Chapter - VIII

CONCLUSION
India's foreign policy during the British Raj and after has remained idealistic. Thus India's approach of non-alignment just after her independence was misunderstood by the Super Powers. The policy of non-alignment was a new venture in a world divided into two compartments and had its own risks. Perhaps this was the reason that the People's Republic of China could dare to attack India in 1962 and it could receive very little aid from the Super Powers to meet this contingency. It was at that time, the then Prime Minister of India Pt. J.L. Nehru realized the betrayal of China of the world outside. India could no longer depend on outside help, and had to strengthen her defences. Despite her foreign policy limitations she succeeded in managing economic and technical aid from the countries of both the Power blocs. Later as blamed that India's membership of the Commonwealth had to some extent soften her stand towards issues relevant for third world development. However, as Nehru explained, membership of the Commonwealth was advantageous to India without affecting her Sovereignty. India opposed the policy of racial discrimination and condemned the policy of apartheid of the South Africa Govt. She could also clearly initiate her issues on Rhodesia. Thus the membership of the Commonwealth helped India providing facilities in raising issues of particular reference. However, she has enhanced her prestige in international sphere through her policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. India
has been able to make an impact on international politics. She has succeeded in creating a sense of increasing participation of Asian and African states in international affairs.

India has also won the trust of the world, which is evidenced by the fact that she was invited to take up responsibilities by the world body in Korea, Indo-China and Congo. India has also openly expressed her opinions on the various international issues like naked aggression of France, Britain and Israel in Suez and Soviet interference in Hungary. Thus India has made efforts to contribute quite a bit to the reduction of tensions in the international sphere. However, despite all odds, India has consistently supported the dependent countries and opposed their exploitation by colonial and imperial powers. For example, when the Dutch tried to re-establish their hold over Indonesia, an appeal was made by India and other South-Asian countries to the Security Council that ultimately resulted in the recognition of Indonesia’s independence. She also supported the cause of Libya, Tunisia and Algeria. India has also upheld the principle of Co-operation and Co-existence between states following different political systems. She has always reposed faith in the United Nations and has supported the principle of the settlement of disputes through peaceful means.

Similarly, she co-operated with U.N. on the issues of Korea-Indo-China, as well as those of the Labanese border and Congo.
India has enunciated special interest in developing close relations with other Asian Countries. For this purpose she convened Asian Relations Conference in 1947 and 1949 at New Delhi and was one of the sponsors of Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries in 1955.

India was against the division of countries like Palestine, Korea, Indo-China and Germany because she was fully aware of the implications of partition. Ever since, the creation of Pakistan, India's relations with that country have never been cordial. The initial bitterness was created mutually by the partition of the country. Moreover, some other factors responsible for tension between two countries are as follows:

Pakistan, entered into military alliances like Baghdad Pack and SEATO with a view to strengthening her position vis-a-vis India. Pakistan got much military assistance in the name of the communist threat but actually this aid was used against India during the conflict of 1965 and US did nothing to prevent Pakistan from doing so. After India's relations with China worsened Pakistan entered into agreement with China and handed over large portions of Indian territory to China through a treaty. Pakistan got huge assistance in the form of financial loans, technical assistance and military help from China. During the Indo-Pak War in 1965 Pakistan received full support from China.
Kashmir issue has continued to strain relations between the two countries since 1947. After independence, Kashmir's initial response taking side with India through a treaty of 1947 was not acceptable to Pakistan which started applying pressure and encouraging armed Pathans to invade Kashmir. In subsequent years efforts were made to solve this issue but these efforts came to nought. India's policy towards Pakistan is based on the unstated assumptions that it should be made to realize the futility of her policy aiming at parity with India notwithstanding the disparities between the two in regard to size population and resources and that Pakistan should be persuaded to give up its policy of confrontation against India. Both countries have attempted to improve their mutual relations but so far much progress could not be made in this direction.

Relations between India and China were very cordial till the outbreak of hostilities between the two in 1962. India was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the Communist Government of China and pleaded her case for the membership of the United Nations. Not only this two countries adopted the famous five principle of Panchsheel in 1954. Relations between India and the People's Republic of China ceased to be cordial after India gave asylum to Lalai Lama was fled from Tibet following an uprising there which was suppressed by China. Since then, China has continued with her hostile policy towards India. She also mounted
full-fledged attack in 1962 which ended in a military debacle for India. During the conflict, India got assistance from U.S.A., U.S.S.R. desisted from doing anything against India. Subsequently Afro-Asian countries effort with the help of proposed Colombo Plan to bring once again these countries together remain furtile as India was ready to accept the plan in festo but China expressed certain reservations about it.

The Indo-Chinese conflict led to the choice relations between China and Pakistan. This was also harmful for India's security, China and Pakistan concluded an agreement regarding the boundary by which it gave away large portions of Indian territory to China which resulted in huge financial and military assistance to Pakistan. China's ambition to dominate South-East Asia and her aspiration for the leadership of the Communist World, also affected Indo-Chinese relation.

Sri Lanka has developed a distinctive civilisation and yet India has influenced her very greatly. This has created religious affinities between the two countries side by side with a shared colonial experience of the last two centuries. The Sinhalese perception of relationship with India is also influenced by the fact that Sri Lanka, an island just over 65,000 kms in area, has a giant for a virtually sole neighbour. In 1949, Sri Lanka joined India in condemning Netherland's military designs in Indonesia with simultaneous denial of transit facilities to Dutch military aircraft and vessels.
The Sirimavo Shastri agreement of 1964 was a major step towards resolving the problems of the Indian migrants settled in the island. But, the agreement was not implemented by the Government of Sri Lanka. The problems of the Indian Tamils who had settled there still remained the same. Thus, India's relations with Sri Lanka could not be cordial.

India's relations with Nepal and Bhutan have been cordial. India concluded an agreement with Nepal in 1950 which was extended in 1960. India also signed a treaty with Bhutan in 1949 which involved close cooperation between the two countries. Thus, India's foreign policy towards Nepal and Bhutan has been of mutual cooperation and understanding.

India was indebted to Roosevelt for his support in her struggle for freedom. However, the USA took no interest in South Asia after 1947 because she adopted an anti-Indian attitude on the Kashmir issue in the security council. The USA also wanted India to join military alliances sponsored by her. Their differences were widened due to the conflicting attitude of the two countries on various issues. Conflict between the two countries was inevitable as they looked at their national interests differently. India believed that her interests could best be served by following a non-aligned policy, i.e. the policy of not joining either of the power
blocs, since she needed peace and aid from all countries for the tremendous task of reconstructing the country. But to the United States, the inevitable danger to her security arose from the expansionist policies of communist Russia. Therefore it was busy gaining allies and concluding military pacts with other countries to contain communist expansionism. Hence it could not approve of India's policy of non-alignment which was dubbed as immoral by John Foster Duller. India was also regarded as Pro-Soviet in her foreign policy perceptions. India opposed colonialism of all kinds. The USA supported colonial powers with which it had close ties. India's recognition of people's Republic of China and her efforts to seek China's admission in UNO were not liked by the USA. The United States refused to accord recognition to China. India is as sensitive about Kashmir as France was about Alsace-Lorraine during the period 1870-1914. India holds that Kashmir's accession to her is final and irrevocable while America wants India to carry out its promise of plebiscite and let the people of Kashmir excercise their right of self-determination. In spite of these difference, India continued to receive economic and technical aid from the USA in economic and technical fields.

India's refusal to hold plebiscite in interpreted in Washington as a proof that the people of Kashmir do not wish to remain with India. The USA also provided military aid to Pakistan in 1954. American military assistance to Pakistan
has always been considered of doubtful value. It has produced a deep sense of injury and anti-American animus in India.

India cannot remain indifferent to a naval competition between the two Super Powers in an area which is so close to it. Hence, India is strongly opposed to the increasing naval presence of the US in the Indian ocean and the expansion of the base facilities in Diego Garcia since it would result in a rival soviet naval force stationed in the ocean. But USA's strategic land and port policies in South West Asia require a strong naval presence in the region. Thus, India and the USA have very different perceptions of the South West Asian situation. So far the US has ignored all Indian protests and rejected all attempts at making the Indian ocean a zone of peace and is going ahead with its plans. US aid policy was perhaps largely with a view to win over India to her side. During the Indo-China conflict of 1962, the USA offered prompt assistance to India.

Hence, for the present, the prospects of revival of cordial relations between US and India seem bleak and it would require a conscious effort on the part of either of them to put Indo-American relations on a stable basis. This can be done only if the two countries arrive at some sort of understanding on the subject and devise a framework within which differences can be contained, if not resolved, without resulting in hostility.
Till independence, India had practically no relations with the Soviet Union. Even after independence, for some time, relations between the two could not be cordial because of India's decision to join the Commonwealth and her stand on Greece and Korea. India's policy of non-alignment was also misunderstood by USSR. But soon relations between the two became cordial due to India's open condemnation of colonial powers and her quick recognition of the Communist Government of China. The death of Stalin and Pakistan's military alliance with western powers also brought the two countries closer. Soviet Union also supported India on the issues of Kashmir and Goa. She has also supported India with economic assistance. During the Chinese aggression of 1962, USSR gave India the promised MIG planes. But in the wake of this war when China and Pakistan came closer Russia adopted an attitude of neutrality. To, sum up, it may be said that a community of interests between India and the USSR resulted in the steady growth of friendship and mutual diplomatic support. India, USSR relations developed on the basis of mutuality of interests and similarity of actions and reactions to a variety of challenges to both. The national interests of the two countries, moreover developed along courses that were parallel, and often identical.

India adopted a deliberate policy of friendship with all countries which would go further in gaining security than almost anything else till Indo-Chinese conflict of 1962.
It is enough to state that after 20 October 1962, Jawaharlal Nehru himself was disillusioned in this respect. Friendship with all countries might be fruitful in raising prestige of the country.

The foreign policy of any country has to be governed by her self-interest, in conformity with the lesswritten code of international morality. Keeping in view her self-interest and in spite of facing several problems India has successfully tried to develop better relations with other countries. Jawaharlal Nehru was opposed to power blocs and military alliances which led to her adopting non-alignment as a policy and this has created a better climate in the region.