India-Pakistan Wars: 1947, 1965, & 1971
by Meghann & Joanne
The Partition of India and Pakistan

One year before partition:
- 255 million Hindus
- 92 million Muslims, concentrated in north west and north east
- 6 Million Sikhs, concentrated in the Punjab
- British have been in power approximately 200 years
- Prior to those 200 years Muslims ruled for approximately 800 years
- After World War Two the British are bankrupt
When the Indian subcontinent gained independence in 1947 its sizeable Muslim minority population was given the state of Pakistan (split into two parts: West and East). Seeking safety from religious persecution, millions fled: Hindus into India and Muslims into Pakistan.
The Political Players in 1946

- Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Leader of Muslim League
- Jawaharlal Nehru, Leader of Indian Congress
- Mahatma Gandhi, advocate for a united India and social equality
- Lord Mountbatton, British Viceroy
- Cyril Radcliff, drew up partition borders
Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord Mountbatten, & Mohammad Ali Jinnah
March 1946 Cabinet Mission

- British negotiate between Congress and Muslim League
- Jinnah would only accept a united India if there was a weak central power
- Nehru, being a socialist, would not accept a weak central power and any concession to the Muslim League
Calcutta August 16th 1946

- Calcutta was a strong hold for Muslim League
- With the failings of the Cabinet Mission, Jinnah called for direct action
- 1,000 Muslims gathered in city center
- As the rally ended, the more radical Muslims headed toward the Hindu neighborhoods of Calcutta and local gangsters hijacked demonstration
- “We will not spare any Hindu”
1946 Calcutta Slaughter

- 5,000 People Killed Within Three Days of Rioting
- While Indians had had absolute faith in the British authority, troops were told to stay in their barracks
- Muslims slaughtered Hindus, then Hindus slaughtered Muslims
- “Anybody could murder anybody”
- The Calcutta killings shattered the British hopes of getting out of India quietly
1946 Calcutta Slaughter Cont’d

- Calcutta shattered Indian dreams of a united India
- Violence Spreads to Bihar where Hindus massacred Muslims and Hindus were under attack in Noakhal in Bengal
- It is thought by some that this was a politically devised move made by the Muslim League to gain momentum for partition by stirring up communal violence
Gandhi Still Had Hope

- Gandhi walked village to village holding prayer meetings trying to unify Hindus and Muslims, resting in both Hindu and Muslim homes along the way.
- But, somehow he wasn't able to unify as he hoped.
- There were some Muslims that opposed Gandhi and would defile the road ahead of Gandhi with sharp objects. (Gandhi used to walk barefooted.)
Possible Reasons for Muslims’ Mistrust of Gandhi

- Gandhi opposed constitutional concessions to The Muslim League
- To many Muslims he represented Hindu supremacy
- Gandhi was thought by some to be an incorrigible idealist with no connection to reality
February 1947

- The British make declaration that in June 1948 they are leaving India
- However, there is still no agreement on how to give India to Indians
- British decide to appoint a new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatton
- Mountbatton was said to be articulate, planned head, and ruthlessly carried out goals
- Viceroy's goal was to “Get a deal and get out of India before India imploded”
Political Tensions at The Central Are Felt at The Village Level

• Tension is highest in Punjab where Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus all lay claim to the region.
• Home of most holy sight for Sikhs, “The Golden Temple”
• Many of the Sikhs in this region feared Punjab would end up in Muslim control in Pakistan
• This was unthinkable to many Sikhs, because “historically Muslims had been their enemies”
Communal Harmony Begins to Break Down March-April 1947

- Many Muslim and Sikh children are no longer allowed to play with each other.
- Local politicians stirred up animosity for their own political ends.
- Easiest way to whip up people's sentiments is to tell them that their religion and community is in danger.
- “The distrust was already there under the surface, it was there for centuries, but now it came above the surface.”
- In Punjab, as much of the British troops had been sent.
Break Down of Communal Harmony Turns to Violence

• Seeing their Sikhs neighbors perceived preparation for war, Muslims of this region preemptively attack in March of 1947

• The Sikhs are heavily outnumbered by Muslims in this case

• Sikhs biggest fear is that the women in the community will be taken away

• Many women go into hiding, but for Bir Bahabur Singh his father decides to save honor of village by beheading all the women, his daughter included
The Threat of All Out Conflict Brings Compromise

- With the severity and occurrence of violence increasing a deal became a matter of urgency.
- Nehru had power in his grasp with the dawn of the British leaving, but he had to abandon his dream of a united India.
- On June 3rd 1947 Mountbatten, Jinnah, and Nehru broadcast news of finally striking a deal.
- Relief came from both Hindus and Muslims, there were many Hindus by this time that did not want to live with Muslims anymore and many Muslims were tired of being treated as more untouchable than the untouchables.
- Nehru insisted that Punjab and Bengal be treated differently and therefore it was decided that they would be divided equally based on religious concentration.
Mountbatton Drops a Bomb

• The next day at a press conference announces that Britain will be leaving in three months on August 15th 1947 instead of June 1948.

• Mountbatton quoted in saying, “Why should we wait, waiting would mean I should be responsible ultimately for law and order”

• With three months to go, the border had not been decided
Cyril Radcliff

- July 8th, Radcliff, who has never even been east of Paris arrives in India to draw out the border of partition
- Said to have a great and rational mind, and yet did not have time to see what was happening in the places he was dissecting
- His plan was to look who had majority of each district, looked at connection of railways, canals, irrigation canals
- Because of this, there was great uncertainty which side Lahore would end up on
Secret Deals

• Princely states still haven't been decided. In the past Raja's were allowed to rule as they wished in exchange for British loyalty, and therefore these states assumed they would be allowed to decide their own fate.

• However, Mountbatton would hand most of them over to India and therefore Nehru.
Ethno-Religious Cleansing

- Separation by majority encouraged ethno-religious cleansing of entire districts, violence was worst in areas where margins were small.
- Vultures were seen everywhere, villages were disseminated and burned, wells were filled with bodies, pregnant women carved out and breast cut off.
- “Why should I feel bad? They kept killing our people”
Partition Two Days Away

- In Lahore, murder is an every day occurrence, there were rumors that Lahore would go to Pakistan. Therefore, many of the rich Hindus locked up property and left early.
- The poor were left to be looted with nowhere to go.
- As many of the rich Hindus left, Muslim rioters set fire to Sikh and Hindu areas, flames could be seen up to five miles away.
August 9th 1947

- Radcliff has finished drawing the border for partition, “I have done what I can to avoid cutting off any rail ways and river systems”

- Mountbatten decides to keep the final say on the border a secret till after independence so that the British wouldn't be blamed for any ensuing violence.

- However this decisive move only increases uncertainty and violence and by now millions of people were on the move and many had no idea where they were going.
First Major Refugee Movement

- No medical or transport arrangements had been made for these people.
- Up to six families would have to share one chart, they had to drink dirty water, there was a lot of disease.
- Wells were poisoned, hard to find food, violent ambushes were common.
- Mothers started to leave their small babies by the side to have thousands of people to pass them by.
The Great Migration
Five million Indians flee for their lives

Last week the Indian earth trembled with the tread of millions of crouching feet, and the Indian air, heavy with the smell of death, still echoed the screams of the dying. In nine weeks of freedom the new nations of India and Pakistan had

and predominantly Hindu India. It centered in the Punjab, which was split by the new boundary (map, p. 195). The warlike, anti-Muslim Sikhs of Lahore found themselves a minority in Pakistan. The impoverished Muslims of Amrit-

For the millions there was only one solution: flight. Like the Children of Israel, but in nearly 10 times the numbers, they began their exodus over the footpaths and bullock-cart roads (above). Sometimes in small and sometimes in

SPINDLY BUT DETERMINED OLD SIKH, CARRYING AILING WIFE, SETS OUT ON THE DANGEROUS JOURNEY TO INDIA'S BORDER

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR LIFE BY MARGARET SQUIRE-WHITE
The Biggest Migration in the History of the World

- Up to 15 million made the journey to one side or the other
- One million or more were dead and thousands were abandoned in inadequate refugee camps
- The Viceroy's wife tried to organize some of these camps in the Punjab
- While Nehru, the now Prime Minister, visited these camps as well, he came “face to face with the price his people had to pay for partition”
Important Facts to Keep in Mind

- Nehru was born into an affluent “more English than Indian” family in Kashmir. Because of this he got on well with Mountbatton. His Kashmiri origins might be another reason for his special attachment to this part of India.

- Jinnah was born in Karachi, a region in Pakistan

- Both practiced law and were educated in the West

- Indira Gandhi was the one daughter of Nehru

- Kashmir was a former Princely State, Indus and Jhelum rivers run through it, both economically important
Important Facts to Keep in Mind (cont’d)

• Kashmir was a Muslim majority state. In the 14th century Muslims conquered the area mostly ruled by Buddhist and Hindu rulers. 1846 British pacified the politically disordered state and installed a Hindu Prince over a Muslim-majority population.

• Both Nehru and Jinnah used communal tensions as a why to gain political power.

• Stroessinger suggest that partition and the Indo-Pakistan wars were due to religious ideology, but looking closer at how the Cabinet Mission failed and partition unfolded one can see that there was violence and war based off of a political maneuvers for power.
Works Cited


India-Pakistan Partition – BBC Documentary

An interview by John Edwards with Gouma Nkala of the Opposition Action Committee in August 1965
Works Cited


The CIA Factbook

Indo-Pakistani Wars

Three Battles over God
In 1947, 1965, 1971
International Intervention

• Britain
• United States
• Soviet Union
British Imperial Strategy

- British’s ‘divide and rule’ principle during British colonization had utilized Hindu-Muslim differences at certain stage of their rule to contain the cooperation of the two communities against them.

- The struggle for political power between the Hindu-Muslim elites happened after the British parliament introduced an experiment of “Progressive Realization of Responsible Government” under the “colonial democracy,” which had as its goal to bring Hindus and Muslims together. However, the project drew the two communities apart.

- British weighty administrative, economic and military considerations made them go against the idea of partitioning India at the beginning, which increase the hostility between the two communities under the mobilization of the local politicians.
British imperial Strategy

- India in Imperial strategy (Naval)
  - For two centuries, the India Empire was both the object and instrument of British strategy in the Indian Ocean.
  - British controlled the entry points into the Indian Ocean through a ring of naval bases. Port Said and Aden guarded the entrance through the Red Sea, the Cape route was controlled through the base at Simonstown in South Africa, while the bases in Singapore and Fremantle guarded the entrance from the Pacific.
  - This imperial policy prevents any land-based great power from securing an outlet into the Indian Ocean. The defense of the Indian Empire was thus organized on a regional basis through a policy which effectively converted the Indian Ocean into a “British lake”.
  - The entire edifice of British imperial strategy was built around the Indian Empire. The defense of India was a major consideration in imperial expansion. The protection of this expanded empire and of the imperial lines of communications with Australasia was secured through the military manpower, bases and resources provided by India.
  - British military planners describe India as ‘keystone in the arch of imperial defense’.
British Imperial Strategy

- The strategic picture began to change even before the end of the British rule in India and Pakistan. The changes resulted mainly from two factors: **Oil and air power**.

- **Oil** - The invention of internal combustion engine and the discovery of petroleum deposits in Iran in 1908 steadily raised the importance of the Gulf region. Territories which were originally brought under the British rule or influence in order to secure India’s maritime flanks, now came to acquire a strategic importance of their own right. By 1947, the defense of the Middle Eastern oil-field and the sea lanes from the Gulf was seen as vitally importance of the Western defense.

- **Air power** - India is the essential link for the Imperial Strategic Air Reserves between the U.K, Australia and the Far East, given the range of aircraft.

- India’s **geo-strategic value** plays a large role in oil supplies from the Gulf region and air communications with Malaya, Australia and New Zealand. If an independent India were to come under the Russian domination, it could pose a huge loss to Great Britain. Thus, the emphasized the need to ensure that British officers should continue to serve in the Indian armed forces after the independence.
Independence

• In a press conference on June 3rd, 1947, Viceroy Mountbatten announced that the date of independence for both India and Pakistan would fall on Aug 15th, 1947. (in 72 days, WHY?)

• Both Pakistan and India would initially be sovereign states with dominion status. The main consideration of the UK Chiefs of Staff was to retain both India and Pakistan within the British Commonwealth and to ensure that they cooperate [militarily] with the British. (HOW?)

• “Viceroy should encourage any moves that might be initiated by Indian leaders in favor of continuation of India within the British Commonwealth”

-Prime Minister Attlee’s formal instructions to the Viceroy-designate in March 1947
HOW?: Stand-Down Instruction

- The military planners attached great importance to the continued presence of British officers in the armed forces in India and Pakistan.
- Field Marshal Auchinleck, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Indian army proposed that in any event of the outbreak of hostilities between the two dominions, British officers should not take an active role in the operation.

Aim:

- **National Role Conception**: The best safeguard in restraining the troops of the two dominions from fighting against each others.
- **Continuation of Imperialism**: Direct influence of Britain over the two independent states. Retention of British officers in the executive and engineering branches was necessary to ensure serviceability of the branches and facilities which Britain might require in the event of war.
- **World System Theory**: The role of Britain, as the core state, is to ensure that the Indian and Pakistani armies (periphery) continue to depend on Britain, by conditioning military equipment to the two dominion states.
WHY did Britain allow India and Pakistan to gain independence in such a short time?

• War Weariness Theory:
  – Hostility between Muslims and Hindus was accelerating and there were bloodsheds in many regions in India causing it to be extremely expensive to keep the law and order in India. After WWII, the British has limited resources.
  – Mountbatten predicted a looming massive civil war was due to happen and wanted to avoid dealing with it. If the civil war happened after the independence of the two dominion states, it would be the responsibilities of the states to deal with the war over religion. He had no options left but to cut and run.

• Economic reason: Besides, the concern that an independent India would repudiate its foreign debt no longer existed, because the WWII expenses had resulted in Britain owing India one billion pounds.
The cause of the war

• Viceroy Mountbatten *hastily decided* to give independence to both Pakistan and India. The mechanism of the division of resources between Pakistan and India was not discussed in great details thought.

• Greater part of the assets and resources (military equipment and cash balance) of British India remained in the physical possession of new Indian Government.

• Eg: “No records essential to the operation of the various ministries had ever reached Karachi. The first two trains carrying some necessary government records from Delhi to Karachi were burnt.”
The cause of the 1947 war

The Radcliffe Line (a boundary demarcation line between India and Pakistan) was only announced after the independence of Pakistan and India.

- Punjab: West Punjab was given to the Pakistan and East Punjab was given to India. Some part of the West Punjab, including Lahore had a large Sikh and Hindu population while some part of the east Punjab like Amritsar had majority of Muslim. Bloodshed and violence broke out after the announcement of the boundary.

- Bengal: West Bengal (India); East Bengal (East Pakistan later to become the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971)
The cause of the 1947 war

– 565 *princely states* were given right to preserve a degree of independence. However, these states were forced to accede to either India or Pakistan under the pressure of Viceroy Mountbatten.

– 3 princely states were left in an ambiguous state: Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir.

– First war over Kashmir broke out in 1947.
  
  • Stand-down instruction failed: Assessment of PM Nehru believed that Britain needed Pakistan and India to be under the Commonwealth. He predicted that the British would not withdraw from only one of the dominion as it would mean that the UK joining the war on the other side unless the British could clearly define one party as aggressor.
  
  • Then, Governor-General Mountbatten proposed to constitute a Defense Committee of the Cabinet and acquired a major role in the executive branch of the state.

– Misperception:
  
  • Mountbatten’s intention was to restrain the Indian defense initiatives but as he became an active participant in decision-making, his role created huge misperception in both India and Pakistan.
Reasons for the US and Soviet involvement in the Indo-Pakistani wars

• Hegemonic War Theory
  – The power and status struggle between the two strong powers (US and USSR) in coordinating the international system played a role in increasing the intensity of Indo-Pakistani wars.
  – Economics and foreign aids were used not only to assist India and Pakistan by both strong power, the aids given came with the diplomatic power in advancing the strong power’s national interest.
  – The Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 was also a war between two competing socio-economic ideologies (capitalism vs. communism) waged through proxy states (India and Pakistan) using their nationalist conflict.

• Capitalist World System Theory (Economic reasons)
  – Competition for markets. US and Soviet Union (core states) and Pakistan and India (periphery)
Hegemonic War Theory: United States

Cold War

- **Korean War** (25 June 1950 – 27 July 1953)
- **Vietnam War** (Nov 1955 – 30 April 1975)
  - President Truman (1948-1952) involved in aiding France
- **Pakistan** belonged to American led Military Pact to contain the Communist expansion:
  - SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization)
  - CENTO (Central Eastern Treaty Organization)
- **US** used the friendship between **Pakistan** and **China** to enhance the relationship between US and China. Pakistan was used as a messenger between the two states. In 1971, Henry Kissinger made a secret visit to China.
- **Pakistan** under the leadership of General Ayub Khan leased a secret intelligent base to the American in Peshawar. The station and its activities were exposed in 1960 when U-2 Dragon Lady was shot down by the **Soviet Union**’s Defense Forces missile. Francis Gary Powers was arrested on its soil.
Hegemonic War Theory: Soviet Union

- **Soviet Union** had been providing economic aids to both India and Pakistan, but India received more economic aid compared to Pakistan.
- India had been receiving military and economic aid from Soviet Union and USA while keeping the status of a non-aligned country.
- In 1971, in spite of its membership in the Non-Aligned Countries Movement, India signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with Soviet Union. The reason was the fear that Pakistan’s relationship with China could lead China to attack India in the future. Hence, the relationship with the Soviet Union was important for India to secure its strength in the Indo-Pakistani conflict.
- This caused the USA to ‘tilt’ toward Pakistan and stop an arm shipment to India in 1971
  - This has forced India with no choice, but to depend more on the assistance of Soviet Union in battering against Pakistan.
Based on the table below, India received the largest amount of aid from the Soviet Union from 1954-65 in the total amount of $1,017 million.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Aid (Millions of U.S. Dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td>1,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali Republic</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,030</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Involvement of United States and Soviet Union

• In the first and second Indo-Pakistani wars, US and Soviet Union provided mostly military aid to India and Pakistan

• In the third Indo-Pakistani war in 1971, United States threatened with military action, but did not advance to involve directly in the war as the US did in Korean and Vietnamese war.
History of U.S. Assistance and Reimbursements to Pakistan (millions USD, 2007)

For the years 2002–2007, we have added data on Coalition Support Funds spending, which constituted the bulk of military assistance to Pakistan during the post-9/11 period, to U.S. Greenbook data. In the absence of Greenbook data for the period from 2008 to 2010, we have used budget data and Congressional Research Service estimates. To make that distinction clear, those data are graphed using dotted lines.
Why didn’t the US advance and take military action in the Indo-Pakistani wars?

- **Deterrence Theory:**
  - On December 10, 1971, the Soviet government directed a group of Soviet fleet, Soviet cruisers, destroyers and nuclear submarines, which equipped with anti-ship missiles to display their strength at the Bay of Bengal after the Soviet Intelligence reported that the British aircraft carrier “Eagle” approached the territorial India water.
  - In reaction, the British navy retreated and went South to Madagascar.
  - When the American carrier ‘Enterprise’ and USS Tripoli advanced toward India water, the Soviet naval encircled them and aimed missiles at “Enterprise”. To show their military strength, the Soviet lifted the submarines to the water surface so that the big collection of battleships could be pictured by the American spy satellites. At last, the American Navy returned to the Gulf of Tonkin.

- **War-weariness Theory:**
  - US involvement in the Korean War and Vietnam war had caused the government wary from advancing another war. Besides, the previous two wars have taken up a lot of resources and US left with limited resources to wage another war.
(Capitalist) World System Theory

• Purpose of the economic aid
  – To promote economic progress, rapid development of productive forces, and serve as humanitarian aid in developing countries with a parallel goal of promoting national interests
  – Those national interests are the development of the potential markets, involvement in their economy
  – Political interests - stabilization of the region that secures economic links
World System Theory: National Interests

- **For the US: Containment of Communist Expansion**
  - US government provided developmental and military aid to both, Pakistan and India, due to their fear of communist expansion. The military aid provided by the US to both countries increased their strength, and emboldened them to engage in wars. With the use of more advanced military weapons, there was an increase in severity of military conflicts between the two states.
  - At times, American government utilized the aid to Pakistan as “the carrot and stick policy.” Eg: In the wake of Pakistan-China agreement in 1960, that allowed the airlines of the two to fly over each other territories, the US postponed $4,300,000 loan to Pakistan for the improvement of Decca International Airport.

- **For the Soviet Union: To spread the ideology of communism**
  - Besides political reasons, i.e., the securing of the spheres of political influence, when thinking of India and earlier of Pakistan, the Soviets also had in mind large markets for potential expansion.
World System Theory: Economic Reasons

- The relationship between Pakistan and the US has been based on the **core-periphery model** by which the **foreign aid to Pakistan has effectively been used by the U.S. to make it serve its interests in the region**. Pakistan is one of the leading recipients of the US foreign aid. The flow of aid to Pakistan has been noticeably higher during the periods when military regime was in power.

- Most of the aids given to Pakistan were **not grants**, but in the **form of tied aid**. It puts conditions upon the recipient country as to how the money should be used. The leading condition is that the recipient will spend the aid on the imports from the donor’s country. This resulted in Pakistan’s import of military weapons and advanced missiles from the US even though it could have imported similar technology from other countries like Germany or France at much cheaper rates. As a result, almost all the Pakistani air jets were imported from the US.
World System Theory: Economic Reasons

• By 1963-64, the **USSR ranked fourth** behind UK, US, and Japan in total trade with India and in 1956-66, USSR displaced Japan to be the **third-ranked**.

• There were unofficial complaints that the Soviets and the East Europeans had **undervalued Indian products**. Arguments have advanced that the Indian could have done better in the mid-1960s by selling the jute, cashews and tea sent on the open market than to the communist countries. There were also unofficial Indian inferences that the USSR overvalued its exports to India.

• Another change made is that the USSR government has been suspected to engage in the **practice of reselling** some of the primary products from the “developing” countries on the West Europe market.

• From 1968 onward, the USSR government for the first time purchased large quantities of Indian steel and steel products. A contact of 600,000 tons of Indian steel products would be delivered to USSR over the three years in order to build railway cars in USSR. With increasing of Indian export to USSR, India used the export surplus to repay the short and medium credits extended to her by USSR in the past. **As Soviets import more products from India, they would like India in turn to increase their intake of Soviet manufactures, particularly machinery and components.**


