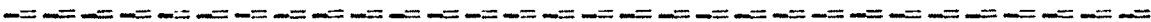


\*\*\*

C O N C L U S I O N

\*\*\*



CONCLUSION

The foreign policy of a country is generally expressed in terms of 'objective and goals'<sup>1</sup>. India and her foreign policy has gained more importance since Karl Haushofer attracted world wide attention because of his -geo-political theory. Emphasising the importance of India's geographical position in the formulation of her foreign policy, Nehru said on March 23rd, 1947 " Geography is a compelling factor and geographically she is so situated as to be the meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South-East Asia"<sup>2</sup>. The fixed facts of geography make the foreign policy of countries uniform in certain ways. Geography .. has certainly played an important role in influencing India's foreign policy. India occupies a dominating position at the head of Indian Ocean. India enjoys a central position on the trade route between Europe and Far-East. The great plain of Northern India between peninsular India and the Himalayan mountains lies the alluvial plan of the Sutlej, the Ganges, Jammu and the Brahmaputra. The plain has had a number of direct and indirect influences on the political geography of the country. The mountains on the North side

-----

1. Refer Columbia University Addresses, Oct. 1949, by Pandit Nehru.
2. Refer report on First Asian Relation Conference, March-April, 1928, 1947, p.23.

*Here is original*  
11.

is a crucial element in making a nation's foreign policy. Also no single nation can afford to build up the naval strength to protect the entire area including India. "It is a significant fact that although large portions of North India were conquered many times by foreigners. India was never ruled by a monarch who did not have his capital in India except when it came to the naval power of the British"<sup>3</sup>. According to V.A.Kamath of Indian Navy, the truth of the saying " He who rules on the sea will shortly rule on the land has as far as India is concerned been borne out by the events of the history"<sup>4</sup>.

*Appendix*

It is not only geography which has influenced India's foreign policy but it is also the mineral wealth which is an important factor in making India's foreign policy. "India's mineral wealth includes water, soil and natural Vegetation. It has big stocks of millions of tons of coals reserves, thousands of square miles of Arable land, Mica eliminats, Managanese and also possess world's largest reservers of high grade iron ore"<sup>5</sup>. Geography plays an important role in

- 
3. K.M.Panikkar, Geographical Factors in Indian History, Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955, p.71.
4. Ibid., p.50.
5. J.A.Dunn, Ores and Minerals in India, Vol.II, No.8, 1947, p.382.

influencing a nations foreign policy. "Geography is much linked with international relations, international politics, international organization and administration and international law"<sup>6</sup>.

Race, Caste, Religion & Cultural aspects of India's

Foreign Policy:

Understanding India's geographical importance, which is certainly connected with other factors like race and religion is also to be assessed as an important factor. To analyse language and culture as part and parcel of geography in understanding India's foreign policy. Any fullscale enquiry into India's foreign policy would lead two range, widely through history to identify the variety of influence which flowed between Indian and neighbours. It is pointed that, if there is any country on earth, which can claim the honour of being, " The cradle of human race, that country assuredly is India"<sup>7</sup>. India was China's teacher in trigonometry, quadratic equation, grammer, politics, arbian nights, animal fables as well as is philosophy"<sup>8</sup>.

" India conquered and dominated China culturally for twenty

-----

6. J.R.V.Press Cott., Political Geography, Chicago Aldin Publishing Company, 1965, p.5.

7. E.B.Haveli, Erean Rule in India.

8. Refer Lin Yuntang, Wisdon of India.

centures without even having to send a single soldier across her border"<sup>9</sup>. This cultural conquest was never imposed by India on her neighbours. " India's internal unity has invitably developed a certain ideology, out look and traditions inspired by nature and reinforced by history"<sup>10</sup>. India has had never before an opportunity to draw together the many cultural strands that from the basis of its unique community. Hence geography further influences the dwellings of the people in India, hence is represented by various languages because of the role played by geography. Language riots have occasionally named the peace loving image of India. " A common language in India could be a powerful basis for national unity but according to the 1951 census there were 844 languages and dialects in the country"<sup>11</sup>. If Pakistan realised the fruitlessness of her effort in regard to her claim on Kashmir and if India behaves in a manner that makes it clear to Pakistan that such efforts, either activity militant or largely in the sphere of venomous propoganda, will not work. There should be considerable stability in

-----

9. Hu.Shih, Ex-Ambassador of China to U.S.A.

10. Chamanal, India Craddle of Cultures, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co.Ltd.,p.42.

11. Robert L.Hardgrave, Jr. "The Riots in Tamil Nadu, Problems & prospects of " India's Language Crists", 'Asian Survey', V.No.81, August,1965, p.403.

country. The Moslems of India have shown adequate spirit of accommodation and the Hindus of India have shown matching sense of responsibility towards them, but Pakistan Press and radio keep disturbing India's religious peace.

Q. 12? ✓  
 India's foreign policy is not only the result of the physical environment but also the product of the traditional values of Indian society and the commitments of the Indian national movement during the freedom struggle.

Non-alignment as a Principle of India's Foreign Policy:

"India was the first nation to have pursued a policy that was new to the very history of international relations i.e. the policy of 'non-alignment'."<sup>12</sup> "Nehru was put in a very difficult situation in defining India's foreign policy. He realised the importance of Gandhian approach to international politics and equally was aware of the international morality, which worked against the moral principles propogated by Mahatma Gandhi"<sup>13</sup>. "Non-alignment as a principle has a religious base, Nehru as the chief architect of India's foreign policy; has been criticised

-----

12. Panch-Sila, The Five bases of conduct, which India consistently preached and attempted to follow in her international relations (Refer The Political of non-alignment, By M.M.Rahaman, Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 1 to 4.

13. Ibid.

"Nehru was much influenced by the Hindu view of the ultimate truth"<sup>14</sup>. Perhaps it would be easier to make such a claim about Gandhiji. " It is well recognised fact that non-alignment is practised successfully by a large number of Afro-Asian nations"<sup>15</sup>. All this points to the growing importance of non-aligned foreign policy which has gained importance not because of the religious influence on a foreign policy, but because of the practicality of the policy. It is worth noting that the policy of non-alignment, as pursued by India and other countries in Asia and Africa has some important characteristics distinguishing it from classical neutrality adhered to by some European States. "India's non-participation in military blocks, Nehru stressed became a definitely positive and dynamic policy and made 'India's name associated with peace' in every part of the world"<sup>16</sup>.

Non-alignment is a policy based on the principle of balance of power and its main objective is the protection of the security of the nation. Every country's foreign policy, first of all is concerned with its own progress.

-----

14. Fisher Louis- Russia, America & the World, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1962, p.125.

15. Karunakaran K.P.(ed.) On the side of the contest, the study of non-alignment & foreign policies of some non-aligned countries, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1963, p.97.

16. J.Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, p.210.

Similarly Nehru said that, " We cannot perhaps, be friendly always with every country... Naturally you are more friendly with those countries with whom you have closer relations... our friendship with other countries should not bring us inevitably into conflict with some other country"<sup>17</sup>.

Non-alignment with military blocs and friendship with all countries to protect the security of the nation is in reality a policy based on the balance of power principle.

" It was in 1946, that Nehru first came out with his declaration of non-alignment as the basis of India's foreign policy"<sup>18</sup>.

Again in parliament in 1955, Nehru said, ... If you extend the argument, you will see that the only way to avoid conflicts is to accept things more or less as they are ... further by enlarging the area of peace that is of countries which are not aligned to this group or that but which are friendly to both, you reduce the chance of war"<sup>19</sup>.

This statement of Nehru accurately explains the basis of non-alignment as a balance of power policy. "Nehru did not always succeed in achieving a rational synthesis between

-----

17. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, Selected speeches, September, 1946, April 1961. Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, p.45.

18. C.A.D., Vol.II, Part II, November 28, 1949, pp.10-11.

19. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy: Selected speeches, Sept. 1946, April 61, Pub. Division & Broadcasting, Govt. of India, New Delhi, I.n.12, p.67.



idealism and realism in the detailed implementation of his foreign policy"<sup>20</sup>. But this synthesis was largely achieved in the broad policy of non-alignment which constituted the very foundation of his foreign policy. The 'Korean Crisis' only gave him the first opportunity to test his policy and its assumptions. The 'Korean Crisis' gave a chance to Nehru to ~~proof~~ what he meant of non-alignment. Non-alignment was an attempt to replace this balance by a complex balance of power in which as many of the major states or groups of states as possible could take part.

" The greatest significance of non-alignment perhaps lies in the fact that it announced the desire of the Asian and African states to enter the balance of power struggle in their own right"<sup>21</sup>.

#### Continuity & Change in India's Foreign Policy:

India Pakistan relations occupy a central place in India's foreign policy. India the conditioning of a very long past is a powerful factor in the formulation her foreign policy. More powerful perhaps than in most other countries.

-----

20. J.Bandyopadhyaya, The Making of India's Foreign Policy, Bombay, 1970, pp.227-40. ?

21. Rahaman M.M., The Politics of Non-alignment, Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, pp.49-81.

The partition of India has been also a major factor in influencing India's foreign policy and its outlook. In a speech of the Indian Council of World Affairs, in March, 1949, Nehru said... " In regard to Pakistan the position has been a very peculiar one... There is not at all in my mind that it is inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations. Sometime or other in the future"<sup>22</sup>. Nehru has been clear in his approach. The major international compulsion which Indian policy towards Pakistan had to take note of was not only that Pakistan was under written by powerful international forces but also that it was perhaps historically conceived to perform vital international role- curbing and limiting the new nations of 350 millions which had emerged on the world scene in August, 1947.

Immediate post partition problems apart the foreign policy of India was largely directed towards gaining the maximum possible independence of action without losing all friendship and sympathy in the West. Learning to live with a hostile Pakistan was an essential condition for the pursuit of this two fold goal. By giving up the formal goal (which found expression in non-alignment). India might have bargained

-----

22. Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches, September, 1946, May, 1949, Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, Edn. 2. pp. 252-253.

with the West to get the problem of Pakistan out of the way. In late 1965, Krishna Menon who had first knowledge in most of these matters said, " we have to recognise that our defence against Pakistan is not only against her armies but against pressures from her allies"<sup>23</sup>.

Briefly the crisis of identify the status conflict and conflict of images which lay at the root of the Indo-Pakistan conflict are too deeprooted to be eliminated by simple gestures of friendship or by concessions in the settlement of disputes.

"The problem which both India and Pakistan had to face immediately after partition was the struggle for Kashmir constituted major factor in India-Pakistan relations"<sup>24</sup>.

Nehru was much influenced by the 'Kashmir issue', as he was very causious in his approach. Though India adopted a very sound foreign policy, a best alternative, still, "India and Pakistan have become factors in their respective foreign policies which is worth examining"<sup>25</sup>.

-----  
23. Seminar, New Delhi, November, 1965.

24. Sisir Gupta, Kashmir- A Study in India Pakistan Relations, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1967, pp.147-155.

25. M.S.Rajan " India & Pakistan as factors in each other's Foreign Policy and Relations", International Studies, Bombay, Vol.3, p.360.

India vis-vis Pakistan as a Factor in Foreign Policy:

" India and Pakistan as a factors in each others foreign policy"<sup>26</sup>. Relations with India was the most important factor in Pakistan's foreign policy. It is equally true to say that, relations with Pakistan which was suigener is in India's foreign relations was also one but not the most important of the factors in her foreign policy too. The Pakistan Government resorted to building up her military strength by foreign aid, particularly American. It led Pakistan to the slippery slope of the Western Camp. The divergent role of the two countries was also reflected in their roles in other international forums especially in the United Nations, outside the United Nations, perhaps the most important single world problem in regard to which they were in the opposite camps was in the respective attitudes to the 'Suez Question'. "India is always considered by Pakistan as a factor in shaping her foreign policy and when this is a case, India also has to considered Pakistan as a factor in shaping her foreign policy"<sup>27</sup>.

-----

26. India & Pakistan were equally factors in each other's in internal policies too, as noted at different places in the course of the present chapter. For a pointed reference to the impact of Kashmir dispute on each others internal politics, see, A.A. Rosenthal "Kashmir's Far-reaching Impact", Foreign Policy Bullentin, 1st March, 1953, p.94.

27. Dawn, 16th April, 1956.

Both because of the more powerful geo-political position and her general policy of friendship and good will for all nations, Pakistan was a far less important factor in India's foreign policy and relations"<sup>28</sup>. "India as the most powerful of the non-aligned nations could exercise her hegemony over Pakistan, of course India's policy of non-alignment had nothing to do with relations with Pakistan as such. It was a general policy meant to sustain and promote international peace and security. When therefore, India strongly opposed the granting of U.S.military aid to Pakistan or the creation of the SEATO and Baghdad pact"<sup>29</sup>.

Alternatively, both Pakistani and Western sources have used the curious argument that being the bigger country; India could afford to show some considerations to her smaller neighbour (Pakistan), "but that India had not only not done so on any issue, but had on the other hand shown positive hostility"<sup>30</sup>. Perhaps relations with

---

28. For a contrary view - see A.M.Rosenthal ( a former New York Time) correspondent in India-Kashmir's for reaching impact, Foreign Policy Report, Ist March, 1957, p.93.

29. See e.g. Aslam Siddigi, U.S.Military Aid to Pakistan, Horizon, 12, 1959, pp.45-52 and M.A.Chaudhari, Pakistan India & the United States, Ibid.,6,1953, pp. 171-9, The Time, 6th June,1953.

30. G.W.Choudhary, The Foreign Policy of Pakistan,p.10.

Pakistan was also if not a minor but a factor in India's foreign relations with other Asian countries, particularly India's immediate neighbours. "The desire not to give the slightest impression to the smaller neighbouring countries of India trying to lead or dominate these countries was possibly due also to fear of Pakistan exploiting any such feeling for damaging the good will and friendly feelings subsisting between India and those other countries"<sup>31</sup>.

In fact that one country is a factor in another's foreign policy need not necessarily be a good or a bad thing in itself. Whether it is good or a bad depends upon the nature of their relations. "Pakistan is a member of the Western bloc, while India has remained non-aligned. India wholly stands for solidarity among the Asian; African countries." Pakistan is more inclined towards solidarity among the Muslim countries only, through Pakistan's earlier Pan-Islamic Zeal is now greatly reduced"<sup>32</sup>. All this point as how respective countries have become a factor in itself in respective foreign policies. "Pakistan also expected that their policy of military alignment would encourage the United State to cut off economic aid to India and to pressurise India for a solution of the 'Kashmir' to the entire satisfaction of Pakistan"<sup>33</sup>.

---

31. See the reply of the Dy. Minister for External Affairs, H.P. (House of People), 17th December, 1955, pt. i. Vol. VII, No. 21, Cols. 1141-2.

32. But see, Fundamentals of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 9, 1956, pp. 43-50.

33. See Editorials of Dawn, 7th June, 1954 & 18th Aug. 1954.

"India's dependence on Soviet support on the Kashmir issue and the consequent and dilution of non-alignment were to some extent revealed in the case of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956"<sup>34</sup>.

The policy of fundamentals to specific policy, one can not fail to be struck by the affinity between India and Pakistan as regards their continual influencing roles.

---

34. M.S.Rajan, 'India & Pakistan as factors in each others Foreign Policy & Relations', International studies, Bombay, Vol.3, p.360.