronounced his views about the Russian revolution in the following words:

There is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it, the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake, and an ideal that is sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain: the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and purify the ideal as time passes.³

Giving expression to the fear of Russian aggression on India Viceroy Chelmsford asked the leaders of the Indian National Congress to give up their agitation and join hands with the British in meeting this alleged Bolshevik menace, Gandhiji replied to this saying:

I have never believed in Bolshevik menace and why any Indian Government should fear Russia, Bolshevik or any menace.⁴

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Gandhiji said this even though he did not feel sympathetic towards the U.S.S.R.

The impression of the Russian Revolution on the bulk of Indian leaders was most clearly reflected in the attitude of Jawaharlal Nehru. He took a lively academic interest in the scientific viewpoint of Marxism as an interpretation of history. Besides, it is worth pointing out that his fascination for Marxism was confined to its broad features rather than to its fine points. At no time could he be termed a doctrinaire Marxist. Gandhi's influence reinforced his dislike for violence. His adherence to democratic values was always very strong. For him the central problem was how to combine democracies with socialism, how to maintain individual freedom and initiative and yet have centralized control and planning of democratic life of the people on the national as well as the international plane.  

Nehru took part in the Conference against Imperialism in Brussels on 9th and 10th February 1927 and he visited USSR with favourable impression on him. After returning from USSR he said:

I must confess that the impressions I carried back from Moscow were very favourable and all my reading has confirmed those impressions, although there is much that I do not like or admire.7

Nehru also observed the strategic geographical situation of India and felt the importance of the USSR as a neighbouring country. He highlighted the significance of the USSR in these words:

Russia cannot be ignored by us, because she is our neighbour, a powerful neighbour, which may be friendly to us, or may be a thorn in our side.8

Later, Nehru was greatly impressed by the support the USSR lent in removing the struggles for sending colonialism and Imperialism from all over the world. In one of his speeches, he said:

And Russia, what of her. An outcast like us from nations and much slandered after erring. But in spite of her many mistakes, she stands today as the greatest opponent of imperialism and her record with the nations of the East has been just and generous.9

7. Jawaharlal Nehru, Soviet Russia: Some Random Sketches and Impressions, Bombay, 1929, p.34.
8. Ibid., p.34
Nehru thought that like India, Russia too, had a backward agricultural economy and an outdated social order before the October Revolution. In this context he said that if Russia found a satisfactory solution for these, the task for India would be made easier.\textsuperscript{10} Nehru considered socialism as a system which was being more suitable for the India environment than capitalism. He asserted that in the interest of the people of India must try to follow the peace-loving and anti-aggression policy of Russia. On 4th February, 1936, Nehru spoke of Russians in these terms:

With regard to Soviet Russia, the first proposition is that there is no power in the world today which is more peaceful and less inclined to aggression than Soviet Russia. I think that is admitted by everybody.\textsuperscript{11}

Presiding over the forty ninth session of the Indian National Congress in 1936 Nehru advocated a policy of alignment with the socialist and nationalist forces in the world struggling against imperialism and fascism. He remarked:

\textsuperscript{10} Soviet Russia, SRSI - p.4  
\textsuperscript{11} J. Bright. ed: op.cit., p.66
We see the world divided into two vast groups today - the imperialist and fascist on one side, the socialist and nationalist on the other. There is some overlapping of the two, and the line between them is difficult to draw... Inevitably we take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are ranged against fascism and imperialism.  

Nehru enunciated his attitude towards USSR in these words:

Some glimpse we can have of this new civilization(socialism) in the territories of the USSR. Much has happened there which had pained me greatly and with which I disagree, but I look upon that great and fascinating unfolding of a new order and a new civilization as the most promising feature of our dismal age. If the future is full of hope it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done, and I am convinced that if some world catastrophe does not intervene, this new civilisation will spread to other lands.  

Developments in Russia greatly affected Nehru. However, he did not agree with some policies of the USSR. The German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact in 1939 perplexed him. He uttered

13. Ibid., p.9-12
his disagreement thus:

As the war progressed, new problems arose, or the old problems took new shape, ... the old standards to fade away. There were many shocks and adjustment was difficult - the Russian-German Pact, the Soviet's invasion of Finland, the friendly approach of Russia towards Japan. Were there any principles, and standards of conduct in this world, or was it all sheer opportunism. 14

When Hitler attacked Russia, Nehru and the Indian National Congress expressed sympathy towards the USSR. 15 Nehru continued to follow a policy of maintaining relations with both capitalist and socialist countries because he wanted India to play an important role by adopting a policy of non-alignment.

The Indian National Congress started thinking of getting Russia's help in pushing the British out of India because it was aware that a new type of government had been set up in the USSR. Some Indian leaders went to Russia for getting help from her in their struggle for freedom. But they could not succeed in receiving aid from USSR for that country had achieved independence after a long struggle and was not in a position to the Indian people by supplying arms to them or helping them in other ways to the British from India. 16

In his first broadcast as the head of the Interim Government Jawaharlal Nehru, sent India's greetings to the people of the USSR. He said on Sept. 7, 1946:

They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other. 17

He added:

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world, not only a mighty country, but, for us in India, a neighbouring country. 18

It is clear from the above statements that he wanted to have close association with the USSR because he thought that it was a powerful country and could play an important role in maintaining peace and harmony in the world and would also be very helpful to India in the future as she was India's neighbour.

Jawaharlal was of the opinion that India and the USSR should develop closest possible ties with each other. Consequently, India established diplomatic links with the USSR on April 13, 1947. 19 After that Nehru sent his sister as Indian

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18. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, selected speeches, Sept. 1946, April 1957, New Delhi, 1971, p. 6
19. The Statesman, New Delhi, April 16, 1947, p. 1; and also Nirmala Joshi: Foundation of Indo-Soviet Relations, New Delhi, 1975, p. 178; and also Rasheeduddin Khan: India and Soviet Union, New Delhi, 1975, p. 27.
Ambassador to Moscow. On 25 June 1947 Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit, was appointed India's first Ambassador to the USSR. He said that India intended cooperating both the United States of America and with the Soviet Union. He said that the Soviet Union being India's neighbour, she shall inevitably develop close relations with it and could not afford to antagonise it.

Thus, India realized the desirability of friendly relations with her mighty neighbours. China and USSR are the most powerful countries close to Indian border. India could not ignore the geographical setting in which she is situated.

Nehru appreciated USSR for promoting peace in the world. He thought that Russians might be helpful in the struggle for the freedom of India. Indian leaders called a Conference of Asian nations which was held from March 23 to April 2, 1947. India was anxious for the participation of Russians in that conference.

After getting independence, India could not get much sympathy from USSR because the Soviet Union was not happy with India's policy of non-alignment. USSR also thought that India

21. Nehru India's Foreign Policy, op.cit., p.28
22. Foreign Policy of India, Lok Sabha Secretariat, N.Delhi, 1987, p.45
was close to USA and its allies. The Indian leaders observed:

Though she received formal independence, India has nevertheless remained dependent on the British imperialists and finds herself increasingly bound by the US imperialists. Key positions in her economy are under the control of British capital. Contrary to India's national interests, her Government is impelling the country into ever greater economic bondage to the United States, and is hampering the development of trade relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

India also joined the British Commonwealth. This was another reason why USSR became unhappy with India. Stalin did not like the Indian Ambassador accredited to Moscow and did not send any condolence message to India on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January 1948.

The USSR joined India in condemning the Dutch aggression over Indonesia. However, USSR was reluctant to see India as play an important role in solving the problem of Indonesia. On the occasion of the presidential speech Nehru said in New Delhi inaugurating the eighteen nations conference on Indonesia on January 20, 1949:

Our primary purpose is to consider how best we can help the Security Council to bring about a rapid and peaceful solution of the Indonesian problem.\textsuperscript{26}

In December 1949 India recognised Red China. This also contributed to India's co-operation towards USSR. The USSR was also appreciated the role of India inside and outside the UNO as an anti-colonial power.

Addressing the Supreme Soviet on 8 August 1953 Malenkov said:

Of great importance for the promotion of peace in the East is the attitude of so big a country as India. India has made a substantial contribution to the efforts of the peace-loving countries to stop the Korean war. Our relations with India are growing firmer and cultural and economic intercourse with her is becoming wider. We hope that relations between India and the Soviet Union will become stronger and develop in a spirit of friendly cooperation.\textsuperscript{27}

Later, India and the USSR signed a trade agreement on 2 December 1953.\textsuperscript{28}

India's decision to welcome the developments in Greece and her stand on Korea caused differences between India and

\begin{itemize}
  \item 27. New Times, no. 33, 1953, supplement, p.15.
  \item 28. India's Trade agreements with other countries; As in force on Dec. 15, 1953 (N.D. 1954), pp. 146-56, and also Zafar Imam: Ideology and Reality in Soviet Policy in Asia, Ludhiana, 1975, p.52.
\end{itemize}
India also opposed the Communist revolution in Malaya and this was not liked by the USSR. However, after some time developments in Korea resulted in a change in India's attitude towards the USSR. India played its role as a non-aligned force in this regard. The USSR was much impressed by the efforts of India to bring about ceasefire in Korea and her refusal to brand Red China as an aggressor. Stalin died on 5 March 1953. Expressing his sorrow on the death of Stalin Nehru said that he was a man of great stature who moulded the destinies of his age and proved himself great in peace and war. USSR also changed its policy after the death of Stalin. The USA and its satellites were annoyed with the non-alignment of India. John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State was of the view that "those who are not with us are against us". The USSR adopted a policy of neutrality in international conflicts involving India. She was silent on the issue of Kashmir till 1955.

The Russians realised the significance of newly independent non-aligned countries by observing the policy of those who are not against us are for us instead of the American attitude of those who are not with us are against us. The USSR felt that India's support would be for her benefit as well as for that of her allies.

30. Ibid., p.39
The Russians acknowledged that India's wishes should be respected in any conference where the future of the Asian people was being discussed. The USSR voted in the General Assembly political Committee to include India as a participant in the Conference on Korea, while USA opposed this move. The representative of USA, Malotov said:

Who can deny that a country like India with a population of more than 300 million people, has entered into a new, historic arena? Not long ago India was a colonial country. But now nobody can deny that India is occupying a very important place among the countries which are consolidating their national independence and striving to secure weighty place in world affairs.  

The USSR also suggested the name of India for the membership of a neutral nations commission to supervise the ceasefire in Indo-China. From 1954 onwards the Soviet Union worked for the inclusion of India in all international forums on disarmament. For example, it called in 1954 for the addition of the Communist China, Czechoslovakia and India to the UN's Disarmament Commission.  

Nehru visited Russia from 7th to 23rd June in 1955 to seek cooperation and help from USSR. He was warmly received in Russia. On this occasion, Nehru said:

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32. New Times, No. 24 1954 supplement p. 4  
33. Statesman, 21 April 1954, p. 1  
34. O.P. Ralhan, op. cit., p. 138
I do not claim that we can achieve big objectives in world affairs but all of us can help a little in lessening tensions which itself is a step in the right direction.  

He felt that his visit of the USSR would be helpful in reducing world tensions and would also bring Indian closer to the USSR. After arriving at Moscow he said:

We did not understand some of the developments in your country, even as you might not have understood much that we did ... We should endeavour to remove all walls and barriers to the growth of our minds and hearts, such as come in the way of international cooperation. There is no reason why different countries having different political or social or economic systems should not cooperate in this way, provided there is no interference with each other and no imposition or attempt to dominate.

India also signed a trade agreement on 2 February 1955 with the USSR for the setting up of a modern integrated iron and steel plant at Bhilai.

On June 1955 talks between the leaders of India and the USSR showed that there were cordial relations and better understanding between them. They also agreed to follow the principles of Panchsheel. The joint communique issued by them on the occasion said:

The essence of true coexistence in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith is that states of different social structures can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good.... The two Prime Ministers, taking note of the mutual benefits of such cooperation, will seek to promote and strengthen relations between their two countries in the economic and cultural fields as well as in that of scientific and technical research.\[38\]

India wanted close cooperation with the USSR because she felt that close ties of the two countries would be helpful in maintaining world peace as well as India's security. India and the USSR condemned the Western countries for extending military aid to Pakistan.\[39\]

Towards the end of 1955 Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister and Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, visited India and were accorded a tremendous

\[38\] A.Appadorai & M.S.Rajan, op.cit., p.265
\[39\] Ibid., p.265
welcome. This visit helped to strengthen Indo-Soviet friendship. They supported India on the Goa issue. The two leaders delivered various speeches on economic and political issues. Bulganin expressed his views a joint session of the two Houses of Indian Parliament on 21 November 1955 in the following words:

In the long run, we are striving for the same objectives: to lessen international tension, to preserve and strengthen peace, to prevent war, and to save mankind from its horrors; to guarantee the undisturbed work and joys of peaceful life for the peoples throughout the world.  

India had to reassure the world that there was no change in its policy of non-alignment or neutrality and that she was not becoming communist. In this regard Nehru said at an open air rally for the Soviet visitors, on 29 November in Calcutta:

Controversies have arisen in other countries about the consequences of the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. They ask: Is India aligning herself with the Communist countries and the Soviet Union? Is she giving up her policy of non-alignment and neutrality?... People in many parts of the world seem to think that if you are friendly with one person, that means that you are hostile and inimical to the others — as if you can only

be friendly with one to be hostile to another. The area of friendship should not be confined by a wall of hostility. That is our national and international outlook, and that is the real basis of the policy of neutrality or non-alignment that India follows.\textsuperscript{41}

India acquired a crucial position in Soviet foreign policy and external relations. Bulganin his favourable impression of the Indian visit while addressing the Supreme Soviet Bulganin said in the following words:

Our visit to India has brought our two countries still closer.... This great friendship we shall continue to develop and strengthen.\textsuperscript{42}

Similar views were also expressed by Krushchev, who said:

We set much value on our friendship with India.... Both we and our Indian friends would like to develop and strengthen these friendly relations without in any way harming India's and Soviet Union's relations with other countries... We fully understand and support the position of the Indian leaders who have declared that India maintains a neutral position between us and the other states.\textsuperscript{43}

Thus it is evident that Indian foreign policy towards USSR was tremendously changed after the visit of the two Soviet leaders, Bulganin and Khrushchev, and that India had an important place in Soviet foreign policy.

In the second half of 1956, during the Suez crisis, India along with the USSR, condemned the aggression on Egypt and called for efforts to halt aggression and restore peace. India took a firm stand in the UNO to condemn the aggression. Criticising the Ango-French action Nehru had said: "In all my experience of foreign affairs, I have come across no grosser case of naked aggression than what England and France are trying to do." 44 India also offered her soldiers for the UNO Emergency Force in Egypt to look after the implementation of the Egypt-Israeli armistice. 45 The Suez crisis coincided with a revolt in Hungary. India, declined abstained from voting on an American resolution which demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, from that country and holding of elections under the auspices of United Nations. When the Soviet Union intervened and crushed the revolt, India condemned the Russian attitude as, "a gross and brutal exercise of violence and armed might against weaker countries". However, Government of India did not agree to the demand of the opposition parties that she should not recognise the Kadar Government in Hungary. The gulf that was

44. The Hindu, Madras, 1 November 1956.
45. FAR, Vol.II, no.11, Nov.1956, pp.74-75.
caused between USSR and India on the issues was soon bridged.
A meeting of All India Congress Committee was held in November 1956 in Calcutta at which a resolution was passed stating its strong resentment and disapproval of the invasion of Egypt by Israel and the armed action taken by the UK and France against Egypt with a view to imposing their will on her. On the issue of Hungary resolution said that in that country there was civil conflict involving considerable loss of life, as well as the use of foreign armed forces and hoped that the foreign troops in Hungary would be withdrawn and that the people of Hungary would decide their own future by peaceful methods. 46. Speaking on the resolution Nehru said:

If countries which are militarily weak are to be threatened by more powerful countries, then we revert to the rule of brutal might and law of the jungle. All our declarations of peaceful co-existence and respect for integrity and independence of nations, non-aggression, non-intervention and mutual respect, which we have repeated so often, have no meaning left and the world reverts to international barbarism. 47

Again, in November 1956, addressing the Lok Sabha on the question of the Suez and the Hungarian crises, Nehru said:

46. Asian Recorder, 10-16 Nov. 1956, p. 1129
47. FAR, Vol. II, no. 11, Nov. 1956, p. 173
In regard to Hungary, the difficulty was that the broad facts were not clear to us. Also the occurrences in Hungary took place in a moment when suddenly the international situation became very much worse and we had to be a little surer and clearer as to what had actually happened and what the present position was .... I made it perfectly clear, first, that foreign forces should be removed both from Egypt and Hungary, although the two cases are not parallel; and secondly, that the people of Hungary should be given the opportunity to determine their future. 48

India supported the resolution of the Columbo Powers which met on 12-14 November 1956 saying that the Soviet forces should be withdrawn from Hungary speedily and that the Hungarian people should be left to decide their own future and the form of government they wished to have, without external intervention from any quarter. 49 Thus India strongly criticized the Israeli and Anglo-French attack on Egypt, and this was appreciated by USSR. She also opposed Soviet involvement in Hungary, but even then India's relations with the USSR remained cordial on the whole.

49. FAR, Vol.II, no. 11, Nov. 1956, p. 176
India's attitude regarding the question of election in Hungary was expressed by Nehru. He said that:

Elections under UN auspices was contrary to the UN Charter and would reduce Hungary to less than a sovereign State. He added that any acceptance of intervention of this type and foreign supervised elections would set a bad precedent which might be utilized in future for intervention in other countries. 50

Nehru had in mind the issue of Kashmir for which he wanted Soviet support. After the indication of Nehru, Bulganin said:

We believe that at the present moment which is of such a great importance to the fates of the states and people of the East, the voice of India in the defence of immediate and effective measures against the aggression and your personal prestige could play an outstanding part. 51

When on 5th January 1957 52, Eisenhower was suggested a formula to solve the problem of West Asia, Nehru, alongwith some leaders of the region condemned it and supported the proposal advanced

51. FAR, Vol.II, no.11, November 1956, p.173
52. The Hindustan Times, Jan.7, 1957, p.7
by the Soviet Union which called for the pulling out of foreign troops from the Middle East.

Indian Parliament passed a resolution on 22nd and 27th May 1957 asking the big powers to stop nuclear tests. In June 1957 USSR supported India's move to send the delegate to the 5-power Disarmament Commission which was held in London. Nehru spoke in Parliament as the issue of Disarmament as :

I suppose that the basic issue which perhaps governs other matters is that of disarmament.... All kinds of proposals have been made, but the fact is that at the present moment, again, the Disarmament Commission faces a deadlock.... It is not our desire to push ourselves in these committees or commissions, but naturally, we would like to help, we are prepared to do so.  

The representative of Soviet Union appreciated the Indian attitude of arms control. On 14th November 1957 India moved a resolution regarding arms control before the General Assembly. USSR supported the Indian move. Similar attitudes in such matters helped in bringing India & the USSR closer.

On the subject of India's attitude towards the USSR and China Nehru had the following to say in the Rajya Sabha:

I can say with complete honesty that there is not the remotest chance of India being afraid of Russia and China, or India having any conflict with Russia or China. I am not saying on any kind of sentimental or even idealist basis but purely on political grounds. Even if we differ, if we are opposed in various policies, nevertheless there will be no conflict.  

The above statements of Nehru reveals that Indian relation with USSR was very cordial, at least during this period.

The attitude of USSR towards Yugoslavia of pressurising the latter to remain in Soviet camp shocked Nehru. Tito did not like the Soviet stand and Nehru was fast friend of Tito. Nehru expressed his strong feelings on the issue in May 1958. Khrushchev responded by saying the Indian ambassador to Moscow that he hoped India would let the USSR and Yugoslavia their ideological disputes in their own way.

When the crises in Jordan and Lebanon broke out in July 1958, USSR wanted India to keep aloof on the issues. American and British troops reached Lebanon and Jordan to prevent a possible uprising similar to that which had already overthrown the Iraqi government. On this occasion, addressing

the Indian Parliament Nehru said and India did not accept that foreign troops should be used in any territory adding & there can be no settlement and no return to normalcy until foreign troops were removed. Thus Nehru made it quite clear that in his opinion foreign troops should not interfere in West Asia.

USSR wanted India's friendly cooperation but she did not like any criticism on India's part of her or her allies. The policy of non-alignment was proved to be a cause of tension between USSR and India. Conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR created apprehension in the minds of Indian leaders. The attitude of the USSR perplexed Nehru and he could not help expressing his annoyance publicly to the Soviet leaders when Imre Nagy and his supporters were executed in Hungary. On this Hungarian tragedy Nehru expressed himself as:

In regard to the recent execution in Hungary of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues, I was shocked when I learnt of it, and I have expressed my deep distress over it. It is obvious that this has resulted in passionate feelings, charges, countercharges, and an increase in tension so that, in effect, it has taken us back from that movement towards a lessening of tensions. I think it has been very unfortunate.

The Soviet leaders were annoyed with Nehru's statement over the execution of Imre Nagy. Nehru made the following comment on Communism in practice:

We see the growing contradictions within the rigid framework of Communism itself. Its suppression of individual freedom brings about moral reactions. Its contempt for what might be called the moral and spiritual side of life not only ignores something that is basic in man, but deprives human behaviour of standards and values. Its unfortunate associations with violence encourages a certain evil tendency in human beings. 58

Although Nehru accepted the view of Communist that Capitalism was based on violence and conflict, he said that Communists themselves were guilty of imposing the views by means of violence and did not like those who did not agree with their views. 59 The USSR was worried over this harsh comment against Communism and did not think it proper to remain silent.

It is important to note that in the year 1959 relations between the USSR and China became tense. During the same period China occupied some areas of land in India. This became a matter of grave concern for India. Thus China became

59. Ibid., pp. 3-6
the main cause of concern for both India and the USSR. So both the countries started maintaining close cooperation with each other. However, it does not mean that it was only because of the apathetic relations of USSR with China that India extended its cooperation to the USSR.

The Soviet Union agreed to give an aid of Rs.95.2 million to establish four plants for the production of synthetic chemicopharmaceutical preparations, antibiotics, and basic surgical instruments. Another project covered by the Soviet-Indian agreement of May 1959 was the establishment of a fifty million surgical instruments factory near Madras.60

In 1959 India's relations with China became bitter because China began to capture some areas of Indian land. After this action of Chinese government TASS said on 8th September 1959 that the Soviet Union had amicable relations with both the countries i.e. India and China.

Addressing the Press Conference on 21st October 1959 Nehru said:

I consider the USSR first of all as having reached normalcy after a revolution. Secondly, I consider the USSR a territorially satisfied power...
But China has not gathered over the first flush of its revolutionary mentality.61

It is worth mentioning that the 1959 edition of the Soviet World Atlas (Atlas Mira) delineated India's international borders as south of Sikkim and Bhutan instead of the north as depicted in Indian maps. The 1959 Atlas Mira, like the 1955 edition, depicted the Aksai Chin areas of Ladakh, South East Bhutan, and NEFA as Chinese territories. Obviously, this hurt the feelings of the Indian nationalists and had a adverse effect on Indian policy towards USSR. However, KhruShchev, submitted in his report to the third Session of the Supreme Soviet on 31st October 1959 Khurschev expressing his concern about the border disputes between India and China and said that this crisis should be tackled by peaceful means.\(^{62}\)

In November 1959 Nehru spoke in the Parliament on Indo-China border issue:

There is a marked difference between the broad approach of the USSR to world problem and Chinese approach. I do not think there is any country in the world which is more anxious for peace than the USSR. And I think that is the general view of people - even of their opponents. But I doubt if there is any country in the world which cares less for peace than China today.\(^{63}\)

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A statement on the issue on 22nd December 1959, by the USSR was silent on whether she was supporting or criticising the Chinese government on its stand is the disputes Indian government felt that the Soviet attitude was very helpful for its security. Nehru interpreted this statement of the Soviet Union by saying that, considering everything, the statement was a fair one and an unusual one for the Soviet Government to sponsor. Thus Indian Government highly appreciated the helpful attitude of the Soviet Union on the issue of Indo-China conflict.

However, a number of Indian leaders were unhappy with this state of affairs. They exerted their pressure to new shape to India's foreign policy. They felt India's security lay the aligning with the Super Powers but Nehru was totally against joining military alliances of either of the Super Powers. He thought that India should be aloof from their power politics in the interest of her own security.

The high level visits took place in early 1960. Vorshilov, President of the Supreme Soviet and Khrushchev paid a visit to India. The President of India usually does not receive high dignitaries. But on this occasion, President was present at the airport to welcome them. Thus it is clear that Indian Government desired close cooperation with the USSR. At a civic reception to Khrushchev at Calcutta, Nehru said:

64. The Hindustan Times, September 12, 1959, p.1
The most important thing which he has done and which has impressed all of us is that he has kept the flag of peace flying in the world. He has spoken in favour of peace at many places and has worked for it. This is a cause in which in India are especially interested.... We want friendship with your country and with your people.  

During this visit, Khrushchev expressed his support for India's policy of non-alignment. India and USSR agreed on the issue of total disarmament. Both the countries assured each other of everlasting friendship and cooperation. Nevertheless, Khrushchev objected to the multi-party system in India. Addressing the Indian Parliament he said that the multi-party system should not exist because it was harmful for the society.

In June 1960 Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India visited the USSR. The Soviet President enthusiastically received him and said:

Warm friendship and wide cooperation between our governments and peoples is very bright evidence of the fact that nothing can stop the irresistible longings of the progressive forces from establishing new relationship based on principles of peaceful co-existence between the countries.

65. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, op.cit., pp.579-80.
Addressing at a Soviet-Indian friendship meeting Dr. Rajendra Prasad said:

The USSR and India had shown to all sceptics and cynics on right and left that two great countries, adhering to different traditions and to different philosophies, can cooperate freely and successfully in furthering not only the improvement of the well-being of the people, but also the consolidation of peace. 67

When Dr. Rajendra Prasad met his Soviet counterpart, the latter said that their friendship was greatly promoted by the exchange of visits between Soviet and Indian Statesmen. 68

However, Indian policy differed with that of the USSR on the Congo crisis. Congo had got its independence in June 1960. Prior to this it was a colony of Belgium. Shortly after independence the army of Congo revolted against the Belgian officers. The USSR and other Communist countries like China and Czechoslovakia supplied war material to Lumumba, the Prime Minister of Congo, which the Western Powers supported Tshomba, who was pro-Belgian and thereby encouraged Belgians to return in Katanga and Kasai provinces. The Belgians took advantage of this situation and sent their armies to Congo on the pretext of maintaining law and order and saving the civilian

68. The Hindu, 1 July 1960.
population. The Congo government requested the Security Council to "protect the national territory of Congo against the present external aggression which is a threat to international peace." 69 India and the USSR were both of the opinion that the Belgian troops should be pulled out from Congo. On July 14, 1960, the Security Council passed a resolution by which Belgium was asked to withdraw its troops from Congo. The resolution also authorised the Secretary General to send a peace-keeping force to Congo which was to be raised by the UN and was to consist of contingents from 29 nations excluding the two Super Powers. While the USSR was against the deployment of UN force in the Congo, the Indian Government was in favour of this move. But she did not agree to participate in the contingents of 29 nations because she felt that if the UN failed in the Congo, it would be a disaster not only for the Congo but for the whole world; it would fade away in the Congo and its reputation would continue to suffer. But later on, India agreed to send an army brigade at the disposal of the UN for service in the Congo because the UN agreed India to do so. India desired from the Secretary General that her forces should not intervene with the forces of any member country of the UN except that of Congolese and Belgians. India also laid stress that the brigade should function as a unit by itself and not be linked with other units. 70

In February 14, 1961, Lumumba was murdered in the province of Katanga. A report published in the USA in 1975 by a Senate Committee to study Governmental operations of intelligence activities by the American stated that the CIA was behind the murder. This created world-wide sympathy for the Congolese and Soviet Union was worry at this tragic end of Lumumba. After the murder of Lumumba, differences arose between India and the USSR on the question of how to tackle the Congo crisis. Speaking against the murder of Lumumba, Nehru said that he was not in agreement with the Soviet stand demanding immediate withdrawal of the UN forces from Congo. He said on Feb.15, 1961 in the Lok Sabha:

If all the United Nations Forces are withdrawn from there, the United Nations ceases to function there and will withdraw itself. If that happens, the consequence will not only be a continuing civil war but there would also be the danger of outside powers coming in a big way to help their respective countries or those whom they acknowledged, which would be a very serious thing.

Nehru condemned the external aggression in Cuba on April 20, 1961. He said on April 20, 1961 in Rajya Sabha that

72. Ibid., p.282
73. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, op.cit., p.523.
he thought that there should be no intervention from any side in Cuba, and that it should be left to work out its own destiny. This shows India's inclination towards the USSR rather than towards the USA, which brought India and USSR closer once again.

Disagreements arose between India and USSR on the Secretary General's role in the Congo crisis. The USSR sharply criticised the General Secretary's handling of the dispute of Congo and also asked for his dismissal. However, Nehru appreciated the role of the Secretary General for having acted with "vision and wisdom". Later, on 31st August 1961, he expressed his appreciation for General Secretary and the United Nations in these words on April 20, 1961 in the Rajya Sabha:

I would like to express on behalf of the Government our appreciation of the steps which have been taken broadly by the United Nations in the Congo.75

Although in the UN, India voted against the motion of the seating of the Congolese President Kasavubu's delegation supported by the United States. In short, there was differences of opinion between the USSR and India on Congo crises. India's interference on Congo issue also shows the actual policy of non-alignment freedom of action. However, in spite of these divergent views between India and the USSR, they continued to

74. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, op.cit., p. 588.
75. Lok Sabha Debates, No. 15, 31 August 1961, col. 5929.
maintain relations of friendship and cooperation. 76

Nehru paid his third visit to Moscow on September 6-11, 1961 after attending the Summit Conference at Belgrade. 77 On his arrival in Moscow, Khruschev, the Soviet Prime Minister expressed his views in these words:

I believe the present visit and exchange of views on the most important problem of the present international situation will lead to a further development and strengthening of good relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India in the interest of peace among nations.

Further added that the friendship between the Soviet Union and India was a reliable and durable friendship, which had stood the test of time. Nehru wanted to discuss some new problems such as nuclear test ban treaty, the achievements of non-alignment summit and getting economic aid from USSR. Nehru said that he hoped their contacts would continue and that there would be more meetings and exchange of views on world problems.

During this visit Khrushchev expressed warm feelings of friendship on behalf of the Soviet people for the people of India. He said to Nehru during the few days he had spent

in the capital of the Soviet Union he must have noticed that
the people of the Soviet Union nurtured the most sincere
feelings of friendship towards the people of India. 78

Nehru had a discussion with the Soviet leaders on the
German issue, and the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru agreed
with Khrushchev that the fact of existence of two German
states could not be ignored for the time being and that any
attempt to change the frontiers would have dangerous conse-
quences. 79.

Nehru agreed that only a peaceful solution of German
was desirable. 80 Nehru did not want to interfere on the
question of German Democratic Republic and USSR for their
handling of territory and population under control. Indian
attitude on the Berlin crisis was one of supporting the stand
of the USSR. 81

On 18 December 1961, Brezhnev supported the Indian
stand claiming sovereignty over Goa. Khrushchev sent a cable
to Nehru stating that the bold action of the Indian Government
to remove the outpost of colonialism in its territory was
quite reasonable and legal. Western countries did not want

78. Ibid., p.374
79. Foreign Policy of India, Text of Documents, p.506-7
80. The Hindustan Times, 20 May 1965, p.6
Goa to be merged with India. For this purpose they moved a resolution in the Security Council. This resolution was vetoed by USSR. The Soviet representative argued that India's action was according to the principles of the UN Charter. 82

The Indian leaders and people were grateful for the Soviet support for India on the issue of Goa. Nehru and other Indian leaders appreciated Khrushchev statements. They noticed a welcome change in Soviet policy towards India. The attitude of the Soviet Union was not favourable to India during initial period of Indo-Chinese conflict in October 1962, but this did not affect cordial ties between the USSR and India.

When China attacked on India in 1962, the USSR did not say anything for two days. On 30th October 1962 the USSR supported China's proposals in General Assembly and said India should accept this. India was sorely disappointed at the attitude of the Soviet Union. 83

On November 9, 1962 Nehru expressed his appreciation of the assistance for USSR that since the letter had changed its attitude and had agreed to cooperate with India in helping

82. Institute of International Studies, University of California (April 1962), p.3.
her to manufacture "MIG" fighter planes which clearly showed that the Soviet Union supported India in her conflict with Red China. On 12th December 1962, addressing the Supreme Soviet, Khrushchev made a speech on the conflict of Sino-India in which he expressed his sharp criticism of Chinese troops and his support for the stand of India. Khrushchev said:

> Since the Chinese are withdrawing, would it not have been better not to have moved forward at all from the position on which they stood at that time.  

With the collaboration of USSR, India set up the Oil and Natural Gas Commission in 1963. So, it may be seen that oil exploration was started in India with the help of the Soviet Union. Many Indian geologists, geophysicists and drillers have been trained with the help of the Soviet oil specialists.

Among the developing non-communist countries India was the first one to be a trading partner of the USSR. It was India, after the U.A.R. and the Mali Federation started having such relations with the Soviet Union.

In January 1964 Pakistan pointed out the Bogey of threat from India on Kashmir dispute. Participating in the

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86. V.P.Kadyshev, Vneshnaya Torgovlya,SSSR, p.34
discussion of the Security Council the representative of the USSR said that the position of Kashmir belonging to India had already been settled by the people of Kashmir. Western countries were egging Pakistan on to raise the problem of consensus on the issue but the USSR and Czechoslovakia were not ready to agree to this proposal. Thus the resolution moved in the UN relating to this by the Western powers was kept in abeyance due to the fear of veto from USSR. Thus, India and the USSR came closer to one another while Western countries tried to harm India.

In the Press Conference addressed by Nehru on May 22, 1964 Jawaharlal Nehru spoke regarding the issue of Soviet Transmitter. He stated that he had nothing to say about it except that they had made a proposal and this was being considered. 87

To conclude, although there were some divergence of opinion from time to time between India and the USSR, they were never hostile towards each other. Rather their ties were strengthened, based on harmony and mutual cooperation.