

Reel To Realpolitik: The Golden Years Of Indian Cinema Overseas

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to establish the links between cinema and foreign policy of a state. An important illustration is the popular reception of Bollywood abroad in the heydays of cold war. In a world simmering with tensions, the nascent film industry of India reflected the crisis of existence that its newly independent state faced. The imagination of India seeped into the consciousness of the country's artistic, cultural, political and social scene. Bollywood had produced the best movies like Awaara and Mother India with stars such as Raj Kapoor and Nargis winning the hearts of Turkish, Russians and Nigerians alike. The aim here is to connect the acceptance of Indian cinema in the corners of the world during the 1950s and 1960s as a success of the idea of third world. Now, in a multipolar order, when India seeks to acquire a global ascendancy, it can judiciously conceive its hard and soft power resources to woo the world. Taking cue from history, we propose a cautious utilisation of cultural resources for foreign policy ends.

KEYWORDS- *soft power, diplomacy, foreign policy, Bollywood, Indian Culture*

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I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to study how Bollywood functioned as a tool of promoting India's soft power interests in the decade of 1950's and 1960's. The aforementioned time period is often referred to as the 'golden era' of Indian cinema, as some of the arguably best movies were produced during this time. Also, Bollywood fostered a parallel modernity and third world consciousness which could not be done by political projects such as Communism and Non-alignment. In the successive sections it will be sought to show how Indian cinema aided in creating a moral superiority in civilisational terms when the world talked hard power.

There is deep complex interdependence between the events in the international arena and dynamics of the domestic arena. This in turn has a very strong inter-relationship with the content of the movies. Thus, politics and cinema continue to shape each other.

This project studies how the Cold War structural realities and changes in the politics of the country played out in the movies that came out during this time frame and, how in turn, these movies spread out and furthered India's soft power interests.

There are four broad categories of the display of soft power of India- ancient heritage or civilizational ties, democracy, economic aid and Bollywood¹. Soft power has been an integral concept in the discipline of international politics since the late 1980s, when Joseph Nye first introduced the notion. A country's ability to sway other states toward its preferences is known as soft power. What he also called as the co-optive power. Although the term itself is relatively new, India adopted soft power as a tool in its foreign policy approach long before Nye formally conceptualized the term².

India can attribute its successful adoption of soft power to Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent struggle against Great Britain's colonial dominance. Gandhi's efforts had a decisive impact on the Nehruvian perspective on international peace and cooperation, conceived by India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. This influence can easily be discerned in his foreign policy.

The Nehruvian view heavily revolves around the idea of non-alignment and a democratic, international order. He concluded that India could set an example for the world by pursuing a policy of non-alignment.

He believed that it was easier for India to encourage peace and universal brotherhood among the populations and leaders of the major powers than to coerce them to drop inclination for more economic and

¹ Kodithuwakku (2015)

² Nye (1990)

military power. The success of Gandhian and Nehruvian ideas laid the foundation for India's use of soft power and provided a revolutionary alternative to traditional, hard-hitting power politics.³

Nehru, in the immediate aftermath of Indian independence was faced with a 'guns vs. butter' choice of resource allocation. Since, he wanted to build a rational India, he decided to dedicate the limited resources towards 'butter', instead of investing them in India's military. Inspired by century old Indian ideals such as India's role as a *vishwaguru*, the world's teacher or the notion of *vasudhaiva kutumbakam* which implies that the whole world is a big family, Nehru strove to make India a leader that would lead by example.⁴ India's Non-Aligned Movement, that provided it with an international profile larger than was warranted by its economic and military strength, was a conscious foreign policy decision by Nehru, which gave India a moral high ground.

However, there were other sources of India's soft power during the early decades. This echoes Nye's words that – "soft power is created partly by government, and partly in spite of the government". According to him, 'The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture in places where it is attractive to others, its political value when it lives up to them at home and abroad; its foreign policy when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority.'⁵

I.1 Bollywood as a soft power instrument-

Even as one of India's biggest cultural exports from Africa to the Middle East and East Asia, the Indian government has very rarely used Bollywood as an official soft power tool in its foreign policy. This might actually prove to be beneficial since as Nye remarked, in today's world, the best kind of propaganda comes from things, which are not meant to be propaganda, thereby increasing their credibility.⁶

Although the potential of Cinema as a soft power was not used by Indian diplomacy in its diplomatic assignment during the 50's and 60's, they proved to be a highly efficient mode of soft power, which directly connected with a large number of audiences, in both domestic and global arenas.⁷ Cinema plays a crucial role in the lives of people; it acts as a mirror of the people. It constructs the socio-political identities and is one of the strong agent/tools through which public opinions are constructed and deconstructed. Thus, they become an important mode of spreading one's influence

Nation and nationalism are and have always remained a foremost discourse in Hindi films. In fact, from 1950 onwards-Hindi cinema has played a significant role in stimulating a sense of nationalism. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that no other cultural medium in the post-1947 era portrays the peculiar image of the Indian nation as efficiently as by the Hindi cinema. Most of the films produced in the first two decades after independence such as *Shaheed*, *Jagriti*, *Naya Daur*, *Mother India*, *Hum Hindustani*, *Haqeeqat*, *Upkar* to name a few, induced a sense of nationalism.⁸

In the 1950s, it was Jawaharlal Nehru's turn to burnish India's international image with an idea of his own: non-alignment. Working with other Third World leaders (the expression 'developing world' had not yet been coined) like Egypt's Gamal Nasser, Indonesia's Sukarno, Yugoslavia's Tito. It was too utopian to last long, but while it did, India basked in the attention.

Around the same time, Indian cinema began to attract fans across the world, especially in Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. In 1957, 'Mother India' became an international hit, one of the first not produced in the US or Europe. Actor-director Raj Kapoor was mobbed on the streets of Moscow; his brother Shammi became a heartthrob in Baghdad.⁹

I.2 Texture of Bollywood during the golden era:

The years 1945-65 were a golden period in Indian cinema. Most were dramatic love stories set in a background of tangled family relations, poverty, exploitation, and misery. In a format that became characteristic of Hindi cinema, many songs and dances were included.¹⁰ The plots of the movies resonated with the wounded psyche of many in the post-World War two era. These movies catered to the newly emerging class of industrial workers and other workers who migrated from rural to big cities in search of 'entertainment' in an alien environment¹¹.

³ Mishra (2016)

⁴ Lahiri (2017)

⁵ Nye (1990)

⁶ Malone (2011)

⁷ Blarel (2012)

⁸ Vardhan (2017)

⁹ Vardhan (2017)

¹⁰ Jaikumar : 2003)

¹¹ Aruna Vasudev and Phillippe Lenglet : 90

Suffering women, street children who had to drop out of school, impoverished men, interdependencies, betrayals, and frequent unhappy ends resonated with the difficult choices of poorly educated people subsisting in large cities. Anguish in the movies was combined with spectacle. There were scenes of palaces, beautiful houses, jungles, elephants, spectacular countryside and medieval-period costumes. Though often depicted as poor and unhappy, the Indian actresses were gracefully modest, with bright clothes and much jewellery. They enabled the audiences to see people like themselves improving their conditions, but also to be transported to a reverie far from reality. Thus, India managed to package and export its main problem, poverty, with its main attraction, exoticism.¹²

There has been an agreement among researchers that in a free society, the media works as an objective observer of political and social developments. This so in the case of Bollywood movies which has also been shaped by different ideas of the 'political', arrangement of power relationships within, and between, the state, groups and individuals. Social problems got reflected in the cinema as a result of the political struggle. The independence had come at a time when the Hindi film industry in Bombay (as it was known then) had already emerged as the site of country's cinematic expression in a language that was spoken and understood more widely than other languages in the country. Political subtexts seamed themselves in the cinema in derivative ways.¹³

The political imprints that could be identified on the screen swung between maudlin optimism of a newfound national independence and the social reflection of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's idea of state-led economic transformation and modernization. It's the latter, which had more appeal as a commentary on experiments with the socialist model of nation building in a young republic.¹⁴

However, it was in 1957, a year after the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) was rolled out with an emphasis on rapid industrialisation and public sector-led modernisation of production that BR Chopra's *Naya Daur* sought to assess the implications of policies on rural India. Though it showed its disruptive effects on a number of characters led by *tongawalla* Shankar, played by Dilip Kumar, it wasn't dismissive about currents of modernisation like the introduction of machines and, modern transport like buses for villagers. Despite the story revolving around man-machine conflict and rural-urban divide in the nascent phase of industrialisation, the final scene has Dilip Kumar's character calling for mechanisation with a human face and consideration of rural needs. He argues that a middle path ensuring co-existence of man and machine was needed to change the fortunes of not only his village but also the whole country. It's simplistic and clichéd, but an earnest look at the policy implications of Nehruvian modernisation.¹⁵

The tenor of Hindi cinema's encounter with the political in the Nehruvian era was similar to the period - optimistic and creative but critically aware of the challenges ahead and the disillusionment creeping in. As the leading site of people's entertainment of a young republic, it put some bits of key political conversations of the times. While doing so, it ensured the political animal was enjoyable, in its storytelling and the songs it hummed.¹⁶

The tone and content of cinema however, moved away from its optimism towards cynicism with the 1962 war, death of Nehru and the coming of Indira Gandhi. As Indian foreign policy transcended from the 'idealpolitik' to the 'realpolitik', the idea of India changed which reflected in the movies of the 60's and the birth of the 'Angry Young Man'.

Thus, even though the Nehruvian and the Indira Gandhi government did not consciously use Bollywood, the movies, laden with Nehruvian and Indira Gandhi's ideology of socialism and the socio-political realities of India, became an excellent tool for spreading India's soft power and influence. Thus, Bollywood integrated itself quite easily with India's foreign policy goals and the 'Idea of India'.

II. WHEN BOLLYWOOD GOES OVERSEAS – CASE STUDIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES-

Immediately after the independence, the nascent film industry had to be shifted from Karachi to Bombay, which itself resulted in loss of revenues and artistic talent. Also, Indian movies were banned in West Pakistan in 1952 and a decade later in East Pakistan.¹⁷ As elucidated in the previous sections, the foreign policy goals of Indian state had to reflect in the utilisation of all resources, cultural capital being one of them.

Since India lacked considerable hard power, its approach to secure national interests was fulfilled by her moralist stand. This does not warrant an absence of pragmatism in the foreign policy, rather a soft-core realism. Prime Minister Nehru remarked at a seminar in Sahitya Natak Akademi in 1955, "I see a great future, a

¹² Jaikumar (2003)

¹³ Azmat Rasul (2015)

¹⁴ Kaul (2016)

¹⁵ Vardhan (2017)

¹⁶ Tharoor (Bollywood vs Terracotta Army 2012)

¹⁷ Holden and Scrase : 190

glorious future, for Indian films. Before long I expect Indian films to be exhibited to crowded houses all over the world, and they will earn not only money for our country but also a reputation for beauty, goodness and truth. India must, and will make a distinctive contribution to the film art of the world and I am confident, it will".¹⁸

The Bollywood films had a dedicated viewership across the world in the 1950s and 1960s. They had a faithful audience across the continents- Africa, Europe and the Americas. A thorough analysis of each region is beyond the scope of this project and only certain representative case studies will be considered.

II.1 Dream run through Europe and Turkey:

In Europe, there was a clear division between the west and east regarding the perceptions of Bollywood. The communist and non-aligned countries had a soft corner, as there were civilizational links and more importantly the links of underdevelopment¹⁹. For instance, in Greece, the working class watched movies such as *Mother India*, *Sri 420* and *Nagin* etc. Between 1954-1968, 111 Indian films were screened in Greece with *Mother India* alone watched for 10 years. They even invented the "Indo-prepi" style, in which the Indian songs were sung with a string instrument Bouzouki. Dimitris Eleftheriotis explains, the "audience reaction to melodrama, the role of music in melodramas, the visual organisation in the form of tableau, frontality, and iconicity amongst others" reflected the 'structural similarities' between the two societies²⁰.

In contrast, the West Europe appreciated the 'critically acclaimed' films such as *Pather Panchali*. It bagged the Best Human Document Palme d'Or at Cannes 1956. More so, *Neecha Nagar* of Chetan Anand won the Grand Prix du Festival International du Film in 1946. *Do Bigha Zamin*, directed by Bimal Roy won the International Prize in 1954. Many critics have pointed towards the western obsession with poverty and helplessness in the third world countries being 'celebrated' in this film awards. Indeed, Nargis had once remarked in the Parliament that Satyajit Ray had 'sold the Indian poverty abroad'. Nevertheless, there remained an acceptance of certain kind of Indian films in West Europe during this period, for benign or propagandist purposes. It seemed as if by patronizing the parallel cinema of Ray and others, the West demonstrated the virtues of capitalism and fallacies of socialism.

In Turkey, the local film associations protested the 'dominance of Egyptian film industry'. The government's measures created space for Hollywood and Bollywood. *Awara* changed all equations and took the country by storm in 1955. It was watched by the middle and upper classes. The distributors and exhibitors modified the dialogues and musicals while dubbing it in Turkish. "The Indian customs and traditions portrayed within the film (*Awara*), as well as the Indian soundtrack, were regarded as the film's cultural specificity lending it strength and originality as a distinct field of identity and resulting in an exotic fusion of melodrama with the 'modern'"²¹.

Table: Indian films approved by Turkish censors²²

Number	Year
4	1952
1	1953
5	1954
-	1955
19	1956
6	1957
16	1958
19	1959

¹⁸ Cherian

¹⁹ A special mention of Gunder Frank's 'Development Thesis' must be made. According to him, the capitalist exploitation had divided the world into core and periphery. It is the mutual poverty and deprivation that binds the periphery together. In this case, the Indian films resonated with the poor of East and Central Europe.

²⁰ <http://blogs.widescreenjournal.org/?p=168>

²¹ Gurata: 80

²² Ibid: 71

15	1960
4	1961
1	1962

II.2 The African Affinity:

The cold war divide was more clearly in the reception of Indian films in the poorest continent. In Nigeria, the locals rejected the alienness and manipulative Hollywood movies. They gravitated towards Indian cinema, even without any explicit overtures by the Indian state. The Lebanese distributors in the 1960s started importing Bollywood films through informal channels and by the 1980s Indian cinema had won Nigerian hearts.

Sylviane A. Diouf, a curator at Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem wrote an article for the New York Public Library. She mentioned that “arranged marriages, caste barriers, and the importance of morality, honor, family name, and religion were all topics central to Bollywood and to African societies... The struggle against colonialism; the poor, the exploited and the oppressed as central characters; and mythology — issues European and American cinemas completely ignored — strongly resonated on the [African] continent. Bollywood offered a model of cultural resistance and a path between tradition and modernity”²³. The anthropologist Brian Larkin reaffirms the cultural similarities between the Hausa people of Nigeria and Indians.

Thus, even in the 1950s and 1960s, Bollywood had assumed the role of the 'cinema of the oppressed' in Nigeria and Greece. By being posited as anti-westernization aka Hollywood, it created an image of the struggle against (neo) colonialism. People across the world identified with the poverty and celebration of exoticism in Indian movies. The mysticism and exoticism in the Indian films were a sedative to the harsh realities of a modernizing world. Interestingly, Bollywood was able to surpass the protectionist Indian state, when “a spiralling share of Indian capital seeking to flee State control found a parallel, faster, (...) cheaper channel of circulation in the film industry”²⁴.

II.2.1 Cinema: A Site for Political Struggle:

The Indian cinema helped foster a "parallel modernity"- a rejection of westernisation in Africa and the Soviet Union particularly. The films were family oriented promoting premodern cultural values and communal ties. Doroshenko has defined this phenomenon as the industrialisation by pre-global cultural flows. Hindi cinema created a national subject, who effortlessly travelled overseas within films. The realities of the life were reflected in the darker cinema of Guru Dutt and Bimal Roy.

The issue that people from such diverse civilisations should be fond of Bollywood is to be situated in the international distribution of power. It provided the citizens of poor and politically authoritarian countries with romantic imaginations. “The appeal of realism in popular culture invariably rests in a heightened emotionalism, the call to an empathic identification with the underprivileged”²⁵.

The presence of musicals and eclecticism resonated with the folk sensibilities in East Europe and dance-cum-music traditions of Latin America. The proud display of Occidentalism worked well with the Africans and the Arabs later. “This escapist form of narrative goes back to a traditional Indian literary convention that derives from (...) the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Rasa theory, the system of aesthetics in classical Sanskrit- is present in every Bollywood film. (Nearly all of them) are multi-genre musical melodramas, confronting their audience with a mixture of love and beauty, comedy, compassion, anger, terror and peace”²⁶.

The rejection of the non-aligned and the communist narratives years later, however, could not defeat the third world camaraderie. The Nehruvian socialism had made the premodern Indian village a site of international politics. However, this common awareness was something beyond the politics of nation states and had been forged by the cultural and economic similarities.

II.3. The Russian Resonance-

Bollywood is instantly recognised worldwide by its basic characteristics: song and dance routines, varying degrees of melodrama and much else. This virtue of granting escapism to its consumers was what made Bollywood films so popular in the former Soviet Union of the 1950s.

²³<http://www.ibtimes.com/bollywood-west-africa-nigerias-love-fascination-indian-cinema-video-1169057>

²⁴ Jain : 61

²⁵ Chakravarty : 81

²⁶ Krenn : 23

II.3.1 Dance, Music and Raj Kapoor:

Raj Kapoor and Nargis, among others, were thus very familiar. This couple had taken the Soviet Union by storm, starting with *Awaara* in 1954. Alexander Lipkov's thorough paper, "India's Bollywood in Russia", lists Nimai Ghosh's *Chhinnamul* as the first film that was released in the USSR. But it was the Chaplinesque roles of Raj Kapoor that struck a chord.

Eight hundred prints each of Dev Anand's *Rahi* and *Awaara* were released in all the languages of the 15 Soviet republics. Kapoor, a slightly goofy smile in place, with comical walk and trousers that didn't go past the ankles, was a symbol of optimism. The love of the Kapoors for Russia continued till much later.

During the Cold War, the Hollywood movies were banned in the Soviet Union, and as an alternative the Soviet government promoted Indian movies which were received very well by the Soviet audiences. Some also believe that the Bollywood movies during that period showcased both the challenges and opportunities of the market economy hitch the Soviet youth of that period was not aware of.

Storylines that predictably swirled around the themes of sympathy for the oppressed, socialist egalitarianism and the triumph of good over evil resonated with Russians whose only other option at the cinema was propaganda movies. When Kapoor, and his later counterparts, romanced their heroines, they did so surrounded by Swiss Alps and pretty flowers, in a manner that was depicted as wholly sustainable, even essential, in the pursuit of true love. It allowed a sweet path to escapism for a population otherwise fed on the state's idea of love for the motherland, ideas that were relentlessly driven down by propaganda movies that showed only what the people saw on the streets, at work and lived in their homes anyway.

The hardships as well as optimism portrayed in the India movies, especially those starring Raj Kapoor inspired the Soviets to brave through the hard times. Raj Kapoor's characters cut across age, race, education and social status. His visits were regarded as more significant than those of the heads of states. As pure escapism, duty commercial movies continue to steadfastly fulfil, these movies ran to full houses for weeks at best, or to fairly full houses, at their worst. Indian films, always Hindi, not those in other languages, were encouraged because they were seen as protection for the Russian film market against Hollywood films. Though Hindi was never officially a "national language" in India, the film industry in that language was the biggest in those years. Not surprisingly, art films, those of Satyajit Ray and others of his ilk, failed miserably at the box offices. These tackled poverty and issues that affected real lives. Lipkov writes on the many instances of audiences walking out of movie halls when these "real" movies were being screened.²⁷

Just after India's independence in 1947 when, after much deliberation, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru decided to side with the USSR, Bollywood movies began to be either dubbed for a Soviet audience or subtitled. This was sanctioned by the governments on both sides underlying which were the respective domestic factors in both these countries, the amicable relations shared by the two in order to forward their 'national interest' in their respective regions and the global order.

The Indo-Soviet relations served as a base for these films to achieve the phenomenal popularity that they did, albeit unconsciously, as discussed later in the paper. This unintentional phenomenon played a part to facilitate Nehru's vision to make India a leader in what he thought could be a potentially 'peaceful and democratic' world order.

II.3.2 The Geo-Strategic and Material Logic:

It perhaps helped that in the 1950s both India and Russia were in similar situations – the former, newly free and poor, the latter, reeling under losses from WWII. In order to locate the answer in the material reality of the two countries we can conclude that one of the reasons could be the similar economic conditions faced by the two. Both the countries were dealing with widespread poverty and shortages. It helped to be able to sit in a dark hall for up to four hours and laugh and cry and escape from the drudgery of life outside. Thus, Indian films formed an enduring bridge between the Indian and the Russian people.

While both India and USSR were facing similar economic challenges during this period, politically they were quite distinct.

India, a newly independent country, deeply privileged this idea of independence and sovereignty. The USSR, a superpower, was during this time looking to expand her sphere of influence in the region as well as globally. Nehru viewed the Soviet Union as a non-colonial power. The Soviets were not averse to the idea and adoption of NAM unlike the US.

The Soviets needed India to contain the Western influence in South Asia initially and subsequently as a counterweight to China. India, during this period was building a special relationship with the Soviets in order to leverage it to her best advantage regionally in her relationships with China and Pakistan and globally in her exchanges with the United States. It was this congruence of material suffering and geo-strategic interests that helped bolster the 'Bollywood *soedineniya*'.

²⁷ The Calvert Journal 2015

II.3.3 Flash Forward- What of the *soedineniya* now?

With the collapse of the USSR, the mighty distribution machinery of American films began to churn louder and louder. The quality of Bollywood was on the decline as well. The extensive cultural influences naturally began to ebb as both economies opened their doors to global vagaries and cultural diplomacy was no longer given its due currency.

But the Bollywood 'soedineniya' remains. India TV, the only Russian channel that broadcasts Indian movies and programs, is said to be rather popular. Their website says that they regularly show films, both classic Kapoor and newer titles. Nostalgia is but another means of escapism from the present.²⁸

III. CONCLUSION

This research has emphasised the significance of soft power as a tool for cultivating India's Foreign Policy interests. This discussion first emerged as a part of Nehru's idealistic vision to use soft power in order to propel India into what he thought could be democratic and egalitarian world order. In the new millennium it has found proponents across the political spectrum.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has spoken about it on many occasions. India is now increasingly cashing out on its image of being a historical, cultural and civilizational giant, as constant appeals are being made the diaspora for increased engagement.

Popular perception and scholarly research indicate that India of today has the structural power to supplement its soft power.

However, there are not much parallel investments in what can turn out to be reservoirs of soft powers for India- tourism and entertainment. The scope for advancement in both these sectors remain humungous.

Our project has tried to highlight the potential power of Bollywood in advancing the ties between India and different parts of the world including the Soviet Union, Peru, Nigeria, Turkey and Greece. Now the Indian films are being released across the globe and there are exceptional examples like that Shah Rukh Khan and Aamir Khan being extremely popular in some countries, despite the audiences being largely restricted to the South Asian diaspora.

The Indian film industry, which presently has investments from global entertainment giants like Fox, Disney and Warner Bros along with the burgeoning Indian production and distribution houses, has an unrealised potential to be able to leverage the Indian culture in order to accelerate its economic growth. According to Amit Khanna, who served as the chairman for Reliance Entertainment for 15 years,

"Both India's film industry and the government have done little to leverage Bollywood and other regional cinema industries globally. While smaller countries such as South Korea and Iran are slowly finding mainstream acceptance, we are happy with our captive audience. Though we produce over 1,500 films annually (the most of any country), our share in global cinema revenue is a mere 1%. The Modi government, through an increasingly impoverished National Film Development Corporation (NFDC), participates in only a few international film festivals, with India's presence still small and insignificant. The manner in which the government participates in these global film festivals is shoddy. It is clear that the NDFC and the department of film festivals are just not equipped to handle this. Truth be told, they spend most of their time looking after ministers and bureaucrats on foreign jaunts. As for Bollywood, it appears that it is content with participating in dubious award shows and Indian stars and singers are satisfied in catering to the same South Asian audiences abroad year after year."

India's diverse culture and pluralistic fabric is her spine. Though, Prime Minister Modi has talked about soft power, it is imperative to substantiate the ideas with concrete steps; its implementation rather than settling for jingoistic sloganeering.

However, caution must be observed, lest the rich diversity of culture falls prey to vested interests. The use of soft power to advance foreign policy agenda should not become a propaganda or business tool for any westphalian entity or a multinational corporation. A clear distinction needs to be made between benign entertainment and a colonising agenda. Since the Bollywood of the 1950s and 1960s clearly fell on the former side, it still lives in the hearts of millions.

²⁸ The Calvert Journal 2015

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