

## INTRODUCTION

The period after Brezhnev, particularly since April 1985, has been of exceptional importance not only for the USSR, but also for the world as a whole. During this period, owing to Gorbachev's perestroika, glasnost and 'new political thinking', the very basis of the socialist system in <sup>The</sup> USSR, founded in October 1917, has come up for renewal. While important steps have been taken towards bringing in political and economic plularism in USSR, doubts have also arisen about the very stability of the Soviet state and the society. During this period, the hold of socialist ideology, as it evolved in the USSR since 1917, has decidedly weakened. This has facilitated fundamental revision of the Soviet Union's internal and external policies. The essential thrust of this comprehensive revision has been the deideologisation of ~~the~~ Soviet society, the policies and the politics and resurgence of pragmatist and even opportunistic trends. Earlier, pragmatism was invariably clothed in ideological categories. Now, it asserts itself in the categories of the ideology of socialist renewal which is still in the initial stages of development.

During the same period, Gorbachev's 'new political thinking' has profoundly affected the international scene. The Soviet leaders, convinced that the cold war has finally ended, are now seeking cooperative relationship with the former

adversaries. In the West, socialism is no longer perceived as a threat to capitalism and some in the West, emboldened by the surrender of the socialist positions one after another, have declared the 'end of history' asserting that Western liberal ideas have convincingly triumphed over socialist ideology. ?

The great upheavals taking place in the world today were triggered by perestroika and the 'new political thinking'. Simultaneously with the undoubted relaxation of tensions in the East-West Relations, there have also appeared certain negative features like the resurgence of revanchist, fascist, anti-semitic ideologies in Europe and the acute threats posed by sub-nationalisms to the stability of the states and international relations. Many of the third world states, who took Soviet support for granted, are today assailed by doubts on this score. Since the dismantling of the socialist ideology and the socialist system in ~~the~~ USSR has not been accompanied by its immediate replacement by viable ideologies and systems, the problems in the USSR have arisen while their resolution is still awaited. Thus, after five year of perestroika the Soviet state and ~~the~~ society is now entering a difficult transition period in which not only will it have to consolidate its gains in terms of democratisation, etc., but will also have to work towards rebuilding of state and social systems which could prove effective in handling the most explosive problems.

It is against this backdrop that an attempt has been made in the present thesis to conceptually study the ideology and Soviet foreign policy in the post Brezhnev period.

Essentially, the study examines the concept of 'new political thinking' and how it has affected the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the recent years. The imperatives behind the change in ~~the~~ Soviet foreign policy are also studied. Since the Gorbachev years have seen the conscious and deliberate deideologisation of the Soviet foreign policy, it became necessary to examine the years when ~~the~~ Soviet foreign policy was conducted under the strong influence of the socialist ideology as it developed since October 1917. This, in turn, required a study of those aspects of the socialist ideology which have had profound influence on the formulation and implementation of the Soviet foreign policy in the past. Thus, in the thesis, apart from the examination of the conceptual basis of Gorbachev's foreign policy, an investigation of the theoretical basis of ~~the~~ Soviet foreign policy in the years before Gorbachev has also been attempted.

One of the motivations behind the undertaking of this study has been that there exist few non-Soviet comprehensive studies of the theory of Soviet foreign policy. There have been several non-Soviet theoretical studies in the past on the specific Soviet foreign policy doctrine but few studies have attempted to give an integrated theoretical view of ~~the~~ Soviet foreign policy. Among a few English <sup>language</sup> studies dealing with the theoretical basis of ~~the~~ Soviet foreign policy are: Elliot R. Goodman's The Soviet Design for a World State (New York, 1960); William Zimmerman's

Soviet Perspectives on International Relations 1956-1967 (Princeton, 1971); V. Kubalkova and A.A. Crucikshank's Marxism-Leninism and the Theory of International Relations, (London, 1980); R. Judson Mitchell's Ideology of a Superpower; Contemporary Soviet Doctrines of International Relations, (Stanford, 1982); Margot Light's The Soviet Theory of International Relations, (Sussex, 1988); Allen Lynch's The Soviet Study of International Relations, (Cambridge, 1987). Prof. B.V. Chandasekhar Rao's essay "The Soviet Theory of International Relations" in K.P. Misra & R.S. Beal (ed.), International Relations Theory: Western and Non-Western Perspectives, (Delhi, 1980), pp.184-200 is an Indian contribution on the subject. Only Light and Lynch theoretically deal, and that too only briefly, with Gorbachev's 'new political thinking'. The present study extends the analysis upto the 28th Party Congress of the CPSU. The study attempts to present an integrated view of ideology - foreign policy interaction in the past as well as present. The main emphasis in the study is of course on the perestroika, the 'new political thinking' and the consequent changes in ~~the~~ Soviet foreign policy.

Methodologically, the historico-analytical approach has been adopted and the main reliance has been placed on the primary sources. While only the published sources have been consulted, the author's stay in the USSR during 1981-84 afforded <sup>✓</sup> him an opportunity to have a feel of the transition period from Brezhnev to Gorbachev.

The study is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter discusses the concept of ideology and its relevance to policy and in particular to the foreign policy of the USSR. The second and the third chapters examine in an historical background the central concepts of the Soviet official ideology which had relevance to the Soviet foreign policy, and their evolution from the time of Marx. The fourth chapter focusses on the concepts <sup>of</sup> underlying 'new political thinking' and how it has been used to fundamentally restricting the Soviet foreign policy under Gorbachev. The next three chapters are the case studies of three of the vital areas of the Soviet foreign policy - East Europe, Third world and Soviet security which are being restructured under the influence of the 'new political thinking'. These three chapters describe the 'new political thinking' in action. The final chapter presents the conclusions of the study.

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15. Haslam, Jonathan, "The Study of Soviet Foreign Policy: Ideology and Foreign Policy Analysis", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, v (1976-1977), p. 285. 16. Colton, Timothy J., "The Zhukov Affair Reconsidered", *Soviet Studies*, xxix (1977), p. 213. 17. Adomeit, Hannes, "Soviet Policy in the Middle East: Problems of Analysis", *Soviet Studies*, xxvii (1975), p. 292. 18. Levgold, Robert, "The Nature of Soviet Power", *Foreign Affairs*, 56 (1977), p. 50. 19. Adomeit, Hannes, "Soviet Risk Taking and Crisis Behaviour: From Confrontation to Coexistence", *Adelphi Papers*, 101 (London, 1973). Not only pro-Soviet and proletarian foreign authors but also representatives of Western modernism were published in this unique journal. The readers' letters selected for the current publication were written to the editorial board of *Internatsional'naiia literatura* between 1938 and 1940. [Show full abstract] this paper makes a descriptive and more comprehensive study of ideological impacts on translated literature from both the macro- and the micro-points of view. It concludes that both the themes and the sources of translated literature in a certain period are influenced to some degree by the ideologies of the time; and that ideologies also exert influence on the cultural orientations in the translators' choice of translating strategies.