

out of 489 Lok Sabha seats. In the State Assemblies, it won 2,246 out of 3,288 seats or 68.4% of all seats. The Socialist Party and Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party together could win a bare 21 seats in the Lok Sabha. The Communist Party of India (CPI) emerged as the second largest group in the Lok Sabha besides winning a sizable number of seats in Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad. The three communal parties-the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh and the Ram Rajya Parishad-won only 10 Lok Sabha seats and 6% of the votes cast. The Jan Sangh by itself won 16 seats in the centre and 106 in the states. The Congress won a majority in 22 out of 26 states and in the remaining four it was the largest party in the Assembly.

Importance

The First General Election was a great leap in the history of the nascent parliamentary democracy in India. It was an exceptional experiment in electoral politics. The plus points of the election were 1) The election was held on the basis of adult suffrage in the vast country with mostly illiterate population. It was "a pure act of faith on Nehru's part; and he was vindicated by the result".⁴ 2) The election heightened the political and electoral consciousness of the parties and the people; 3) The electioneering of the Congress had further strengthened the feeling of kinship between its leadership and the masses; 4) The election had given the Congress a massive mandate to ensure unity, stability, integrity, secularism and representative democracy of the country; 5) The election and the Congress victory was "a personal referendum in Nehru's favour"⁵ and 6) These elections were "the biggest experiment in democracy anywhere in the world"⁶.

The minus points of the First General Election were: 1) The squabbles among Congress leaders about selection of candidates; 2) Many of the candidates rejected by the Congress and other parties contested the election as independents; 3) All the parties suffered from factionalism; 4) The opposition parties when comparatively weak, ill-organised and fragmented; 5) The big landlords, propertied people and the Princes wielded disproportionate influence in some parts of the country; and 6) The election demonstrated that India had, what Morris-Jones called, a party system characterized by "dominance coexisting with competition but without a trace of alternation".⁷ When all is said and done, the First General Election was undoubtedly a very unique experiment in functioning democracy.

The first general election in the free India was liberally a leap in the dark. For the first time the rural and illiterate masses were involved in a massive

10. LAST YEARS OF NEHRU: 1960-1964

*The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.*

- Robert Frost.

10.1 Fulfillment and Frustration

The first thirteen years after India's Independence were a period of challenges, responses and achievements. It was an Age of Fulfillment. Partition and post-partition refugee rehabilitation; integration of princely states; adoption of the constitution; linguistic reorganization of states; planning for economic development; community development programme and Panchayat Raj; General Elections of 1952 and 1957; development of education; science and technology; formulation of foreign policy on the basis of Non Alignment and Panchasheel were the memorable milestones in the history of post-Independence India. When compared to that, the period from 1960 to 1964 may be described as Time of Troubles and Frustration.

10.2 India-China War, 1962

10.2.1 Chou En Lai's Visit, April 1960

In response to Nehru's invitation, Chinese Premier Chou -en-Lai visited India for the second time in April 1960. During his six-day stay in India Chou held discussions with Nehru on the questions of boundary between the two countries. A serious attempt to settle the bilateral border issue was made. The discussion revealed that wide gap existed between the respective positions adopted by China and India and the differences appeared to be irreconcilable. As a result, the Nehru-Chou talks failed.

10.2.2 Indo-Sino Relations

India and China are the two Trans-Himalayan Asian giants. Both the countries have centuries old historical and cultural links. India became independent in 1947 and China in 1949. Though India accorded recognition to the People's Republic of China, the latter regarded the former as an appendage of British imperialism. Soon after independence, China embarked on its expansionist endeavour. In October 1950 China established its military control

over Tibet, in violation of the country's autonomy. India was dismayed because it had guaranteed Tibetan autonomy under an existing convention. Instead of condemning the blatant Chinese invasion of Tibet, India considered the Chinese action as an internal matter. Tibetan autonomy was unceremoniously and "totally disregarded".¹ With the annexation of Tibet, China shared India's longest land frontier. "Contiguity was not conducive to harmony".² Chinese invasion of Tibet was a prelude to the invasion of India.

10.2.3 Causes of the War

The following are the important causes of the India-China war of 1962:

1) Differences over maps

In 1954, China published some maps which showed large chunk of Indian territories as Chinese. When the Chinese Premier Chou came in India in October 1954, Nehru brought this map matter to the attention of the visitor who assured to revise the 'old maps'. But the Chinese never revised the maps.

2) Border Dispute

Both India and China disputed the long traditional boundary of 4,250kms. India argued that this territory as shown on Indian maps was clear, authentic and precise, conformed to unchanging natural features, had support in tradition and custom as well as in the exercise of administrative jurisdiction. But the Chinese countered Indian contention on three grounds: 1) The entire Sino-Indian boundary had never been formally delimited. 2) The boundary line as pointed out by the Chinese side alone correctly reflected the true traditional border, and 3) There existed a line upto which each side exercised virtual control which differed from the customary line. The differences over the border dispute remained unreconciled.

3) Rejection of Mac Mahon Line

The Mac Mahon Line of the Indian boundary was drawn by the British cartographers. The official note drafted by Mac Mahon demarcated the boundary between Indian and Tibet. But China played the 'game of mapmanship, cleverly and refused to recognize the Mac Mahon Line as it was arbitrarily drawn during the colonial period. China was making historical claims of having had effective jurisdiction over areas of Ladakh, the central sections of the Indo-Tibetan border, and Arunachal Pradesh. China's refusal to accept the Mac Mahon Line posed a serious threat to India's Northern borders with China.

4) Chinese Invasion of Tibet

China invaded Tibet, under the pretext of suppressing a revolt in the Kampa region and the subsequent integration of Tibet with China, was a flagrant violation of the land of Dalai Lama, which was guaranteed by India. India not only acquiesced with the Chinese position in Tibet but also concluded the Panch Sheel Agreement with the invader in 1954. This had legitimized the Chinese illegal occupation of Tibet besides encouraging it in hegemonic adventurism.

5) Political Asylum to Dalai Lama

Consequent on the Chinese invasion of Tibet, Dalai Lama with upto 100,000 Tibetans fled into India and sought political asylum in 1950. The Government of India granted political asylum to them. Beijing was annoyed. The infuriated China accused India for giving asylum to Tibetan refugees, instigating rebellion in Tibet, and allowing a Tibetan government in exile. Peking condemned India for harbouring the Dalai Lama and his followers.

6) China's Compulsions

China intruded into Indian territory because of its own political and diplomatic compulsions. China was jealous of India's growing influence among the non-aligned nations. China could not get a U.N. seat nor could it establish its leadership of Afro-Asia. China was not sure of social support on the nuclear issue. China felt isolated. By humiliating India, "it wanted to show that her policy of peace and non-alignment was not feasible".³ If India gave up its policy of peace under pressure, then China could easily replace India and lead the countries of Asia and Africa.

7. Chinese Intrusions

The Chinese troops started intruding into Indian territory and setting up camps as early as June 1955. In April 1956, they entered the Nilang area of Uttar Pradesh. The Chinese started building the Sinkiang-Tibet road that crossed the eastern Ladakh. By 1957, Chinese intrusions into Indian territory had become a regular feature. In September 1958 a detachment of Chinese troops crossed into Lohit division of NEFA. They had already laid the Aksai Chin road which crossed into the Indian territory. In 1959, there were a series of border incidents. When the Chinese ambushed a party of 19 Indians in Ladakh and killed 16 of them (6 Oct. 1959) there was strong anti-China feelings in India. All these intrusions culminated in the invasion in 1962. To attribute the Chinese invasion of India to a single cause of 'China's own compulsion' will be an exercise in self defensive justification and rationalization.

10.2.4 Course of the War

Chinese intrusions were intensified at the beginning of 1962. In January the Chinese crossed into NEFA, in June entered into Ladakh and in July they encircled the Galwan Valley. On 8 September, they intruded further into NEFA. They kept on exchanging fire with Indian troops. In the early hours of 20 October 1962, the Chinese troops mounted a massive attack on both the eastern and western sectors. On 22 October a state of emergency was imposed in India and Nehru frantically appealed to J.F.Kennedy, President of the U.S. for military hardware. In the meantime, Indian troops were pushed back and routed in NEFA. When the Chinese troops were in a position to threaten the plains of Assam, China called a unilateral ceasefire on 21 November and decided to withdraw 20kms north of the Mac Mohan Line, in the eastern sector and to the 'line of actual control' in the other sectors. The war was over.

10.2.5 Impact of the War

The India- China war of 1962 had a devastating impact on India: 1) India suffered a humiliating defeat. Indian troops surrendered without a fight. India was utterly unprepared for the turn of military events. Nehru never expected such a massive Chinese attack. When the Chinese troops crossed the McMahon line in September 1962 Nehru was in Paris and dismissed the intrusions as "a number of petty conflicts between patrols."⁵ 2) It delivered a big blow not only to Indo-Sino relations but also to India's prestige at international level. 3) The defeat lowered India's position, status and standing in the estimation of Afro Asian nations. 4) It encouraged Pakistan to think in terms of military solution of Kashmir. 5) Nehru's pet policy of non-alignment received a severe set back. Nehru, the high priest of non-alignment who hitherto shunned 'the great Satan' in Washington, "found himself shamefacedly composing a shopping list for president Kennedy."⁶ 6) The war had exposed the military weakness of the Indian army and driven home the dire need for modernizing the armed forces. 7) There was a severe set-back to the Indian plans for economic development, since India was forced to increase defence spendings. 8) The Defence minister Krishna Menon's credibility, honesty and integrity came under clouds. "As Defence Minister, his utterances had created doubts whether he meant determined preparedness against China."⁷ He also alienated the bulk of the Congress Party. There was a general lack of confidence in him. In 31 October 1962, Nehru bowed to pressure and relieved Menon of the defence portfolio. 9) The emboldened opposition blocked a constitutional amendment aimed at strengthening land ceiling legislation. 9) The Congress lost three Parliamentary

by-election in succession. 10) In August 1963 Nehru faced the first ever no confidence motion of his life.

10.3 Kamaraj Plan, 1963

The Chinese aggression not only debilitated Nehru physically as well as psychologically but also weakened his control over the Congress party. The party appeared to be beyond repair and reconstruction. Internal infightings, longing for power, self and patronage, loosing touch with the mass, ineffective organization lack of leadership, creeping corruption, growing criticism by other parties in the country, successive defeats in Lok Sabha by-elections in 1963, among others, were reasons responsible for the decline of the Congress. Nehru decided to save the party from downfall. It was at that time, the American Journalist Welles Hagen published his sensational book, *After Nehru Who?*⁸ The book provoked a storm of controversy in India.

In his search for a solution to stem the tide of growing rot in the Congress and to revitalize the moribund party, Nehru stumbled on the Kamaraj Plan. K.Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras State, discussed the plan with Nehru in early August 1963. Then they broached the subject with the Congress President D.Sanjivaya. Simply put, the plan was that senior congressmen-both cabinet ministers and chief ministers- would resign their positions in order to take up full - time organizational work for the party. The Kamaraj Plan was at first mooted at the Congress Working Committee (CWC) and then the CWC resolution on the subject was discussed at the All India Congress Committee (AICC) on 10 August 1963 and approved.

Consequent on the AICC Resolution, the Kamaraj Plan was implemented on 24 August 1963. The plan was widely acclaimed. All the cabinet ministers and chief ministers resigned their posts. Nehru chose six cabinet ministers - Morarji Desai, Jagjeevan Ram, Lal Bahadur Shastri, S.K.Patil, B.Gopala Reddy and K.L.Srimali - and six Chief Ministers - K.Kamaraj (Madras), Biju Patnaik (Orissa), Binodanand Jha (Bihar), C.B.Gupta (U.P), B.A.Mandloi (M.P) and Bakshi Gulam Muhammad (Kashmir) - to resign.

The Kamaraj Plan was a drastic step. It created lot of bitterness and heart-burning. None of those who resigned, except K.Kamaraj, the author of the plan, was happy about their resignations. S.K.Patil who seconded the motion moved by Kamaraj, later accused Nehru of bias. Desai maintained that the so-called Kamaraj Plan was nothing but Nehru's plot to install Indira Gandhi as his successor.

Its immediate effect was to ease out 'less desirable' ministers, like Desai, who were not enthusiastic about the socialistic strategy pursued by Nehru. However, the Kamaraj Plan received a setback because of the delay in Kamaraj taking charge of Congress Presidentship, the retired leaders had not been allotted any party work, and Nehru's illness. Shastri, was brought back to the government. When Shastri became Prime Minister he took back S.K. Patil as the minister and invited Desai to join his cabinet. Finally, the plan withered in wilderness.

10.4 Crusade Against Corruption

Throughout his public career, Nehru insisted on political, governmental and administrative probity, transparency and accountability. But by the 1950s, several cases of corruption involving Cabinet Ministers, a Chief Minister and bureaucrats. Nehru felt the need for "bolder and more systematic efforts to cleanse his government and administration of corruption".¹⁰ The Jeep contract scandal against Krishnan Menon, then India's High Commissioner in London (1947) came as a bolt from the blue.¹¹

The Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947, sought to strengthen the anti-corruption mechanism. The Committee on Prevention of Corruption with K.Santhanam, M.P., as its chairman, popularly known as Santhanam Committee, examined different dimensions of corruption and made far-reaching recommendations (1964).¹² As recommended by the Santhanam Committee, a Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) was established to supervise and coordinate all vigilance work through the machinery of the Central Government. The special police establishment was reorganized and named as Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), to assist the CVC, prevent corruption and maintain integrity in administration. Nehru's historic achievements made him "the unmatched hero of the Indian people".¹³

10.5 Bhubaneshwar Congress, 1964

On 3-4 November 1963, the AICC met at Jaipur under the presidentship of D.Sanjivayya and considered the implementation of the Kamaraj Plan. Several measures were suggested to revitalize the Congress organization. Another plan on 'Democracy and Socialism' containing the proposal for socialistic pattern of society was also adopted. A vision statement made in the session envisaged: "... Where in poverty, disease and ignorance shall be eliminated, wherein property and privilege in any form occupy a strictly limited place, wherein all citizens have equal opportunities and wherein ethical and spiritual values contribute to the enrichment of the individual and the community life".¹⁴

The 68th session of the Congress was held on 9-10 January 1964 at Bhubaneshwar, Orissa under the presidentship of K.Kamaraj. "Nehru could not attend the session due to his ill health. The proceedings of the Congress were carried on and conducted in the shadow of concern and anxiety about Nehru's health. The Congress goal was redefined. The Socialist state was to be based on democracy and quick steps were to be taken towards socialism. "The Bhubaneshwar session of the Congress registered the biggest changes in the Congress programme since Avadi".¹⁵

10.6 The Syndicate

After the Bhubaneshwar Congress session, there was growing concern about Nehru's health and a general feeling that he might not continue as Prime Minister for long. Therefore, the question of succession was discussed by senior congressmen. A group of 6 leading congressmen – K.Kamaraj, K.Nijalingappa, S.K.Patil, Atulya Ghosh, Sanjeeva Reddy and C.B.Gupta – met at Tirupati in the summer of 1963, discussed the prevailing situation and decided to form themselves into a group so that they could guide the Congress more effectively. "The idea was to take charge of the Congress organization, so that when the time came for the next Prime Minister to be chosen, they would have decisive voice in the matter. This group came to be called as the "Syndicate".¹⁶ The Syndicate was a self appointed steering committee of the Congress. This historic meeting of what later came to be called the Syndicate, possibly gave a pivotal turn to the course of history of the Congress and brought the Prime Ministership of India to Shastri.¹⁷

10.7 The Light was Out

The Chinese unprovoked attack of 1962 was an outright attack on Nehru's dreams, hopes and aspirations. He was tired and wanted to retire. But he was persuaded to pursue his path of socialistic pattern of society. On 29 August 1962, Nehru expressed his satisfaction that the Kamaraj Plan had proved that the Congress had no lust for power. Despite the Chinese betrayal and deteriorating health Nehru kept himself busy rallying the nation to realize his cherished goal of Democratic Socialism. On 14 November 1963, the nation celebrated his 74th birth day. Five days later (19 November), the union cabinet was reshuffled. On 1 December Nehru inaugurated the new state of Nagaland. On 26 December, addressing a public meeting, he talked about the take-off stage of the next five year plan.

On 7 January 1964, Nehru developed high blood pressure and was advised rest. Nehru participated in the celebrations of the Republic Day (26 Jan) and sat through for three hours till the parade was over. He involved himself in the task of nation building till he was forced to 'retreat' to Dehra Dun on 23 May for a three-day rest. On 26 May he returned to Delhi. On 27 May 1964, Nehru woke up, felt uneasy, read a book and after a brief bed rest, breathed his last. The nation was grief stricken, C.Subramanian, the Central Minister, informed the Parliament: "The Prime Minister is no more. The light is out".¹⁸ In a fitting tribute to the departed leader, Dr.S.Radhakrishnan observed "Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the greatest figures of our generation. As a fighter for freedom he was illustrious, as a maker of modern India his services were unparalleled... An epoch in our country's history has come to a close".¹⁹

10.8 Assessment

India's ageing Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was confronted with creeping challenges. Corruption, communalism, casteism, factionalism, regionalism and linguism reared their ugly heads. The undemocratic dismissal of the duly elected government of Kerala (1959), and the violent liberation of Goa (1961) had already caused a '*crises of conscience*' in him.²⁰ The convening of the *Conference of National Integration* in September, 1961 was a desperate attempt to stem the tide of centrifugal tendencies. The over-all victory of the Congress in third general election was of no avail. The shocking defeat of India in the unprovoked *War with China* (1962) undermined his image. The *Kamaraj Plan* (1963), and the *Bhubaneshwar Congress* (1964) were last minute attempts to salvage the sinking image of India. The emergence of *Syndicate* was a symptom rather than a remedy to the Congress malady. Nevertheless, Nehru's vision, mission and transmission of ideals continued to guide his successors. Though the light was out with the death of Nehru, the flame of secularism, democratic socialism and non-alignment still glows and glitters.

References

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2. Joy Keay, *A History of India*, New Delhi, 2000, p.516.
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4. In Sep.1962, whilst Nehru and Indira Gandhi were in Europe, Chinese troops began to cross the British established Sino-Indian border – the Mc Mohan line in the Northeast Frontier Agency.
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11. NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

Intellectuals analyse the operations of international systems; statesmen build them.

- Henry Kissinger.

11.1 Shaping of Foreign Policy

Meaning

A nation's foreign policy may be defined as the country's concerted efforts to promote its shared objectives through diplomacy. Formulation of national goals and attempts to achieve them through diplomatic channels are the twin basics of foreign policy. Foreign policy goes beyond the country's borders and establishes contacts with other countries. In other words, if foreign policy is the end, diplomacy is the means to achieve it. In short, foreign policy is the bed-rock of international relations based on enlightened national interests.

11.2 Determinants

India's foreign policy is determined by a number of factors. It is the interplay of several complex factors intimately intertwined with India's geography, history, culture and politics as well as the prevailing world order. For convenience sake, these determinants are classified into internal or domestic and external or foreign.

11.2.1 Internal Determinants

1. Geophysical

Geophysical factors play a significant role in shaping India's foreign policy. For instance, defending the Himalayas came to determine India's security and defence needs as well as her relations with neighbouring countries. Similarly, India needs strong, sophisticated and modernized navy to defend her 3,500km coastal boundary. India's opposition to super powers' naval bases in the Indian Ocean is determined by her security needs. India's strategic location has placed it within easy reach of many sensitive areas including Pakistan, China, SE Asia, West and East Africa. Land and sea frontiers with India's next door neighbours have been important geographical determinants of India's foreign policy.

2. History and Culture

India's hoary, rich and varied historical and cultural experience has been a conditioning determinant of her foreign policy. For instance, India cannot jump out of her skin of pre-colonial, colonial and the country's struggle for freedom legacies. The historical links with the British was responsible for India remaining in the Common Wealth of Nations. Several elements of post independence foreign policy could be traced to Indian National Movement. Likewise, India's cultural values such as peaceful co-existence, golden mean, mutual respect, means justifying ends, tolerance, neutrality, righteous indignation are reflected in India's foreign policy.

3. Economy

The validity, acceptability and credibility of India's foreign policy largely depends on her economic strength. A weak nation can never have an effective foreign policy. One reason why Nehru deliberately kept India out of cold war was his desire to concentrate upon the pressing problems of economic development and to secure technical assistance from super powers. By following the path of non-alignment India was able to get much needed assistance from the U.S.S.R, the U.S. and the European countries. Economically strong India can play a more influential role in international relations.

4. Political Reality

Practical politics determine the nature, content and direction of the country's foreign policy. Since Nehru Government was safe, stable and strong for a continuous period of seventeen years, it was able to shape and pursue India's foreign policy on proper directions. Initially, Nehru found it difficult to follow an independent policy compatible with the nation's interests. Then he realized that India's views on world affairs were to some extent a continuation of the British foreign policy; to some extent a reaction against it; and for the rest they consisted of benevolent intensions.¹

5. Personality

Foreign policy of a nation is the handi work of her leaders, statesmen and diplomats. Nehru's early experience abroad, his world view, broad understanding, rational perception, personal contacts with leaders of other countries enabled and equipped him to formulate India's foreign policy which was followed by his successors with minor modifications, 'N-factor' is said to be responsible for the success of India's foreign policy.

11.2.2 External Determinants

1. Super Powers

When India attained independence, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were the super powers of the world, confronting each other through security arrangements and military pacts. They were vying with each other to attract the newly emerged nations like India to their respective power blocks. India wisely chose to steer clear of the two mutually antagonistic super power centres. By following a dependent foreign policy India had "nothing to gain but everything to lose by falling for the temptation of joining the military blocks of the big powers".²

2. International Economic System

No country can be absolutely self sufficient in her economic needs and requirements. Foreign trade and forex are the barometers to test the country's economy. Critical inputs of development flow through exports and imports. A developing country like India had to depend on international monetary institutions like World Bank, IMF and other developed countries to meet her developmental inputs. But these institutions and countries seek to extend their economic neo-colonialism through subtle strings and conditionalities. To fight the forces of neo-colonialism was, therefore, a major determinant of Nehru's foreign policy.

3. International Issues

India had to adjust itself to the constraints and compulsions of changing equations among nations in international relations. International issues like cold-war, defence pacts, power blocks, military alliances, proliferation of conventional and non-conventional nuclear weapons, military aid to countries etc were taken into consideration when the country's foreign policy was formulated.

Both the internal and external determinants are inter-related and inter-dependent. They act, react and interact to national and international requirements, demands and contingencies. All these determinants make or mar a nation's foreign policy. Therefore, the success or failure of India's foreign policy can be assessed only after evaluating the cumulative impact of these determinants.

11.3 Policy of Non-Alignment

11.3.1 Ideals and Principles

Nehru's foreign policy was based on the time tested Indian values like peace, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-violence, good neighbourliness as against domination, aggression, expansionism, violence and power politics. The five principles enunciated by Lord Budha formed the basis of Panch Sheel. The ideals cherished by leaders of India's freedom struggle had their impact on the country's foreign policy. The underlying principles are: 1) Foreign policy based on national objectives and interests; 2) Non-alignment; Panch Sheel; 3) Opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid; 4) Solidarity with third-world countries; 5) Friendly relations with neighbouring nations; 6) Support to disarmament; 7) Peaceful nuclear policy; 8) Purity of means; and 9) Support to U.N.O. and world peace.

11.3.2 Meaning and Nature

Non-alignment simply means keeping out of military pacts or power blocks or cold war. Nehru's concept of Non-alignment goes beyond this restricted meaning of the term. It is neither neutralism nor isolationism but assertion of India's independence of outlook and approach to international relations; formulating and practicing of its own foreign policy. Non-alignment has both negative and positive aspects; negatively, it meant the rejection of military alliances; positively it connoted taking decisions on international problems on merit. "Non-alignment, by definition, means the absence of tilt". It also meant freedom to commend or condemn any event of international importance.³

The essential elements of non-alignment were: 1) independent foreign policy; 2) opposition to colonialism of any kind; 3) rejection of bilateral military alliance with any super power; 4) non-membership of power blocks; and 5) not permitting military base on the territory of the state. So, non-alignment was an important aspect of India's foreign policy. It was "a policy, not an immutable principle, and it was only one aspect of policy, not the whole of it".⁴ It was a cardinal principle, the corner-stone of India's foreign policy. In short, "keep above from power alignments and seek friendly cooperation will all"⁵ was the essence of Nehru's Non-alignment.

11.3.3 Working of Non-Alignment

India's freedom coincided with the break down of war-time alliances between the USA and the U.S.S.R. Europe had been divided into two distinct

power blocks. Western Europe was under the domination of America and Eastern Europe under the control of Russia. Chinese revolution had altered the relationship of forces on a global scale. Korea and Indo-China became the battle ground for cold war. In such a situation the newly independent India was literally on the cross roads. Nehru's Government decided to take the new road of Non-alignment. The history of Non-alignment during the Nehru Era may be divided into three phases.

1. First Phase : 1947-1950

The policy of non-alignment originated in the realization that the struggle against colonial exploitation did not come to a close with the formal withdrawal of alien powers. Infact, the policy of non alignment is a continuation of the struggle of the colonial world against imperialism. The policy of non-alignment as a basic principle of Indian foreign policy was formulated in the initial years of independence. Nehru firmly rejected UNO's suggestion of a defence pact between India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan lest it would be an extension of Truman Doctrine to South East Asia.

During this formative period, India maintained strict neutrality and at the same time never hesitated to openly criticize the forces of western imperialism, in Asia and Africa, boldly accorded recognition to communist China; condemned American attempt to contain communism in Korea, and Indo-China; recognized West Germany instead of East Germany and declared North Korea as the aggressor. Thus, India had demonstrated that it could pursue an independent foreign policy based on non-alignment. It was a period of Indian neutrality in Cold-War.

2. Second Phase: 1950-1957

In the next seven years India conceptualized and codified its policy of Non-alignment. It also enlarged and operationalised this policy during this period. Nehru endeavoured to demonstrate that India was not pro-West and dispel the suspicion of the Soviet Union about the credentials and credibility of India. The demise of Stalin in 1953 led to the liberalization of the Soviet foreign policy. India's stand in the Korean War and Indo-China conflict, and her recognition of China convinced Russia about the conviction of India to be independent and non aligned.

3. Third Phase: 1957-1964

Indian policy of Non-alignment faced new challenges during this period. Foods crisis of 1957, increasing influence of native communists, want of foreign

exchange and the threatened failure of the Five Year Plan and India-China border dispute placed India in a tight corner. The validity of the policy of Non-alignment was questioned. When the Chinese aggression took place in 1962, USSR and a number of non-aligned countries did not extend timely support to India. But Britain and America came forward to help India. There was demand for abandoning the policy of non alignment. But Nehru refused to abandon his policy at the time of grave crisis. He was amply vindicated when in 1963 Russia criticized Chinese aggression of India and accused her of attempting to drive India into Western Camp. By mid-sixties both the super powers started accepting the relevance of India's policy of non-alignment. There was, of course, a severe set back to Nerhu's policy of non-alignment but it was not a fatal blow to its practice during the third phase.

Estimate

With great foresight Nehru conceptualized, formalized and operationalised the policy of Non-alignment. He consistently and persistently pursued that policy with hope, courage and determination. The policy not only helped India to keep away from Cold War and military alliances but also to protect and promote Indian economic interests. By staying away from the power blocks, India was in a commanding position to secure the friendship and co-operation with Afro-Asian nations and to develop ties with countries on both sides of the super-divide to suit her interests. The policy was neither immoral nor expedient or opportunistic. Nehru never hesitated to condemn Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, criticize Soviet intervention in Hungary, disapprove Belgian action in Congo and censure the U.S. support for the 'Bay of Pigs' incident involving Cuba.

True, the policy received a severe jolt during the Chinese invasion of India in 1962, but Nehru withstood that set back with stoic sobriety. He followed the policy of non-alignment with answering loyalty till the end of his life. The bench-mark policy of Non-alignment provided a great deal of consistency, continuity and credibility of India's relations with the international community. "Jawaharlal Nehru stands as the architect of this no mean achievement".⁶

11.4 Panch Sheel, 1954

11.4.1 Meaning

'Panch Sheel' was first enunciated in the Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet in April 1954. The Sanskrit term Panch Sheel means 'five codes of conduct'. It

stands for the following five principles: 1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2) Non-aggression; 3) Non-interference in each others internal affairs; 4) Equality and mutual benefit; and 5) Peaceful co-existence.

11.4.2 Guiding Star

Panch Sheel was formulated for conducting healthy relations among nations. It was a natural extension of India's policy of Non-alignment. Infact, it was a corrolary to and codification of that policy and a guiding star for international relations. Non-alignment along with Panch Sheel formed the sheet – anchor of India's foreign policy. Panch Sheel caught the attention of several countries. Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Burma, Laos, Nepal and Combodia were quick to accept it. The Asian Relations Conference held in April 1955 in New Delhi and the first Afro-Asian conference held at Bandung endorsed Panch Sheel. Australia, Austria and Poland came forward to accept it. In 1957, Soviet Premier Khrushchev evinced interest in Panch Sheel.

11.4.3 Estimate

Panch Sheel has been criticized as an idealistic formulation which can work only under ideal conditions; ignores the reality of international relations; an impractical international relations; an apparel of appeasement and so on. India's perception that China would honour Panch Sheel and stick to mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and mutual non-aggression proved to be "clutching at straws after the main opportunity had been deliberately discarded".⁸ It is a combination of "the rhetoric of Wilson and Gladstone with the practices of Disraeli and Theodore Roosevelt... governed by abstract, superior morality".⁹ Nevertheless, the ideology and philosophy behind Panch Sheel will ever remain un-assailable and the reality of international relations reinforce the need and necessity for the same.

11.5 Non-Alignment Movement

11.5.1 Bandung Conference, 1955

1. Objectives

The first Afro-Asian conference was held in April 1955 in the Indonesian capital Bandung, in which 29 nations participated. The objectives of the conference were to 1) promote goodwill and cooperation among the Third World Countries;¹⁰ 2) consider social, economic and cultural problems of the Asian

and African people; 3) view the position of Asia and Africa in the world and the contribution they could make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

2. Importance

President Sukarno of the Indonesian Republic hosted the conference and Nehru, Chou-en-Lai and Nasser of Egypt were some of the dignitaries who actively participated in the conference. Nehru highlighted the relevance and role of Non-alignment in the contemporary world and pointed out that the real strength of the developing countries was in industrial development not for stockpiling weapons of war.

3. Estimate

Bandung conference was a memorable success. It truly represented the emergence of Asia and Africa. *It was at Bandung that the Non-aligned Movement* (NAM) was born. The final document contained the five principles of Panch Sheel. It was "an unprecedented gathering of Asian and African heads of states to mark the birth of non alignment movement."¹¹ The conference "forces the great powers recognize that the weak had power if they could mobilize it".¹² Chou-En Lai announcement on April 23, 1955, at the conference that he was willing to discuss with the U.S. the question of relaxing tension in the Far East, "averted the immediate danger of the U.S – Red China conflict".¹³ The Bandung meet was a qualified success. "The Bandung conference, despite the use of Pakistan as a Trojan horse of the Pentagon, was a limited success."¹⁴

11.6 Relations with Foreign Countries

11.6.1 Indo-US Relations

1. Cold-War Politics

Cold war started when *Harry Truman* succeeded F.R.Roosevelt in 1945 as American President and lasted for nearly 44 years (1945-1990). The ideological antagonism and political alienation between Truman and Joseph Stalin of the USSR divided the world into two diametrically opposite spheres of influence. Nehru was the first among the emerging developing countries to comprehend the sinister implications of joining either of the two '*power blocs*'. He was apprehensive of India becoming subjected to extraneous influences, if India were to take sides in this ideological confrontation. He wanted to cooperate with all countries, without malaise towards none, so that he could concentrate on the enlightened national interests of India. By opposing Cold War compulsions, Nehru not only defended India's capacity to exercise options independently but also safeguarded India's capacity to exercise her options

freely. Nehru's independent foreign policy and his role in shaping the Cold War world was resented by the big powers, particularly the US.

2. Nehru's Neutral Stand

Nehru wanted to maintain cordial relations with the USA without compromising his convictions. He visited the US Capital Washington in 1949 but refused to toe the line of the US in supporting the West in their efforts to steamroller the post-second world order. Truman and his secretary of State Dean Acheson were amazed that India which required American support for her development could refuse to fall in line with US policies. However, Nehru and *Dwight D. Eisenhower*, Truman's successor, outgrew their differences over Cold War and agreed to promote bilateral relations. Particularly, they converged on the importance of supporting '*Atoms for Peace*' programme. Indo-US trade and technical cooperation between the two countries made substantive progress during this period (1954 to 1962).

3. Stumbling Blocks

Indo-US relations received positive impetus when *John .Kennedy*, a known supporter of America's friendship with India, succeeded Eisenhower. Kennedy came to the assistance of India in a big way. The '*operational support*' he extended towards the end of the Sino-Indian War of 1962 was strategically significant.¹⁵ *John K. Galbraith*, America's Ambassador in India, helped in no small measure to better understanding of India's policy and improved relations between the two democratic countries. However, India's anti-cold war stance; its socialist orientation; opposition to military alliances; recognition of Fidel Castro regime in Cuba, among other India's views and stands, stood in the way of cordial relations between the two countries. In short, Indo-US relations during the Nehru Era were "characterized by disappointment on the part of India and suspicious on the part of Washington".¹⁶

11.6.2 Indo-Soviet Relations

1. Stalin Era

For the first six years after India's independence (1947-53), Indo-Soviet relations were anything but congenial and cordial. *Joseph Stalin*, who described India's freedom struggle as 'bourgeoisie national movement', considered independent India as an 'appendage of Britain' and a 'lackey of British imperialism'! He never met the first Indian Ambassador to Soviet Union, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and reluctantly received her successor, Dr.S.Radhakrishnan!!¹⁷ Stalin years were marked by lack of clarity, warped ideology and jaded relations.

2. Post-Stalin Period

The post-Stalin period was a watershed in Indo-Soviet relations. Nehru visited the USSR in 1955 and was received with warmth and friendship. The *Joint Communiqué*, issued at the end of his visit, affirmed faith in Panchsheel, expressed their desire for promoting bilateral development and work in unison to promote world peace. Similarly, the return visit of the Soviet leaders, *Bulganin* and *Nikita Khrushchev*, to India the same year firmed up the relationship between the two countries. As a result, India received large measure of Soviet help and diplomatic support.

3. Decade of Co-operation

During the decade from 1954 to 1964, economic, trade and defence cooperation between India and Soviet Union registered new heights. Soviet aided Public Sector complexes at Bhilai, Barauni, Bokara, Ranchi and Rishikesh punctuated India. In September 1964, Russia came forward to supply MIG fighter planes, missiles, tanks, submarines and infantry weapons. USSR consistently supported India on the Kashmir issue in the UNO. Pakistan's proximity to the US and China was effectively checkmated. 'contentful relations' between the two countries continued unabated. To sum up, Nehru's foreign policy "laid the foundations of the Indo-Soviet equation which served the vital interests of both countries".¹⁸

11.7 Relations with Neighbouring Countries

11.7.1 Indo-China Relations

1. Indian Initiatives

India and China became independent in the middle of the 20th century; the former in 1947 and the latter in 1949; one a democratic nation and the other communist country. Both India and China are rich with the legacy of uninterrupted ancient civilizations, cultural contacts and good neighbourly contacts. Nehru, an ardent admirer of 'that mighty country with a mighty past' China, desired to maintain cordial, cooperative and creative relationship with that new nation. In December, 1949 India accorded full recognition to Communist China. Nehru went a step further and lent strong support to China's admission to the UN Security Council.¹⁹

2. The Tibet Issue

Two important issues had coloured and conditioned the relations between India and China: 1) the Tibet issue; and 2) the Korean conflict. Tibet

was an autonomous region and *Dalai Lama* was its spiritual and temporal leader. On October 1950, China invaded Tibet in violation of its autonomy. In May 1951, China coerced Dalai Lama to sign a 17-point agreement, recognizing Tibet as integral part of China. Dalai Lama escaped from Lasha with his followers and was given asylum in India. In the U.N. India had taken the stand that the Tibetan issue should be peacefully resolved between China and Tibet. China criticized India for interfering in the integral affairs of that country and interpreted the event of granting Dalai Lama asylum in India as encouraging secession in Tibet against China. The relationship between the two countries reached the rockbottom.

3. The Korean Conflict

India consciously chose to be neutral in the Korean War (1950-53). India endorsed the UN Resolution condemning North Korea as the aggressor and even supported the UN intervention for peace-keeping in Korea. But it opposed the decision of UN forces crossing the 38th Parallel in Korea and denounced the action as a dangerous western hostile action. In November 1950, India refused to vote in favour of UN Resolution branding China as an aggressor. Chinese leadership appreciated India's bold and brave role in the Korean conflict. India earned the encomium of the international community for its successful mediatory efforts in diffusing the volatile situation. India's mediatory role in resolving Indo-China conflict (1954) was appreciated by China.

4. Positive Progress

The positive bilateral relations between India and China culminated in Nehru's historic visit to China in 1954. The Joint Statement embodied the Five Principles of Panchsheel. On 29 April 1954, an eight-year agreement between India and China was signed. India gave up the territorial right enjoyed by the British Government of India in Tibet and recognized Tibet as a region of China. In June 1954, Chinese Premier *Chou-En-Lai* visited India amidst rousing reception. Nehru and Chou reaffirmed Panch Sheel in their Joint Communiqué. It was the honey-moon period of Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai. Nehru's second visit to China later in the same year cemented the relationship between the two Asian giants further. The optimistic relationship carried forward at *the Bandung Conference* (Ap.1955). Chou-En-Lai's second visit to India during November-December 1956 reaffirmed the friendly relationship between the two Asian neighbours. China supported India's take over of Goa. Both India and China opposed colonialism, military alliances and western imperialism. However,

several factors and forces culminated in the Sino-India War of 1962; it was indeed a bolt from the blue.

11.7.2 Indo-Pakistan Relations

1. Siamese Twins

India and Pakistan were born in blood-shed and bred with hostility. Both were Siamese twins separated by surgical partition. Partition opened the Pandora's Box! With the death of Jinnah in 1948 and the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1952, Indo-Pakistan relations turned for worse. Partition, transfer of population, problem of minorities, issue of compensation, division of state assets, canal water disputes, boundary controversy, integration of Princely States and particularly the Kashmir dispute have coloured, conditioned and complicated Indo-Pakistan relations.

2. Kashmir Dispute

Ever since Nehru Era, Indo-Pakistan relations center round Kashmir dispute. UN debates on Kashmir issue, UN Security Council Resolutions on the dispute, UN Commissions on Kashmir problem and bilateral talks helped only to fan the fire of Kashmir imbroglio. Pakistan's defence agreement with the US (1954), its participation in the Baghdad Pact (CENTO) and strategic proximity to China had made matters worse. "Pakistan became an aberrant regional concern of India's foreign policy".²⁰

11.7.3 Indo-Nepal Relations

1. Relations with Ranas

The *Kingdom of Nepal Adhirajya* is a land-locked country in the Himalayan region. India and Nepal are like 'the lips and teeth' and bound together by history, geography, kinship, religion, culture and linguistic ability.²¹ From 1846 to 1951, Nepal was ruled by the *Rama family*, a member of which held the office of Prime Minister. In 1947, India concluded a *Stand-Still Agreement* with Nepal. Next year a *Treaty of Friendship* was negotiated but could not be signed since the Ranas resented India's proposal for a democratic constitutional monarchy in Nepal.

2. Helping Hand

India helped king Tribhuvan to tide over turmoil against him.²² His successor king Mahendra introduced *Partyless, Panchayat System* and other democratic reforms within the framework of Monarchy. On 31 July 1950, a new *Treaty of Trade and Commerce* was signed. In 1952, India helped Nepal in the

process of administrative reforms; military re-organisation; transport, trade and commerce; and to construct Tribhuvan Rajpath. Under the *Colombo Plan Agreement* (1954), India came forward to support the multiple development of Nepal. The Parliamentary system was established in Nepal in 1959 and Prime Minister B.P.Koirala had strengthened ties with India. The conclusion of *Trade and Transit Treaty* brought the two countries closer together. But the apple cart of cordial relations was upset when king Mahendra took over the administration of Nepal in 1960. Nepal moved closer to China and remained neutral during the Sino-India War of 1962!

11.7.4 Indo-Bhutan Relations

The Kingdom of Bhutan, '*the land of the thunder dragon*' lies in the eastern Himalayas, bounded north by China and on all sides by India. On 8 August 1949, India signed a fresh treaty with Bhutan, under which the Government of Bhutan agreed to be guided by the Government of India and India in turn assured not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan.²³ As a measure of good will, India agreed to retrocede to Bhutan, an area called *Dewangiri*, which was annexed by Britain in 1865. Nehru Government acknowledged, honoured, and respected Bhutan's sovereignty and autonomy.

11.7.5 Indo-Burma Relations

Burma, now known as *Myanmar*, is India's eastern neighbour state.²⁴ It became independent on 4 January 1948. When India faced shortage of food soon after independence, Burma came forward and supplied large quantity of rice. In return, India extended economic aid and loan to Burma. Burma was one of the first few countries to extend full support to the doctrine of Panch Sheel. When Burma asked for help of the UNO to evict the Kuomintang military men who fled China and entered Burma, India extended full support to its neighbour (1953). Burma was one with India in the Bandung Conference (1955). However, Indo-Burma relations were affected when Burma placed stringent restrictions on the migrants of Indian nationals to India, and nationalized the industries and business owned by Indians in Burma without adequate compensation. The Sino-Burma Non-aggression Treaty of 1960 was considered to be against India's interests. Burma maintained a neutral stand during Sino-India War in 1962.

11.7.6 Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

1. Next-Door Neighbour

India and Sri Lanka are two South Asian neighbours with enduring, if not endearing, traditional ties. Both the countries became independent in the

mid-1940s; India in 1947 and Sri Lanka in 1948.²⁵ Both the countries close to remain the Commonwealth, sought to develop bilateral trade and agreed to exchange essential commodities. Trade concessions were given and cultural teams exchanged (1949-1954). *The Indo-Ceylon Agreement*, known as the *Nehru-Kotlawala Pact*, enabled persons of Indian origin to apply for Indian citizenship and those who were already in employment were not to be disturbed. Both the countries subscribed to the Panch Sheel, popularized the concept of Afro-Asian solidarity, actively participated in the Bandung Conference, refused SEATO membership and agreed to implement the Colombo Plan.²⁶

2. Enduring Relations

The advent of S.W.R.D. Bandarnaike and the ascendancy of his Sri Lanka Freedom Party augered well Indo-Sri Lanka relations. He and Nehru worked in tandem in promoting Non-Alignment, and Panch Sheel. They took common stand on the Hungarean crisis (1956) and the Tibet issue (1959). But, this diplomatic equation was shaken when Srimavo Bandarnaike became the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in 1960. Differences between the two countries cropped up over maritime boundary, the Tamil minority and the pro-China stand. Despite differences, Sri Lanka supported liberation of Goa by India and pleaded India's case in this regard in the UN Security Council. Sri Lanka Government declared 28 May 1964 a public holiday to mourn the death of Nehru and Srimavo Bandarnaike came to India personally to attend his funeral.

11.8 India and the Commonwealth of Nations

11.8.1 Nehru's Dilemma

The Imperial Conference turned Commonwealth was an Association of British colonies and Dominions. The Statute of West Minister (1931) conferred internal autonomy to Dominions within the framework of allegiance to the British Crown. India remained a Dominion till it became a Republic on 26 January 1950. After 15 August 1947, "Nehru had no intention of going back on the resolution of the Constituent Assembly that India should be a free and sovereign republic".²⁷ Nehru was persuaded to remain in the Commonwealth.

11.8.2 Compelling Reasons

There were some compelling reasons and distinct advantages of India retaining its link with the Commonwealth; 1) The Commonwealth contact would help retain the loyalty of the higher civil and defence services after independence; 2) Negotiations with the Princely States for securing their accession to the Indian Union would be facilitated; 3) It would provide an additional channel for conducting international relations. As a member nation, India could counter

the possible Pakistan's attempt to win over the Commonwealth countries against India on the Kashmir issue; 4) It would improve and strengthen the trade links with Britain and other member countries. Also India could rely on Britain for its defence needs; 5) The interests of the people of Indian origin who had migrated to Britain and other Commonwealth countries could be protected; and 6) It offered good scope for foreign aid from countries like Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand for the developmental needs of India.

11.8.3 Role of India

India played a leading role in Commonwealth relations. India was largely responsible in transforming the Commonwealth into the Commonwealth of Nations, a free association of sovereign states. India was to a great extent successful in making the Commonwealth a bulwark against racialism. India can claim credit for the peaceful transfer of power in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) from the white minority government to the black majority government. In 1956, when Egypt was invaded by Britain, France and Israel, India along with other Commonwealth countries strongly indicted the imposition of imperialistic military solution for the Suez problem and as a result Britain agreed to accept U.N. sponsored ceasefire in the Suez area. In 1962, when India was attacked by China, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand sympathised with India and extended all possible help.

India was severely criticized, especially by the USSR, for remaining in the imperialistic Commonwealth. It was dubbed as a blunder and an outrage on the national sentiments of self-respecting sovereign Indians. The accepting of the British King / Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations amounted to a premium on India's independence. In balance, India was successful in securing friendship and cooperative relationship with member nations besides promoting economic trade and strengthening cultural links with other Commonwealth members.

11.9 India and The United Nations Organisation (UNO)

11.9.1 Founder – Member

India had the distinction of being one of the original 51 founder – members of the UNO, who signed the U.N. Charter. She participated in the historic San Francisco Conference and became the member of the world body on 30 October 1945. India's foreign policy embodied the essence of the U.N. Charter. The Constitution of India reaffirmed, under Art.51 and reiterated the salient objectives of the U.N.O.

11.9.2 Role of India

India played a meritorious role in the U.N. Besides being a founder – member of the world organization, she served as one of the 9 non-permanent members of the UN Security Council from 1950 to 1952. India remained a member of the UN Economic and Social Council for a number of years. She had been actively associated with the working of the Trusteeship Council.

With full faith in the U.N.O. Nehru referred the Kashmir problem to the Security Council on 31 December 1947. Thanks to India's initiative 16 new States were admitted to the world body. India was successful in securing organized opposition to the racist regimes like South Africa. In the Korean War crisis of 1950 India was largely responsible for implementing collective security action to restore peace in the region. Similarly, India's proposal that U.N. troops should accept 38th parallel as the ceasefire line was eventually accepted. India secured Indo-China cease – fire Agreement on 21 July 1954, which act earned international accolades. As Chairman of International Control Commission, India ensured peace in the region. India's stand on the free and United Vietnam was amply vindicated. Indian military contingents served as peace keeping force under the U.N. flag in Congo, Gaza and Cyprus. India also played a crucial role in securing a peaceful transfer of power in SWAPO in Namibia.

Nehru always defended disarmament. India was against use of nuclear power for military purpose. India signed the 1963 Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty. As a member of the 18 nation Disarmament Committee India played a constructive role in securing general consensus in favour of disarmament. India favoured a revision of the U.N. Charter so as to make the organization a common possession of humanity. India never defaulted her dues to the U.N. Many eminent Indians like Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Dr.S.Radhakrishnan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, V.R.Sen, M.R.Thakka, Dr.K.Krishna Rao served the U.N.O. in various capacities with distinction.

Nehru could not imagine a world without the U.N.O. He had the highest regard for this world body. To support it and to promote its objectives was an article of faith for him. He never subscribed to the sadistic and satoric principle of keeping peace by waging war; he was for peace through peaceful means. He considered the international organization as an invaluable instrument for securing world peace and security. Nehru's only regret was his reference of the Kashmir problem to the U.N. Security Council whereby "India stood to suffer in every way".²⁸ Otherwise, the U.N.O. remained the best hope of mankind.

11.10 Assessment

During the Nehru Era, India pursued its foreign policy independently with her enlightened national interests in view. Nehru's Government determined the objectives of India's foreign policy which have by and large remained unchanged.²⁹ A close study will reveal that Nehru's foreign policy was shaped by ideological, economic and domestic considerations.³⁰ Nehru was sure that Non-Alignment would prevent India becoming entangled in larger global conflicts and shield the fragile Indian economy from foreign forces. India's relations with foreign and neighbouring countries was an excruciating exercise in balancing act.

Nehru's self-denying policies, his reluctance to join power blocs, his reticence in developing India's military potential,³¹ and his unwillingness to challenge China in Tibet are said to have setting "India on an essentially defensive and reactive path".³² India's annexation of Goa and its Himalayan conflict with China are considered to be at variance with Nehru's proclaimed larger vision of India as a peaceful power. Particularly, the Sino-India war of 1962 is cited as an example of his shortsightedness. Nehru was 'unnecessarily cautious', 'lacked firmness', 'unduly optimistic', compounded by 'a mistaken sense of confidence'.³³ It must, however, be remembered that Nehru's India was easy to rule but difficult to govern and to change. He carried out his foreign policy when he was managing turbulent domestic developments. In balance, "Nehru was able to persuade the world that India 'counted for something', and used foreign policy to bolster national pride a self-confidence".³⁴

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