India and the Ocean
Chapter VI

INDIA AND THE OCEAN

Embedded, and terrestrially moored to the surrounding Ocean, India is, as someone has suggested, a gift of the Indian Ocean. The ‘Gondwanaland thesis’ holds that the splitting of land mass and drifting apart of continents in their present shape about 150 million years ago, defined the contours, character and geographical parameters of the South Asian Sub-continent, of which India so obviously is the preponderant feature.

For long, the Ocean served as a barrier, a protective shield, around the sub-continent till maritime activity perforated this shield decisively through the advent of the Europeans from the 16th century onwards. Until then, life and history of this sub-continental land mass was entirely north-bound and unidimensional; that is to say, it pulsated exclusively with rhythms emanating from land.

The advent and impact of the Europeans brought about a qualitative change in the life of the South Asian Sub-continent. The ramifications and resonance of the change defined and determined the extent and intensity of the Ocean’s linkages with contemporary India. The experience and the legacy of colonialism–imperialism have—and still do in a fair measure—contributed to the country’s consciousness of the Indian Ocean, and obligations towards and advantage from it.

The long and rich history of India’s almost exclusively cultural and commercial interaction with the littoral and other territories and peoples of the Ocean in per-colonial times is but a faint, albeit inspiring, memory that only marginally—if that—affects the country’s current attitudes and policy vis-a-vis the Ocean. That in those times India influenced and attracted the peoples of Indian Ocean territories culturally, and through trade and commerce rather than through military engagements or war, is now used as an ideological-spiritual input, or a buttress for India’s foreign policy and position today. Otherwise, it is the immediate colonial past that largely contributes to the present Indian Orientation towards the Ocean; the pre-colonial past accounts for the mutual affinity between India and Indian Ocean peoples.
The north-orientation, and virtually exclusive pre-occupation of the Indian state with the lands and peoples in central and west Asia, continued undiminished even under the colonial rule. The Second World War changed this perspective drastically.

Thinking and articulate Indians began to realise the importance of the Indian Ocean in the wake of Japanese penetration of South Asia, following the fall of Singapore. While regretting the "unfortunate tendency to overlook the sea in the discussion of India's defence problems", Pannikar observed that "India never lost her independence till she lost the command of the sea in the first decade of the 16th century". He emphasized that the "Indian Ocean must remain truly Indian" for which, in his opinion, Albuquerque's style of security policy was best suited: India must firmly hold distant bases like Singapore, Mauritius, Aden and Socotra, as outposts of the country's defence. Pannikar seemed to realize the likelihood of Indian Ocean becoming the fulcrum of power struggle in the post-war period; and so, cautioned about the possibility of United States entering the Ocean as a major power and Soviet entry as a rival to the US.

According to another view, even if India does not rule the waves of all the oceans of the world, it must at least rule the Indian Ocean. The Ocean must be converted into an 'Indian Lake', which means that India's must be the supreme and undisputed power over the waters of this Ocean. An early Indian Council of World Affairs study also suggested that only an effective naval force from the sub-continent could stop the waters from being controlled by an external power.

India's location in southern peninsula of Asian continent, and its triangular shape tapering southwards into the Indian Ocean gives it a distinctive physical and cultural character.

The peninsular part of the country—the southern India—is washed by the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian sea on the west, while the Indian Ocean touches its southern toe. The 5,700 km long coastline of the mainland has in its eastern part a number of deltas, but none in the western part. The west coast includes two peninsulas, Kathiawar and Kutch. Western coastline runs more or less straight, the Cape Comorin to the 22° parallel N. The coastline
in the east runs in wide curves, changing direction from north to north-east from the 16° parallel.9

The two seas, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, which encircle the coast of India, came into existence during the late Cretaceous or early Tertiary times in the form of northward prolongations of the Indian Ocean over the foundered portions of the ancient Gondwana continent. The continental shelf projecting from the Indian coastline varies in its width from 100 meters to 350 kms, and at varying depths.

Indian Islands

The Indian territory includes a number of islands in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The islands in the Bay of Bengal—the Andaman and Nicobar—are larger and more habitable in contrast to the Lakshdweep islands in the Arabian sea, which are small and mostly uninhabited. The former represent elevated portions of submarine mountains, while the latter islands are entirely built on corals.

The Andamans include 257 islands and Nicobar is composed of 62 islands in the Bay of Bengal.10 Lying between 14° and 6° S latitude, they are scattered over an area of 6,374 and 1,645 sq kms respectively.11

The Andaman and Nicobar together, according to 1991 census, had a population of 2,77,989.12 The original inhabitants live in the forests by hunting and fishing. Of small Negrito type race, they still live in Stone Age. Their exact numbers are not known, as till recently they have avoided all contact with civilization.13 The 1981 census put the total population of the Andaman Islands (including about 430 aboriginals) at 157,821. The population also included the families of those who were imprisoned here by the British during their rule.14 By about May 1967, over 4,000 displaced families, mostly from East Pakistan, had also been settled in these islands.15

The population of the Nicobar islands includes Nicobarese and Shompen tribes.

It was only after the establishment of penal settlement by the British
in 1858 that the people of India began to take some interest in this island group. The islands continued to be settled until the Second World War, when in March 1942 the Japanese forces occupied them. After the War, the British re-occupied these islands in October 1945, but abolished the penal settlement at Port Blair.

On the country’s independence, the government of India took direct charge of these islands. Serious efforts followed thereafter to develop them. Presently, these constitute a Union Territory under the Central Government at Delhi. For over forty years now the government has constantly endeavored, by a range of means at its disposal, to bring these far-flung islands into the national mainstream.

Not particularly important in terms of mineral wealth, Andaman and Nicobar islands are covered by dense forests with rich flora and fauna and about 230 species of timber, of which 44 are commercially utilisable. The planned development of these islands started virtually from a scratch. The Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) provided Rs. 60 million for their alround development.

The government from then on, made deliberate efforts for their development. The allocations reached Rs. 966 million in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85), and Rs. 2,850 million in the Seventh Plan period (1985-90). The regular air and shipping service to and from the islands, and vast improvement of telecommunication facilities has brought the islands closer to the mainland.

By contrast, the Lakshadweep islands, while extending India’s domain in the Arabian Sea, have been seen in a lower key and profile. Scattered close to the Kerala coast in the Arabian Sea just about 225 to 450 kms away between 8° and 12° N latitude and 71° and 74° E longitude, they consist of 36 islands in all, and have a total land area of only 32 sq km.

The total population of Lakshadweep in 1991 was 51,681. Mainly, migrants from the Malabar coast of Kerala, the inhabitants are divided strictly according to caste system, but by faith adhere to Islam. Lakshadweep are rich in phosphate and calcareous sands, and their lagoons contain high deposits of pure calcium carbonate sands used in industry. The surface soil of coral sand of most islands is barren, thus there is little spontaneous vegetation. Wide variety of fish are found in the lagoons around these islands.
In spite of their relative proximity to the west coast, the Lakshadweep, before independence, were bound with the Indian mainland only marginally — through trade. These islands became a Union Territory only in 1956. During the Second Five year Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61) Rs. 4,028,000 were spent and priority there was given to developing intra-island transportation system, communication, education, health etc. In the Third Plan, Rs. 9,338,000 were earmarked for the islands. Fourth Plan allocated 20,000,000 and Fifth Rs. 62,273,000. During these two plans, fisheries, general education and communication sectors grew rapidly. However the entire plan allocation of funds was seldom utilised fully.

The Sixth plan marked a watershed in the history of planned development of the Lakshadweep. It allocated Rs. 200 million which included Rs. 60 million for purchase of the all weather vessel M.V. Bharat seema (Purchased in 1982) which has effectively carried the passengers to and from the mainland. Since early 1980s, the vigorous development programmes have now ensured round the clock power supply, fresh drinking water, inter-island transport and linkage with the mainland. A helicopter service has also operated from Cochin since May 1983. All islands have telephone exchanges and are linked to the mainland through radio-telephone, satellite, teleprinter etc. Literacy was just 15.2 percent which has now increased to 65.3 percent in males, and 44.7 percent in females. Public health is better cared now. Coconut is the major crop, and, till recently, industry was confined to Copra-making, coir-twisting and production of vinegar.

The geopolitical significance of these two groups of islands lies in that they extend India's boundary deep into the Indian Ocean, simultaneously making Indonesia, for instance, a close neighbour. By adding to India's continental shelf that the archipelago of these islands provides, the country's area for exploitation of the shelf and the Indian Ocean seabed is enlarged.

No other country of the Ocean is geographically so placed — a vast area deep into the Indian Ocean. These islands have visibly provided India a prime geographic position in the region.

Centrality of India

By virtue of its location, not only India has close neighbourhood of
Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Pakistan, but it is also central to the entire Indian Ocean. The African continent and Arabian peninsula to its west and southwest, and southeast Asia to its east, impart unique centrality to India in the Indian Ocean.

At independence, the leadership of the country headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was fully conscious of the implications of this geographical position. It was duly taken into account in the shaping of India's foreign relations. The country's rapid economic development was an urgent, high priority, which could not occur unless security environment in its neighbourhood, and the India Ocean region as a whole was congenial and conducive. For achieving an enduringly peaceful security environment, it was imperative for India not merely to stay away from the then emerging Cold War and military alliances following the World War II, but also to see that their pernicious impact did not impinge or enter this region. Nehru regarded India as too big a country to be bound down in military or political alliances of any kind to any country, however big that country may be. He maintained:

I do not say that our country is superior or that we are above passion and prejudice, hatred and fury. But as things are, there are certain factors which help us. First of all, we are geographically so situated that we are not drawn into controversies with that passionate fury that some other countries are. This is not due to our goodness or badness, but is a matter of geography.

The geographical insularity caused by the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean also made Nehru think that India is going to be a meeting ground of various trends and forces in the Region. India's abysmal poverty, vast and rapidly growing population and backwardness in almost every sector of economy made accelerated economic development a categorical imperative which was bound to have a definite, even direct, impact on the country's foreign policy. Nehru was clear: "Ultimately, foreign policy is the outcome of the economic policy, and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate, and will be groping."

India was, at the same time, acutely aware that if Cold War came to the region it will slow down and totally warp the prospects of economic development of all the countries of the Region that needed it the most. In a geopolitical
environment where a belligerent and eventually Western-allied Pakistan, and an inscrutable, potentially powerful China further complicated the security environment in its neighbourhood; India could barely meet the security requirements in military terms.33

It was quite impossible for India to invest in military build up without jeopardising the outlays for her economic development. So the Indian leadership decided to concentrate on political diplomacy34 instead of diverting the country's limited resources into expensive military build up.

India's non-alignment

Under the circumstances, the posture, credo and policy of non-alignment meant absolute non-involvement in power politics which had hitherto permeated and characterised the world. Nonetheless, an active and moral role in the affairs of the world must be played in the cause of promotion and preservation of peace. The policy reflected "at once a desire to avoid commitment—an understandable attitude for any people of meager resources—and a wish to be among those who count in world affairs".35

In his very first broadcast to the nation (7 September 1946) Nehru said:

"...We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races.... We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples".36

A year later he reiterated:

"We have proclaimed during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else. If there is a big war, there is no particular reason why we should jump into it....."
Again,

"We have no designs against anybody; ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. Far too long have we of Asia been petitioners in Western courts and chancellories. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own legs and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others".38

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held at Bandung in April 1955, the emergence of nonalignment as a group of states under the joint leadership of Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser and Josip Broz Tito, and the independent stand which these countries took on various issues and occasions in the world affairs, made nonalignment a globally accepted fact by 1961.39 So much so that all the newly independent countries, emerging from colonial rule, automatically and enthusiastically joined the ranks of the nonaligned and adopted non-alignment as their posture and policy in the world, rather than joining either of the politico-military blocks—West or East. In course of time, non-alignment became a movement, NAM, which features the world today.

In spite of its instant appeal, nonalignment, however, was unable to prevent penetration of the superpowers and their allies in the Indian Ocean region in one form or another. The region thus saw the Baghdad pact (later CENTO) in the Middle East and SEATO in Southeast Asia; establishment of American bases in Diego Garcia and other places in the Ocean with corresponding Soviet reactions thereto; acquisition by both the superpowers of allies like Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iran, Pakistan etc., at one time or the other; and, of course, the formidable naval presence of the United States as well as the erstwhile Soviet Union. We have already discussed these in the previous chapter at some length.

Indian Ocean Peace Zone

These manifestations of the Cold War became acute after the British withdrawal from the east of Suez in 1971 and corresponding entry physically by the USA to fill the so-called "power vacuum" in the region. These developments were not entirely to the liking of most of the countries of the region, for, in their perception, the resulting picture of endangered regional security environment, compelled these countries to divert their meagre resources from development
to defence. Direct super power involvement in the region also diminished India's image and role there.

It can be argued that India's attitude in this regard arose from her interests, and 'ideology' of promoting world peace. She had consistently campaigned against and countered the Cold War politics and consequent arms race, militarisation etc. right from her independence on. Having won freedom after long struggle and great sacrifices, it was "naturally morally repugnant for India to think of dominating her neighbors in the name of safeguarding her security". Her policy, therefore, had to be one "of trying to realize security largely through promoting peaceful regional cooperation among the littoral and hinterland states and preventing the militarization of the Indian Ocean". She, accordingly, articulated, pursued and promoted this demand constantly in the world forums, and made it an important aspect of the non-aligned world's initiative to the arms race that hindered the progress, development and cooperation in the region.41

India's concern over the security of the Indian Ocean was in evidence as early as 1965. In November that year, following the decision to grant independence to Mauritius and Seychelles, the British detached the islands of Aldabra, Furchuhr and Desroches from Seychelles and Diego Garcia from Mauritius to establish British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT). Diego Garcia was later transferred to USA, ostensibly to set up a communication facility. However, USA gradually expanded this island only to build an effective naval base which it is today.42

The British withdrawal from the Indian Ocean was held by the West to have caused a "power vacuum" to justify the American entry and entrenchment there with the help of her allies and some other credulous Asian nations. India strongly contested the concept of such a "Power Vacuum". Defence minister, Swaran Singh, declared in the Lok Sabha [10th April 1968]:

"Government do not accept the validity of the propaganda that a vacuum will be created in the Indian Ocean on the British decision to withdraw from the areas east of Suez... It is not our intention firstly to accept the validity of this concept that any vacuum can be created. If any foreign power leaves any particular area then it is for that area and for that territory to take adequate steps to safeguard their own safety and their own country. If they ask for any other country for help, that could be considered, but when even a country like the UK is withdrawing from overseas commitments, for a country like India, which has never believed in that concept, to
This position was consistently reiterated by India from then onwards. On 19 March 1969 Foreign Minister, Dinesh Singh, told the Lok Sabha that India "wants the Indian Ocean area to be free from conflict and free from any nuclear weapons." 44 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had, already in March 1967, proposed adoption of a convention by which the Asian nations would ensure respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region; at the same time, neutrality of such countries there as wish to remain neutral was to be respected. Such a convention —incorporating the Panch Sheel— was to be signed not only by all the Indian Ocean countries but by the great powers also.

The convention embodied too the concept of economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation. From then on Mrs Gandhi never missed an opportunity of proclaiming that Indian Ocean should be kept a nuclear free area.45

However, the USA steadily established and expanded its base at Diego Garcia, which inevitably brought the Soviet Union into the Indian Ocean. The Lusaka conference of non-aligned heads of state (September 1970) adopted a resolution to consider and respect "the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace."46

In Britain, the conservatives on winning the June 1970 election had declared within a month of accession to power their intention to withdraw the 5 1/2 years weapons' embargo imposed by their predecessor Labour government and resume supplies of "limited categories" of defensive arms to South Africa under the Simonstown Agreement.47 India reacted sharply to this announcement,48 and vociferous echoes of this protest marked the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference at Singapore in January 1971.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was busy campaigning in the general election, and thus her foreign minister S. Swaran Singh led the country's delegation at the conference, and elaborated India's position. Expressing "concern" at the arrival of the "power game" in the Indian Ocean, until now a peaceful ocean, he dismissed the Soviet threat as "hypothetical"; the littoral states, he said, were "far more concerned over the growth of South African military power", and the
construction of the Diego Garcia base was sure to bring in other big powers. "India would like all big powers, including the Soviet Union, United States, France and Britain to leave the area alone". 49

Strongly supporting the Indian position, Sri Lankan Prime minister, Bandaranaike submitted a memorandum to the conference calling for termination of the "trends towards militarization of the Indian Ocean" and converting the negative concept of power vacuum... to a positive idea of a Peace Zone. 50

Thus India, together with Sri Lanka, argued for a viability and validity of creating a denuclearized zone in the Indian Ocean and canvassed for the same. At the UN they succeeded in having a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1971, which called for a Peace Zone to be established in the Indian Ocean and "that the area should also be free of nuclear weapons". 51

The movement for the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace picked up in the years following.

India's stout opposition to any kind of rivalry in the Indian Ocean was steadily joined by most of the littoral states. The rivalry and its inevitably pernicious consequences for the region became a major issue which was relentlessly pursued at the conferences and meetings of the non-aligned, the Commonwealth, the Afro-Asian countries, the Arab League, the OAU and so on, as also in various bilateral discussions. 52

The economic thrust

Alongwith the efforts to reduce—if not totally eliminate—the politics of outside power in the Indian Ocean, India took initiatives and launched offensives in economic field. Its economic interests in the region were to be served through trade, commerce and technical assistance.

One of the largest trading nations in the region, 90 percent of India's trade depends on the ocean. 53 Till independence, India had little trade with the countries of the region since economy was bound with and subservient to that of Great Britain. Even after independence the direction of trade did not immediately shift much to its neighbourhood but instead to the eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union. However India's dominant trade activity in the
region till the end of 1970s was oil import from the Persian Gulf region and export of some food stuffs to them. 54

The pattern of India’s trade with the countries of the region is shown in table 6.1

Table 6.1
India’s trade with the Indian Ocean Littorals 1970-80
In Rs. million

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1970-71</th>
<th>1979-80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>Exports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>176.4</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>209.4</td>
<td>382.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>241.7</td>
<td>145.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDRY</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>157.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>916.4</td>
<td>266.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayanmar</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>140.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>117.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>176.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>365.8</td>
<td>344.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>318.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Misra, R N, op. cit., pp. 64-66
The table above (6.1) indicates the tremendous expansion that has occurred in India's trade relations with the Indian Ocean essentially Afro-Asian countries. This network developed actually from about early 1960s when most of these countries gained their independence and India developed the capability for manufactures and other goods.

Yet, this vast network constitutes just 34 percent of India's annual imports and 22 percent of exports (1979-80). It has expanded further in the 1980s, as shown in the table 6.2 below:

Table 6.2
India's Trade with the Littorals of Indian Ocean (1980's)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Imports from</th>
<th>Exports to</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4801</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>733.7</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>2558</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>31,557</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>8812.8</td>
<td>4,260</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>127.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>24,591</td>
<td>33,487</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq (excluding petroleum)</td>
<td>1,938.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1,291.5</td>
<td>893.6</td>
<td>1989/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>1989/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>5428.4</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>248.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>6275.</td>
<td>3255.1</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>7921.4</td>
<td>1303.3</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>7018.4</td>
<td>2660.3</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>643.0</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18,802</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,470.3</td>
<td>1988/89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidently, among India's major trading partners in the region are Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia and Sri Lanka.

Indian goods have found valuable market in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait in West Asia and Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia in the ESCAPE region.

In the 1950s India imported machinery, manufactures and food, and its exports were confined just to raw materials. By late 1980s, it diversified to gems, jewelry and ready-made garments, engineering goods, leather manufactures, chemicals, marine products and other raw materials. The range of Indian exports clearly signifies not merely the level of industrialisation the country has achieved but indicates also the measure of technological capability it has developed. A substantial portion of this capability is indigenous and original rather than just imitative, which is what makes it highly relevant to the needs of these countries.

The quantum of trade has also gone up considerably. In 1951-52 India's total imports were 9,629 million and exports were 7,301 million rupees. In 1988-89 the imports valued 277,163 million and exports 135,639 million rupees. These and other statistics show the fast growing nature and diversifying pattern of Indian economy one of its kinds in the Indian Ocean region.

India is the most developed of the developing nations in this region. Barring Australia and South Africa, it is the most developed in the field of science and technology. After making noteworthy efforts in peace making in the region, the country has contributed significantly to the economic development of the Region. From a state of heavy dependence on foreign countries for technology, India has today qualified to be a supplier of its technology and know-how to many of the countries of the Indian Ocean region. Apart from technical know-how and consultancy, it is now exporting projects as diverse as roads, transmission lines, airports, townships, power stations, textiles and steel mills. Without doubt, India's presence in the countries of the Region is growing by the day.

In the field of joint ventures India made its debut with establishment of a textile mill project in Ethiopia by the Birlas in 1959. In the early sixties, quite
a few such ventures could not be implemented, largely due to lack of experience and inadequate groundwork on the part of the Indian ventures. The seventies, however, turned out to be better as most of the joint ventures in these countries existing today, took shape during this period. The number of these ventures has been increasing steadily since the late 1970s so that on 1st July 1984 there were 228 such ventures in about 40 countries including developed market economies having a total investment of over Rs. 1,200 million.

By about mid-1980s nearly 140 of these ventures had become producing units, and 94 were under various stages of implementation.

The Table (6.3) below lists these joint ventures in the Indian Ocean region.

Table 6.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Under Operation</th>
<th>Under Implementation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In early sixties the preference for establishing these joint ventures was in African countries like Kenya, Ethiopia. The 1960s petro-dollar boom in the oil producers of the Gulf and the Middle East spurred the establishment from 1970s onwards of various projects there as we shall note below.

In the African littoral of the Ocean, Tanzania, Kenya have set up many projects with Indian help. Kenya is producing textile goods, pharmaceuticals, pulp and paper, iron-castings, automobile ancillaries, pipe fitting, machine tools and enameled aluminium and copper wire. Rail India Technical and Economic Service (RITES) and the Railway Construction Company Ltd (IRCON) are providing consultancy services to Tanzania.

India's principle ventures in Gulf-Arab region include rubber production, engineering and construction, civil engineering, sale and service of commercial vehicles, consultancy and management etc., in Saudi Arabia, construction work in Bahrain and Qatar; production of aluminium products, sulphuric acid, ice cream, hotel, electric accessories, plastic processing units and pharmaceuticals. India has several construction projects in Iraq. In Iran India has collaborated in producing automobile parts and components, motor starters and switch gears.

The Indian joint ventures today are located mostly in the Asian littoral of the Indian ocean, especially in southeast Asia.

The largest number is in Malaysia followed by Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. These enterprises encompass a wide spectrum of industrial products. They cover textiles, light engineering goods, iron and steel, automobile ancillaries, machine tools, hand tools, commercial vehicles, scooters, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, cement, plastic products, pulp and paper, sugar, food processing, confectionery, oil seed crushing, rubber and leather products, electronics, hotels and restaurants, and construction and civil engineering projects.

In southeast Asia, India has assisted Singapore in automobile ancillaries, high precision tools, consultancy services, enameled wire, concentrates
for soft drinks and synthetic juice powder, automobile gears, palm kernel processing, small computers, shipping and offshore facilities. India has about 10 projects in Thailand related to cotton synthetic yarn, steel rolling mill, pulp and paper, steel wire ropes, carbon black of different grades, sodium sulphate, viscose staple fibre etc.

In Malaysia, India has collaborated in about 40 projects, in the field of steel furniture, precision tools and gauges, enamelled copper and aluminium wire, electric motors, synthetic blended textile, bicycles, glass production, sugar refining safety and automobile glass, and auto parts etc.

India has helped Indonesia in the field of textile yarn, polyester blend yarn, pipe fitting, coated art paper, antibiotics, oil-seeds crushing and solvent extraction, security equipments, steel furniture, sugar mills, aluminium alloy wire rods etc. Indian expertise has set up a five-star hotel in Australia.

It has also setup a five-star hotel in Seychelles. In Sri Lanka India has helped in production of weaving machines, electric fans, PVC cloth, glass and glassware, synthetic resins, cotton yarn etc.  

Under the expansion of technical cooperation programme of Government of India, Indian experts are now engaged in more than 50 Third World countries. Countries like Ethiopia, Somalia, Yemen, Indonesia, Maldives, Mauritius and Sri Lanka, have Indian scientists and engineers helping in various projects.

India's expanding industrial base, plentiful supply of skilled manpower and considerable investments in scientific endeavours, enables it to export to the countries of the Indian Ocean region technology and skilled manpower. India is the first among the developing countries and fourth among all the countries in supplying experts to United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) for assignment in other developing countries.

India's emergence in the region as a competitive centre of relevant technology.

Evidently, India has come to enjoy over the years, almost a unique
distinction certainly in the Third World of emerging as a centre and source of science and technology that could well assist in the fulfilment of aspirations of the countries of the Indian Ocean region placed by and large in similar condition as herself. As has been observed in this essay, this region is characterised by a virtual famine of indigenous technology, and it is through the instrument of technology alone that aspirations here can be fulfilled. The choice for making up this decisive deficiency that is becoming obvious to these countries is either to take the requisite technology from the industrially advanced nations of the West, the USA, Japan etc. or turn now to India for the purpose. The former, touching as they are ever new frontiers of advance in various fields of technology, have moved to constantly rising level of sophistication—and costs—which do not relate really to the existing condition of the needy in the region. So what the latter can expect, or perhaps will get from the advanced countries in somewhat obsolete, discarded technology—and that too at perhaps unaffordable cost.

India, on the other hand, has the advantage of providing middle-range or basic technology, which is culturally more compatible—and thus easy to assimilate and less costly. Moreover, in keeping with India's anti-colonial tradition and record as the promoter of the credo of non-alignment, the Indian supplies could possibly not have political/ideological strings attached to them; those from the West might well do. On the face of it therefore India as a major provider of most of the technological input in the Indian Ocean countries would seem to be a favoured proposition. The steady growth, diversification and expansion of India's trade and economic-industrial activity over the years in the region convincingly substantiates this. The prospect for still greater economic-technological role in the region in the years to come seems most likely—and the country is obviously well-equipped for this.

Note has already been taken at appropriate places in chapter 3 and 4 above of the science-technology infrastructural network of research laboratories and centres, seats of higher education and professional learning, polytechnics and allied training centres of skilled manpower and so on. Mention must now be made of the various steps taken by India to make itself the obvious choice as supplier of technology and know-how to these countries. At one level this is accomplished in the frame work of cultural exchange programmes. India's people, its culture and religions—Buddhism and Hinduism—
had branched out and spread all over the littoral of the region. The presence of sizable Indian community in almost every country along the Ocean littoral obliges India to maintain and develop cultural ties with all these countries. Perhaps no other country in the region enjoys the cultural-religious-linguistic influence over the region as India does. It has established a wide network of cultural institutions to maintain its ties with the other countries.

A large number of governmental and private organisations have carried out cultural exchange programmes. Notable among them are the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), India International Centre, Indian Institute of World Culture, Institute of Traditional Cultures, and Ramakrishna Mission Institute of culture etc. These institutions/Organisations promote Indian culture and help maintain cultural links through sending the cultural troops, goodwill delegations, scholars, journalists, academicians, organising exhibitions and presentation of books etc.

Department of Culture has pursued cultural cooperation with many countries through a system of bilateral agreements and exchange programmes. At present, India has cultural agreements with 77 countries and 2-3 year cultural exchange programmes with 52 countries throughout the world. Among the littoral countries of the Ocean, India maintains active cultural links through agreements with Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritius, Qatar, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Thailand, UAE and Yemen.

Apart from bilateral exchanges, India executes the programmes of international cultural cooperation through the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO. ICCR works for reciprocal development of studies in Indian and foreign universities, publications on different aspects of Indian culture, exchange of cultural delegations, scholars and artists and organisation of lectures, seminars and conferences.

As center of education and apprenticeship

Since 1949-50, Indian government awards fellowships to a certain number of specified African and Asian countries for graduate, post graduate
courses in engineering, technology, management, and medicine etc. in various institutions and universities in the country. One hundred and ten scholarships/fellowships (including 10 for Sanskrit and Pali) are awarded every year to the nationals of Bangladesh. Scholarships are also offered to Sri Lanka (50) Mauritius(30) Maldives(16) for higher studies in India.

Under the commonwealth postgraduate scholarships, India offers a large number of scholarships/fellowships and loan scholarships in higher education for the students from commonwealth countries. A list of such fellowships tenable in India is shown in table below.

Table 6.4
Commonwealth Fellowships Tenable in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department/ Institute where fellowship availed</th>
<th>No. of fellowships</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>duration</th>
<th>Specification of foreign countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Agriculture Sciences Bangalore</td>
<td>112 awarded in 1987-88 1 or 2 awarded annually in each discipline.</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1, 2 year</td>
<td>All countries of commonwealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banasthali Vidya Pith Rajasthan</td>
<td>3 offered annually</td>
<td>Indian studies</td>
<td>1 to 3 years</td>
<td>For woman graduates of any country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Employment education training (Indo - Australian cultural Exchange)</td>
<td>2 offered annually</td>
<td>unrestricted</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education and Culture (Govt, of India)</td>
<td>180 unrestricted annually</td>
<td>unrestricted duration of courses</td>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of education and Culture (Govt, of India Gujarat Vidyapith)</td>
<td>110 unrestricted annually</td>
<td>unrestricted duration of courses</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Council of Social Science Research Shastri Indo- Canadian Institute</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>Arts &amp; Social for Sciences M.Phil</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Employment Education &amp; Training Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Any Branch of Engineering</td>
<td>1 1/2 years</td>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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India offers a number of scholarships under SAARC and Colombo plan to its neighbours and other countries of Asia and Africa. Most of the countries of the region prefer to send their nationals to Indian Universities and institutions as they are highly professional and maintain good standards of learning and research. The students privately engaged in research of higher education also, now prefer India. Thus, apart from various programmes, one finds a large number of students from all-over Africa and Asia engaged in higher studies, research and training in almost all the disciplines.

Facilities for defence personnel training

Cooperation has been extended by India in the field of defence also which has grown significantly over the years. Relations have been cemented with the countries of the region which has generated exports of armaments. Military personnel from select countries are trained in India. Defence Services Staff College Wellington, Tamil Nadu, trains 30 officers from army, navy, air-force every year from foreign countries. Between 1974-1979, according to government sources, more than 30 developing countries received military assistance and training. Indian navy & other services have trained the officers and men from Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Malaysia, Maldives, Nigeria, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, and Yemen.

The prospect

India, with all its constraints—high population growth rate, chronic poverty, low levels of living, wastages, inefficiency, persistent or growing internal tensions of all kinds including insurgency that often threaten the system and the state, substantial areas of foreign dependence, etc., etc.—has steadily augmented
its involvement and stakes in the Indian Ocean and its peoples since independence both through a range of conscious policies and means, and as a consequence of features, forces and phenomena outside her control. Some of these have been examined above. The result is that today in the total Indian Ocean environment—characterised as it is with pervasive under-or un-employment; stultifying burden of international debt; high population growth rapidly consuming limited resources to impoverishment; by and large insensitive, pedantic and highly vulnerable political (even economic) systems set in archaic, traditional societies that succumb easily to the pulls and pressures of faith; and so on—India stands out as an entity that just cannot be ignored or taken for granted.

Its possible competitors in the region as we see it, are Australia, an apartheid-free South Africa, and Pakistan.

Australia, traditionally a pacific oriented power, under-populated, and manifestly a cultural, ethnic and political extension of the West, which has started taking worthwhile interest in the Indian Ocean on its own only since the late 1970s can obviously not offer any meaningful competition in the range and regularity of activities and facilities that India has offered in the last forty years, and still does. Without doubt Australian interest and role in the Indian Ocean will grow in the years to come, but it is doubtful if it will ever catch up with that of India to bridge the gap. Whether Australia’s credibility among the ethnic Indian Ocean peoples will also grow correspondingly with Australian wishes and efforts remains a big question. In spite of the growing role of Australia in the Southeast Asian sector of the Ocean its effort is likely to extend to, or be readily accepted by, the entire Indian Ocean community.

This is the more so in the case of South Africa, now struggling to come out of the exclusivity, odium and constriction of the apartheid. The Republic’s capability to enter and extend its role in the life of the Indian Ocean community, in any single sector or facet is extremely limited, at present. Even if the new, apartheid-free South Africa wanted to, it cannot in the foreseeable future play much of a role in the Region; certainly not one that compares with India’s. The new South Africa is likely to suffer the same disability as Australia—more, in fact—in terms of credibility vis-à-vis the rest of the Indian Ocean Community.
Pakistan certainly can, and does, offer some competition to India in the sector of skilled manpower export, and to an extent, in the area of education and personnel training etc. It might even have an edge in this regard in the Persian-Arab Gulf and some adjoining areas. In other aspects, technological, etc., its capability does not seem comparable to India’s; not yet, and not in the foreseeable future.

India’s achievements in the realms of outer space, Antarctic, Oceans etc., have been outstanding enough to enhance her image as a center and source of science and technology to which the needy in the Indian Ocean region (and even in the immediate vicinity) can turn to. The merits, the economic costs, and the high assimilation potential of the same are too obvious to be missed by any one.

In a nutshell, as a supplier of the relevant technology, and on easily acceptable terms alongwith the maintenance manpower, India stands out in the Ocean—even literally. If her record in the world affairs generally and in the Indian Ocean region particularly is anything to go by, she is bound to keep a pre-eminent position and role here. The more so, in the present day world sans bipolarity and the threat of a nuclear holocaust, ideological proselytisation, etc., etc.

In the largely geopolitical world today, where threats and challenges are those of ecological disaters, and of environmental conservation alongwith its sensitive harnessing for rapid, imaginative economic development, rather than an annihilating Third World War, pervasive cooperation is of the essence. Actually conscious of this that India is, and has a worthy record of performance in this regard to her credit too, it can confidently be suggested that her stake in promoting cooperation to the maximum possible is vital and pressing. As an actor of some significance in the region she may want to ensure that the potential of intra-regional cooperation is stretched to the limit and realised to the maximum.

In the totally changed world scenario of today the extent of foreign power meddling in the Indian Ocean region is very likely to diminish to manageable proportions—the recent Iraqi conflict as an exceptional aberration, notwithstanding. With the geopolitical thrust of technology in general pervading, cooperative tendencies and trends in the Indian Ocean region, we conclude,
are bound to surface and spread.

***

Notes

1 "It arose of its waters, settled in its present posture by the force in it, acquired its shape from the ocean, and continues to be subject to its eternal thrusts". Chopra, INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN, op. cit., p. 1.

2 The genesis of the Indian Ocean basin is believed to date back to the Mesozoic Era (225 to 65 million years ago) when the continent of Gondwanaland in the Southern Hemisphere broke up into huge blocks (South America, Africa, Australia, Antarctica, Madagascar and India) that subsequently drifted to their present positions. See for details ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, vol. 9, op. cit., p. 310, vol. 5, pp. 108-15.

3 This is evident in the military and defence policies of the British Empire in India all through. See, Kaushik, Devendra: THE INDIAN OCEAN, A Strategic Dimension (Delhi) 1983, p. 84.

4 Ibid.

5 Pannikar, INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN, op. cit., p. 14, and 82.


7 Indian Council of World Affairs, DEFENCE AND SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA (New Delhi) 1957, p. 30.


9 Ibid., p. 55.


There are varying figures regarding the exact number of islands, their total area and the number of islands which are inhabited. See, INDIA 1988-89, op. cit., p. 748-49; THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK 1989-90, op. cit., p. 693-94.


For geography of these islands see, Singh R L: INDIA, A Regional Geography (Varanasi) 1971, pp. 972-79.

14 The Andamans were officially colonized by the East India Company in 1789, but owing to inhospitable climate, the station was closed in 1796. It was reopened as a penal settlement in 1858 when Dr. James Pattison Walker reached here on 10 March, alongwith 200 convicts, and other paraphranalia. Part of these convicts were encouraged to marry here so that they are not inclined to go back to the mainland. See, Iqbal Singh, op. cit., pp. 73-75.

15 In order to develop the resources of the islands, it was necessary to encourage people to migrate there. India's First Five Year Plan (1951-56) authorised clearance of 20,000 acres of land for settling these agricultural families. See, THE CAMBRIDGE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDIA, PAKISTAN, BANGLADESH, SRI LANKA (Cambridge) 1989; THE STATESMAN's YEARBOOK 1986-87 op. cit., p. 677; INDIA 1988-89, op. cit., p. 748.
16 Even after this time, the British did not allow any news to filter about these islands to India. Consequently, the mainland had a vague idea of the Andamans being a veritable 'Hell' for the prisoners. To them, these islands were desolate Kala Pani, a fearful spot far from civilization, see, Mathur, op. cit., p. v.

17 Since 15 August 1947, when the Indian flag was hoisted in the Gymkhana Ground at Port Blair, the islands have been effectively integrated in the Indian Union --politically, economically, socially and juridically. See, Ibid.; Iqbal Singh, op. cit., pp. 279 ff.

18 Tropical forests occupy 86% of the land area in the territory. Commercially utilisable timber (42,305 cubic metres in 1986-87) is a valuable source from these forests. See, ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP OF THE UNION TERRITORY OF ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS (Port Blair) 1989, p. 6; Das, Hari Hara and Rath, Rahiadranaath: THE LAND OF CORAL BEDS, Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Berhampur) 1989, pp. 6-9.

19 The British did not accord these islands much importance. Hence there was hardly any sign of development there. In 1956, a population of 30,971 (1951 census) had just 7 small industrial units, 13 post offices, 5 buses on road; the islands had few metalled roads, and just one village was electrified. See, ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP, op. cit., p.12.

20 With the planned development, the islands have witnessed qualitative improvement in different sectors. The promotion of industry (555 units in 1987 as compared to 7 in 1956) agriculture, animal husbandry, transport and communication, education and public health has dramatically improved the pace and quality of life there. From about 10 primary and one high schools in 1951, the islands now have about 250 primary, 15 middle, 20 high 28 Senior Secondary Schools. One Government College, a College of Education, a polytechnic and a technical training institute are also functioning there.

From just 25 kms of roads in 1951 their length has gone upto 272 kms of metalled road. Helicopter service is available to remote islands. Islands are well linked with each other and with the mainland through shipping service and daily Bocing Service either from Madras or Calcutta. See, for details, FREEDOM, '40', Souvenir (Andaman and Nicobar District Congress Committe, Port Blair) 6 January 1989, pp. 28-29; ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP, op. cit., p.12.

21 The term 'Laccadive' or 'Lakshadweep' means '100,000 islands' and this name originally included Maldives also. See, THE CAMBRIDGE ENCYCLOPEDIA, op. cit., p. 166; George, Abraham: LAKSHADWEEP, Economy and Society (New Delhi) 1987, p. 19.

For yet another version see, INDIA, 1988-89, op.cit., p.757.


23 Bose, POPULATION OF INDIA, op. cit., p. 60.

24 Details in George, op. cit., p. 257.

25 Ibid

26 There are two junior colleges, 9 high schools, 19 junior basic schools and twenty balwadis and nursery schools. Education is absolutely free. Ibid., pp. 238-40

27 In 1956 a number of diseases were found in the islands. Limited knowledge attributed the diseases to evil spirits. Presently two fifty-bed capacity hospitals with all modern facilities are functioning at minicoy and kavaratti islands, Ibid., p. 240.

28 Ibid., p. 249.

29 Nehru, INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, op. cit., p.32.

30 Ibid., p. 73.

31 India's foreign policy since independence till 1964 was completely dominated by what Nehru thought. As Michael Brecher points out, 'In no other state does one man dominate foreign policy as does Nehru in India. Indeed, so overwhelming is the influence that India's policy has come to mean in the minds of people everywhere the personal policy of Pandit Nehru'. See, NEHRU, A Political Biography (London) 1959, pp. 504-5.

Following the partition, Indian armed services were in a difficult situation. A large number of officers and ranks opted for Pakistan and British officers left the services. The army had to be augmented and completely reshaped; Indian Navy with 5,500 persons and 500 officers had just 2 frigates, 1 carvette, 4 modern sloops, 12 mine sweepers, 4 travelers and one survey ship. Air force consisted of 7 fighter squadrons, and 1 transport squadron in 1947-48. See, THE STATESMAN'S YEAR BOOK 1948, op. cit., pp. 122-23.

Nehru, INDIAN'S FOREIGN POLICY, op. cit., p. 79.


Nehru, INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, op. cit., p. 2.

From Nehru's speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) 4 December 1947, cited in Ibid., p. 24.

In the year 1961, US President John F. Kennedy supported India's noncommitment and therefore the posture was no longer a goal for which to strive, but an established fact. See, Heimssath & Mansingh, op. cit., p.77.


Lok Sabha Debates, vol. XV, 10 April 1968, Cols. 3192-3202.


Under the agreement (Concluded 4 July 1955) Britain transferred the Simonstown naval base to South Africa but retained overflight rights in South Africa. The base was to remain available for the British navy and Britain's allies in war-time, even in a war in which South Africa itself was neutral. Britain also supplied warships and other armaments under the agreement. For details see, Keesing's...., op. cit., pp. 14294; THE ANNUAL REGISTER OF WORLD EVENTS, A Review of the year 1955 (London) 1956, p. 43; Rajendra Singh, op.cit., p. 78.

Indian opposition was on the ground that it might strengthen the racistalist government of South Africa and that it will increase tension in the Indian Ocean area. See, Asian Recorder, vol. XVI, no. 38, 17-23 July 1970, pp. 9762-63.

Kaushik, op. cit., p. 92; also Larus, op. cit., p. 47; Nambodri, Anand and Sreedhar, op.cit., pp. 228-29.

For detail see, Kaushik, op. cit., p. 93.

Ibid., p. 95

For further detail see, "The Indian Ocean question in the United Nations", in Gupta, Ranjan, op. cit., pp. 141-58.


Misra, R.N: op. cit., p. 58.


For direction of trade see, INDIA, A Reference Annual 1957 (Delhi) 1957, pp. 329-32.


59 **KOTHARI'S INDUSTRIAL DIRECTORY OF INDIA** 1986, p. 57.

60 40 of these projects are located in UK, USA, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Australia, Cyprus etc., See, *Ibid*.


63 In 1980, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd. (BHEL) completed a Rs. 720 million power project executed in turn-key basis in Saudi Arabia. See, KOTHARI'S..., *op. cit.*, p. 58.

64 Chaturvedi, *op. cit.*.


66 For further details of India's efforts to promote economic/technological cooperation and India's civil and military aid to other countries, See, Dut, Srikant INDIA AND THE THIRD WORLD, Altruism or Hegemony? (London) 1984; Vohra, Dewane: INDIA'S AID DIPLOMACY IN THE THIRD WORLD (New Delhi) 1980.


68 See, Sharma, B R & Kahal SP (eds): INDIA EAST AND WEST (Delhi) 1983, pp. 13-14, 59-78.


70 INDIA 1981, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67


72 *Ibid*.


75 For detail see, Dut, Srikant, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.