

## UNIT : I

### 1. GENESIS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY- FEATURES

### 2. NEHRU'S FOREIGN-POLICY

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Prime Minister [Jawaharlal Nehru](#), usually with the assistance of [Krishna Menon](#), shaped India's foreign policy. At first, it was vague and rather grandiose dream of forging an international coalition of non-colonial and the colonized powers, but the world was rapidly bifurcated by the emergence of the Cold War between the West, led by the United States and Britain, and the East, led by the Soviet Union. It was urgent to develop policies regarding the Cold War, as well as relations with Pakistan, Britain, and the Commonwealth. The rest could wait. Nehru and the Congress looked on the Soviet Union with distrust, reassuring the West that there was not the least chance of India lining up with the Soviet Union in war or peace. Nehru intensely disliked the Cold War--the more India got involved, he believed, the worse for his long-term objectives of economic and national development. He took the lead in the non-aligned movement.

Nehru kept India's membership in the British Commonwealth, despite the widespread distrust of Britain across his Congress party. Popular grievances included the British UN delegation openly supported Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, Britain providing military advice to Pakistan, and London supporting the Dutch efforts to crush Indonesian nationalism. At that time the

Commonwealth was little more than a debating society, but one objective was to use it as a sounding board for Third World interests. Non-membership would leave Pakistan in a stronger position. Another factor was the clear need for American help in terms of aid, loans, and trade. Nehru did not want to be too indebted to the Americans, and in that sense, the British and Commonwealth connection would be something of a counterweight. He did insist that the symbolic importance of the King be strictly limited, so there was no sense whatever of royal sovereignty in India.<sup>[3]</sup>

The Soviet Union was angry at India's hostility, and with the Kremlin control of the Indian Communist Party stirred up repeated attacks in Parliament and in media. Nehru set out to establish a conference of the states bordering the Indian Ocean, from Egypt and Ethiopia to the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. It was an ambitious plan and gave Nehru the opportunity to give advice to the recently decolonized governments in the region, especially Burma and Ceylon. The Indian efforts were plotted in the United States, but let nowhere. At the United Nations, the Soviets supported Pakistan and there was a move to demand arbitration or a plebiscite, but India steadfastly repudiated the notions. Nehru insisted that Indian troops would not be withdrawn from Kashmir.

With favorable publicity in America, Nehru and Menon discussed whether India should "align with the United States 'somewhat' and build up our economic and military strength."<sup>[4]</sup> He made a major visit to the United States and Canada in October 1949. The **Truman administration** was quite favorable and indicated it would give Nehru anything he asked for. He proudly refused to beg and thereby forfeited the chance for a gift of a million tons of wheat. The American Secretary of State **Dean Acheson** recognized Nehru's potential world role but added that he was "one of the most difficult men with whom I have ever had to deal."<sup>[5]</sup> The American visit was a

partial success, in that Nehru gained widespread support for his nation, and he himself gained a much deeper understanding of the American outlook.<sup>[6]</sup> He also stiffened his negative attitude toward the Soviet Union, and also towards the new communist state of China. Nehru was especially annoyed that Moscow had adopted a negative and destructive approach to South East Asia, apparently trying to destabilize the region. Informally, Nehru made it clear that it would help defend Nepal and South East Asia against any communist aggression.<sup>[7]</sup>

Nehru dramatically changed course in 1950. After first voting in the United States nations against the North Korean invasion of South Korea, India announced the only real solution was to admit Communist China to the United Nations. This position greatly pleased Moscow and Beijing but distressed Washington. In 1951 he refused to participate in the Japanese peace treaty, considering it an American imperialistic venture to seize control of Japanese policies. The net result was that India gained prestige in the Third World, and set the stage for a close relationship with the Soviet Union.<sup>[8]</sup> Pakistan, meanwhile, grew much closer to the United States and even seriously considered sending troops to fight alongside the Americans in Korea. This set the stage for an American transition to favor Pakistan strongly over India.<sup>[9]</sup>

Nehru developed from Buddhist thought the Panchsheel (also known as the [Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence](#)), which would be included in future agreements. Nehru based India's foreign policy on these five principles, as articulated in 1954:<sup>[10]</sup>

- coexistence
- respect for the territorial and integral sovereignty of others
- nonaggression
- non-interference with the internal affairs of others

- recognition of the equality of others.

He did not mention a fierce determination to retain control of the Kashmir, a goal that would soon emerge.

### 3. LAL BHHADUR SHASTRI- INDO PAKISTAN WAR 1965

He was born on 2 October 1904 at the home of his maternal grandparents in [Mughalsarai](#) in a [Kayastha](#) Hindu family.<sup>[1]</sup> Shastri's paternal ancestors had been in the service of the [zamindar](#) of [Ramnagar, Varanasi](#) and Shastri lived there for the first year of his life. Shastri's father, Sharada Prasad Srivastava, was a school teacher who later became a clerk in the revenue office at [Allahabad](#), while his mother, Ramdulari Devi, was the daughter of Munshi Hazari Lal, the headmaster and English teacher at a railway school in Mughalsarai. Shastri was the second child and eldest son of his parents; he had an elder sister, Kailashi Devi (b. 1900).<sup>[2][3]</sup>

In April 1906, When Shastriji was hardly a year and 6 months old, his father, who had only recently been promoted to the post of deputy tahsildar, died in an epidemic of [bubonic plague](#). Smt Ramdulari Devi, then only 23 and pregnant with her third child, took her two children and moved from Ramnagar to her father's house in Mughalsarai and settled there for good. She gave birth to a daughter, Sundari Devi, in July 1906.<sup>[4][5]</sup> Thus, Shastriji and his sisters grew up in the household of his maternal grandfather, Hazari Lalji. However, Hazari Lalji himself died from a [stroke](#) in mid-1908, after which the family was looked after by his brother (Shastri's great-uncle) Darbari Lal, who was the head clerk in the opium regulation department at Ghazipur, and later by his son (Ramdulari Devi's cousin) Bindeshwari Prasad, a school teacher in Mughalsarai.<sup>[3][2]</sup>

In Shastriji's family, as with many [Kayastha](#) families, it was the custom in that era for children to receive an education in the [Urdu](#) language and culture. This is because Urdu/[Persian](#) had been the language of government for centuries, before being replaced by English, and old traditions persisted into the 20th century. Therefore, Shastri began his education at the age of four under the tutelage of a [maulvi](#) (a Muslim cleric), Budhan Mian, at the East Central Railway Inter college in Mughalsarai. He studied there until the sixth standard. In 1917, Bindeshwari Prasad (who was now head of the household) was transferred to Varanasi, and the entire family moved there, including Ramdulari Devi and her three children. In Varanasi, Shastri joining the seventh standard at Harish Chandra High School.<sup>[4]</sup> At this time, he decided to drop his caste-derived surname of "Srivastava" (which is a traditional surname for a sub-caste of Kayastha families).

### **Foreign policies**[\[edit\]](#)

Shastri continued Nehru's policy of [non-alignment](#) but also built closer relations with the [Soviet Union](#). In the aftermath of the [Sino-Indian War](#) of 1962 and the formation of military ties between China and Pakistan, Shastri's government decided to expand the country's defence budget.

In 1964, Shastri signed an accord with Sri Lankan Prime Minister [Sirimavo Bandaranaike](#) regarding the status of [Indian Tamils](#) in Sri Lanka, then called Ceylon.<sup>[29]</sup> This agreement is also known as the [Sirima-Shastri Pact](#) or the Bandaranaike-Shastri Pact.

Under the terms of this agreement, 600,000 Indian Tamils were to be repatriated, while 375,000 were to be granted Sri Lankan citizenship. This settlement was to be done by 31 October 1981. However, after Shastri's death, by 1981, India had taken only 300,000 Tamils as repatriates, while Sri Lanka had granted citizenship to only 185,000 citizens (plus another 62,000 born after

1964). Later, India declined to consider any further applications for citizenship, stating that the 1964 agreement had lapsed.<sup>[29]</sup>

India's relationship with [Burma](#) had been strained after the 1962 military coup followed by the repatriation of many Indian families in 1964 by Burma. While the central government in New Delhi monitored the overall process of repatriation and arranged for identification and transportation of the Indian returnees from [Burma](#), it fell under the responsibilities of local governments to provide adequate facilities to shelter the repatriates upon disembarkation on Indian soil. Particularly in the Madras State the Chief Minister during that time, Minjur K. Bhaktavatsalam, showed care in rehabilitation of the returnees. In December 1965, Shastri made an official visit with his family to Rangoon, Burma and re-established cordial relations with the country's military government of General [Ne Win](#).

### **War with Pakistan**[\[edit\]](#)

Shastri's greatest moment came when he led India in the [1965 Indo-Pak War](#).<sup>[1]</sup> Laying claim to half the [Kutch peninsula](#), the [Pakistani army](#) skirmished with Indian forces in August 1965. In his report to the [Lok Sabha](#) on the confrontation in [Kutch](#), Shastri stated:<sup>[20]</sup>

In the utilization of our limited resources, we have always given primacy to plans and projects for economic development. It would, therefore, be obvious for anyone who is prepared to look at things objectively that India can have no possible interest in provoking border incidents or in building up an atmosphere of strife... In these circumstances, the duty of Government is quite clear and this duty will be discharged fully and effectively... We would prefer to live in poverty for as long as necessary but we shall not allow our freedom to be subverted.

On 1 August 1965, major incursions of militants and Pakistani soldiers began, hoping not only to break down the government but incite a sympathetic revolt. The revolt did not happen, and India sent its forces across the Ceasefire Line (now [Line of Control](#)) and threatened Pakistan by crossing the International Border near [Lahore](#) as war broke out on a general scale. Massive tank battles occurred in the [Punjab](#), and while the Pakistani forces made gains in the northern part of subcontinent, Indian forces captured the key post at Haji Pir, in Kashmir, and brought the Pakistani city of [Lahore](#) under artillery and mortar fire.

The Indo-Pak war ended on 23 September 1965 with a [United Nations](#)-mandated ceasefire. In a broadcast to the nation on the day of the ceasefire, Shastri stated:<sup>[20]</sup>

While the conflict between the armed forces of the two countries has come to an end, the more important thing for the United Nations and all those who stand for peace is to bring to an end the deeper conflict. How can this be brought about? In our view, the only answer lies in peaceful coexistence. India has stood for the principle of coexistence and championed it all over the world. Peaceful coexistence is possible among nations no matter how deep the differences between them, how far apart they are in their political and economic systems, no matter how intense the issues that divide them.

During his tenure as Prime Minister, Shastri visited many countries including [Soviet Union](#), [Yugoslavia](#), England, [Canada](#), Nepal, Egypt and [Burma](#).<sup>[11]</sup> Incidentally while returning from the Non Alliance Conference in Cairo on the invitation of then President of the Pakistan, [Mohammed Ayub Khan](#) to have lunch with him, Shastri made a stop over at Karachi Airport for few hours and breaking from the protocol Ayub Khan personally received him at the Airport and had an informal meeting during October 1964. After the declaration of ceasefire with Pakistan in 1965, Shastri and Ayub Khan attended a summit in [Tashkent](#) (former [USSR](#), now in

modern [Uzbekistan](#)), organized by [Alexei Kosygin](#). On 10 January 1966, Shastri and Ayub Khan signed the [Tashkent Declaration](#).<sup>[11]</sup>

#### 4. INDIRA GANDHI- BANGALADESH

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The stated aims of the foreign policy of the Indira Gandhi premiership between 1967 and 1977 include a focus on security, by fighting militants abroad and strengthening border defenses. On 30 October 1981 at the meeting organised to mark silver jubilee celebration of the School of International Studies, Gandhi said, "A country's policy is shaped by many forces- its position on the map, and the countries which are its neighbours, the policies they adopt, and the actions they take, as well as its historical experiences in the aggregate and in terms of its particular success or traumas."<sup>[11]</sup>

In early 1971, disputed elections in Pakistan led [East Pakistan](#) to declare independence as [Bangladesh](#). Repression and violence by the Pakistani army led 10 million refugees to cross border in to India over the coming months.<sup>[12]</sup> Finally in December 1971, Gandhi directly intervened in the [conflict](#) to defeat Pakistan's army in Bangladesh. India emerged victorious in the [resulting conflict](#) to become the dominant power of South Asia.<sup>[13]</sup> India had signed a [treaty](#) with the Soviet Union promising mutual assistance in the case of war, while Pakistan received active support from the United States during the conflict.<sup>[14]</sup> U.S. President [Richard Nixon](#) disliked Gandhi personally. Relations with the U.S. became distant as Gandhi developed closer ties with the Soviet Union after the war. The latter grew to become India's largest trading partner and its biggest arms supplier.<sup>[15]</sup>

Foreign policy since 1989

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After collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in 1989, India no longer had to deal with its nonaligned position in the Cold War. Diplomat [Shivshankar Menon](#) identified six major policy decisions. They were: the 1993 Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement with China; the Civil Nuclear Agreement with the United States in 2005; the rejection of force against Pakistan after the [2008 Mumbai attacks](#); dealing with Sri Lanka's civil war; and announcing a policy of [No first use](#) of nuclear weapons.

**Relations between India and Pakistan** have been complex and largely hostile due to a number of historical and political events. Relations between the two states have been defined by the violent [partition of British India](#) in 1947 which started the [Kashmir conflict](#), and the numerous [military conflicts](#) fought between the two nations. Consequently, their relationship has been plagued by hostility and suspicion. Northern India and Pakistan somewhat overlap in areas of [certain demographics](#) and shared [lingua francas](#) (mainly [Punjabi](#), [Sindhi](#) and [Hindustani](#)).

After the dissolution of the [British Raj](#) in 1947, two new sovereign nations were formed— the [Dominion of India](#) and the [Dominion of Pakistan](#). The subsequent partition of the former British India displaced up to 12.5 million people, with estimates of loss of life varying from several hundred thousand to 1 million. India emerged as a secular nation with a [Hindu majority](#) population and a large [Muslim minority](#), while Pakistan with a [Muslim majority](#) population and a large [Hindu minority](#) later became an Islamic Republic although its constitution guaranteed [freedom of religion](#) to people of all faiths. It later lost most of its Hindu minority due to migration and after East Pakistan was separated in the [Bangladesh Liberation War](#).

Soon after their independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations but the violent partition and numerous territorial claims would overshadow their relationship. Since their

Independence, the two countries have fought [three major wars](#), one [undeclared war](#) and have been involved in numerous armed skirmishes and military standoffs. The [Kashmir conflict](#) is the main centre-point of all of these conflicts with the exception of the [Indo-Pakistan War of 1971](#) and [Bangladesh Liberation War](#), which resulted in the secession of [East Pakistan](#) (now [Bangladesh](#)).

There have been numerous attempts to improve the relationship—notably, the [Shimla summit](#), the [Agra summit](#) and the [Lahore summit](#). Since the early 1980s, relations between the two nations soured particularly after the [Siachen conflict](#), the intensification of [Kashmir insurgency](#) in 1989, [Indian](#) and [Pakistani](#) nuclear tests in 1998 and the 1999 [Kargil war](#). Certain [confidence-building measures](#) — such as the 2003 ceasefire agreement and the [Delhi–Lahore Bus](#) service – were successful in de-escalating tensions. However, these efforts have been impeded by periodic terrorist attacks. The [2001 Indian Parliament attack](#) almost brought the two nations to the [brink of a nuclear war](#). The [2007 Samjhauta Express bombings](#), which killed 68 civilians (most of whom were Pakistani), was also a crucial point in relations. Additionally, the [2008 Mumbai attacks](#) carried out by Pakistani militants resulted in a [severe blow](#) to the ongoing India-Pakistan peace talks.

After a brief thaw following the election of new governments in both nations, bilateral discussions again stalled after the [2016 Pathankot attack](#). In September 2016, a [terrorist attack on an Indian military base](#) in Indian-administered Kashmir, the deadliest such attack in years, killed 19 Indian Army soldiers. India's claim that the attack had been orchestrated by a Pakistan-supported [jihadist](#) group was denied by Pakistan, which claimed the attack had been a local reaction to [unrest in the region](#) due to excessive force by Indian security personnel. The attack sparked a [military confrontation](#) across the Line of Control, with an escalation in ceasefire

violations and further [militant attacks on Indian security forces](#). Since 2016, the ongoing confrontation, continued terrorist attacks and an increase in nationalist rhetoric on both sides has resulted in the collapse of bilateral relations, with little expectation they will recover. Notably, following the [2019 Pulwama attack](#), the Indian government revoked Pakistan's [most favoured nation](#) trade status, which it had granted to Pakistan in 1996. India also increased the custom duty to 200% which majorly affected the trade of Pakistani apparel and cement.

Since the election of new governments in both India and Pakistan in the early 2010s, some attempts have been made to improve relations, in particular developing a consensus on the agreement of Non-Discriminatory Market Access on Reciprocal Basis (NDMARB) status for each other, which will liberalize trade. Both India and Pakistan are members of the [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation](#) and its [South Asian Free Trade Area](#). Pakistan used to host a pavilion at the annual India International Trade Fair which drew huge crowds. Deteriorating relations between the two nations resulted in boycott of Pakistani traders at the trade fair.

In November 2015, the new Indian Prime Minister, [Narendra Modi](#) and Pakistani Prime Minister [Nawaz Sharif](#) agreed to the resumption of bilateral talks; the following month, Prime Minister Modi made a brief, unscheduled visit to Pakistan while en route to India, becoming the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Pakistan since 2004. Despite those efforts, relations between the countries have remained frigid, following repeated acts of cross-border [terrorism](#). According to a 2017 [BBC World Service](#) poll, only 5% of Indians view Pakistan's influence positively, with 85% expressing a negative view, while 11% of Pakistanis view India's influence positively, with 62% expressing a negative view.

In August 2019, following the approval of the [Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill](#) in the [Indian Parliament](#), which [revoked](#) the special status of [Jammu and Kashmir](#), further tension

was brought between the two countries, with Pakistan downgrading their diplomatic ties, closing its airspace and suspending bilateral trade with India.