



## C H A P T E R I I

### NEHRU'S CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT <sup>2)</sup>

#### 1) INTRODUCTION

Jawaharlal Nehru was the chief architect of India's foreign policy of non-alignment. He remained at the center of the scene for seventeen years, guiding the country in the international affairs, and in the conduct of foreign Policy. He was one of the great advocates of world peace and solidarity. As soon as he became the Prime Minister of India, as well as foreign minister, he sought to strive for world peace and independence and equality to all races of mankind. Nehru made it clear that independent India would have her own independent foreign policy without aligning with any bloc, but she would pursue a rational policy of non-alignment. According to Nehru, the non-alignment was a positive policy of peace, co-operation and friendship with all nations without aligning with any bloc. Nehru viewed the concept of non-alignment as

" The word non-alignment may be differently interpreted, but basically it was coined and used with the meaning of being non-aligned with great power blocs of the world. The non-alignment has negative meaning. But if we give it a positive connotation it means the nation which objects to aligning up for war purpose, to military blocs and military

alliances and the like. We kept away from such an approach and we want to throw our weight in favour of peace."

"In effect, therefore, when there is crises involving the possibility of war. The very fact we are unaligned, should make us feel that more than ever it is up to us to do whatever thenever it is upto us to do whatever we can to prevent such calamity coming down upon us." (1)

The concept of non-alignment expounded by Nehru was based on the principles of opposition to cold war, military blocs, and to strive for the conditions for peace, which was the prime condition for progress. He viewed that when fear of war was removed, it was possible for India to strengthen herself. Thus Nehru favoured peace by all possible means and said that it was essential condition for human progress and prosperity. "Without peace our all dreams are vanished and are reduced to ashes". (2) To save succeeding generations from ravages of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental rights and for these ends, to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another was essential condition for peace and progress.

He condemned cold war and said that it was affecting peace and to preserve peace and security the nations must prefer the policy of non-alignment with blocs and must try to create peaceful environment, to grow and develop." (3)

Aligning with one bloc means giving up one's own independent thinking and accepting other's views which was not good from the point of view of the interest of nation. Hence, he preferred the policy of friendship with all, world peace, and harmonious co-existence, respecting territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states. He opined that present military blocs were just opportunistic in nature. They were the well planned policies of present super powers to achieve their vested interests in the international politics. Along with that, he condemned imperialism and colonialism and advocated justice to the oppressed nationalities. He held that liquidation of colonies was an essential condition for world peace and order.

## (II) NON-ALIGNMENT AND INDIAN TRADITION

While expounding the concept of non-alignment, heavily depended on the Indian tradition as Lord Buddha and Mahaveer gave the message of peace and non-violence

to world. Mahatma Gandhi, during India's freedom followed the path of non-violence and truth. The great colonial super power was defeated with the non-violent and peaceful means. Therefore Nehru sought to develop his theory of non-alignment on the basis of Indian tradition.

No foreign minister could neglect such rich tradition of the country while formulating the foreign policies of the country. The leaders of Indian freedom struggle had the vision of independent foreign policy. The Indian nationalist Taraknath wrote " India's culture was to play a role in world politics independently." (4) Mahatma Gandhi observed " an awakened and free India would have a message of peace and goodwill." (5) C.R.Das claimed that "India would join other people to bring about freedom to every nationality". (6) Thus, great leaders of Indian freedom movement favoured peace and friendship. Nehru was of the opinion that India was committed to the liberation of the Asian countries. He said " It is well for us to say that we stand for peace and freedom and yet that does not convey much to anybody except a pious hope. We do stand for peace and freedom. I think there is something to be said for it. There

is a some meaning when we say that we stand for freedom of Asian countries and elimination of imperialistic control over them. There is some meaning in that." (7)

Nehru was clear about the fact that the power of nation did not depend upon the military strength, but it was rooted in her economic strength, and the economic strength was linked with industrialisation of the country. He firmly believed that a country did not become powerful by joining any military blocs. The power of a nation was based upon its inherent strength.

He was of the view that the third world countries were neither militarily powerful nor economically prosperous hence, they had no alternative, but to follow the path of non-alignment, and maintain their independence, and sovereignty. Therefore, he developed the five basic principles of international relations. The five principles are as follows:-

- 1) Respect for each others territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- 2) Non-aggression.
- 3) Equality and mutual benefits
- 4) Peaceful Co-Existence
- 5) Non-interference. (8)

These principles were accepted and included in the Bandung declaration first Afro-Asian Conference held in 1955. In short Nehru was keenly interested to establish friendly and co-operative relations with the fellow Asian countries. Nehru in one of his speeches said "We prepare to stand on our own legs and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. Asia stretches her arms in friendship with Europe and America as well as to our suffering brothers in Africa. The universal freedom cannot be based on supremacy of any particular class, it must be freedom of every common man everywhere full of opportunities for him to develop." (9)

He was of the view that India's concept of non-alignment was inherent in the circumstances, inherent in past thinking of India and inherent in the tradition of freedom struggle. (10)

Nehru dominated India's foreign policy and, he was the main theoretician of the theory of non-alignment, hence it was rightly pointed out by M.Breacher " It was who provided a rationale for India's approach to international politics since 1947. It was Nehru who carried the Philosophy of non-alignment to the world at large and throughout this period he has dominated the policy making process." (11)

Thus, Nehru laid emphasis on the positive aspects of non-alignment that ensured independence and sovereignty. He was confident that the policy would ensure peace and reduce international tension. Thus by which it is possible for the states to lead peaceful and harmonious life.

There were many reasons for India to choose the policy of non-alignment, and important among them are

- 1) Geo-political considerations
- 2) Economic reasons
- 3) low technological and industrial development.
- 4) Experience of Indian national freedom movement and,
- 5) India's political tradition.

As far as Geo-Political considerations are concerned, Nehru was fully aware of importance of India's Geographical situation and resources. He thought that, a country like India with massive potentials of natural resources, should not bow before any power.

Secondly, he viewed that a developing country like India had some economic difficulties and India had to devise foreign policy to subserve the economic interest. He was of the view that, if a country got aligned with one bloc she would not be in a position to get economic



assistance from other bloc. The policy of non-alignment enabled the nation to seek economic assistance from the both the blocs. But aid must accepted without any pre-condition or political as economic strings.

Nehru was aware of India's backwardness in technological and industrial field, so he thought that with the policy of non-alignment, India would be in position to get scientific and technological assistance from developed the countries, irrespective of any ideological frontiers. This could enable India to develop her industry.

Nehru had a great desire to include some of the important principles of India 's tradition like peace non-violence and universal brotherhood, profounded by Lord Bunddha, Mahaveer and others.

### III NEHRU AND FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA DURING- 1950 ' S

By the end of 1949, WARASAW and N.A.T.O. alliances were established, and there was a tension over Berlin. The victory of communists in China and the outbreak of K-orean war turned U.S. attention to Asia. By the time South East Asian nations entered into U.S. sponsored <sup>Pacts</sup> like Bughdad and Manila pacts, and threatened the balance of power in the Indian sub-continent. Pakistan moved closer to America, and she ( U.S. ) provided massive military assistance to

Pakistan. Secondly, U.S. made Pakistan as her military center in South East Asia, and heavily armed Pakista. Due to these developments, India's security issues were directly involved. Hence cold war entered into the Asian continent by the end of the 1950's.

In the begining, of the period 1948-49, there was an open hostility of Russia towards India as it did not consider India as an independent state, It's open call for armed insurrection to the communist party of India resulted in uprisings in Telegana and several other areas.

There were strong groups in India that were Pro-U.S. and wanted to force Nehru to align with U.S.A. to solve defence and nation building problems. But U.S.'s armed assistance to Pakistan was responsible for <sup>breakup</sup> Indo-U.S. relations. Pakistan didnt responded to India's negotiation call on 'No war' pact since 1950. Then with the support of imperial powers, Pakistan made the Kashmir issue international, and she never co-operated with Nehru in sloving Kashmir problem. . . .

Nehru during 1950's broadly acted and refused to align with any bloc, even when there were internal and external pressures. He said " our whole culture testifies to our understanding of variety of humanity, laying stress always on unity but also on variety and diversity, what we do in our limited outlook and feelings we have had a type of Philosophy which is a 'live and let live' philosophy of life, we have no any peculiar desire to convert other people to any views or thought." (12)

In 1959, China repudiated earlier the treaty, and border clashes took place, on NEFA and other Himalayan borders . During this period India faced some economic problems like famine, and ruppy was linked to sterling.

Since 1950's onwards international conditions were not favourable to the India's policy non-alignment.

Korean war broke out, in the U.N.O. there was no favourable opinion on Kashmir question. Nehru's faith on the world body was shaken, because of domination of imperial powers on it. Korean war was a testing case for non-alignment of India, because India was the chairman of U.N. committee on Korea. Following are the some special features of non-aligned policy of India in 1950's.

1. After the demise of Stalin the Soviet Union's attitude towards non-alignment changed, as the U.S.S.R. increasingly understood the importance of non-alignment.
2. The U.S. under leadership of Dulles period was hostile to the non-aligned policy of India but she softened her attitude towards India though Dulles did not appreciate the essence of non-alignment.
3. The third world countries started asserting their independence under the leadership of Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno and the first conference of Afro-Asian countries was held at Bandung in 1955, ushering in an era of Afro-Asian solidarity. Nehru's ideas of non-alignment got the practical value after the conference.
4. Though the conflict between two blocs continued and the India's relation with China worsened, the overall condition of international relations was comparatively better.
5. Gradually the theory of non-alignment was accepted by many newly independent countries. They viewed that it is an important policy of peace, and in the environment of peace overall development of the country is possible.

#### IV) INDO-U.S.RELATIONS DURING THE NEHRU ERA :

The relation between India and America began on healthy note. As Nehru was keenly interested in developing friendly relations with U.S. , as he thought that Indian problems like industrilisation could be met with U.S. support. India maintained cordinal relations with U.S. which was the hallmark of free countries to work together inspite of occassional differences and disagreement of opinion. Both countries were democratic, and Americans admired India's political progress. But after the Korea war the relations got strained as India refused to align with any bloc , also refused to join any Asian military alliances. India did not share Americans perceptions of the threat of communisam .

The second cause in the strain in Indo-U.S. relations was that of U.S.A.'s open support to Pakistan on the Kashmir problem. This support ultimately materialised in Pakistan joining U.S.bloc.

The American government supplied sophisticated arms to Pakistan and U.S. alliance with Pakistan soured the relations between two countries. India and other third world countries opposed

imperialism and colonialism and U.S.'s valient attempts to support Anglo-Franch imperialists in Suez, Algeria and in South Africa, caused bitterness amongst India and other third world countries. The U.S.'s support for imperialist designes was contrary to the national interist of India as well as countries of the third world, U.S. did'nt appreciate India's military support in Congo during 1961. But the Indo-U.S. relations took different turn because of Sino-India barder disputes and Chinese attack on India on 20th Oct. 1962. During war time U.S. liberal president John. F. Kennedy came forward and assured India to provide all help and after 1962 India tilted towards U.S.

a) INDO-CHINA WAR AND U.S. ASSISTANCE TO INDIA :

China invaded India in 1962 and she was not in a position to repulse Chinese forces. Hence India sought assistance from U.S. and the latter obliged. During the war time, President Kennedy expressed sympathy and support to India and offered any assistance India might need. The details of Indian requirement were sent to U.S. government and the first shipment of equibement was sent from U.S. arms stock in Western Europe on 1st November 1962. The aid was not with any strings. The timely assistance by U.S. was praised by Indias during war time. A joint commonwealth and U.S. Air Defence mission arrived Delhi and

assured India to provide air protection in the further eventuality of war. During 1962 Chinese aggression U.S. responded to the Nehru's world wide request for military assistance within twelve hours. In the month of November a pact was concluded and America assured India to strengthen her mountain defence against China.

b) US. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

Economic relations between India and U.S. were growing. During 1950's there was great U.S. involvement in the Indian Economy. U.S. assistance during the second five year plan was considerable. " In 1957 U.S. established a development Loan Fund to provide loans payable in rupees for purchasing capital goods from U.S. In 1958 the world Bank with U.S. initiatives framed aid consortium which made heavy commitments to India's third five year plan. U.S. made single largest contribution to the India's Basic development fund. In 1964-65 wheat transferred to India under P.L.-480 amounted the total of U.S. 1/5th crore. U.S. aid was given in the fields of agriculture, rural development,

infrastructure projects such as production of electricity and generation of power. Thirty years co-operative development of automic power plant, at Tarapur near Bombay, treaty was signed in 1963. (13)

Except, American's Co-operation in few fields, the Indo-U.S. relations were not healthy during the Nehru Era. But Nehru was keen to establish friendly relations with U.S.A. but unfortunately every U.S. co-operation ~~or~~ assistance was tended to serve U.S. ideological goals. The Indo-U.S. Relations were full of tension as Americans did not appreciate India's policy of non-alignment, as they thought it as immoral. It was immoral in the U.S. sense because they thought that it was tended to support unjust methods of communists in order to maintain world peace. The U.S. did not like India adocating the cause of newly independent third world countries as imperial powers were her allies. Nehru's pereception of non-alignment, that it was bound to go against imperialism and colonialism and big power dominance was not shared by U.S.A.

The India's non-alignment during the Nehru Era had undergone significant changes. The Indo-U.S. relations were improving, but during Bandung Conference period were not healthy. But the Chinese war once again brought India and U.S. together, the relations improved as never before, there was



there was tremendous good will for US. in the country during 1962. And a lesser person than Nehru would have abandoned the policy of non-alignment. But the relations between India and America did not improve as the perceptions of both countries differed.

(V) INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS DURING THE NEHRU ERA

Nehru was eager to establish close relations with U.S.S.R. As he had greatly appreciated the progress made by Russians in field of science and technology and economic reconstruction, within short period of time, and without anybody's assistance, and built their country with their own efforts. In the beginning Russian attitude towards the policy of non-alignment was distrustful, but gradually Sovieties appreciated and supported it. Nehru visited Soviet Union in June 22nd 1955, and made it clear that India admired peace and sought friendship with all peace loving countries. While explaining India's foreign policy he said that India believed in democracy and equality, and sought to establish socialistic pattern of society with democratic methods. While explaining foreign policy of India he said that India had a policy of non-alignment, India recognised right of every country to have their indepent foreign policy, and opposed exploitation. He made it clear that like U.S.S.R. India also opposed the imperialism, colonialism and racism.

Nehru argued that peace was an essential condition for the progress of the world. He admired the Russians' efforts for maintaining world peace and security, He said " Whenever I had been to Soviet Union, I have found passion for peace. In India we have been devoted for peace and even in our freedom struggle, we have endeavoured to persue methods of peace, for our own progress, as well as cause that are dearer to us. I would like to congratulate the government of Soviet Union on the several steps it has taken to reduce the world tension and have contributed to the cause of world peace." (14) While speaking in honour of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev in November 20th 1955 at New Delhi, Nehru said " We are uncommitted to any bloc. It is not by the military pacts, and alliances, and piling up of armaments, that world peace and security can be attained. We are in no camp, and in no military alliances. The only camp we should like to be in the camp of peace and good will, which could include as many countries possible. The only alliance we seek is the alliance based on good will and co-operation." (15)

After the demise of Stalin India's relation with U.S.S.R. improved, as U.S.S.R. recognised, that there could be peaceful co-existence between the different political systems.

The Korean war was acid test for non-alignment of India. But it was proved that India determine every issue on merit, and without any cold war pressures. After the Korean war U.S.S.R. realised that India determined to follow independent policy of non-alignment, even though she was a member of British Common wealth. During the Korean war India said, " if unification of Korea is blocked, the Korea may blow up and that may be beginning of vaster cataclysm for Asia and world." (16) During the war, Nehru appealed to both, Trueman and Stalin but he received warm response from Stalin. India made all efforts to restore peace and it was realised by U.S.S.R., that the non-aligned India would be of great help to her as both wanted to oppose imperialism, coloniasm and racism.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. proved to be land mark in the development of Indo-Soviet relations. At the Congress U.S.S.R. decleared that, the peaceful co-existence with different political system was essential. It also said that due to the development of neclear weapons wars were destructive, hence the policy of peace should be pursued. During the Khrushchev Era the relations between India and the Soviet Union improved considerably.

U.S.S.R. provided liberal assistance to India to build her steel plants, and to make India as self-reliant in every field. The U.S.S.R. willingly supported Indian self-reliance efforts, U.S.S.R. thought that this would reduce India's reliance on U.S.A. Following are the important elements of the Indo.Soviet relations.

- 1) Both U.S.S.R. and India sought to oppose forces of imperialism and colonialism.
- 2) There was ideological affinity between the two nations, as both wanted to establish socialist pattern of society.
- 3) The U.S.S.R. assisted India to become self-reliant in the field of industrialisation. Thus Soviet Economic aid was important in the development of Indian Economy.
- 4) The U.S.S.R. increasingly realised that the emergence of non-aligned world was in benefit of Soviet Union and it was a peace keeping factor. Both camps shared many things in common hence U.S.S.R. had no difficulty in having friendship with India. The only strain between the two camps developed at the time of

Sino-Indian conflict but later on U.S.S.R. came openedly in favour of India, which further improved the Indo-Soviet relations.

5) The U.S.S.R.'s co-operation and her economic assistance was helpful in the success of five year economic development planes.

(VI) INDO-PAK RELATIONS DURING NEHRU ERA

On August 14th, 1947 Pakistan became independent, based on Islamic nationalism. After independence Nehru refused to join any military blocs but sought to follow a new independent policy of non-alignment. Since 1947 Nehru called Pakistan to settle the problems between two countries by peaceful means such as, negociatation, and on bilateralism, without resorting to violance.

The most important problem between India and Pakistan was that of Kashmir issue because Pakistan thought that Jammu and Kashmir, a muslim dominated Indian state, belonged to her, but India constantly refused to accept this, because Kashmir Maharaj (King) volunterely joined Indian Union. But Pakistan continued to raise to the Kashmir issue . Thus Kashmir issue became international, and both camps started supporting both India and Pakistan. In the U.N. the Kashmir

issue was used by both camps to serve their vested interests.

Pakistan was not ready to accept 'No war Pact' proposal in 1950. Due to communist victory in China and other Asian countries U.S. decided to give military assistance to Pakistan and to her allies. Then Pakistan entered into various U.S. sponsored military alliances like C.E.N.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O. in order to get U.S. support. The U.S. provided military assistance to Pakistan to prevent downward thrust of communists. These developments created many problems for India, the regional balance was disturbed, and India's security issues questioned by the above move. Thus Pak forced to divert her resources from economic development to defence. Mean time India's close friendship with U.S.S.R. was critically observed by U.K., and America sided with Pakistan and supported her in Kashmir question. In short Pakistan aligned with military bloc and brought cold war to the Asia's door. Hence, due to all these developments Pakistan's relation with India were not healthy during the Nehru period. And Pakistan remained hostile and she was a stumbling bloc in the Nehru's concept of non-alignment. Finally Pakistan's friendship with China further worsened Indo-Pak relations in the later part of Nehru Era, under the American's influence Nehru tried to improve the relations with Pakistan.

Foreign Ministers of both countries tried to solve the Kashmir problem, as India was willing to concede some territory to Pakistan in Kashmir, but Pakistan did not respond to this gesture positively. Pakistan's foreign policy responses were conditioned by India. Pakistan aligned with U.S. and, with U.S. military assistance she tried to seize Kashmir forcefully but she failed to do so.

(VII) INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT AND CHINA'S AGGRESSION OF 1962

The biggest threat to Nehru's policy of non-alignment was posed by China in 1962, when Chinese forces invaded India forcing Nehru to revise some of his ideas. India and China developed healthy relations and both played a significant role in Bandung Conference. But by 1958-59 the border clashes developed between two countries, and the result of clashes was the border war between two countries, in which India was roundly defeated. Apart from the border clashes there occurred difference between two countries such as question of independence and autonomy to Tibet, granting of political asylum to Dalai Lama, difference of attitude on McMahon line and failure of summit meeting between two heads of state. China rejected McMahon and questioned India's control over some areas. In 1958 China constructed a road across Indian territory on north Eastern Ladakh which was well within India's territory. The

immediate solution to the problem was not found so the ultimate result was war.

The war continued for thirty days in which China captured Aksai Chin and a large chunk of Indian land in NEFA, China captured over 90,000 Sq miles territory but decided to withdraw her troupes on NEFA border by making the decision of unilateral cease-fire.

#### THE EFFECT OF WAR ON NON-ALIGNMENT OF INDIA

The war was the shattering blow to the prestige of India abroad, and at the same time it threatened the policy of non-alignment. Following conclusions can be drawn on the effect of non-alignment.

Firstly, China wanted to capture the territory that was strategically important for her. She was interested to check the growing importance of India in the world affairs with her policy of non-alignment

Secondly, China sought to undermine the stature of Nehru's leadership. In short Indo-China war created great problems for Nehru's policy of non-alignment, and for the time being, India was aligned with the Anglo-American camp.



Nehru realised that by keeping the country non-aligned did not free her from dangers of war, as non-aligned countries needed the strength to defend their territory. He also realised that along with the policy of non-alignment, self-reliance of the country was also equally important.

(VIII) NEHRU'S THEORY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Pandit Nehru developed the theory of non-alignment to moderate the intensity of cold war and to provide the third alternative to the newly developed third world countries. He was of the view that the policy of non-alignment ensured national sovereignty and independence of the countries, and it would enable them to pursue the path of economic development. His theory of non-alignment was positive in the sense that he consistently opposed colonialism, imperialism and racialism, and big power dominance. He sought to establish solidarity amongst Afro-Asian countries. He maintained that equi-distance between two super powers was necessary as Anglo-American bloc represented democratic ideology that was dear to him and the Soviet bloc represented socialism which was dear to him. The Chinese aggression threatened the balance of his policy but he quickly corrected his tilt towards U.S. in 1964.

The theory of non-alignment was based on the development of self-reliant and independent economies in the third world countries. Thus, Nehru's ideological contribution to the theory of non-alignment is very significant.

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