

INDIAN PARLIAMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY -
A STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

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PREFACE

P_R_E_F_A_C_E

The study - Indian Parliament and Foreign Policy - a study of Public Opinion, is a three dimensional study of political institutions in the democratic set-up of our country. The three dimensions cover the institution of Parliament, the administrative set-up of the Ministry of External Affairs with its policy-making process and procedures, and the role of public opinion in policy formulation.

All these three aspects have been divided in a planned manner to cover the five chapters of the study. The first Chapter deals with the analytical problem and has been divided into three parts viz., (a) Image - its relevance; (b) Motivations and incentives of policy-makers, and (c) The Great debates in Indian Foreign Policy. The chapter has covered the growth of Indian Foreign Policy from the movement for freedom to the present day issues in foreign policy. The discussion has also covered the important events in the international arena and the responses of the Indian political leadership after the achievement of Independence in 1947.

The Second Chapter covers the Parliamentary Process dividing it into the constitutional setting, structure and working process in the first part of the chapter and the role of Opposition in the constitutional setting and the working process in the second. The Third Chapter extends the discussion of the Bureaucratic and Political relationship and their performance evaluation under "Conflict and

Accommodation with the Bureaucratic Model". In this chapter their performance which has been evaluated through the developments in policy formulation at both the levels, i.e., political and bureaucratic levels. The Fourth Chapter - Bureaucratic and Party Elites - analyses the role of the Political and Bureaucratic Elites and discusses the relationship of domestic politics with foreign policy, keeping in view the primary objectives of Indian Foreign Policy since its inception. The Fifth is the concluding Chapter and discusses the role of Public Opinion and its impact on policy formulation.

Among the developing countries India has sustained a wide range of international initiatives through an 'open polity' and it has thus a unique relevance for the study of the inter-relationship of foreign policy and public opinion. The strains inherent in the process of modernization have been manipulated through effective political arrangements designed to channel national resources. If we turn to the analysis of the operation of Indian Foreign Policy for the last twenty-five years, the policy processes cannot be fully understood unless the overlap of legislative and bureaucratic factors is studied at an empirical level. Traditional research on Indian Foreign Policy has confined itself to the development of norms and beliefs based on political strategies or ideologies of the chief decision-makers. The aim of

this study is to enhance the understanding of the "foreign policy outcomes" considered as categories of responses to competitive-cooperative relationships within the Indian political-bureaucratic system.

It would be necessary to obtain data through appropriately constructed questionnaire administered to a representative sample of Indian "opinion-makers" to isolate what H.C. Kelman calls the "societal attitudinal and structural factors in international relations". In the present study, however, the possibilities of available data are explored to assess the significance of the role of the leadership elites who fulfil the function of political representation and in Snyder and Furniss's words constitute "the effective public".

A full study on Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in India must await opinion surveys with historical, social and psychological dimensions. The present study has the ^{modest} ~~best~~ aim of clarifying the issues involved in the study of an "open polity" like that of India where the policy formulations of different political parties are related to the innovative role of Parliament and where through Parliamentary debate the Opposition acts as a check on the Executive. The structure of this study, it is hopefully suggested, can serve as the basis for a more comprehensive enquiry.

The material consulted, in this study, is listed in the bibliography given at the end. The most relevant

materials having a direct bearing on the subject have been referred as footnotes and are enumerated in the bibliography too. The footnoting procedure followed in this dissertation has been adopted as in the Research Manual of the School of International Studies.


S. Saran

25 December 1972.

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CHAPTER I

CHAPTER I

THE ANALYTICAL PROBLEM

Image - its relevance

Geographically and strategically the position of India has a very important place, keeping in view the world situation in general and South East Asian Region in particular. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, highlighted the position of India, after assuming the office and, in the Broadcast to the Nation on 7 September 1946 mentioned India's strategic position on the map of the world in the following manner:

India is so situated that she is the pivot of Western, Southern and South East Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries and they came to her in many ways. Those contacts are being renewed and the future is bound to see a closer union between India and South East Asia on the one side and Afghanistan, Iran and Arab world on the other. 1

Jawaharlal Nehru again emphasized the importance of India, in his speech on 8 March 1949 in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) and mentioned that "she has played a vital part not only within her own vast boundaries, but in the world and in Asia in particular."² In future, too, she has to play a vital role in Asia, not due to its geographical

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1962), p. 3.

2. Ibid., p. 21.

location but due to readjustment of relations amongst the nations of the world in general and Asia in particular.³ The withdrawal of Imperial Power from India, divided it physically into two sovereign states viz., India and Pakistan.

It was the orientation of the Indian political elite towards the British education in English institutions of England, which developed in them ideas of liberal democracy and an attachment to the parliamentary system. This was testified by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 28 March 1957 when he said: "We choose this system of parliamentary democracy deliberately...because we approved of its functioning in other countries, more especially in the United Kingdom".⁴ The adoption of the Indian Constitution has also some historical, constitutional background due to the Dominion State of Imperial Majesty's Government and control of British Parliament.⁵

The impact of British control and administration brought the Indian Elites, due to their education, nearer to a well-knit organized political system, and encouraged them to adopt the same political system with some modifications for the newly emerged independent state of India. While moving the Objective Resolution in the Constituent Assembly on 13 December 1946, Nehru narrated the historical facts

3. Richard L. Park, "India's Foreign Policy" in Roy C. Macridis, Foreign Policy in World Politics (New Jersey, 1962), p. 291.

4. Norman D. Palmer, The Indian Political System (Boston, 1971), p. 100.

5. Ibid., p. 104.

about the governance of America, France, Russia and other European countries and declared that "it is our firm and solemn resolve to have independent sovereign Republic of India." He also explained why we have not used the word "democracy" or "democratic" in place of "Republic" though it is having "complete democratic" characteristics.⁶ Dr. B.R. Ambedkar explained before the Constituent Assembly about the pros and cons of the draft constitution with the constitutional provisions laid in different constitution and their system of Government in different democratic countries.⁷ Nehru explained further and said: "After scrutiny of every 'system' and 'institution' we have come to the conclusion we should adopt such a system which fits in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them".⁸ Keeping in view the explanations made by Nehru and Ambedkar, about the adoption of New Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, it declared on 26 November 1949: "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic Republic,...do hereby Adopt, Enact and give to ourselves this Constitution".⁹ According to Max Beloff every social or political movement of

6. S.L. Poplai, ed., Speeches by Pt. Nehru : India (1947-50) (Delhi, 1959), vol. I, pp. 88-89.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., speech by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, 4 November 1948, p. 113-17.

9. D.D. Basu, Shorter Constitution of India (Calcutta, 1970), edn. 6, p. 1.

the present day has some international significance¹⁰ whether it take place in India or in any other part of the world. Its impact - where the social and political event has taken place - may be seen in other far-off countries of the world. It is due to the modernized technical devices of the communication, which has bound all the nations or countries of the world in a whole organic unit. This organic unit of the nations is called international system, which has compelled every nation or country to have some economic, social, cultural or political relations with each other on mutual basis of understanding. These mutual basis of understanding, to keep relationship, cover the aspect of Foreign Policy of any nation or country. This - foreign policy - aspect covers a course of action¹¹ belonging to another country¹² or we may say these 'actions' in respect of other nations have a 'system of administration' guided more by 'interest' than by 'principle'¹³ - are attributes which may be visualized in foreign policy adopted by any nation. S. Radhakrishnan observed that "each nation has its own characteristic mentality...".¹⁴ These characteristics cover many factors which are the by product of domestic politics

10. Max Beloff, Foreign Policy and the Democratic Process (Baltimore Press, 1966), p. 4.

11. Chamber's 20th Century Dictionary (Allied Publishers, 1971), p. 844; also see Macridis, n. 3, p. 2.

12. Ibid., p. 414.

13. Ibid., p. 844.

14. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, vol. 1, quoted from J.C. Kundra's Indian Foreign Policy (Djakarta, 1955), p. 15.

and based upon the "objective requirements of the national interests".¹⁵ These basic requirements of national interests compel a nation to adopt a course of action, based upon some physical fundamental factors, with a systematic order of choices to achieve the goals or objectives.¹⁶ In the modern age, when the world is comprised of "over one hundred political units - nation or country",¹⁷ every nation wants to keep up their political image at the international level, has created a psychological warfare, amongst them. The attributes of this 'political image', for a nation are firstly sovereignty - 'the state's supreme authority over citizens and subjects',¹⁸ and secondly, the phenomenon of nationalism - 'people's sense of collective destiny through a common past', i.e., historical background and 'the vision of common future'.¹⁹

Stressing the geographical factor of India, its location, Nehru said in the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi on 23 March 1947: "She is so situated as to be the meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South East Asia".²⁰ He further mentioned that "if we make a glance on the map 'the Indian Peninsula' has a commanding position

15. Macridis, n. 13, p. 2.

16. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

17. John G. Stoessinger, The Might of Nations (New York, 1969), p. 10.

18. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

19. Ibid., p. 13.

20. Kundra, n. 14, p. 4.

and is one of the "important main trade routes between Europe on the one side and Far East on the other".²¹ K.M. Panikkar also observed in his book India and the Indian Ocean and emphasized the location 'geo-political and strategic location' of India in comparison to other countries of the Indian Ocean.²² Thus we see that the geographical location of any country is an important ingredient in the shaping of 'Political Image' of any country, as well as it also affects the basic objectives of the nation. Another element towards the 'political image' of the nation concerns the social base - population, literacy, culture and social system - of any nation. In case of India, it is largely and densely populated country with more than five hundred million (546,955,945) people,²³ next to the numerical number of China in world's population.

Another important element in the determinants is the economic pattern, which covers the nation's potentiality in natural resources - production and uses of raw materials, production of food etc. to meet the material, industrial and military requirements with the help of modern technological methods, to keep the nation or country economically capable

21. Ibid., p. 5.

22. Ibid.

23. Census of India, 1971, Paper I of Provisional Population Totals (Delhi, 1972), p. 55.

to sustain herself in the eyes of other nations or compete with other countries, to keep its image high.

The other essential factor in the determinants, is the political system - the government; other political institutions viz. political parties, pressure groups etc.; political leaders or policy-makers; ideology and the communication process amongst the masses. The most important factor in our political system is the role of the national movement, which started in an organized way in the year 1885, got momentum as an effective body in the shape of the Indian National Congress.²⁴

Relationship of Foreign Policy and Public Opinion

The end of the Second World War brought many changes in the international system. On the one hand two countries - the USA and the USSR - started their fight for political supremacy over the world arena, and on the other, the Great Britain - the mighty empire of the 19th century - and France lost their glitter and charm of imperialism due to their broken economic condition and swarming nationalist movements in Asian and African continents. These nationalist movements provided many British and French dominated colonies, nationhood to administer, control and govern themselves independently. But the internal factionalism of nationalist leaders, in those

24. Palmer, n. 4, p. 72.

countries led them to fall in the lap of two rival groups - USA and USSR - for the security of the country and keeping in background their own survival. This also created a phenomenon of insecurity in the minds of the masses as well as the persons holding the charge at the helm of affairs in the governments of newly emerged independent nations to scrutinize their domestic and external policies and fix their priorities according to their needs. In regard to external relationship or foreign policy matters - the newly emerged nations - were to adopt such a course so that their sovereignty or political stability was not jeopardized. Therefore the countries who did not align themselves with two Super Powers - USA or USSR - or who adopted the democratic set-up of government were to become more cautious about the survival of their political stability or sovereignty. Most of these countries were called non-aligned countries of Asian and African continents. Most of these countries were having the control of government on the principles of democracy. Their Heads of States were either popularly elected people or were having a popular support from the masses. In a democratic set-up public opinion plays a very significant role. As the general masses are unable to participate in day-to-day affairs directly, they elect their representatives to run the affairs of the government. There is a two-fold task before the government of any country to make her foreign policy successful: (1) Diplomacy to achieve the objectives of the nations

viz. security, sovereignty and prestige of the nation, and (ii) the economic, social and cultural relationship. In foreign policy formulation public opinion does not play a direct role, though it indirectly affects the experts who formulate and execute the policy matters. The role of public opinion in relation to foreign policy of any country - except few western countries - is having a very insignificant posture.

Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy

Foreign policy of any nation, in the past, was considered, as a specialized knowledge "the province of princes" as an art, viz. diplomacy, and the commoners were kept aloof from the subject.²⁵ But the growth of democratic and parliamentary systems gave way to commoners, not to indulge in day-to-day affairs of external relations with other countries, but to scrutinize, control and make comments and participate in important issues.²⁶ The foreign policy being considered as a specialized subject, with many complexities and technicalities, is sometimes not understood by the common man and is considered harmful for debate in the public and national interest. Therefore, it is the constitutional practice in every country of the world to give independence to the executive in this field. But its jurisdiction of action is restrained through

25. Ammeller, Inter Parliamentary Union (London, 1954), pp. 288-316.

26. Ibid.

constitutional means i.e. "consultation, scrutiny or authorization, for ratification of treaties, of the Parliament".²⁷ Ammeller, further says: "In foreign policy the role of parliament is to approve and conform rather than direct the action of government. The importance of progress in this field is in proportion to the extent to which diplomacy is thought to be the concern of the people".²⁸ N.N. Mallaya has also rightly quoted Earnest Barker that "the Parliamentary Democracy is Government by discussion and consultation".²⁹ The same has again been observed, the saying of John Stuart Mill, on the role of parliament that "their proper office is to watch and control government, to throw the light of publicity on their acts, to compel full exposition and justification on all that is questionable, and if they abuse their trust, to expel them".³⁰ But the security of the national sovereignty and the foreign policy should be kept above the national level politics in which the government and the opposition criticise each other, because it is directly related to the lives of the nationals, in particular, and other countries of the world, in general.³¹ Time ^{to} ~~and~~ ^{time} ~~again~~ the

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 316.

29. N.N. Mallaya, Indian Parliament (New Delhi, 1970), pp. 39-45.

30. Ibid.

31. Winston S Churchill, quoted by Balraj Madhok, "Parliament's influence on the Conduct of Foreign Policy", Journal of Parliamentary Information (New Delhi), vol. 15, no. 2, October 1969, p. 68.

constitutional experts have analyzed the functioning of the democratic set-up in different countries and have come to the conclusion that the relationship of the legislature in the conduct of foreign policy of any country is very vague. The growing demand of the people should alter the position of the executive to get control, by the legislature, as the people are represented therein, and administer the foreign policy of the country.³² Their plea is based on the democratic theory - purely based on principle - that every act of the government is endorsed by the 'will' of the people, through their representatives, in domestic as well as in external affair matters. In spite of these growing demands, the executive still plays the dominant role in the formulation and execution of foreign policy matters in every democratic set-up. Therefore, the Executive - President or Prime Minister with cabinet colleagues - is the organ - government - of the whole democratic set-up which administers, initiates, formulates and executes the foreign policy, though it is controlled principally by the other organ - legislature - through their own expertized set of persons. But the controlling system over the executive by the legislative bodies have increased day by day in the developing democratic system and has restrained their-Executive-activities either through constitutional means or through conventions or traditions adopted in different countries. If

32. Parliament and Foreign Policy - A study printed by Lok Sabha Secretariat (New Delhi), October 1971, p. 1.

we analyze the restrictions or limitations over the executive we find two-fold control in democratic set-up viz., firstly, "legislative control over finances" and their approval by the legislature - Parliament; secondly, "legislative control over the actions of ^{the} Executive". In case of legislative control on finances, no public money either can be raised or spent without the approval of the representative body - Parliament.³³

Every year budget estimates are placed before the House and are voted and approved for each department or ministry, which relates, too, to external affairs ministry. In this way the parliament has a major power to control the functioning of every department/ministry. Another method of restriction or limitation is "over the actions of the executive is approval of all laws" by the elected representatives of the people. The foreign policy matters are also covered under this kind of approval. There are many countries in the world where the legislative bodies have obligatory powers to review each foreign policy matters - treaties, declaration of war and diplomatic appointment - between one country and the other; these did not bind each other until or unless ratified by the elected representative body or disapproved by the majority which means losing of confidence and overthrow of the government.

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33. Ibid.

MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES OF POLICY-MAKERS

Freedom movement and declaration of Independence

Prior to declaration of Independent Indian State on 15 August 1947, the formulation and the administration of Foreign Policy relating to India was a dominion subject under the British Parliament. If we look back on historical background of Indian National Congress, we find that the resolutions passed by this organized body from time to time reflect the views of political leaders on national and international issues. The Resolution No: 15 of the Indian National Congress was the first resolution of its kind relating to foreign affairs - "involvement of India in military moves of British Government against the surrounding areas of the Indian territory viz. Tibet, Burma, Afghanistan and Persia in the name of political missions" and declared this move as "foreign entanglements".³⁴ The criticism by the political leaders of Indian National Congress, of this move through the passage of resolution, was mild in nature and it did not reflect the strong resentment of the masses over the issue. The successive resolutions passed till the First World War ^{were} ~~was~~ ^{ing} ~~ever~~ also reflect the loyalty to "British Crown" and "unswerving allegiance to British connections".³⁵ At the end of the First World War, problems

34. N.V. Rajkumar, The Background of India's Foreign Policy (Delhi, 1956).

35. Ibid., Resolution no. 16.

of international nature came into the limelight and many countries expressed their concern over the issues on humanitarian grounds. India also expressed her protest through a resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at Amritsar in the year 1919 over the "Turkish and Khilafat Question" and appealed to the British Government to settle the dispute keeping in mind "the sentiments of Indian Musalmans" who were agitating against the happenings in Turkey.³⁶ The Turkish and Khilafat Question was the first issue of its kind in the field of foreign policy when Indian people took keen interest directly and resented openly against the attitude and the policy of His Majesty's Government of Great Britain. The resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee got massive support throughout the whole country from the Indian masses and it also brought an understanding among the Indian leadership to give consideration to international events independently based upon humanitarian and cultural grounds. This resolution may be put as a stepping stone of Indian Foreign Policy, though administratively it was under the British hands, which got a concrete shape during the freedom movement and in perspective after achievement of the independence. If we go through the history of the Indian National Congress we find that as the years passed - after the passage of Turkish and Khilafat Resolution - the Indian National Congress

36. Ibid., Resolution no. 26.

spread and increased its activities within the country and outside - on foreign affair matters - through propaganda and establishment of permanent missions in other countries to fight against the colonialism and imperialism of the British rulers. For achievement of "Independence and Self-Government", they started dissemination process of news about India throughout the world and sent few leaders abroad to mobilize world support on this question. The All India Congress Committee session of 1921 held in Delhi may be said to be a hallmark in the independence movement of India where they adopted for the first time a Foreign Policy Resolution and made three-point declaration:

(1) that the present Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion and that their policy has been traditionally guided by considerations more of holding India in subjection than of protecting her borders;

(2) that India as a self-governing country can have no designs upon any of them and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations hostile to or not desired by the people of such states; and

(3) that the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by neighbouring states as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by the Imperial power, and would therefore urge the states having no ill-will against the people of India and having no desire to injure her interests, to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial power. 37

Side by side they also discussed the matters of other countries namely, the struggle movement for independence of Irish people,

37. Ibid., Resolution no. 33; also see Bimla Prasad, Origin of Indian Foreign Policy (Calcutta, 1962), p. 66.

sympathies with Egyptians and support to Chinese people, from time to time, and gave moral support to their problems and causes.³⁸ The same year in the month of October, Mahatma Gandhi expressed his views in Young India over the question of world relationship and foreign policy and said: "We must not be afraid to speak our mind on all that concerns the nation."³⁹ The resolutions adopted by the All India Congress Committee during the year 1927 further clarified the stand of the Indian leadership and the masses against the rule of colonialism and British imperialism and also specified the nature of relationship amongst the nations of the world community. It is evident from the Resolution Nos. 44 and 47 of the Calcutta session held in 1927 in which the idea of Pan-Asiatic Federation meeting and sending of a representative to the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism, was mooted.⁴⁰ On the other hand, to mobilize support against anti-imperialist movement, it was also resolved to establish an organized set-up known as 'Foreign Department of the All India Congress Committee' for the said purpose.⁴¹ The same year Jawaharlal Nehru participated in two events of International importance as a representative of Indian masses:

38. Rajkumar, n. 34, Resolution Nos. 30, 34, 35, 38 and 40.

39. Bimla Prasad, n. 37, p. 66.

40. Rajkumar, n. 34, Resolution no. 45.

41. Ibid., Resolution No. 43.

one, in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held at Brussels, and the other, Tenth Anniversary Celebrations of Russian Revolution. Both these events were having embided effect in the life and mind of young Nehru, the planner and architect of independent young India in regard to social, economic, political and foreign policy matters, which cannot be shaken by any other international events in later years. Nehru himself wrote: "I must confess that the impressions I carried back with me from Moscow were very favourable and all my readings has confined those impressions, although there is much that I do not understand and much that I do not like or admire."⁴² The manner of mass participation in social and political activities and collective system of the Soviet Union was having a great impact on Nehru, the vision of which lasted in his mind till the end. He always kept alive the image of the nation and also focussed and highlighted the problems of the world community in general. During the 44th session of the AICC held at Lahore in 1929, Nehru mentioned in his presidential address that -

No one can say what the future will bring, but we may assert with some confidence that Asia, and even India, will play a determining part in future world policy. The brief day of European domination is already approaching its end. Europe has ceased to be the Centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and Asia. India today is a part of world movement. 43

42. Jawaharlal Nehru, "From Soviet Russia - Some Random Sketches and Impressions" quoted by Bimla Prasad, n. 37, p. 82.

43. Presidential Addresses of All India Congress Committee session held at Lahore.

now, after completion of more than four decades .

The vision of Nehru at that time took a concrete shape, ^{also} The 49th session held at Lucknow in April 1936 had ~~an~~ ^{also} ~~much~~ important place in the historical background of Indian Foreign Policy evolution. Here Nehru declared keeping in view the importance of mass based organization that "the Congress must be not only for the masses, as it claims to be, but of the masses, only then will it really be for the masses"⁴⁴ and while explaining the importance of the independence and struggle for freedom in India he said: "We should keep in mind the situation of the world as well as the happening of events, too, as our national problem is but a part of the world problem of capitalist-imperialism...where mighty forces are at grips with each other and needful war darkens the horizon."⁴⁵ The session of Lucknow was a further progressive step of Indian leadership to discuss the international situation from the Indian point of view. It was the Presidential speech of Nehru who devoted his major part of his speech towards the maintenance of relationship amongst the nations and foreign policy matters. His concern on world understanding got an enthusiastic response from the Indian masses and it led to the establishment of the Foreign Department of the All India Congress Committee as per

44. Ibid., p. 12.

45. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

resolution in the AICC session of 1927, in the month of May with Rammanohar Lohia as in-charge of the Division.⁴⁶ The establishment of this Division and the enthusiastic work of the Foreign Department created a physical contact of the Indian leadership with the leadership and organizations of other countries of the world. The main function of this Division was to expand the disseminating process of the news and information of national and world affairs amongst the masses within India and abroad. The other function of the Foreign Department was to give "advice and guidance to Indians overseas".⁴⁷ The establishment of the Foreign Department also provided some fundamental principles to guide the foreign policy of India as stated below:

- (i) Strong opposition to imperialism - mainly European at this stage and Colonial Rule;
- (ii) Active sympathy with and support to subject peoples fighting for freedom and independence;
- (iii) hatred of war and an abiding desire for peace in the world; and
- (iv) avoidance of foreign entanglements as far as possible. 48

46. Bimla Prasad, n. 37, pp. 84-90.

47. N.V. Rajkumar, n. 34, Resolution Nos. 39 and 51; Resolution V, AICC session at Lucknow, 1936, Foreign Department of AICC - "The Congress authorises and directs the Working Committee to organize a Foreign Department of AICC office to work under the general superintendence of the working General Secretary and with such special staff as may be necessary, with a view to create and maintain contacts with Indians overseas, and with international, national labour and other organizations abroad with whom cooperation is possible and is likely to help in the cause of Indian freedom."

48. Ibid.

In the 50th session of the Indian National Congress held at Faizpur in December 1936, Nehru emphasized again, in his Presidential speech, the importance to the International situation in general and the fluid critical situation - the rise of Fascism and Nazism and struggle for power in particular.⁴⁹ Subhash Chandra Bose stressed the importance of closer ties with the neighbours in the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress on 19 February 1938. He declared: "I must in this connection stress the desirability and necessity of developing closer cultural relations with our neighbours viz. Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, Burma, Siam, Malaya States, East Indies and Ceylon."⁵⁰ It was the Tripuri session held in 1939 in which the Congress leadership criticized and disapproved the British Policy in regard to Munich Pact, Anglo-Italian agreement and the recognition of rebel regime of Spain and declared "it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation".⁵¹ The declaration of Second World War on 2 September 1939 and the deployment of Indian army personnel by the British Government to certain areas outside the country compelled the leadership of the Indian National Congress to give patient thinking over the critical situation of the world crises. The Congress Working Committee

49. Presidential Address of the AICC. See also Rajkumar, n. 34, Resolution Nos. 58-60.

50. Ibid., Resolution No. 62.

51. Ibid., Resolution No. 67.

of the Indian National Congress expressed its sympathy with the people of the suffering nations who were fighting for democracy and freedom, and disapproved and denounced the ideology of fascism and nazism. It also passed a resolution defining the stand of the Indian people and declared that the involvement of India and the Indian people in the current war could not be imposed by any other authority of power on them. It will be their own choice to cooperate with the imperialistic power or to oppose them, though their sympathy was with the "democratic freedom". "They cannot associate with the imperialist as their own freedom is denied to them". But the later part of the resolution submits before the British Government: "If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy....A free, democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation."⁵² The leadership of the Indian National Congress and the Governmental authorities of the Great Britain in India agreed to cooperate each other during the period of the world crisis.

The freedom struggle movement of India took a new turn when the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on 14 July 1942 adopted the resolution of "Quit India" by the British Governmental authorities from the Indian soil and it was ratified by the All India Congress Committee at its Bombay

52. Ibid., Resolution No. 70.

session in August 1942, where Nehru declared:

The British Government should wound up its rule over Indian territory and should give Indians an opportunity to govern their own affairs through their self-government; secondly British should also consider about the future world situation after the end of the Second World War, keeping in view the independence of India as a symbol to other Asian countries who are under domination of other European powers. And to meet this situation, in future, there should be a world organization, to minimize the tension of small nations in comparison to highly militarized nations, based upon free constituent nations. 53

During the World War period many resolutions were passed at the annual sessions of the AICC and also in the meetings of Congress Working Committees over the crisis but side by side every resolution also criticized and opposed the colonial rule, imperialism and exploitation of man by man.

The days of strife and struggle came to an end on 2 September 1946 when Nehru was installed by the last British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, the President, as the vice-President of the Indian Union and it was declared that the mid-night of the 14th August 1947 will be the last spell of British rule on Indian soil. It was also declared that India will become a free independent nation from 15 August 1947 and will also adopt its own independent foreign policy to bring into practice the ideals for which it had held high values during the freedom struggle period. The resolutions on foreign policy matters

53. Bimla Prasad, n. 37, p. 199; see also P. Sitaramayya, The History of the Congress.

Passed at several sessions of the AICC held from 1921 to the year of achieving independence, reflect the frequent repetition of ideas and actions bearing the following inferences:

1. Right of self-determination for all oppressed people of the world;
2. Opposition to colonialism and imperialism;
3. Policy of non-alignment with political power blocs in the world;
4. India's independent stand on specific international issues; and
5. Closer cooperation and friendship amongst the the nations to maintain world peace. 54

The international projection of the political goals of the Indian freedom movement created a "forward looking perspective" which went beyond the national conceptions of foreign policy. A good illustration of the future effect of the objectives which evoked a ground-swell of the public opinion supporting Indian nationalism is found in the Columbia University address of Jawaharlal Nehru. He listed the objectives as:

the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of war, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

The logical pattern of Indian foreign policy unfolded itself along positive trends which followed the basic guidelines for a democratic political life at home and in the international community. It is difficult to accept the criticism made by Michael Edwardes when he suggests that Indian leadership of the Third World was counter-productive. Elaborating his argument he said:

Unfortunately Nehru took this respect to mean the acceptance of Indian leadership and Indian tutelage. We believed that the interests of former colonial territories were identical when in fact they were, not infrequently, competitive. He convinced himself that out of the anti-colonial struggle had emerged a community of suffering which transcended national divisions. This was a major error.

It is not so much a question of the "rigidity" of Nehru's mind, as of mobilization of resources for national diplomacy at an operational level. India's attitude to the Cold War, the question of supply of US arms to Pakistan, the rejection of Portugal's right to Goa, the refusal to name China as "aggressor" in Korea, and other foreign policy decisions were concrete cases in which there was undoubtedly an "operational necessity" to define fundamental ideas on which India would base her relations with the world in the future. There were internal contradictions in Indian foreign policy, and on many occasions the "cart was put before the horse", but it must be emphasized that the strong popular movement in the days of the freedom struggle largely determined the pattern and psychological balance of Indian foreign policy decisions. The political sophistication

of Jawaharlal Nehru must be regarded not so much in the context of abstract conceptions of democratic political life but in his acceptance of the requirement that policy-making at the summit must respond to the manifestations of public opinion.

THE GREAT DEBATES IN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Discussions have taken place on many international issues and foreign policy matters relating to India since we started the struggle movement for independence, during the later years of the nineteenth century ^{and freedom from the clutches of the British Imperialism}. But these discussions and debates on foreign policy matters and events of international nature were having only a recommendatory role in the field of foreign policy of India though they were having an effective impact on the foreign policy matter of India under the British influence and not a participative role in policy-making. The resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committees and the All India Congress Committees, during the second, third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, are the indicators that the Indian masses and leadership have discussed and scrutinized in detail the problems and disputes in relation to the maintenance of international brotherhood and understanding. Though the foreign policy of India was guided and directed by the Government of Great Britain, it took stand whether in favour or in opposition to each issue according to its merit based upon only - against the colonial and imperial rule of European powers over Asian and African

countries. During the freedom struggle movement of India there was only one organized body - the Indian National Congress and its platform - through which the general masses and the leadership expressed their opinion and views over many important national and international issues, whether it related to Indianization of armed forces, reduction of expenditure borne by the Indian masses⁵⁵ or movement of military personnel to neighbouring states of Tibet, Afghanistan or Burma.⁵⁶ The main aim was to criticize the "Imperial Policy" of Great Britain. They discussed the attitude of His Majesty's Government on Turkish and Khilafat Question and legitimized and added the issue with the sentiments of Indian Mosalmans.⁵⁷ They also discussed the First World War situation and approved the establishment of the League of Nations for avoidance of future wars at the global level and maintenance of peace and harmonious relations amongst the large or small nation states. The time came when they gave support to the imperialist and colonial powers for the maintenance of freedom and democracy against the rise of dictatorial trends through Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy and Japan which led to the Second World War, the greatest scar on the face of the humanity. The cultural heritage of the Indian people is the

55. Rajkumar, n. 34, Resolution Nos. 13 and 14.

56. Ibid., Resolution No. 15.

57. Ibid., Resolution No. 26.

basic factor of approach towards the foreign policy of India and it is evident from the constitutional provisions provided under Chapter IV - Directive Principles of State Policy - Article 51, that

The State shall endeavour to -

- a) promote international peace and security;
- b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations;
- c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another; and
- d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration. 58

The adoption of these principles are having their main source to the resolutions adopted and passed at the All India Congress sessions held during twenties and thirties of this century. But many international events occurred during the period of the declaration of freedom to India and the establishment of Indian Republic in 1952. Amongst the most important events were the victory of the Allied Powers - USA, USSR, Great Britain and France - fall of Axis powers viz., Germany, Italy and Japan involved in the Second World War; emergence of new independent states - China, India, Indonesia and other countries; starting^f cold war amongst the USA and the USSR for supremacy over the world, fight among the neighbouring

58. D.D. Basu, Shorter Constitution of India (Calcutta, 1964), edn. 4.

countries in the Middle East and South East Asian region, gave an opportunity to these two Super Powers to take side or back one party or the other. Prior to the formation of Indian Republic there was only one political organizational platform, i.e., sessions of the All India Congress Committee, but the adoption of the Republican Constitution gave legal and forceful platform to the Indian people to discuss any international issue or dispute and formulate, adopt and implement their own foreign policy based upon the ideals culturally inherited.

The Indian Parliament has discussed foreign policy matters and issues of international importance since its inception to present day from time to time. There are many important international issues which have not been discussed at the highest policy-making body of the Indian union due to political stature of Jawaharlal Nehru, who dominated all through at the governmental and non-governmental level. The review of the activities in the field of external affairs at the Parliament level has been scrutinized in the following manner:

	Discussion of important issues and foreign policy matters at the inter-national level	Discussion of national issues relating to foreign policy with neighbouring countries - Ceylon, Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan, China (including issues of Goa, Daman, Diu freedom movement)	Discussion of national issues in relation to Pakistan only	Total number of issues discussed
Ist Lok Sabha	6	6	7	19
IIInd Lok Sabha	6	11	27	44
IIIrd Lok Sabha	38	34	60	132
IVth Lok Sabha	42	9	29	80
Total:	92	60	123	275

N.B. Figures are only available from 1952 to December 1970.⁵⁹

From the establishment of the First Lok Sabha till the end of December 1970 of the Fourth Lok Sabha, 92 important international events have been discussed in the Lok Sabha.

59. Parliament and Foreign Policy - A Study, Appendix III - Calling Attention Notice on urgent important matters and statements made by the ministers.

During the 1st Lok Sabha the events discussed include the Korean War issue and the role of the United Nations, issue of Suez Canal dispute, the test explosion of the hydrogen bomb by the United States of America, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and alliances of Western countries, Collective Defence arrangement system for South East Asia and Western Pacific region, Asian-African Conference held at Bandung and the conflict of Indo-China. In regard to Asian-African Conference, the Lok Sabha discussed a Private Member's Resolution moved by Brajeshwar Prasad in which the United Nations was requested to make revisions in the UN Charter for representation of African and Asian countries in the United Nations Organization and its subsidiary bodies according to the proportion of their population. But this resolution could not be passed and was withdrawn due to the Leave of the House.⁶⁰ The second most important issue discussed in the Parliament during the First Lok Sabha period was suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and explosions. The resolution moved by C.P. Gidwani on this issue could not be discussed fully due to the expiry of the House, till the commencement of the Second Lok Sabha. The Second Lok Sabha adopted another resolution moved by V.K. Krishna Menon in this behalf on 22 May 1957 and expressed its concern over the "continued

60. Parliament and Foreign Policy - A Study, Appendix I.

development and production of nuclear weapons of mass destruction" and made an appeal to great powers to suspend its production without further delay.⁶¹ The important issues discussed during the Second Lok Sabha include the military aid agreement between the USA, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan; nuclear explosion and radioactive clouds due to the test of weapon by France; tragic incident of firing by police on African people at Capetown, the critical situation in Congo and deployment of UN forces, situation created by the decision of the UK Government to join the European Common Market. The Third and Fourth Lok Sabhas have discussed numerous major events concerning repatriation of Indians from Asian-African countries, involvement of foreign powers in Vietnam, establishment of nuclear bases by the USA and the UK in the Indian Ocean, Nuclear and Non-Proliferation Treaty, conflict and fighting between Israel and Arab countries in West Asia; relationship with German Democratic Republic; non-aligned countries' meeting and White people regime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia.

In the case of foreign policy matters discussed in the second category it covers the bilateral relationship of India with the neighbouring countries viz., Ceylon, Tibet, Nepal, Burma, Bhutan, Afghanistan and China and the total number of issues discussed in the Lok Sabhas from first to fourth relate mostly to the boundary disputes with neighbouring countries,

61. Ibid.

occupation of Tibet by Chinese troops and its reference in the United Nations, occupation of Indian territory by Chinese forces, freedom movement in Goa, Daman and Diu, Pakistan-China alignment on Indian boundaries, nationalization of Banks in Burma and Indian repatriates from Ceylon. The Indo-China and Indo-Ceylon relationships have figured a number of times in the sittings of all the Four Lok Sabha sessions.

[The third category involves the bilateral relationship of India with Pakistan and these have appeared frequently in the sittings of all the Four Lok Sabhas. The total number of issues covered in this category comes to 123, about 50 percent of issues discussed in this category related to the Third Lok Sabha period. The maximum number of issues involve the Canal Water Dispute during the First Lok Sabha, border dispute, military aid to Pakistan, infiltration and occupation of Indian territory by the Pakistani army during the period of Second Lok Sabha. The occupation of territory issue was discussed time and again during the sittings of Third and Fourth Lok Sabha period. The review of the Lok Sabha activities gives an idea that major portion of debates and discussion was devoted to the bilateral conflicting issues between India and Pakistan.]

There are many important international issues just like invasion of Soviet troops over Hungary, Blockade of Berlin and Cuban Missile crisis which have not been touched either by the government members or by the opposition members on the floor

of both the Houses of the Parliament. Though much discussion have taken place outside the precincts of the Parliament and important leaders of the government and opposition have clarified their stand or raised their voice over the issue of importance in international sphere. It was the political stature of Jawaharlal Nehru who dominated by the scene very much and others were not allowed to contribute much in the field of foreign policy of India. The impact of Soviet establishment dominated over the mind of Nehru and it is the main reason that Nehru never spoke against the offensive acts of Soviet Russia in the international arena.

The "great debates" of Indian foreign policy can in a sense be regarded as having started with the discussion on the objectives of the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947. Nehru was at that time led to an appraisal of the future of India in terms of an Asian Federation. This sort of theoretical understanding became increasingly irrelevant to the deliberations and investigations of concrete foreign policy issues.

The involvement of India and Pakistan in a conflict relationship vitally affected India's analysis of the international environment. The Kashmir question became an important foreign policy issue and influenced official and non-official perception and judgement vis-a-vis military policy, conception of national security, and the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. It must be interpreted as "intrinsic" to the

public opinion context that "information" and "decision-making" did not encompass an array of alternatives to facilitate the goal of Indo-Pakistan detente. The leadership was either fully supported or pervasive communications were addressed urging reinforcement of India's claims to Kashmir. The role playing image of Nehru and Krishna Menon in the context of Kashmir as a "bone of contention" between India and Pakistan, was strengthened by the public approval in India. The critical assumptions made by the opposition leaders like S.P. Mookerji had strong motivational components related to the "domestic" environment but did not have substantial instrumental effects in the "external" environment.

The role of "non-alignment" in Indian Foreign Policy led to the consideration of many "rhetorical" problems, and a constantly recurring theme was the self-image of India. As an image maker Nehru had to produce standards of judgement for measuring trends in world politics. The policy of non-alignment provided a popular analysis of the Cold War situation existing between the USA and the Soviet Union. As an instrument of foreign policy, Indian non-alignment came under the sharp attack during cataclysmic Sino-India crisis of 1962. There were several possible directions in which Indian foreign policy could have responded as it confronted the formidable problems created by the Chinese actions. The strategy adopted by Nehru won varying degrees of public approval. It is true that the "external context" was determined by the Sino-Soviet rift, but the shift

which occurred in the verbal strategy and politico-military responses to the ambiguous situation facing the country, was directly related to the feed-back and political appraisals of the Nehru era.

The issue of Tibet, both during the period of Chinese "liberation" and later at the time of the Dalai Lama's flight into India, can perhaps best be conceived as negative spillover of inadequate politico-military assessments and evaluations. The pros and cons of Indian policy were not debated with a full consideration of the prime elements in the geopolitical situation of Tibet.

The role of India in the International Control Commission in Indo-China did not give rise to any wide ranging debate on the basic political problems influencing the course of India's South East Asian relations. The Nehru era was not marked by a discussion of values and goals of India in opposition to the American presence in Asia, although the dynamics of the Indo-Pak confrontation led to India's dislike of the "involvement of outside powers in South and South East Asia". It is symptomatic of the static character of the Indian interest in South East Asia that the Indian debate on Vietnam was tacked on to the reappraisal of US policy in the wider context of the security of the sub-continent.)

In the post-Nehru era, the political debates on "Arab-Israel relations", the "Czechoslovakia Crisis" and the "Non-Proliferation" issue have yielded important information on

the pressures exerted on Indian decision-makers by the international environment.

The events connected with the emergence of Bangladesh provide interesting expositions of the dynamic inter-relationship of decision-making and public opinion and "communication effectiveness" was amply demonstrated.

CHAPTER II

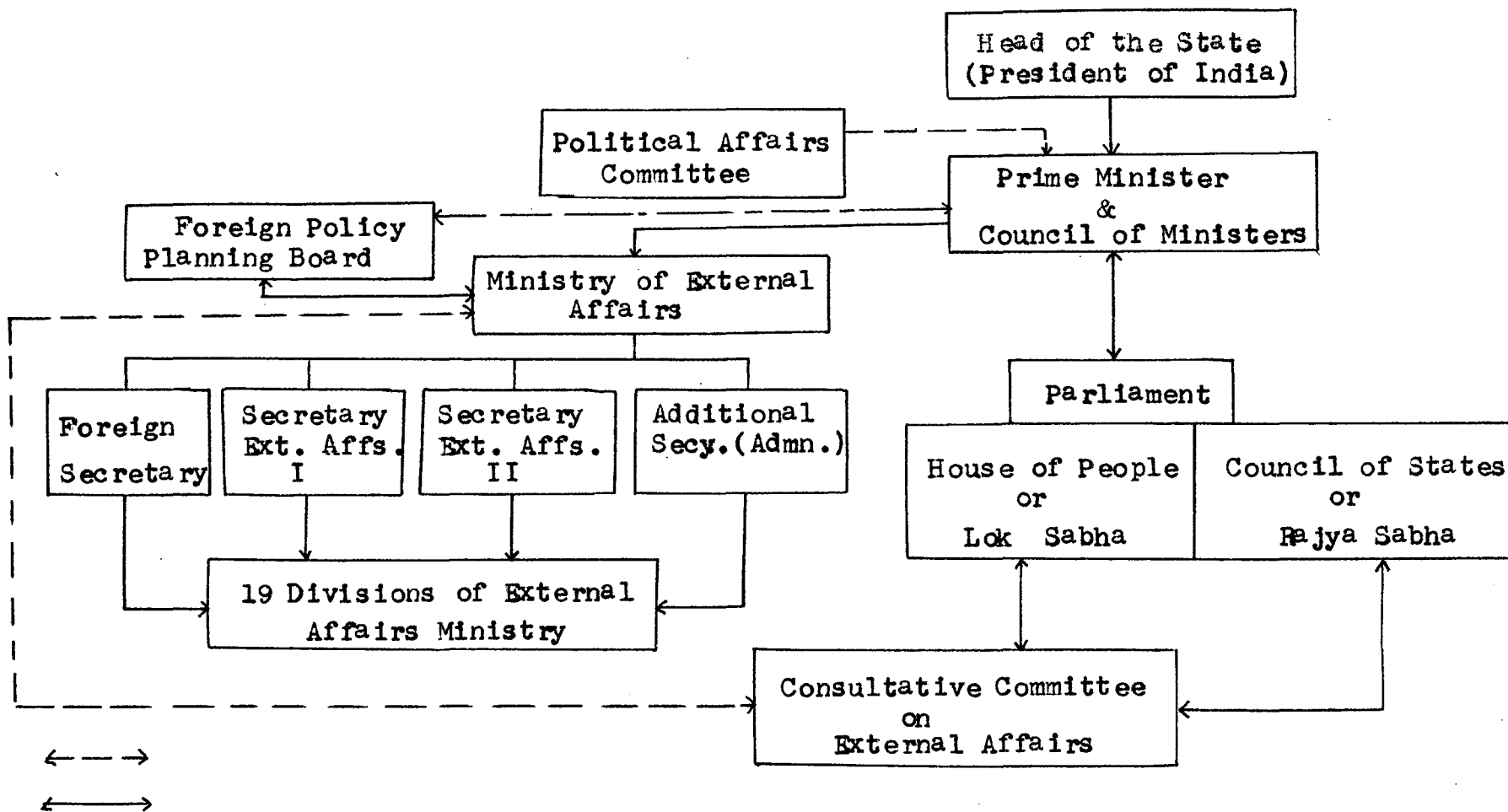
CHAPTER II

THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCESS

The Conditioning Factors

Under the Constitution of India, External Affairs or Foreign Policy matters have been included in the Union List and therefore the Parliament has a direct control over the subject. It controls the foreign policy matters through two ways viz. (a) "to approve, modify or reject the foreign policy framed by the Executive; and (b) "Executive has to place all relevant information before the Both the Houses of Parliament about the various programmes, negotiations, treaties, agreements and other actions of the Government with the other countries".¹ Both the Houses of the Parliament are empowered, equally, to control the foreign policy matters except the budget proposals and no-confidence motion are to be discussed only in the House of the People, i.e., Lok Sabha. The following chart has tried to depict the functioning of the political system under the constitutional provisions:

1. L.M. Singhvi and A.R. Mukherjea, Parliamentary Procedure in India (Delhi, 1972), pp. 69-77.



2:Organisational Set-up and functions of the Ministries/Departments of the Government of India (IV Ed.) Ministry of Home Affairs Publication, Government of India, New Delhi - 1968

In the permanent set up of the Executive we find the Foreign Secretary, other secretaries and officials of the Ministry of External Affairs, who are indirectly related to the political set-up, but are responsible directly through their political executive to existing highest political institution of the country. On the other hand the political set-up is headed by a minister, as in-charge of External Affairs Ministry but directly responsible and accountable to the Parliament, and shares the joint responsibility of actions with the Council of Ministers. He is also answerable for his own or joint action to the Parliament and Consultative Committee on External Affairs.

The business activities of the Houses of the Indian Parliament were adopted on the pattern of the British constitution. Therefore at the time of the First Lok Sabha it was adopted that an Informal Consultative Committee should be formed relating to each Ministry or Department which will provide an opportunity to the members of the Parliament and the Government to promote contact acquaintance and organize informal discussion "with principles, problems and working of the government policies and public administration".³ The material of discussion is generally provided in advance by the Ministry to all members of the Committee. The Minister in-charge of the Ministry usually presides over the meetings of

3. Report - Department of Parliamentary Affairs, Informal Consultative Committees (1967-68), pp. 10-14.

the Committee and senior officials of the Ministry and a representative of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs also attend their meetings. During the time of the Second and Third Lok Sabha period there was much criticism over the constitution as well as over the large size of these Committees. Therefore bearing this in mind, consultations and discussions have taken place at various levels - two-fold action was taken to make the functioning of these committees more effective and useful:

- (a) Ministries were requested to circulate minutes of the meetings to the members;
- (b) Ministries were also advised "that if on a particular issue there is a general concensus of opinion, Government should normally accept that. If there is any difficulty in doing so, the reasons for non-acceptance of that view should be explained to the members of the Informal Consultative Committees." 4

Apart from this few other steps were also taken to regulate the functioning of these committees. Firstly, the word "informal" was deleted, the Committees were now called as Consultative Committees, but the deliberations and discussion remained informal; secondly, the strength of the Committee in regard to representation was fixed by the Government with the strength of the various parties in Parliament and with due regard and consultations of opposition. Each party was to choose its own

4. Ibid.,

5. Ibid., Appendix II.

nominee for Consultative Committee of each department; thirdly, it is the duty of the Ministry concerned to issue notices etc. for the meetings of the Consultative Committee, to each regular member and if any member of the other committee suggests for joining meeting of the other committees, and these may be held. Fourthly, the meetings of the Committee are to be held during the session period. These meetings would be attended by the senior officials of the ministry concerned. Finally, Government has to accept the view of the majority with the exceptions of the following things:

- (a) financial implications;
- (b) concerning security, defence, and atomic energy;
- (c) any matter falling within the purview of an autonomous corporation.

Both the Houses are having equal jurisdiction over the conduct of the Government relating to Foreign Policy and External Affairs matters and these are subject to scrutiny through question hour, Half-an-hour discussion, Calling Attention Notices, Resolutions, General Budget discussions, Discussion on the Annual Report of the Ministry, debates on the Address of the President, either in the Parliament or in the Public Accounts and Consultative Committees.⁶

The domestic environment in India demands of the Government a constant reference of its courses of action to the Parliament when it is in session. Parliament of course is

6. Singhvi and Mukherjea, n. 1, p. 71.

only one arena where nation-wide political dialogue takes place. Regional and linguistic conflicts have persisted in post-independence India and volatile internal tensions have erupted on several occasions. Numerous reasons have been cited to explain why the democratic system in India is immune to the conditions which have produced "military take-overs" in other developing societies. It is possible to attribute special importance to the Indian parliamentary process which encourages a structured relationship of domestic political forces in the tangled background of international crises. The political spectrum of India has permitted the parliamentary process to create opportunities for "cessation of internal hostilities" to strengthen India's political fabric vis-a-vis the rest of the world. Periods of high tension have found the parliamentary process effecting a process of conciliation between the political forces within the country. The Government has, of course, adopted different types of strategy in different periods in the assessment of the "stabilising and supporting influence of parliament". Nehru entered into commitments in pursuit of "non-alignment" largely on his own but was always willing to explore adjustments which were judged in national interest during the course of parliamentary debate. An entirely different type of situation arose after 1962 when forces appeared to gain strength which were urging a total reconstruction of policy. The resurgence of nationalist feeling in reaction to the Sino-Indian clashes inevitably produced political ramifications

which were not always consonant with the requirements of flexible diplomacy. The fluid political situation in the post-Nehru period led to popular support or disapproval for government policies including foreign policy being expressed on occasions more vocally through forums outside parliament. Subsequently Mrs. Gandhi's massive victory at the polls has led to a third phase where we can safely conclude that institutional and policy patterns are supplemented by Elite decision-making more extensively. The closer definition of purpose of Indian power in the subcontinent which Indira Gandhi has achieved has dramatically extended the capacity of the executive to secure approval of formal or informal undertakings in pursuit of national security needs as has been amply demonstrated in the events connected with the emergence of Bangla Desh.

If we look at the relations between the Executive and the Legislature in perspective in the context of foreign policy it would not be fair to conclude that the Government has been subservient to Parliament. The debates undoubtedly reveal what may be aptly called as "bargaining situations". The Government has always been interested to utilize the foreign policy debates to assess the willingness of the articulate public to accept official policies. The particular External Affairs Minister or Prime Minister has been fully aware of the political dimensions of the international issues being debated and has tried to develop "political assets" for use abroad out of the national debate. As far as the question of direct

influence on the External Affairs Ministry is concerned the most important techniques used by members of Parliament are those which represent "constructive approaches" either through the Consultative Committee or through private discussions. Explicit proposals put forward in the press have not led to any far-reaching results as can be seen for example from the generally pro-Israel recommendations which have challenged the conventional wisdom of the Foreign Office. The political elite in authority has responded to the bureaucratic phenomenon for maintaining a climate of political confidence rather than experiment with pressure group politics in the usual sense of the term.

ROLE OF OPPOSITION

In a parliamentary form of government, the role of opposition has an important place. In a democratic society each member has a different view, according to his likings and dislikings, on each specific issue. The multiplicity of actions, in modern days, have increased the functions of the Government. This has activated the like-minded people, on specific issues according to their ideological approach, to form their own group on political questions. Groups in larger shape form political parties, based upon certain ideals and principles, to achieve their ideological goals. At the time of struggle movement for independence, there was only one organized body known as the Indian National Congress, and even after the withdrawal of Britishers, too, though there were splinter

groups viz. Congress Socialist and extremist within that organization. The transfer of power in the hands of Indian leaders belonging to the Indian National Congress created an open rift amongst the leadership over the taking-over charge of the Government. The adoption of the Parliamentary form of Government under the new constitution declared in January 1950, established the party-system in India. At the initial stages of Indian Union, there were no other parties except the Communist Party of India. Though Hindu Mahasabha was also functioning as an organized body, but not as a political party.⁷ The first General Elections held in the early January 1952 brought a picture of multi-party system with the majority of seats won by the Congress candidates at the Central and State levels. At the Central level in the election of the House of People, the total seats were 489, out of which contest had taken place for 479 seats. The Congress Party won 363 seats and formed the Government, being a majority party in the Lok Sabha. There were thirteen other parties functioning at 'all India level', the Communist Party being the second largest party in the Lok Sabha made coalition to form "official opposition" in the Lok Sabha.⁸ Therefore, for the first time in the history of emerging parliamentary system, name of "opposition parties" came into

7. Raman Pillai, A Study of the Attitudes of Opposition Parties in India towards Foreign Policy - 1946-63 (Ph.D. thesis, Unpublished work), School of International Studies, New Delhi, 1967.

8. S.P. Singh Sud and Ajit Singh Sud, Indian Elections and Legislators (All India Publication, Ludhiana, 1953), p. 47.

existence.⁹

In India the system of Parliamentary Democracy is in a developing stage and the passing years are giving an experience to the elected representatives of the government as well as big responsibility over the shoulders of the representatives in opposition. The Indian parliamentary democracy has seen the dominance of "one party and one man" till the middle of 1964. There was no effective opposition at the central level during the periods of first and second Lok Sabhas. During the first Lok Sabha period the opposition parties were occupying one-fourth seats of the total strength and the remaining were occupied by the dominating Indian National Congress Party.¹⁰

In India the political parties are having ideological differences and these may be classified as (i) Right wing political parties - Jan Sangh and Swatantra; (ii) moderate Left wing - Indian National Congress, Socialist Party, Communist Party of India, Bhartiya Kranti Dal etc.; (iii) extreme Left wing - Communist Party (Marxist) and (Marxist-Leninist), Revolutionary Socialist Party, Forward Bloc (Marxist) and others; and (iv) Regional and other parties - Jharkhand, Gantantra Parishad, Dravida Munnetra Kazhgham, Muslim League, Republican Party of India, Scheduled Caste

9. Ibid., p. 76.

10. M.N. Kaul, Practice and Procedure of Parliament (New Delhi/Bombay, 1968), p. 175.

Federation etc. These political organizations in parliamentary process, influence the actions of the Government within the House and outside too. The Congress Party is consistently having the majority in the Parliament since the Constitution was promulgated in 1950. The norms adopted at that time, for recognition of a Parliamentary Party are - (a) a party should be in a position to keep the House, i.e. the number of members should not be less than the quorum of ten per cent fixed to constitute a sitting of the House; (b) it should have a unity of ideology and programme; and (c) it should have organization both inside and outside the House.¹¹ Since that time no political party has been able, officially, to be called as Opposition Party, though attempts have been made by all the opposition parties to form a united opposition under one leadership. For the first time in the history of Parliament the institution of the Leader of the Opposition came into existence when the split had taken place within the Indian National Congress and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh was declared as Leader of Opposition in the Lok Sabha and Shri S.N. Misra in the Rajya Sabha in 1969.¹²

As there is no cohesiveness in the opposition parties, therefore, except two or three political parties, no organized effort has been made to take a deeper interest either in

11. H.S. Fartyal, The Opposition in Indian Parliament (Bombay, 1967), p. 59.

12. Ibid., p. 60.

international affairs or foreign policy matters. If we go through and review the attitude of a few important political parties we will find that some are in favour of close association with the Communist Bloc, some in favour of Western Bloc, and another section is in favour of independent stand in the field of foreign policy. The Bhartiya Jan Sangh,¹³ on the one hand, endorsed the non-alignment policy adopted by¹⁴ Nehru as Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister of India, at the global level but also adds that it should "be guided primarily by enlightened self-interest" i.e. welfare and progress of the country.¹⁴ This party also advocates the policy of "non-involvement" in those international events which have no direct relationship or effect directly the national interest of Indian foreign policy.¹⁵ In the same way the ideology of the Swatantra Party believes in "enlightened self-interest" of the Jan Sangh Party with the aim of furthering national interest as permanent i.e. territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country, but it advocates "total surrender of non-alignment and linkage with the Western countries".¹⁶ In the case of Socialist Party, it has splits and mergers off and on, the leadership prefers and advocates "world peace,

13. Motilal A. Jhangiani, Jansangh and Swatantra - A Profile of the Rightist Parties in India (Bombay, 1967), p. 45.

14. Mohammad Ali Kishore, Jansangh and India Foreign Policy, p. 31

15. Jhangiani, n. 13, p. 45.

16. Ibid., p. 106.

neutrality and non-alignment", and believes in regional alliance system of Asian countries.¹⁷ The Communist Party of India believes in "proletarian internationalism" which is based upon Marxist-Leninist principles of international communism.¹⁸ The split in Communist Party of India bifurcated it into two political wings - one having allegiance to the Soviet Union known as the CPI and the other CPI (M) having allegiance to China as true Communist forces, following the path of "revolution" in international arena. Both the political wings of the Communist Party are having their own set of rules and interpretations of International Communism.

In the field of foreign policy matters, the role of opposition in India can be judged through the scrutiny of policies adopted by the Government and the stand taken by each above-mentioned political party forming the opposition. The end of the Second World War brought a period of "Cold War" on the one hand and independence and freedom to a few Asian and African countries on the other. India also got independence and she has to adopt and implement her own foreign policy in the field of international relationship which was an essential feature due to the development of technology and communication. The period of "Cold War" polarized the world community into two power blocs, i.e., the Soviet Union of Russia and the United

17. Raman Pillai, n. 7, pp. 22-25.

18. Taufiq Ahmad Nijami, The Communist Party and India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1971), pp. 42-43.

States of America. Nehru, the architect of India's Foreign Policy, was not in favour of joining any power bloc due to decades of colonial rule over India, and was thinking to attain an independent honourable place in the world community. Therefore he adopted a policy which was not either in favour of the Soviet Union or the United States of America, but an independent foreign policy on each international issue. Nehru also defined the concept of non-alignment with four basic factors of this policy, viz., (a) independent action in foreign affairs, (b) security of the nation, (c) adoption and implementation of effective policies for world peace, and (d) keeping away India from power blocs.¹⁹ The opposition parties in India have expressed their views from time to time over the question of non-alignment. The Communist Party of India did not support in the beginning Nehru's policy of non-alignment and criticized that it is following the policy of British imperialism. But the role of Indian Government and the stand taken during the years of 1950s on international issues compelled the Communist Party of India to appreciate the policy of non-alignment. The Jan Sangh and Praja Socialist Party also supported the policy of non-alignment, but they criticized the one aspect - that it is not security-oriented for the nation and the Government is not sincerely adhering on implementation of the policy.²⁰ The only party, which was

19. Raman Pillai, n. 7, pp. 38-42.

20. Ibid., pp. 42-44.

against the policy of non-alignment and opposed on principle, was the Swatantra Party, came into existence in 1959.

Apart from this there were other issues in the field of foreign policy, too, in which opposition parties have taken keen interest and have expressed their views either in favour of the stand taken by the Government of India or against the issue. Some of them may be mentioned here for the scrutiny of their role as an effective opposition viz., the Korean issue, Hungarian crisis, Indo-Pak relations, Kashmir issue, Tibetan problem, Racial discrimination policy of African states, and Soviet invasion on Czechoslovakia.

In regard to Korean affair the opinion of the opposition parties was not unanimous, though most of them agreed with the stand taken by the Government of India, but they criticized the sending of medical mission to South Korea and blamed the Government for its partisan attitude towards "imperialistic forces".²¹ On the question of Hungarian issue the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh while criticized the action of the Soviet Union and the stand of the Government of India in the shadow of "internal affairs". The Communist Party of India justified the actions of the Soviet Union and endorsed the actions of the Indian delegation in the United Nations. The Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh blamed the Government of India for maintenance of

21. Ibid., pp. 50-57.

"double standard" and deviation from the principles of 'non-alignment'.²² The Indo-Pak relationship is sensitive issue which involves many problems for both the countries. These problems may be categorized under the following heads, viz., refugee problem with dispute of minorities and evacuee property, canal water dispute, Kashmir problem and dispute of boundaries in the Eastern wing of Pakistan. All these major problems are having a historical background in the garb of tragic partition of British Indian Union. Each opposition party has its own opinion over the issue, few of them have supported the policy adopted by the Government of India from time to time. Some of them have criticized the Indian Foreign Policy, the Jan Sangh Party keeps the main target of criticism over the matters of foreign policy. Their leadership have always expressed a strong feeling against the existence of Pakistan and the "policy of appeasement" towards Pakistan, adopted by the Indian Government and has declared that it is against our national interest.²³ On the other hand, Praja Socialist Party affirms friendly relations with Pakistan. It advocates the close cooperation and mutual understanding against the misunderstanding on each bilateral problem between India and Pakistan. The Communist Party of India supported the stand taken by the Government of India on Indo-Pak relationship,

22. Ibid., pp. 71-81.

23. Ibid., pp. 94-100.

including the issue of Kashmir. Swatantra Party too, has a conciliatory approach towards the problems of India and Pakistan, and its stand on Kashmir issue does not have a positive commitment.²⁴ In case of racial discrimination and Soviet invasion over Czechoslovakia, the role of opposition may be assessed from the adoption of the Private Members' Resolution in the Lok Sabha. In case of racial discrimination, George Fernandes moved a resolution in the House of the People on 22 March 1968 which was adopted on 5 April 1968 in an amended form in the following manner:

This House condemns the execution of Freedom Fighters in Southern Rhodesia by the illegal regime on Ian Smith and urges the Government of India to press British Government to use all possible means including total economic sanctions to terminate this illegal regime as well as to urge the Security Council to act under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter and impose total mandatory sanctions against the Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia. 25

In the same manner another resolution moved by a Private Member, Surendranath Dwivedy on 14 August 1968 and was adopted on 30 August 1969 by the House, i.e. Lok Sabha, in which the struggle of liberation by the Czech people was acclaimed and their efforts were got appreciated and full sympathy was showered upon them. The text of the resolution adopted is as under:

This House hails the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their bid to liberalize and democratize the political life of their country, reiterates its

24. Ibid., pp. 101-05.

25. Lok Sabha, Parliament and Foreign Policy - A Study
Appendix I, Resolutions.

faith in the policy of non-involvement and non-intervention in the internal affairs of any country and appeals to all freedom loving countries and people to extend their support and sympathy to the movement in Czechoslovakia. 26

Both these resolutions of the Private Members moved and adopted in the House of People give a significant and important place and prestige to the opposition in the Indian Parliamentary Democracy. It is also evident from the day-to-day business of the Parliament that the role of opposition in India has a very insignificant place due to their heterogeneous grouping. In India the role of opposition may be brought under the first two categories of Moniseur Michel Debre', viz., (a) Opposition to Regime, and (b) Programmatic Opposition.²⁷ Sometimes the opposition in Indian Parliament has brought many such issues which have raised the hope of the many people of important international events, for stable democratic system in India. But the numerical weakness with heterogeneous ideological grouping has restricted the proper functioning of the opposition in India.

The structure of relationship between the Government and the opposition parties in the field of foreign policy follows the logic of the Indian political system which places the responsibility for achievement of collective goals exclusively on the Government. The opposition parties can participate in "agenda building" but the effect of diverse patterns of

26. Ibid., Appendix I, Resolutions.

27. Roy C. Macridis Jr., "Opposition in France - An Interpretation" Government and Opposition (London), vol. 7, no. 2, Spring 1972, pp. 166-85.

opposition in India have as a whole been marginal. The political cleavages within the ruling Congress party have placed clear limits to actions where opportunities for flexible diplomacy were present. The alternative political choices on the question of Czechoslovakia in 1968 were not so much considered in terms of coherent and feasible policy for India as they were propositions based on anti-thetical polarisations within the ruling party. One is tempted to conclude that the opposition parties have not provided a critique of the Indian involvement in the international system but have only attempted to assess individual priorities.

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION WITH THE BUREAUCRATIC MODEL

Political Bureaucratic Relationship

In a developing democratic system of government importance is given to few fundamental ^{factors} ~~factors~~, viz. (a) Social structure, (b) Economic structure, and (c) political structure. In modern days the transformation of the society is the prime need of social structure and the public participation in different kinds of welfare activities characterize the structure of any political system. As India adopted democratic institutional framework mainly based upon British pattern it inherited the British bureaucratic model, and side by side it provided an important role to the political leadership. The bureaucracy provides "a system of government" the control of which is so completely in the hands of officials that their power jeopardizes the liberties of ordinary citizens. The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions and a refusal to embark upon experiment".¹ Therefore the bureaucracy has some fundamental characteristics, i.e. set of persons with a routine type of work who follow rules and regulations rigidly and this causes a delay in decision-making process. This also does not allow

1. Harold J. Laski, "Bureaucracy - Ideas and Issues", in Dwight Waldo, ed., Public Administration - A Book of Readings (London, 1953), p. 36.

experimentation of any act of the sovereign authority. The main emphasis in bureaucracy is "continuous operation...even in the face of revolutionary changes in the Society".² The Weberian concept inter-links the two institutions, viz. (i) bureaucracy - the administrative institution, and (ii) the social or political institution of the society. The present day state of affair is in a transitional period. Everyday a new nation is emerging with its sovereign political structure. The political structure of these new nations are adopting the system of their own liking, but their administrative or bureaucratic system is functioning in the same way or with minor changes according to the needs of the political structure. The enormous reformative and welfare role of the political leadership in these new nations has created a confusion between the traditional pattern of administration and the reformative system of the administration.³ The reformative system adopted, in case of India, as a welfare state under Part IV - The Directive Principles of State Policy - of the Indian Constitution directs the maintenance of communicative channels between the political institutions and the masses in decision-making by the leadership. Therefore the bureaucracy or the administrative machinery is having a very important position in policy

2. Max Weber, "Bureaucracy - Theoretical Conceptions", in Robert K. Merton, Ailsa P. Gray, Barbara Hockey, Hanan C. Selvin, ed., Reader in Bureaucracy (Illinois, 1960), p. 18.

3. S.V. Kogekar, "Problems of Public Administration in Under-developed Areas with special reference to India" in B.B. Majumdar, ed., Problems of Public Administration in India (Patna, 1951), pp. 21-23.

formulation and implementation process of the Indian reformatory social system.⁴ The political leadership, in the same manner, has also an important place in a democratic political order, as it is responsible for bridging the gap of modern reformative system where it has to mobilize people's support for each developmental and promotional activity. Therefore both these structures - bureaucracy and political leadership - "contribute in their own, different ways to the system maintenance and performance of the basic functions of the system".⁵ Both are having the similar functions but their roles are different. The Constitution has incorporated specific clauses in regard to their organization and functions in the Indian polity. The political leadership is composed of members of Parliament and "their main qualification is victory in the election held on universal franchise",⁶ who constitute, on the basis of majority in the Parliament, the Government and make policy decisions at the highest level. On the other hand, the administrators are selected "on the basis of merit confined by competitive examination",⁷ and also have "security of tenure" with a salary under constitutional provision for performance

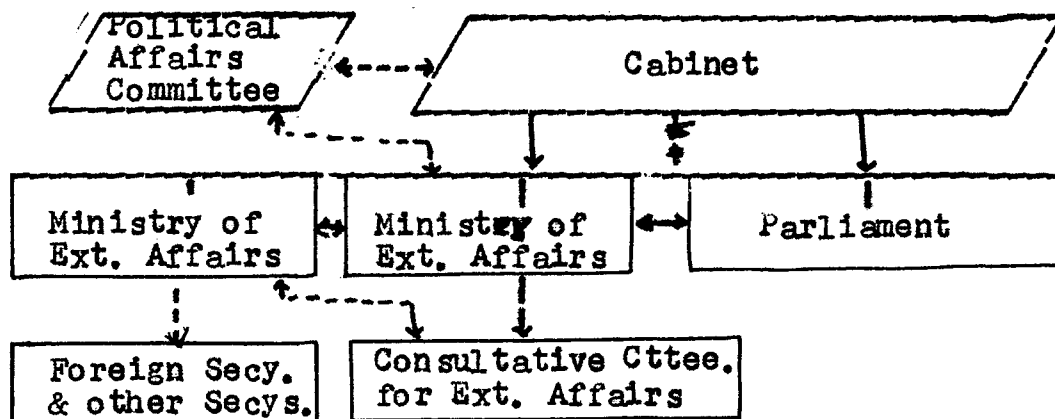
4. Shanti Kothari and Ramashray Roy, Relations Between Politicians and Administrators at the District Level (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 8-9.

5. Ibid., p. 9.

6. S.R. Maheshwari, The Evolutions of Indian Administration (Agra, 1970), p. 11.

7. Ibid.

of services, either at the Central or State levels. They also function within a fixed existing range of activity, while political leadership function with "interest articulation and interest aggregation".⁸ Though they perform their functions in a different set-up but on practical basis they have many occasions where it becomes essential for both of them to influence each other's behaviour. If we discuss, for example, the bureaucratic set-up and the political set-up of the Ministry of External Affairs, then we can analyse how far these set-up are having inter-linked relationship. On the bureaucratic side there are civil servants and their subordinates, in theory, who collect facts/information, prepare draft and implement or carry out the decisions taken at the highest level. This is done by the heads of the different divisions and they also suggest different choices/alternatives or programmes in lieu of the policy or policies adopted and to be implemented. On the other side, i.e., political leadership -



8. Kothari and Roy, n. 4, p. 10.

The Minister heads the Ministry and is accountable to the Parliament and is responsible for the activities of his Ministry. He administers, controls and supervises the activities of his ministry and all the civil servants act on his behalf. He determines the policy goals, though he is assisted by the civil servants of his ministry through collection of factual material in policy formulation, and takes policy decisions. If we go through with the traditional concept on relationship between bureaucratic and political leadership, we find herewith that there is a clear cut division amongst the both, viz., policy formulation with the politicians and its implementation with the administrators. But the policy formulation requires an inter-linked channel of process, i.e. collection of data, preparation of choices or alternatives on the basis of impartial and neutral collective material. This is only possible when there is a stable continuous process and it is only possible through administrative service. On the other side, political leadership is changeable after certain fixed period, as provided under the Constitution, and it is not possible for them to maintain the continuous process. Secondly, their interest articulation may bring a bias impact on collection of factual data and formulation of choices and alternatives. Thirdly, the external affairs being a specialized nature of work requires a different set of personal attitude and behaviour than general nature of work. Because in this field one has to understand and analyse the social, economic and political structure of different countries. This is only possible when

there is a permanent set of personnel with specialized training. In India the Minister of External Affairs is the political head of the Ministry and the Foreign Secretary, though there are two more secretaries in the Ministry of External Affairs with equal ranks but the senior-most is designated as Foreign Secretary is the administrative head. At the time of transfer of power in 1947, Nehru held the Department of Foreign Affairs under his control and kept it till his death in May 1964. During his tenure, the administrative side was controlled by the Secretary General and there was only the traditional function of the administration to execute the policy decisions including collection of factual data. The political side was comprised of Parliament, Internal and External Affairs Committees, Informal Consultative Committee. There was no direct relationship of the administrators with the Parliament except that they drafted and prepared the notes for the statements and answers of the Prime Minister, Nehru, relating to the matters of foreign affairs. Sometimes they also attended the sessions, sitting in the galleries of the House, indirectly noting down the points made through the statements and questions of the Members of the Treasury and Opposition benches. V.K. Krishna Menon has mentioned in his interview to Michel Breacher that -

there are speeches made. Some of the speeches made are a kind of routine Opposition and often strong views are expressed. This enables the Prime Minister and the Government to feel....

Parliament should atleast be told about it... these debates have been occasions for the assertion of the basic policies of the Government...the Prime Minister being an acknowledged pundit in international affairs, debates could not materially affect issues. 9

The above-mentioned statement gives an impression that the views of Nehru dominated the scene of external relationship during his tenure of Prime Ministership and the Parliament did not play an effective role. This maintains the supremacy of only the political leadership. There was also External Affairs Committee in which from the political side prominent members of the Cabinet, i.e., Ministers of Defence, Finance, Home were having representation and from administrative side the Secretary-General (until 1964 except a break in 1952) of the Foreign Affairs and other secretaries attended the meetings. Here, their opinion was, sometimes, considered and their suggestions and advice got considerable weight. Apparently, the suggestions and advices offered by the bureaucrats of the foreign affairs got political sanctions through their political head, Nehru, Minister for Foreign Affairs. There was no mention of civil servants in the final declaration or decision of the policy. They were also not entitled to make any statement on policy matters, though presently the condition has changed and off and on the civil servants have openly expressed their views on foreign policy matters, except in

9. Michel Breacher, India and World Politics, (London, 1968) pp. 262-3.

exceptional cases when Nehru allowed the Secretary General of the Ministry to express his opinion. The function of the Secretary General were: (a) to coordinate the activities of the Ministry; (b) to aid and advice the Minister on foreign policy matters, (c) final responsibility for establishment, coordination and satisfactory operation of the Ministry, (d) responsible for direction of policy planning and hold chairmanship of the Policy Planning and Review Committee of the Ministry, and (e) administrative head of foreign service and responsible for good and efficient administration of the ministry.¹⁰

There was another committee, Informal Consultative Committee, constituted by representation of the members of the two Houses of Parliament, i.e., Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, on the political side as formal group and the civil servants of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as informal group. The meeting of this Committee was presided over by the Prime Minister Nehru at that time, but these were not held regularly, as the Prime Minister had devised a new technique and "used to meet a group of about twenty-five members of parliament periodically" and these members "were consulted and kept informed about certain happenings which were not otherwise mentioned in Parliament or elsewhere".¹¹ During the Nehru period, the

10. Maheshwari, n. 6, pp. 281-2.

11. K.P. Misra, Foreign Policy and its Planning pp. 34-35; and S.R. Maheshwari, "Informal Consultative Committees of Parliament", Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies (New Delhi), vol. 2, 1968.

Political leadership dominated the scene, there were few civil servants too, who did not like the policy matters adopted by the government,¹² though they functioned on their posts and maintained harmonious relationship with the political leadership. N.R. Pillai, wrote in his memoirs that "the perfect civil servant must be completely neutral from a political point of view and prove himself the loyal and obedient instrument of whatever party is in power".¹³ The view of Pillai, confirms the Weberian concept of bureaucracy. This again has been confirmed by Dharma Vira, another civil servant that -

the role of the politicians is thus principally that of the policy-maker and also to keep an eye on the performance of the executive wing viz., the services, in regard to the proper implementation of the policies laid down by him. The civil servants are the principal advisers of the political masters in policy-making and thereafter they have to ensure that the policies laid down are honestly and effectively implemented. 14

Since the transfer of power in the hands of the Indian National Congress till the death of Nehru, the role of civil servants in the foreign policy affairs was restricted to advisory level or implementation of policy matters decided by the political masters. But after the death of Nehru the role of civil

12. Michel Breacher, n. 9, p. 259.

13. Kewal L. Punjabi, The Civil Servants in India, p. 26
(New Delhi, 1968)

14. Dharma Vira, "The Services in Parliamentary Democracy", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, vol. 16, no. 3, July-September 1970, pp. 315-20.

servants has assumed an important place, even in political decision-making, apart from advice, execution or implementation in foreign policy affairs. The Indo-Chinese confrontation in 1962 had a great setback to Indian foreign policy makers and this led to readjustment between the administrative and political level. Nehru's ideals broke his own vision and made him to adopt the realistic attitude towards Indian foreign policy. He made certain changes at the administrative level, on the one hand, and at the political level on the other. The sudden death of Nehru in May 1964 and the succession to the post of Prime Minister by Lal Bahadur Shastri brought a change of pattern at the political and administrative level. After the death of Sardar Patel in 1949, Nehru was devoting his most of the time towards the internal bickering of the Congress organization and the States of the Union, though he maintained his supremacy over the international arena. His ideals had always superceded over the facts and reality. For the first time in the political setup, Shastri brought the change, the functions of the External Affairs Ministry came into the hands of an independent Minister. The powers of the Prime Minister in the field of external affairs, as at the time of Nehru, were restricted only as supervisory like other ministerial colleagues in the cabinet. Though Sardar Swaran Singh had taken an independent charge of External Affairs Ministry but Lal Bahadur Shastri kept an informal contact and put forth certain changes at the administrative level. The

era of "personalized and generalized foreign policy of Nehru"¹⁵ was over and more emphasis was placed over the functioning of the executive and experts of External Affairs Ministry. On the one hand Shastri gave foreign policy making a "privilege" to civil servants and experts, on the other he sought informal consultation from the formal and informal organizations and groups of individuals within the Parliament and outside.¹⁶ Shastri, though remained for a brief period of time as Prime Minister of India, created many formal and informal communication channels between the administrative and political wing of the system. Though some time, a new institution, the Secretariat of the Prime Minister, hampered and restrained the proper functioning of the External Affairs Ministry, due to lack of liaison between the two, and did not maintain the coordination. On the administrative side, Shastri reorganized the Ministry of External Affairs and on the political side he consulted informally with the prominent members of Parliament on important international issues. Shastri had started the reorientation of India's foreign policy on pragmatic lines but his sudden death on 11 January 1966 at Tashkent gave another severe blow, after the quick successive death of Nehru in May 1964, to the developing democratic nation. The experts advice and the privilege of

15. Werner Levi, "Foreign Policy : The Shastri Era", in K.P. Misra, ed., Studies in Indian Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1969), p. 191.

16. Ibid., pp. 192-4.

the civil servants to initiate, formulate and implement the issues of external affairs remained status quo, when Mrs. Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister of India. M.C. Chagla held the charge for a brief period as Minister for External Affairs and Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs during the Shastri regime, was shifted to another ministry, but Swaran Singh was brought back again as Minister for External Affairs. The initiative taken to bring administrative reforms by Lal Bahadur Shastri were carried out by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, though N.R. Pillai Commission was still carrying out its investigations to recommend reformative measures in the External Affairs Ministry. In October 1966 Pillai Commission submitted its report and said: "The world scene and the Indian scene with it have changed conspicuously in the past twenty years".¹⁷ Therefore the functions of the foreign service personnel in India have become "increasingly important" and "the primary requisite of the future, therefore, is a strong, dynamic and resilient Foreign Service, consisting of an integrated, professional cadre of officers, well qualified and trained to handle all political, economic, commercial and information work abroad."¹⁸ In the past, the working of the ministry was not having a close-knit coordination process and therefore under the recommendations of the Pillai Commission

17. Report of the Committee on Indian Foreign Service
(Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1966),
Ch. II, para 20, p. 7.

18. Ibid., Ch. X, para. 50.

the Ministry of External Affairs was reorganized on functional basis viz., the business of the territorial divisions were reallocated, specialized division were created, emphasis on functions and coordination of Policy Planning and Review Division and Historical Division were given to prepare papers for policy-making. These reforms have taken place on the administrative side. On the political side, a sub-committee of Cabinet was formed - Political Affairs Committee - on 3 August 1970. The members of this committee were: Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, Y.B. Chavan, Jagjiwan Ram, Swaran Singh and its Chairman was Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The functions of this Committee were to coordinate matters of Internal and External Affairs including the security of the nation.¹⁹ To maintain close relationship of the bureaucracy and the political leadership an effective step was taken to reorganize the Parliament's Consultative Committee of External Affairs Ministry. Its participating numerical strength was reduced with the unanimous consent of the Treasury and Opposition benches, to fixed number - forty - including both the Houses so that more opportunity for free discussion could be provided to the Members of Parliament on foreign policy matters. The whole review of the bureaucratic-political relationship gives an idea that on the one hand, political leadership has the decision-making power as an executive in charge of the ministry, on the

19. Asian Recorder, vol. 16, no. 37, 10-16 September 1970.

other, it is responsible to accept public criticism and mobilize public opinion on each policy matter as a representative of the people. And in decision-making bureaucracy or civil service is an integral part and maintains the procedural routinization of any policy decision. It may also be stated that the relationship between the political leadership and the bureaucracy lies in a federal set-up under the constitutional arrangement. In India too, the functions of both are inherited in the constitution. It is a well-knit inter-linked process under which the political leadership and the bureaucracy function within their own boundaries, though sometimes political leadership infringes the other.

In the perspective of the last twenty-five years the following is a reasonable summary of the bureaucratic-political relationship in the sphere of India's external affairs:

(1) The high administrative capabilities which are associated with the Indian governmental set-up are significant for our understanding of India's machinery of international relations. Scholarly attention has not been focussed on the tensions and stresses between the bureaucrats and the political leadership in foreign affairs, but many commentators have concluded that there are varying conceptions of the role of India at the international level, held by those who are directly involved in the political process and those who are members of the elite structure through direct recruitment. The domestic expectations from the bureaucratic elite were "low" when the

conduct of foreign relations was demonstrating the viability of non-alignment. With the emergence of complexities arising out of the Chinese dispute with India, the pleas for structural-functional analysis of the external affairs set-up acquired a new importance. The bureaucracy was accused at this time and again of having a "vested interest in the status quo", but the charge was never elaborated.

(2) The "political role" of the foreign service is characterized by ambiguity. There are not enough case studies from which to judge how far the political interest have been compatible with the national interest. The foreign ministers concerned have defended the "bureaucrats" resolutely against any parliamentary attacks and current discussions of foreign policy strategy such as are available in parliamentary measures from bureaucratic sources.

(3) The control of external relations in one ministry and its reliance on broad generalizations has created problems of coordination with other ministries. The "exclusive" nature of the Indian Foreign Service has created functionary elite which moves in its own orbit. The resolution of inter-ministry conflict merits close study.

(4) The Ministry of External Affairs has achieved a status which is unique on account of its association with the first Prime Minister and the inescapable primacy of external affairs. A certain social bias in the selection procedures seems to have operated which has in the view of many observers negated "developmental approach".

(5) The narrow construction placed on the bureaucratic functions of the External Affairs Ministry has been instrumental in placing the functions of the minister "outside" the legislative programme. It will be interesting to study the transformation in this respect they may come about after India's active involvement in Asia after Bangla Desh.

(6) The increasing recognition of the inter-dependence of military and diplomatic actions after 1962 has resulted in structural variations which were clearly manifested in the mechanisms for crisis-management in 1971.

(7) The institutional evolution of the Ministry of External Affairs is also associated with the political developments which challenged the conventional assumptions about the position of India in the Commonwealth and the efforts of some powers to "balance" India and Pakistan. Against the background of India's "self-reliance", the study of diplomatic events within the Ministry of External Affairs has been extended to finding answers to the triangular relations between the United States-Soviet Union-China, which are compatible with India's perspective planning.

All these factors have created formal as well as informal changes in the bureaucratic-political relationship. It should be the task of empirical study to trace the changes in political ideology and the changes in the perception of the bureaucratic and political elites, in contemporary India.

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER IV

BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL ELITES

In every society there are two types of people, i.e., (a) Governing, and (b) Non-governing, which play a direct and indirect role of activity in social system.¹ This "governing" section of people form a "power structure" which participates to supervise, control, direct and maintain order with the social system and enforce the "non-governing" class to obey and regard their commands.² In this "governing" class most of the people come from the upper strata of the society and form a minority of decision-makers wielding considerable influence. This traditional "elite" theory has changed in modern days due to studies done by political and social scientists on the one hand, and modernization and industrialization on the other. It is now held that there are several types of "elites" of which the most dominating are "political elites" and "bureaucratic elites".³ The "political elites" are those who have direct relationship with the masses and influence political decisions. The "bureaucratic elites" are those who possess the power due to the right provided by the government to administer the activities in an organized way of the Government

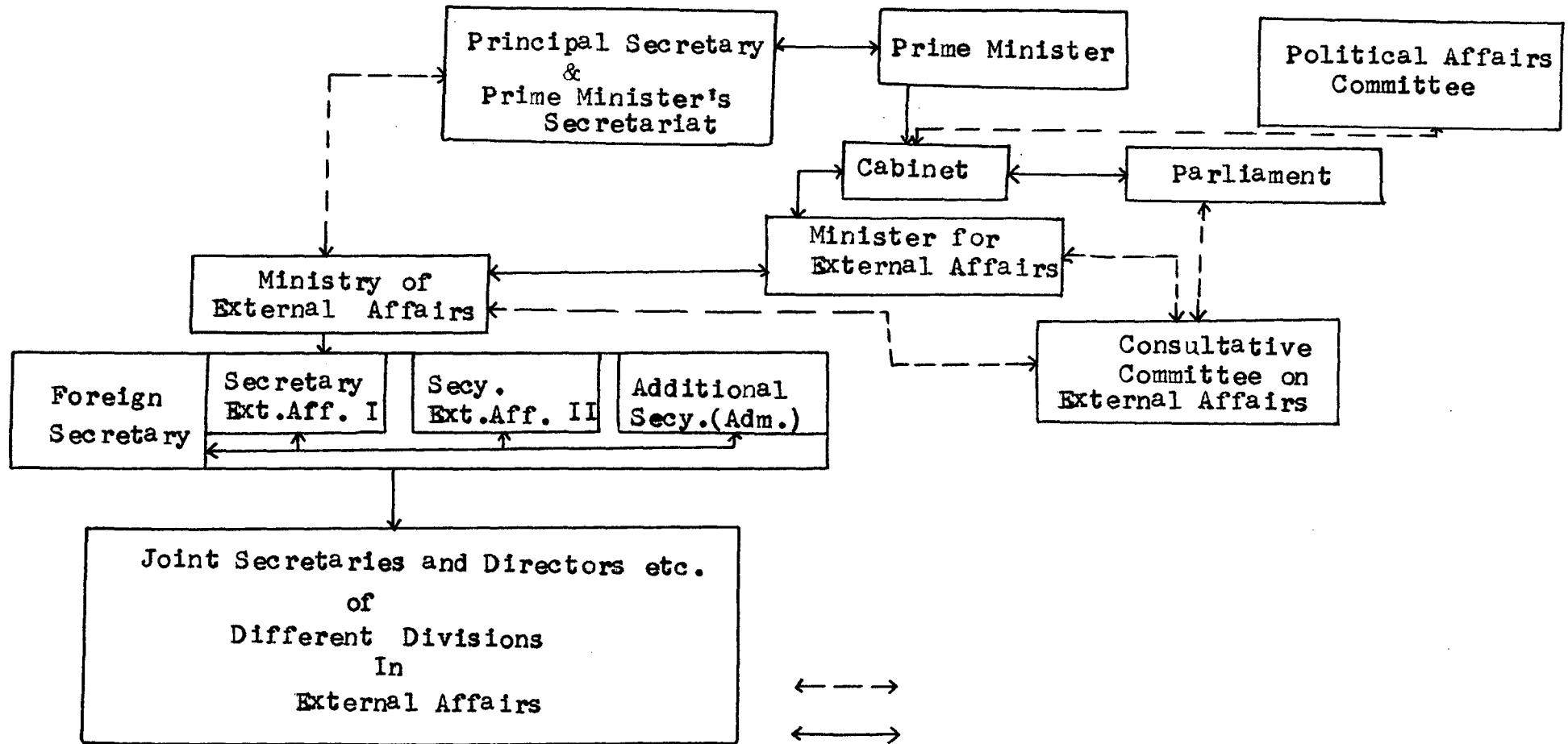
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1. T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (London, 1964), p. 8.
 2. Gerraint Perry, Political Elites - Views of Pareto and Mosca on Power Structure and Political Leadership (London, 1968), pp. 4-11.
 3. Bottomore, n. 1, pp. 69-90.

and their existence in the social system and power structure as stable and permanent. Here we are concerned with those "political and bureaucratic elites" who are having direct relationship with the Government at the Central level. The political elites are those who form the government, the directly elected representatives of the people based upon adult franchise for specific regular period and the bureaucratic elites are the civil servants recruited on the basis of specific qualifications. The political elites derive their power from the Constitution through the institution of the political party which has a mass base organization from the central level, i.e., national down to the village or mohalla. On the other hand, bureaucratic elites have their career permanent and they cease to hold power either after the completion of prescribed service period or due to natural causes. The functions of both the elites cover the subject matter, viz., (a) decision-making, (b) formulation of policies, (c) implementation of the policies and laws laid down by the legislature,⁴ and (d) preparation of material and expert advice to the political authority. In Indian Foreign Policy matters the "Political and Bureaucratic Elites" involved are those having direct or indirect relationship with the External Affairs Ministry. The following chart has tried to depict the hierarchy and functioning of both the elites in foreign policy matters:

4. K.C. Gopalakrishna, "The Role of Bureaucracy in Canada", Indian Journal of Public Administration (New Delhi), vol. 16, no. 4, October-December 1970, pp. 557-74.

BUREAUCRATIC ELITES

POLITICAL ELITES



The decision-making power lies with the Minister of External Affairs, who is collectively responsible with the Council of Ministers, i.e., Cabinet, to the Lok Sabha. The Minister exercises his responsibilities through a group of officers, who provide material and expert-advice on policy-decisions, for policy formulation of the Government. And at the later stage they implement the same for whom the political decision-makers have given their final approval. If we go through the process and procedure of the organizational functioning of the political and bureaucratic elites, we will find that both of them are inter-linked. In case of India's political and bureaucratic elites relationship in the field of foreign policy matters, the political or bureaucratic elites did not have any major role till Nehru's death. The political elites were consulted on crucial problems and the bureaucratic elites did the routine jobs, i.e., data collection, preparation of brief notes or writing of minutes etc.⁵ Nehru always maintained his supremacy in the matters of foreign affairs. The end of Second World War has "drastically altered the nature of the world order".⁶ The emergence of new nations in Asia and Africa from the colonial-imperial rule has created a problem of preservice to their autonomy. This resulted Nehru's new doctrine which he designed

5. S.S. Kher, India's Defence Problems (New Delhi, 1968), p. 200; and C.P. Bhambhari, Bureaucracy and Politics in India (Delhi, 1971).

6. Rajni Kothari, Politics in India (New Delhi, 1970), p. 386.

into a foreign policy with "three aims" viz. (a) assurance of autonomy to newly emerged nations from involvement in Great Power rivalry, (b) to refrain from power politics and oppose power blocs, and (c) to isolate the area "North Africa to Indonesia" from "big power domination".⁷ These aims remained ideals to Nehru until he died in May 1964. Nehru's death brought Lal Bahadur Shastri as his successor Prime Minister and he also followed the policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and friendship with all nations. But he resigned the portfolio of External Affairs and appointed Swaran Singh to hold its independent charge, though he maintained direct link and had taken deep interest in foreign policy matters through a newly organized set-up of bureaucrats known as Prime Minister's Secretariat. He coordinated the functioning of the political elites, i.e., Members of Parliament and opposition leaders, as members of Consultative Committee attached to External Affairs Ministry on the one hand, and bureaucratic elites in Prime Minister's Secretariat and Ministry of External Affairs on the other. Shastri did not live long and died after brief spell of a year and a half. But the initiative taken by him left its imprint on his successor, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who also realized the need of a realistic approach to foreign policy matters, and a close relationship between political and bureaucratic elites.

7. Rajni Kothari, *ibid.*, p. 387.

Domestic Politics and External Affairs

The struggle for freedom continued nearly more than five decades and ultimately turned into two independent states, viz., India and Pakistan. India occupied the largest share of size physically. It also brought numerous problems due to the partition of British India colony into two sovereign states. The transfer of power took place in August 1947 and Congress leadership took over the charge from the British ruling elite and formed the Government at the Central and State levels. This newly formed political elite group held "elaborate discussion" on a constitution for newly independent sovereign state from 1947 to 1949,⁸ and adopted the new Constitution of Indian Sovereign Republic on 26 January 1950. Independence had brought numerous problems before the ruling elite, and these included both domestic and external matters. The partition had created law and order problem due to communal riots which has also shattered the economic condition of the country. It was the "broad vision and sense of realism" in Indian leadership - Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai - that consolidated their attention towards external and internal matters. The set-up of Planning Commission in 1950 provided the task of plan formulation and mobilization of resources for social and economic development.⁹ On the external

8. Ibid., p. 102.

9. Ibid., pp. 110-13.

side Nehru had already declared the three ideals of foreign policy - Non-alignment, Co-existence and friendly relations with all nations.

The internal setting got a severe blow due to the death of Sardar Patel and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, who were chief architects of the domestic politics, while in external affairs Nehru's ideals received laurels. A learned political scientist has grouped Indian domestic politics and the external affairs in the following manner:¹⁰

<u>Domestic Politics</u>	<u>External Affairs</u>
1. Identification and dominance of effective political institution at the Central level and Indian approach to Democracy;	1. National autonomy
2. Social integration and mobilization - problem of unemployment and educational change;	2. Non-alignment
3. Demographic policy and social integration	3. Challenges to national integrity
4. Rural social structure	4. Cold war penetration
5. Urban development	5. Border wars with neighbouring countries - China and Pakistan
6. Economic development	6. Changing context of international environment
7. National autonomy and country's defence	7. Status quo power
8. Attitude on Self-reliance	8. Economic independence
9. Role of elites in national development	9. International Trade development
	10. Foreign Aid and External resource mobilization
	11. India's role in International politics

10. Ibid., pp. 383-451.

The same author has again remarked that the political system of our country has adopted the "problem-solving characteristics" whether in domestic or external politics. From time to time the political elites have "shifted positions from issue to issue".¹¹ This thesis in case of domestic politics is still going on, but on external matters Nehru's successors had given a deep thought to the management of foreign policy. The war with China in 1962 and Pakistan in 1965 compelled the ruling elite to co-relate and coordinate the domestic and external policy matters. Shastri during his brief tenure of office tried to bring certain changes at the political and bureaucratic level. The decisions taken by Shastri could not be enforced by Indira Gandhi earlier than 1968, as the new Prime Minister was busy in 'holding' the position so far as foreign relations and foreign policy were concerned.¹² The consolidation of "position" by Indira Gandhi continued till the mid-term poll of Lok Sabha in 1971. Though she got elected as the leader of the majority party in the Parliament after the General Elections of 1967, but the split of the Congress Party over the issue of Presidential candidate in 1969 compelled Indira Gandhi to separate her from the leaders of the Congress Organization and form a separate wing of the Congress. This was an institutional crisis in the political system of our

11. Ibid., p. 426.

12. Khera, n. 5, pp. 304-05.

country and it related to domestic politics. Therefore the major attention of the ruling elite was turned towards consolidation of power at the central level. On the other hand, the form of coalition governments at the state level after the general election of 1967 and their failures in majority of the states of the federal system required the careful and consolidate attention to maintain Parliamentary Democracy in the country. There were also certain other problems at internal level within the country that required immediate attention from the Government and the political elites. Apart from these, the social and economic development called for the major attention of the ruling elite. The fluid state level politics, intra-party rivalry, natural calamities etc. compelled the Government to devote lesser attention on the external front. The changing international environment and dependence of external resource mobilization had required much attention of the government towards foreign policy matters, but the domestic situation did not allow them to pay greater attention towards it. These were the reasons which gave consideration in the mind of Indira Gandhi and other political elites towards realistic approach to foreign policy of India. Nehru had said in his speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on 4 December 1947 that -

Whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country....¹³

13. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1962), p. 28.

Therefore, a government has to see that the "interest of the nation" is kept always upper-most in the mind as an element in formulation of any policy in the matters of foreign affairs. According to one writer, "the interest of the nation" carried two elements, viz., "(a) the preservation of national freedom"; and "(b) the social and economic foundations" of the country.¹⁴ India being the biggest and youngest democracy of the world, lacks in both the elements. The preservation of national freedom and the social and economic foundation elements are interrelated and both cover the internal and external policy matters. There may be a dispute to whom we should give first preference as both of them are the fundamental and essential ingredients of policy formulation. The question of demographic policy, social reconstruction of rural and urban communities, literacy or mass education, eradication of unemployment, restrain on rising prices, supply of foodgrains, curb on inflation and realistic economic policy, stability in democratic institutions, constructive role of political elites in national development, carry the attitude of self-reliance in domestic politics and provide the aspect of security and self-reliance in every respect including the defence of the country under the elements of "preservation of national freedom" and "social and economic foundations". All these aspects of the domestic politics provide a sound basis for the policy formulation in foreign affairs. Time has changed considerably

14. A. Appadorai, Essays in Politics and International Relations (New Delhi, 1971), p. 191.

and the smoke of "cold war" has dried, the bipolarity of the balance has taken a shape of multipolar system, the economic dependence has taken place with the bilateral relationship of nations on mutual understanding, the developed nuclear system has restrained "powers of importance" to realize the political situation of regions in particular and international arena in general, for maintenance of peace and order. And keeping in view of all these aspects, the domestic politics of every country is playing a major role in the formulation of foreign policy and India is not an exception to this

CHAPTER V

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PUBLIC OPINION AND POLICY MAKING

In India's Foreign Policy, the aspect of "Public Opinion" has been given an important place from the very inception of the Foreign Policy Resolution adopted during the 1920s and in the subsequent phases of the freedom movement. Nehru admitted this fact during the Kalyani Session of the All India Congress Committee in January 1954 that the Foreign Policy of India has been generally "national policy" because we have got "unanimous measure of public support...from the opposition parties, as well as the Press and the general public".¹ As the chief architect of Indian Foreign Policy, even during the freedom struggle movement, Nehru got full support in all the meetings of the Congress Committees and public meetings held outside the organizational forum. And after the achievement of Independence in August 1947, Nehru remained at the helm of affairs as the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of India until his death in May 1964.

The end of Second World War brought numerous political, economic and social problems before the world community, and keeping in mind the effects of First World

1. M.S. Rajan, India in World Affairs : 1954-56 (New Delhi, 1966), p. 66.

War, Nehru adopted the principles of "international peace and security, self-determination for colonial people, peaceful settlement of disputes, opposition to racialism and support to Asian-African community of nations, and support to international organization".² Nehru had visited the European countries in the early 1920s. His thinking had been affected by the rise of Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy, the repercussions of monetary burdens and bifurcation of Austro-Hungarian Empire into small nations. Another thing was the decline of colonial and imperial powers in Afro-Asian countries and the rise of nationalism due to the exploitation of economic and natural resources of these countries. The downfall of Axis Powers in the Second World War again divided the world into two blocs, the Western Bloc comprising of USA, Great Britain and France, and the Communist Bloc led by the Soviet Union, and started a continuous rivalry for world domination. These were the basic elements which compelled Nehru to adopt the policy of non-alignment, co-existence and friendly relations with all nations. The ideals, which he admired, got popular support during his life-time, even today are still considered the goals of Indian Foreign Policy. It was his mass-image and understanding of international atmosphere that gave him unflinching support within the country and abroad, though sometimes his policy statement was misunderstood in different countries.³

2. Ibid., pp. 40-47.

3. Ibid., p. 67.

The First General Elections held in 1952 gave an overwhelming majority to the Congress Party at the Central and State levels. The policies adopted in the field of foreign affairs by the Congress Party were the policies of the Indian Government. Nehru got full support on issues like, issue of Korea, test explosion of hydrogen bomb by the USA, pronouncement against collective defence system of the North Atlantic or South-East Asia, West Pacific Treaty Organization, cession of French and Portuguese territories, Suez Canal etc. on the one hand, and Indo-Pak relationship within the country and outside on the other. Though there were different shades of political opinions on each and every issue within the Congress and opposition parties, but the divergencies did not come on the surface due to his towering personality in and around the Indian political system. During his life time period, most of the political parties in opposition accepted his foreign policy objectives and also gave wholehearted support on major issues like Korea, Suez Canal, Berlin and Congo.

The death of Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri had given jolts to the ruling Congress party due to the inner bickerings which led to the split of the Congress Party in 1969. This situation compelled Indira Gandhi, the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, to get some support from opposition parties e.g., Communist Party of India, and Dravida Munetra Kazhgam, a regional party of Tamilnadu. Lal

Bahadur Shastri had created a precedent by doing consultation of opposition leaders of the Parliament on issues of national and international importance. Indira Gandhi followed the footsteps of Shastri in the same manner. A new step taken by Indira Gandhi was to give important place to the Consultative Committees attached to the different ministries and departments which provided an opportunity to Members of Parliament of both the Houses to participate effectively in the discussions of the business/affairs of the ministry concerned and express their views informally. This opportunity of participation in informal discussion to the Members of Parliament through Consultative Committees established a direct channel of communication to the Government which was not available on the floor of the House. Though keeping the majority in their favour in both the Houses, Government's image had to suffer heavily when the Private Member's Resolution got approval on the floor of the Houses and had the effect of denouncing the foreign policy of the Government. The cases of atrocities over minority communities in East Pakistan moved by Tridib K. Chaudhry on 20 March 1964 is a case in point:

The insecurity of the life, property and honour of the minority communities living in Eastern wing of Pakistan and general denial of all human rights to them in that part of Pakistan, the Government of India should in addition to relaxing restrictions in migration of people belonging to minority communities from East Pakistan to Indian Union also consider steps for enlisting the world opinion.

George Fernandes' resolution on condemnation of execution of freedom fighters in Southern Rhodesia on 22 March 1968 -

provides a "participation linkage" between Parliamentarians, Pressure Groups, the Press, the Bureaucracy and the Chief Executive.

In the Indian political system the study of "Public Opinion" comes up against the kind of judgement which Maurice Duverger has given in his book Political Parties when he refers to the relationship of elections and the true state of public opinion:

Parties create opinion as much as they represent it; they form it by propaganda; they impose a prefabricated mould upon it; the party system is not only the reflection of public opinion but also the result of external technical factors (like ballot procedures) which are imposed upon opinion. 7

At the national level it is evident that the leading position of Nehru or of Indira Gandhi has created political communications which emanated from the apex. The mechanisms of mass media and the participatory efforts of opposition leaders as well as faction leaders within the ruling party have created both a democratic electoral environment and a democratic legislative environment with important effects on the outcome of foreign policy programmes. It is true that the bureaucratic elite prefers to develop its mystique of professionalism but the norms and values of the legislature are such as directly work in favour of political participation. A general assessment of Consultative Committee system in the Parliament suggests

7. Maurice Duverger, Political Parties (New York, 1954).

that the "feedback process" are quite relevant for decision-making especially when national priorities have to be established. A general survey does not reveal deep divisions within the Indian nation on foreign policy issues although wider ranging assertions are made in the political programmes of parties. There is minimal interaction between the pressure groups and the External Affairs Ministry and the kind of professional antagonism which exists between foreign policy reporters and the Ministry of External Affairs officials. During period when external crisis affected the country - the Government - Opposition relationship almost approximated to coalition behaviour. This was especially noticeable at the time of the Bangla Desh crisis when national security became the chief goal of Indian foreign policy.

There are both elitist and democratic influences at work in India's foreign policy-making. There is a fundamental tension in the bureaucratic-political relationship. Although some writers like Lester W. Milbrath in his book Political Participation go so far as to suggest that action involvement in politics would not benefit society, the trend is away from elitism in India. As elsewhere, in the Indian political system, in the field of foreign policy, the dynamics of democracy is articulating demands from the public in areas which were left to the foreign policy specialists a decade ago. In order to raise the level of response the study of Public Opinion is a most important requirement for policy-makers.

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