CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

No country in the present day world is totally self sufficient and no country can live in isolation, whether it is a democratic, communist, socialist, imperialistic or military form of government. This is because all the countries in the world have many needs and desires which can not be fulfilled by individual country on its own, due to limited /dearth of resources that it has. Therefore, in order to fulfill their various requirements, the countries are interdependent. This reciprocating nature among the countries resulted in utter need for co-operation and co-existence in the global society in order to satisfy their vital needs that constitute a part of national interest. Further, the dependence of one country on another and vice-versa, aimed at fulfilling their needs, gave rise to interdependence. This interdependence is the main cause, which compelled the countries to get themselves involved in the international relations. As a result, in modern times no country can avoid involvement in the international affairs, regardless of its political system. In order to provide a definite meaning and direction and to regulate the behavior of a country while conducting relations at the international arena, each country adopted a set of well-defined principles, a rational guide i.e., the foreign policy. It is through her foreign policy that a nation attempts to secure the objectives of national interest during the
course of its relations with other nations. Hence, in the present world, the foreign policy has become one of the key instruments in the international studies.

The leadership factor plays an important role in formulating the country’s foreign policy irrespective of the political system. It is the responsibility of the leader to formulate foreign policy and to take appropriate policy decisions taking into consideration the interests and objectives of the country. James N. Rosenau in his “Linkage theory” makes reference to the Linkage between inputs and outputs i.e. actors and policy makers. He states “in order to facilitate the development of linkage theory, we now expand the foregoing into a larger framework in which twenty-four aspects of politics that might serve as or give rise outputs and inputs have been identified along with six aspects or (from a polity perspective) sub environments of the international system that might generate or receive outputs and inputs”.\(^1\) Rosenau considers Executive, who is governmental actor (National leader) in his Linkage theory, as an important actor in making of foreign policy.

In fact, in the present world the situation has come to such a pass that the very survival of the human race is directly dependent upon the pursuance of the right kind of foreign policy by the leadership. This kind of foreign policy, no doubt, helps to strengthen friendly relations between the countries and to reduce

the conflicts and tensions. Therefore, a leader, while formulating the foreign policy should always keep in mind the fact that the national interest of a country is of paramount significance. Jawaharlal Nehru in one of his major foreign policy speeches declared, “whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the Country... We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do any thing which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country. Therefore, whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of that country”.2

In a democratic country like India the common people have very little role to play in the formulation of the country’s foreign policy. Because they are entangled with several domestic problems, and also lack sufficient knowledge about the international affairs unlike the Western people who are opinion makers in the foreign policy process. Generally foreign policy issues do not figure prominently in the electoral politics as the common people do not take much interest in them. However, since the mass public is predominantly uninterested in external affairs, the leader

in the government who represents the people enjoys wide latitude while taking decision on foreign policy matters. In this regard the views of leaders play an important role in the making of the foreign policy. Therefore, “the much boosted and so called grandiose foreign policy of India is a one man-show. It is formulated by only those who supported the ideas of one man keeping away the large masses of this country and without making them to understand”.3

Now-a-days, the study of personality factor as a determinant of foreign policy is receiving greater degree of importance than any other branch of politics. Due to this the personality of leaders as a governing factor started playing a predominant role in the formulation and implementation of country's foreign policy. This kind of foreign policy naturally bears an imprint of the value, talents, likes and dislikes and personality of a leader. Thus, the foreign policy is considered as the projection of domestic policy, but in real terms it is the projection of leadership. In recent times, several leading scholars have highlighted the importance of foreign policy in their own ways. According to a scholar, a nation without a foreign policy is like “a ship without radar which drifts aimlessly without any direction by every storm and sweep of events”.4 Therefore, the framing of foreign policy has become an essential activity of every leader in the present day world irrespective of the

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political system. Generally, the leader formulates foreign policy in such a manner that its main objective is always to strengthen friendly relations between the countries of the world and to reduce substantially the conflicts, tensions thereby promoting international peace.

**Statement of the Problem:**

Basically, the formulation of foreign policy is influenced and determined by several factors and forces. According to James N. Rosenau, "foreign policy inputs are geography, culture and history, technological and economic development, social structure, moods of public opinion, political accountability, government structure, value, talents, experience and personality of leader and external and internal situation etc."

To quote Padelford and Lincoln, "Fundamentally, the foreign policy has its roots in the unique historical backgrounds, political institutions, traditions, economic needs, power factors, aspiration, peculiar geographical circumstances and basic set of values held by a nation". All these factors and forces interact and determine the country's foreign policy. However, the personal aspirations, ideas and beliefs of the leadership play a predominant role and would be the most important factor in formulating the foreign policy. Regardless of the political systems, the leader of the ruling political party will

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head the foreign policy institutional mechanism and will have greater say and assertive role in determining the country's foreign policy.

Since the final shaping of the foreign policy is the handiwork of the leaders, the impact of their views and personality is quite obvious. Endorsing this view Prof. Galbraith observes, "Foreign policy, to an extent, is a reflection of the fundamental instincts of those who make it".7

Foreign policy is thus, "a product of a complex interplay of history, geography, past experiences, present circumstances, perception of the ruling elite of national interests and ideological consciousness, besides domestic, regional and international affairs".8 Therefore, the foreign policy of every country is generally designed in such a manner that it primarily represents the preferences/priorities based on the perception of global matters of the leader who is involved in the task of foreign policy formulation.

In so far as India's foreign policy is concerned, though it is influenced by several factors still the influence of ideals and principles advocated by the unquestioned leaders of the Indian freedom movement was of great importance. The foreign policy of free India was primarily shaped incorporating the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of free India. The influence of

7 Prakash Chandra, in Supra No.5, p- 4.
8 V.P. Dutt India’s Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, p-1.
Mahatma Gandhi was so assertive that he even recommended the application of ideals such as peaceful co-existence, brotherhood and co-operation advocated by him as the governing principles of India's foreign policy.

Further, the influence of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India also played a decisive role in the formulation of India's foreign policy during both pre-independence and post-independence days. He was considered as the pioneer and architect of India's foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru, as a leader was more interested in foreign policy matters than the responsibility (job) of Prime Ministership. Once he said that “Prime Ministership is not my profession and I would have resigned but for one thing, and that is my interest in the foreign affairs portfolio. In this field I came to know much more than anybody else in the country. And it is because I feel that by running the External affairs Ministry I may do something good and useful for the country, that I have not resigned my office.”9 This clearly shows that Jawaharlal Nehru used foreign policy as a strategy to project his own interests, preferences and priorities based on the perception of global matters.

The purpose of the present study is to examine and analyse the influence of the leadership factor, which is mainly responsible for the formulation of India's foreign policy. The leader always projects

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9 Quoted in S.R.Patel Supra No.3, p-34.
his personality in formulating the country’s foreign policy. However, the foreign policy of every country, whether it is democratic, socialist, dictatorship or military form of government should, invariably represent the aspirations, likes, beliefs, ideas of the intellectuals, scholars, diplomats and the vast multitude of the country that are represented by political leaders. Such a foreign policy, no doubt, becomes the rational foreign policy. However, in the present world, the perception of the leader always remains the determinant factor in the foreign policy formulation, leave alone other factors. In the Indian context the foreign policy is primarily influenced by the perceptions of leaders leaving apart the other dominant factors that usually considered as secondary in nature. This is so because the Indian political system is basically personality oriented. Since the making of foreign policy is influenced by the personality characteristic of a leader, there is likely deviation and variations in the foreign policy of a country.

This study attempts to examine the role of personality of Rajiv Gandhi in the formulation of India’s foreign policy. Hence our assumption is that Rajiv Gandhi as the prime minister of India made substantial contribution to deal with the problems of foreign policy. It is pertinent to study Rajiv Gandhi’s influence on foreign policy in the light of some important developments of international ramification like Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, shift in Sino-Indian relations, transfer of technology from US etc. The study also
examines the change and continuity of India's foreign policy during
the period of Rajiv Gandhi.

This study covers the period from 1984 to 1990. The year
1984 is said to be one of significant and eventful years in domestic
as well as in international politics. In 1984 Rajiv Gandhi, assumed
the office of the Prime Minister and started a new era in promoting
peace, friendship, co-operation and goodwill with most countries of
the world, especially with India's immediate neighbours. As a part
of this Rajiv Gandhi took concrete steps to consolidate India's
relations with her neighbour specially with Sri Lanka and China.
Therefore, it has been chosen as the starting point of the study.

The Scope of the Study:

The scope of the study is to focus on the foreign policy of India
for the period from 31st October, 1984, i.e., the day on which Rajiv
Gandhi assumed the office of the Prime Minister to the day he
relinquished his post. This was the most important and formative
period to assess the crucial role played by Rajiv Gandhi in the
formulation of India's foreign policy.

The foreign policy of Rajiv Gandhi can be studied against the
historical background of the origin of India's foreign policy, the
influence of some dominant political personalities and the events
that led to the formulation of India's foreign policy. As it is virtually
impossible to discuss all the foreign policy issues, the study has
been restricted only to deal with neighboring countries with special
reference to Sri Lanka and China, Super Powers, which figured prominently in the formulation of foreign policy during the regime of Rajiv Gandhi.

When Rajiv Gandhi assumed the office of the Prime Minister, there developments of far greater consequences in both internal and external relations had taken place. The study discusses only such developments in detail, particularly in the external relations which lays great emphasis on the methods of decision making of the Prime Minister as head of the government. There are also some important events, producing meaningful repercussions which have been described in order to throw light on the personality of Rajiv Gandhi.

Review of Literature:

The study of personality characteristics of a leader concerning foreign policy is an interesting and new subject of modern world, which has acquired immense importance in the international sphere. It is high on the agenda not only of political scientists and statesman but also of foreign policy experts in general. The study of personality factor has been considered as one of the important determinants of foreign policy. Hence, the study of personality factor has received utmost attention and importance in the international studies. Therefore, the study of personality factor has been regarded as one of the most important domestic determinants of foreign policy.
There are also some studies on the personality / leadership factor which have proved beyond doubt that the involvement and influence in the formulation of foreign policy is significant. "Several hundred studies have shown significant preferences within mass publics, several elite case studies and exploratory comparative analyses have made plausible arguments for the presence of significant personality influence on policy decisions in a variety of important areas. Because of this kind of importance attached to the foreign policy, many intellectuals, diplomats, scholars, foreign policy experts have contributed considerably to this area of study from this perspective.

An overview of literature is necessary to understand the contributions of the scholars to foreign policy from the perspective of the role of leadership. By reviewing briefly the major works done in the field, it may be easy to understand how this study is distinct from the previous works.

Theoretical Study of Leadership With reference to the American Foreign Policy:

James N. Rosenau's work on National Leadership and Foreign Policy (A Case Study in the Mobilization of Public Support) deals with the role of various types of actors governmental as well as non-governmental in shaping the American foreign policy. The author discusses the important role played by

10 The American Political Science Review, Issue No.-70, 1978, p-434
the national leaders in shaping the contents and effectiveness of American foreign policy. Further the author viewed that the American President as national leader whose decision is final influences all the actors while taking a decision on foreign policy alternatives.

India's Foreign Policy From the Historical Perspective:

The book of Bimla Prasad's "The Origin of Indian Foreign Policy" represents the ideas and reactions of the important personalities of Congress party to world affairs and their influence and contributions in formulating the country's foreign policy. It also discusses the individual dominance of some elites particularly that of Jawaharlal Nehru who adopted and passed various resolutions on foreign policy (world affairs) during the course of Congress party meetings. Though the author had adopted an historical approach, it is indeed, a valuable contribution to the understanding of the foreign policy studies.

Domestic Politics and India's Foreign Policy:

The work of J.Bandyopadhyaya's entitled "The Making of India's Foreign Policy" focuses on the involvement of certain basic determinants in the making of foreign policy, and considers personalities as one of the basic determinants of foreign policy. Further the author argues that the study of basic determinants involved in the foreign policy making has been largely disregarded
not only by the politicians, statesman but also by scholars specialized in Indian foreign policy even.

Shashi Tharoor’s work entitled “Reasons of State, Political Development and India’s Foreign policy under Indira Gandhi, 1966-1977, attempts to examine the influence of Indira Gandhi on the making of India’s foreign policy. A finding of this is that Indira Gandhi during her long regime as Prime Minister of India greatly influenced the foreign policy of India through her assertive personality. The cabinet which was the vital organ to take decision on foreign policy matters “was reduced to a little more than a committee of ratification”.11

The work entitled “India’s Search for Power: Indira Gandhi’s Foreign Policy 1966-1982, by Surjit Mansingh discusses the dynamic role played and the hegemony of Indira Gandhi as leader in India’s foreign policy decisions. The author argues that Indira Gandhi both as leader and head of the government always carried the overall responsibility for foreign policy, but her direction was more than institutional. She concentrated decision making mostly in her own hands without assigning the responsibility either to the Ministers or the bureaucrats of the External affairs Ministry.

S.S. Patagundi’s work on “India’s Foreign policy: An Elitist Perception” discusses how the Indian elites perceive the foreign policy matters. Despite separate External Affairs Minister and host

of other Indian Foreign Service officials. Further the author also attempts to discuss about the role of political elites perception in the formulation of foreign policy.

The purpose of V.P. Dutt's book on "India and the world" is to examine vision of leaders and its influences on the making of India's foreign policy. Discussing the role of Jawaharlal Nehru who gave concrete shape to the foreign policy of non-alignment as one of the basic principles of India's foreign policy, opposed the surrender of India's right of independent judgment to any outside country and becoming any body's camp follower. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi followed the framework of Nehru's foreign policy decision making.

Leadership and India's Foreign Policy:

S.R. Patel's book on "Foreign Policy of India: An Enquiry and Criticism" deals with the influence and dominance of personality factor in the formulation of country's foreign policy. The author opines that the so-called extravagant foreign policy of India was dominated by one person and it is a one man-show. It does not reflect the aims and aspirations of the common masses but it only reflects the likes and dislikes of a single person. Therefore, the author is of the view that India's foreign policy is formulated at the instance of a dominant personality keeping away the large masses.
The work of G.P.Ojha "Mrs. Gandhi's Foreign policy Choice" deals with the study of leadership approach towards foreign policy. It also discusses the influence and the role of personality characteristics of a leader in formulating and implementing the foreign policy of a country like India.

L.P.Singh in his work entitled "India's Foreign Policy: Shastri Period" discusses the role of Lal Bahadur Shastri's leadership in India's foreign policy formulation. The author has opined that though Shastri's leadership "lacked the unchallenged political power of Nehru. But he was a great manager of leaders and people. This quality enabled him to emerge as more than a first among equals among some of his cabinet colleagues who mattered on foreign policy issues".12

Michael Brecher, in his book "Nehru-A Political Biography" has pointed out that Nehru was "the philosopher, the architect, the engineer and voice of his country's policy towards the outside world". He has further stated: "In no other state does one man dominate foreign policy as does Nehru in India".13 This clearly shows that Nehru was unto himself and was all in all in the foreign policy matters of the country. The author has clearly analysed how the foreign policy of India was dominated by Nehru and how he acted like a de facto leader.

A review of literature relating to foreign policy studies indicates that there is no systematic work on the role of leadership in the making of India's foreign policy. There are some works on leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi. But there is no work on the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi and foreign policy. This study attempts to fulfill this gap to a considerable extent.

The Conceptual Framework:

It is very essential to understand the various definitions of the key concepts in order to explain the significance and their relevance to the present study.

Foreign Policy:

It is the Americans who first used the term foreign policy. The main object was to establish friendly relations between the countries of the world thereby lessening the conflicts and cold war tensions, which plagued the globe during the time of Second World War.

According to the international Relations Dictionary, "foreign policy involves dynamic process of applying relativity fixed interpretations of national interest to the highly fluctuating situational factors of international environment to develop implementation of policy guidelines".14 Hugh Gibson defines foreign

policy as “a well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of a government with the rest of the world”. F.S. Northedge considers foreign policy “to be the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law making power in a manner desired by the state concerned. It is an interaction between forces originating outside the country’s borders and those working within them”.

Frederick H. Hartmann writes that “A foreign policy consists of selected national interests presumably formulated into a logically consistent whole, that is, then implemented, any foreign policy can be viewed analytically in three phases: conception, content, and implementation”.

Cecil V. Crabb Jr, defines foreign policy as “reduced to its most fundamental ingredients, foreign policy consists of two elements: National objectives to be achieved and means for achieving them. The interaction between national goals and the resources for attaining them is the perennial subject of statecraft. In its ingredients the foreign policy of all nations, great and small is the same”. The definition of Joseph Frankel reads that “the foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involve to some extent relations between one state and others”.

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15 A. Appadorai, Domestic Roots of India’s Foreign Policy 1947-1972, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p-1.
17 Quoted in S.S. Patagundi’s, India’s Foreign Policy: An Elitist Perception, Upal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995, p-7.
According to Kurt London, "a nation's foreign policy determines its course vis-à-vis other nations. It is a programme designed to achieve the best possible position for the nation by peaceful means, or by means short of war". The definition of James N. Rosenau states: "A foreign policy might be roughly defined as a set of planned guidelines for expressing as much control as possible over existing, anticipated or unforeseen circumstances in the international environment". M. Ratnaswamy defines, foreign policy "as the bundle of principles and practices that regulate the intercourse of a state with other states".

In general foreign policy may be defined as a policy of nation towards other nations aimed at not only achieving both short range and long range national interests but also at furthering its vital interests.

Leadership:

According to Webster's Dictionary the term leader is derived from the word "lxdere" which means a person or thing that leads; directing, commanding, or guiding head, as a group or activity. Leadership means the position or guidance of a leader.

Historically, the concept of leadership was derived from leadership in a religious sectarian setting or in groups of primary
relationships. Sectarian followings inspired by prophetic figures have been at the genesis of many religious movements... The solitary, Dramatic personality who mobilised and inspired masses to new goals and methods of religious salvation became an important prototype of leadership. This conceptual view was reinforced by research on historical and primitive governmental institutions, e.g., tribal chiefs and leaders of small city-states, vested with absolute authority."23

However by the Twentieth century several intellectuals trends and democratic revolutions effected a change in the conception of leadership and accordingly, the term leadership was defined in many ways. In recent time, therefore, "A leader may be defined as someone whose orders are in fact obeyed by many other person, especially by the members of a group to which he belongs"24. In the words of Joseph R Gusfield "a leader is a person who has to play a variety of roles, such as an educator, as a spokesman, as an expert, as a protector and also as a mediator and all these roles".25

According to Narain I, Leadership is essentially a sum total of the degree and extent of influence to which the rest of the members of a group are amenable. A leader's guidance and directions are supposed to be accepted by the rest because they consist of various

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24 Ibid., p- 261.
factors such as force, charismatic appeal, a sense of common good, influence, coercion and so on."²⁶ F.A. Nigro and L.G. Nigro have observed that the essence of leadership is influencing the actions of others: the essential quality of leaders is that they are convinced something must be done, and they persuade others to help them get it done."²⁷ As James Laundy, observes, "Leadership essentially involves the task of planning, co-ordinating, motivating and controlling the efforts of others towards a specific objective."²⁸

Taking into account all these definitions we can generalize that leadership can be described as a person who influences the attitudes and behaviours of others through his charismatic appeal/image towards attainment of specified goal or goals in a given point of time.

**Inter-relationship Between the Concepts:**

The foreign policy and the leadership factor go hand in hand. They are inseparable and inextricable and have become increasingly interrelated in the present international environment. The foreign policy of each nation is influenced by the personality of its leaders. In a democratic system, the executive or cabinet is the ultimate policy-making authority. It is the leader of the ruling party in power, who represents the majority, will be the chief

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executive and head of the cabinet who is the key instrument in policy making of the country. Therefore, personality characteristics of a leader play a predominant role unlike other factors in the major policy decisions of the country. Perhaps, it is the leadership factor which decides the success and proper implementation of the foreign policy of a country. No doubt, the foreign policy of a country is basically influenced by several factors, like geography, history, interaction of ideas, the domestic affairs, economic policy, political parties etc. It is a whole set of factors which greatly contribute to the development of a country's foreign policy. But the influence of perception of the leader in deciding the foreign policy decisions is very significant and paramount. Even though several countries in the world have different political systems and different forms of government, ultimately it is the leadership, which determines the foreign policy of that country. Therefore, the foreign policy of a nation is not only the projection of domestic policy but also the projection of the perception of the leaders. Because the domestic policy of a country is ultimately influenced and guided by its leadership.

The pursuance of right kind of foreign policy is solely dependent on the ideology and beliefs of leaders. In fact, in the present world the personal tendency of the leadership will have a greater say and immense impact on the decision-making unit of the foreign policy, than the political affairs of a country. It can be seen from the study of evolution of India's foreign policy, which clearly
reveals that the leadership factor alone played a decisive role in foreign policy decisions of a country.

In a parliamentary democracy, discussion plays a vital role in policy formulation of a country. The parliamentarians, irrespective of their party affiliation, take part in the foreign policy debates in the House of the people initiated by the Prime Minister or External Affairs Minister concerned and put questions to them and seek clarifications on issues of international importance to have a fruitful discussion. During the course of discussion the members of the house are likely to influence the policy and prevail upon the Prime Minister, the leader of the House or concerned Minister to take decision on particular issues in their favour or in a particular direction. However, the final decision on the foreign policy matter rests with the cabinet which is ultimately headed by the Prime Minister who is also the leader of the ruling party in power. As a result, the foreign policy decisions of a country are invariably influenced by the leaders who represent the government, which will sometimes become one man show. Because, the leader sometimes assumes that he is the decisive factor with regard to the priorities in the field of foreign policy without taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the opposition leaders and the policy decision unit. There is a little scope for the ideas, views expressed by the experts, advisors, diplomats, bureaucrats who are entrusted with the task of policy formulation in the External Affairs Ministry. If a foreign policy decision is influenced by a single...
personality or leadership such a foreign policy may not achieve the desired goals in the challenging and changing international atmosphere.

The overall implementation and success of the foreign policy is largely dependent on the personality of a leader. The approach of leadership to foreign policy issues is very significant. The foreign policy decisions are primarily guided and influenced by his perception which is in turn influenced by the national interest of the nation. It is the rational leadership which enhances the image and stature of the country in the international arena while taking judicious decisions on foreign policy matters.

Objectives:

The main objective of this study is to contribute broadly to the field of foreign policy. Our assumption is that leaders determine the foreign policy decisions. No doubt, it is an established fact that the changing perception of the different leaders will have a greater impact on the formulation of the country's foreign policy.

The purpose of this study is to analyze and assess the predominant and crucial role played by Rajiv Gandhi in formulating India's foreign policy. An assessment is made to understand whether Rajiv Gandhi has made any significant departure from the path of the foreign policy as set forth by his predecessors in so far as the basic principles of India's foreign policy is concerned.
The study also envisages an idea as to know the efforts put forth and measures undertaken by Rajiv Gandhi to effect improvement of India's relations with Sri Lanka and China and to maintain good and friendly relations with Super Powers and other countries of the world. The study focuses the attention on how Rajiv Gandhi was able to bring about peace in the international sphere by persuading the nuclear power countries of the world. His effort to bring about an agreed settlement between the Super Powers of the world on I.N.F Treaty (Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty) which aimed at destruction of intermediate and short range missiles, thereby saving the world from nuclear holocaust has also been analyzed. Indeed, the role of Six Nations Initiative on Disarmament and Peace is highly note-worthy and appreciative of statesmanship like Rajiv Gandhi as a representative of India. The role of Rajiv Gandhi as a dynamic and illustrious Chairman of the non-aligned countries of the world is studied in all the greater details. His role as the Chairman of the SAARC Association in mooting the ideas of peaceful co-existence, cooperation, and as the Chairman of the African Fund to provide the necessary financial assistance to the frontline African countries can not be easily dispensed without making adequate justification of the issues involved.

The study also intends to examine the contributions of Rajiv Gandhi to the world in general and to India in particular with regard to dis-armament, elimination of nuclear weapons, struggle
against racial discrimination, resolution of ethnic conflict, peaceful relations with immediate neighbours particularly Sri Lanka and China, maintaining friendly and harmonious relations with Super Powers and supporting the cause of world peace, which are some of the important and outstanding contributions which helped to enhance the image of Rajiv Gandhi in the international arena. However, an attempt is made not to lose sight of smaller events which may affect bigger issues in future. It is generally found that it is difficult to study all issues of India’s foreign policy. This study attempts to analyse the major issues of India’s foreign policy in the mid 1980s from the perspective of the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi. In other words, an attempt is made to evaluate the contribution made by Rajiv Gandhi to foreign policy decisions.

The main aim of this study is also to analyse the challenging task set before Rajiv Gandhi by the non-aligned countries of the world. Under his multidimensional leadership India was able to forge a common united front under this body which is striving hard to stop arms race and establish global peace. Finally, the implications of the part played by the power blocs which are racing towards armament and conducting of nuclear tests, thereby affecting the international peace and security, have also been discussed. In this regard the role of Six Nation Initiative Summits on disarmament and nuclear policy is noteworthy.
Hypotheses:

The following hypotheses have been formulated in the study to analyse the crucial role played by Rajiv Gandhi in the formulation of India's foreign policy.

1. Rajiv Gandhi's leadership was mainly responsible for improving relations with the US.

2. The responsibility of formulating policy towards Sri Lanka under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi became more difficult primarily due to the complex nature of ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

3. The leadership of Rajiv Gandhi was basically responsible for taking concrete policy initiative to normalize India's relations with China.

Methodology:

This study adopts historical and descriptive methods. It is historical in the sense that an attempt is made to discuss some of the historical events which led to the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy. An attempt is also made to identify the important landmarks during Rajiv Gandhi's period as the Prime Minister of India. It is important to mention here that the researcher has taken only a few events which were considered to be most important aspect of the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi not only as head of the Indian government but also as head of the foreign policy mechanism. The study briefly discusses the role of
Rajiv Gandhi, taking into account some of the events which were considered as most crucial for the development of India’s image in the international sphere.

The study is based on the primary and secondary sources of data. The study uses the sources, like selected speeches and writings of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, statements on foreign policy, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha Debates etc., have been consulted. All the official foreign policy and party documents that were relevant and made available have been referred as primary source material.

The other sources of data for this study are all relevant writings of the leaders, members of the different political parties, scholars and diplomats, published in the news reports, editorials, feature articles of newspapers, periodicals, journals. Further, the publications like books, concerning the subject in one way or the other, have also been used as secondary source materials and have been enlisted in the bibliography.

Outline of the Study:

The thesis has been mainly divided into eight chapters.

The first chapter of this study deals with a brief introduction. An attempt has also been made to discuss the statement of the problem, scope of the study, conceptual framework, review of
literature, interrelations between the concept, objectives of the study, hypotheses and outline of the study.

The second chapter discusses India's foreign policy from historical perspective. Its emphasis is on the influence of leadership factor in the formulation of India's foreign policy. It also discusses the role of the Indian National Congress and the various important personalities, like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi etc., in the formulation of foreign policy. Further, an attempt is made to discuss some theoretical dimensions of leadership.

The third chapter outlines the dynamic role played by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as head of the government in formulating India's foreign policy. His roles as the chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, chairman of the SAARC, chairman of the African Fund have been discussed. The vital issues of international importance such as dis-armament, apartheid, question of Namibia, Nuclear testing have also been discussed in brief from the view point of the influence of Rajiv Gandhi. Above all his role as the leader of the Six Nations Initiative on Dis-armament and peace, Representative of the Common Wealth on Apartheid, persuader of the Super powers on I.N.F Treaty have been highlighted.

The fourth chapter critically examines the relations of India with the two Super Powers of the world. Firstly, it discusses the Indo-US relations. The factors that led to the deteriorating relations
between the two countries based on divergent perceptions. Further, the co-operation extended by the US in the field of Science and Technology and other fields, which paved the way for the improvement of the Indo-US relations has also been discussed. The role of Rajiv Gandhi, who has extended the hand of friendship to West, which resulted in tilting towards the West, without, however, compromising in any way India’s national interests, has been highlighted.

The brief history of the Indo-Soviet relations, which laid foundation for the benign friendship between the two countries, has been elaborately discussed with special reference to the Indo-Soviet friendship Treaty. Further the role of Rajiv Gandhi, who strove hard to strengthen the bonds of friendship and foundations of co-operation and co-existence between the two countries has been analyzed. This study also includes the measures undertaken by Rajiv Gandhi to improve the Indo-Soviet relations thereby maintaining friendly relations and amicable inclination towards West, expressing dissatisfaction over the handling of Afghanistan issue by the USSR.

The fifth chapter attempts to analyse the issues of Indo-Sri Lankan relations, with special reference to the ethnic problem in the island. It assesses the crucial role played by Rajiv Gandhi in amicable settlement of the Tamil issue without the interference of the Super powers. Further, it also discusses the role of Rajiv
Gandhi in signing an historical agreement i.e. Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, which aimed at establishing peace and tranquility in the strife torn Sri Lanka, thereby resolving the vexed ethnic problem.

The sixth chapter deals with the Sino-Indian relations which was crucial in so far as the role of Rajiv Gandhi who took concrete initiative to normalize the strained relations. He not only undertook several confidence building measures to streamline the relations with China the giant of Asia but also acted as the bridge of balancing factor between the two countries.

In chapter seven, the argument of the thesis is summed up highlighting the multi-faceted role played by Rajiv Gandhi in the making of India's foreign policy.