PREFACE
No issue of Soviet studies has generated more discussion or greater division of opinion than that of "ideology" as a motivating force behind Soviet conduct in international affairs. Unfortunately, impartial interpretations of it are very rare. This study is an attempt at a careful and impartial analysis of the emergence of the theoretical foundations of Soviet foreign policy.

This dissertation seeks to analyse and assess the formulation of the theories and perspectives that formed the bases of Soviet foreign policy and to throw some light on the process of doctrinal evolution of the theories of the Soviet Union during the period ending 1939. The above evolutionary process holds a seminal importance inasmuch as it went through all its polemics and controversies and also its various shifts and adjustments, imposed upon it by the swirling course of events in Soviet Union's post-revolutionary period, to gain for the nation's foreign policy a pragmatic pattern and a sense of direction. The spinal strength and support, of course, came invariably and inevitably from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. But the foreign policy, as such, in its practical and implementational bearings, though developing along the above doctrinal paths, assumed its typical character as the unique nation was drawn more and more into the vortex of international politics where it had to hold its own amidst nations that were positively hostile to it, at any rate suspicious of it. At home too
the Soviet leadership was riven with doctrinal discord, the controversial heat often reaching the boiling point and consuming many a leading figure within the steaming cauldron of controversy and dissension. In course of all these ordeals the tints deepened giving the picture the clarity of perspective of dimensions and of articulatory effects, which in the longer run provided the foreign policy with its purposive firmness and steadiness. Till 1939, therefore, the Soviet foreign policy remained wedded to certain basic goals and this was so specifically on account of the doctrinal interpretations of Marxism-Leninism given from time to time by the Soviet leaders. The dynamics of policy formulation, closely dependent upon and interrelated with the changing scenario of home and foreign politics did necessitate adjustments and modifications of the stances and strategies, but it was entirely due to the doctrinal genius which from within continued to vitalise the policy that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union at times rigid and at times resilient, retained on the whole certain uniform patterns.

(In the present study the Soviet foreign policy articulations until the beginning of the Second World War have been attempted to be seen in the correct perspective by tracing their courses and contours within the magnetic field of Marxist-Leninist doctrine.) The examination of the various concepts, i.e., the magnetic forces, expressed through the actual process of policy formulation, has been pursued by the proper correlation of theory and practice. Thus the aim motivating the study has been to unfold the vital core of
Soviet foreign policy during the important formative stage of its growth, development and implementation.

Although after the Second World War nothing really new or original was added to the basic theories of Soviet foreign policy, these went through recurring processes of reinterpretation in order that the policy might fully square up with the new international situation. Hence the theories as examined in the present study also hold the strong rationale for any examination of the Soviet foreign policy even in the completely changed world situation after 1945. The top Soviet leaders themselves have never failed to underline the doctrinal basis of the nation's policies. And the present study in this respect seeks its validity as the fully traced out graph of these doctrinal currents.

An attempt has been made to answer the following questions. In what manner the doctrines of Karl Marx and Friederich Engels have been used by the Bolsheviks to create the first socialist state and its foreign policy? Did Lenin really develop Marxism in this connection? If he did, how far it was practical? After Lenin, did there emerge any new theory of Soviet foreign policy? During which period of the Soviet history were the basic theories governing Soviet foreign policy fully traced out graph of these doctrinal currents?

During the course of my investigation, I visited the Soviet Union when I had the benefit of consulting scholars who have been associated with the studies in Soviet foreign policy in one way or another. In writing this dissertation, I have made an extensive use of Soviet sources. These sources...
include Collected Works of Lenin, Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Works of Stalin, documents of CPSU and Comintern Congresses, various declarations of Soviet government, reports of Foreign Commissars etc. and different periodicals and newspapers like Pravda and Izvestia in the Russian and English languages.

In the completion of this work I have received much help from several persons and institutions. I am greatly indebted to my respected teacher, Dr. Raghunath Ram, Director of the National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences, Bhubaneswar, for the able guidance received at various stages of its completion. Without his sincere and ungrudging guidance I would not have been able to complete this study. I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Bondravsky, Dr Mrs. Tachayana Shumyana, and Professor Danielov of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow, for their valuable help in various forms.

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