

Foreign Poh

~~Rammanshar Lohia~~

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FOREWORD

FOREIGN POLICY

As I edit in February, 1963, the speech on foreign policy I made in December, 1956, I am overwhelmed not by what some would call my gift for clear sight but by my impotence in averting the danger that so clearly lay ahead. India lies prostrate. All her policies have been shot to tatters, her foreign policy more than her military policy and her economic policy most. Everything is a shambles, but an enormous make-belief is on as though no calamity had happened. To hopelessness is added despair, for partisans are examining the past and giving a clean bill of health to the patient who is dying.

Would I stand today by all that I said in the past fifteen years and more? India today is different from what India was, when she obtained her freedom. A backlog of crimes and sins of her own doing has accumulated. Free India started with the material burdens and backwardness of an imperialist enslavement. To them are now added the spiritual burdens of offences of her own makings, overbearing, deception and hot air in relation to all mankind and the sin of staying weak and poor in relation to herself. Not unless do we clear up this backlog of our own creation, would we acquire again the freedom of action in foreign policy we had naturally become heir to fifteen years ago.

A distinction must be made between present and immediate aims of foreign policy, as are of greater concern to us, and those remoter in space of time. We must henceforth devote greater attention to matters that concern us more immediately. That is probably a counsel, good for all time. It is today so necessary that its denial is fraught with mischief. The first foreign policy resolution adopted by the congress party related to the countries neighbouring India. It bore Gandhiji's imprint. It was clear

and to the point. Then came the era of the big sweep, but also much nebulosity. The sweep could have done us some good, could have broadened our minds. It was not clear nor firm enough for that. Instead, it turned our minds into a bog of ill-assorted and haltless ideas. To learn to distinguish between vaporous generalities and effective universalisms would take a long time on the national scale. Meanwhile, we must try to become clear about the present and immediate aims of foreign policy.

I am unashamed of my insistence on the frontiers of skin-colour, the rich and powerful white as against the coloured poor and weak. But this has merely been the recognition of a fact, at no point has it been used as a plea for a combination of coloured peoples. In fact, I have always denied a single Asia or Africa. The talk has been of three Asias, the Asia of change or socialism, the Asia of chaos or communism, and the Asia of conservation or capitalism and fendalism. This scheme of classifications needs to be modified somewhat. The Asia of change or socialism has not yet come into being in any effective way. What is masquerading in its place is the Asia of corrupt pseudo-leftism.

Continental combinations, irrespective of ideologies, have always been a sham. If some people still persist in them even after the India-China war, some great mystery of interests is working behind the screens. Any coloured combination to achieve equality with the white peoples is therefore devoid of value. What may succeed in achieving equality between the white and the coloured is precisely a combination of all those who desire equality, irrespective of their skin-colour. Even here, the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. decide. I have in recent years emphasised the need for these two powers, nearly almighty on this planet, to come together. So have some others. They have done so, with a view to relaxation of tensions or nuclear disarmament of varying degree. This is the conventional desire of the liberal, European and American, and Afro-Asian foreign policy has merely aped it. I have asked for rapprochement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. for destruction of poverty, for achievement of parity between agricultural and industrial prices, in short, for increasing equality between the white and the coloured. After all, social and economic equality has been a lodestar initially of white civilisation. To pursue this aim to its logical conclusion should be a special prerogative of the white peoples, in particular, the American and the Russian. Not to do so might well mean their downfall, spiritually undoubtedly, but perhaps also materially, for a civilisation is carried along only as long as it furthers its ethos.

India must also safeguard against yet another fell disease. Arbitrary behaviour often puts on a juridical mask. The impression is created as though great effort is made to weigh and balance. Evidence and arguments of either side are advanced with a seemingly judicial temper. There is however no examination of argument or evidence. There is no reference to first principles. An almost permanent state of pointing both ways is held in suspension. This is particularly the condition in which arbitrary and unprincipled judgment thrives. India's foreign minister has loved to reduce foreign policy situations to such a seemingly judicial and a really arbitrary evaluation. All that he has needed is the freedom to act the way he liked, unhampered by principles, a situation indeed valid for all leadership in the country, chaos in thought and selfish freedom of action, therefore, a disaster for foreign policy.

The issues of recognition to the provisional government of Algeria or the governments of East Germany and Israel were wrapped up in such for and against that a decision on them became personal and arbitrary. But such decisions leave an unending trail of consequences. In similar manner, support to China's admission into the United Nations has been a thoroughly arbitrary and personal decision. It has always been wrong and unprincipled. Today, it is barbarous. It is like sanctifying rape with the ceremony of a wedding. If the principle of universality of U. N. membership be advanced, the two states of mainland China and of Taiwan (Formosa) have qualified, ever since the foreign minister started talking of the issue and according to the tests laid down by him.

There is no greater symbol of the subjectivity and arbitrariness of India's foreign policy than the long-standing dispute of Kashmir. Given the stupidity of politicians on both sides of the frontier, India and Pakistan would indeed have quarrelled about one thing or another. But why Kashmir? Why not the Hindus of East Bengal? Again, why not the Tamilians of Sri Lanka as a chief obsession of foreign policy? It should be clear enough to anybody that personal group origins of the Indian, with whom the Pakistan's is here synonymous, are so important to him that, unless he is very great, he cannot be objective in his policies. To acquire objectivity of foreign policy should be a main endeavour of the nation, but that would mean the near impossibility of the destruction of caste, for what else is group origins except caste.

Should foreign policy ever become objective and acquire clear, present and immediate aims, it would strive for first Indo-Pakistan confederation and secondly Tibetan freedom. The

Russo-American alliance should not be averse to these two aims. In fact, it would welcome them, the moment it became aware of the true situation, its own interests and the needs of world peace. In order that this may happen, India would have to display an idealistic realism far above any she has done so far.

We must learn to think. We have had enough of shibboleths. The grand design of a free India away from the two camps of the Atlantics and the Soviets and acting as the nucleus of creative strength for a new world has been dissipated in a welter of clever words. When there is no base of economic and military strength, only those words have power, which well up from the heart. India's foreign ministry has known how to speak clever words, not true words. It did not speak true words on defeated Germany and Japan, on China and Tibet, on Kenya, Egypt, Hungary, Algeria and Israel, on non-violence and war, on disarmament, nuclear or unilateral, and, what is worse, bribed almost all vocal elements to ventriloquy. Its attitude to Anglo-America has been one of oral disharmony but material compliance, to Soviet Russia that of material disharmony but oral compliance, while a purposeful approach to both America and Russia would have been based realistically, frankly, and harmoniously on India's estimate of her needs and the world's.

I wonder whether it would be easy to forget the white Mr. Macmillan's answer to the coloured Mr. Nkrumah's protest at British despatch of arms to India against China that one did not mediate between a bandit and his victim. If there is war again between Israel and Egypt over Gaza and beyond, many Indians would naturally react in the style of Mr. Ali Sabri that this was but a frontier dispute. The people would indeed never forget that there was something vastly wrong in the Government's handling of foreign policy that such relations or intimate friends as Nepal and Indonesia should have been so lukewarm or downright hostile, not to talk of the disgust roused by the spate of clever words on every foreign issue. But the wrong has been everywhere. To a lacerated heart, silence or at least reticence comes naturally. Further more, it would be to the interest of India and the world if ever the people got a Government that emitted less hot air on issues of foreign policy.

When the issue of India's integrity is at stake, debate is cleverly veered to non-alignment, as though to secure non-alignment integrity could be risked. The real situation is that either has been risked. India has never really been non-aligned. Nor is she so today. She has merely been playing a great power game with chips of no value and calling the clever alternation, of her favours and services between the Atlantics and the Soviets,

non-alignment. The India Government had in fact divided itself up into two wings, one that aligned with the Soviets and the other with the Atlantics, in the hope that alignment in two different directions would result in non-alignment. This cup will have to be drunk to its bitter dregs.

I had indeed wanted to kiss Mr. Macmillan for his speedy and straight offer of help, but the press did not report me fully, for I had listed the Kennedys as well and in fact a little more ardently. The ardour was in no small measure due to impersonal reasons. While every other country has a China party, the U. S. has none or practically none. America like India has acquired a package dislike of China and that should be a great argument for Indo-American cooperation atleast in relation to China.

Once it is decided to have armed forces and to use them, it becomes difficult to understand Government's coyness about import of weapons. Several distinct stages indicate attitude to Anglo-American weapons from total refusal to purchase to lend-lease to import of instructors and technicians, where the matter stopped for the time being, have been discernible. Foot-soldiers were not required nor intended to be brought in, so ran an additional list of information, that road-block would also have been bypassed had the Chinese pushed in further. It appears that the lady was giving in inch by inch and suffering great crisis of mind. Governments should know better than to act in this emotional manner. They should have a policy.

Indonesia, U. A. R. and Cuba are the three centres of military build-up, more proxy power than one's own. The Soviets have built them up. Cuba indeed had missiles, not to talk of masses of aircraft, and several thousand Russian soldiers. The two current prophets of non alignment Indonesia and U. A. R. may not have got the Russian missiles, but they have certainly got everything else. The Indonesian and Egyptian air force is each reported to comprise several thousand aircraft. It is worth-recalling that Indonesian airmen were only the other day receiving their training at Indian Stations. But India talks a lot of pompous priggery, while others act.

What has Indonesia and Egypt given to the Russians in exchange? They are all closed societies and, if there are secret agreements, it would be difficult to know their terms. In view however of the shrill cry of non-alignment raised by them, the presumption should be made that they are not tied to Russia.

Why cannot India, receive American assistance in the same style and, perhaps on a more massive scale, for a greater foe is

involved, and still stay non-aligned. I am, of course, assuming that America would want to do it. If her crusade against communism has any meaning, she would not refuse to help a country that wishes to restrict itself against Chinese communism on the plea that it does not extend the fight. No military pacts involving a give and take should, therefore, be necessary.

Serious difficulty arises in so far as India and America are both democracies and therefore talk more than they act. India is furthermore torn asunder, her Government as much as her people. Her non-alignment is more a matter of alignment in the two directions of socialism and atlantism. Reliance on India's word becomes difficult, not only that its keepers may change but the word too. The whole thing, therefore, boils down to a simple proposition, are we the people of India serious and really non-aligned and have we understood the character of the Chinese menace? We are lost to all sense of shame and a gang of unprincipled liars besides, if our behaviour at the U. N. in respect of communist China's admission is the test. No serious country campaigns for international recognition to its invaders, while it is neutral or hostile against their foes like Spain or China.

I still have doubts, but they are personal and, while they rankle, they have no strength to deflect. Are we justified in injecting such military build-up through our own volition? We are not Indonesia nor Egypt, for we have a past of non-violence. But what use is that non-violence, unless it shows us a way to resist the violators of our frontiers and land. So far, its authorised votaries have talked more hot air than any other group. Today, we have no choice. We may have it tomorrow. A country whose frontiers and territories are threatened, if it keeps armed forces and uses them, must take all types of military assistance from wherever it can get them.

To most political leaders and vocal elements, not to the mass of the people, let us hope, the war between India and China has not been so important as the internal conflict between what has been called the left and the right. The soul of the articulate people is divided. It is aligned in two different directions, and that the policy of false non-alignment has achieved. The inarticulate mass alone can dash this bitter cup to the ground, if only it got clear certain straight and simple propositions of native and foreign policy. A corrupt pseudo-left runs the Government. An effete right comprising economic barons and rightist opposition leaders lives on the mercies of the pseudo-left by bribing it in various ways. A summit communism imagines its dalliance with the Governmental pseudo-left to be a step to revolution, atleast, to considerable foreign policy noise. If only the people

would get hold of a strong broom to sweep them, all away, the stage would be cleared for the emergence of a left that is also nationalist and honest, of revolutionary drives against property coupled with the sanctity of individual's privacy and nation's freedom, and therefore, for a foreign policy that guards the nation and improves the world.

RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

HYDERABAD, February 6, 1963.

FOREIGN POLICY

SPEECH-HYDERABAD-13 DECEMBER 1956.

I would not be so harsh on India's foreign policy but for the remarks made earlier by the Secretary and the President of the India Council of World Affairs.

India's foreign policy is a most futile foreign policy and, even if I would have had to prove it until three months ago, events in Egypt and Hungary have today proved it for me. Ten years have passed since the advent of free India, but they have brought no creative strength to the people of India or the peoples of the world for the solution of their manifold problems. The crisis of foreign policy anywhere is today the crisis of human civilisation. And no Government in the world is pursuing its foreign policy so as to solve this crisis of human civilisation.

Nevertheless, I would today speak a word of praise for the man who is the author and executor of this foreign policy, something which I have not done over the past few years. The occasion for this is the fact that once again after the passage of ten years India stands before an opportunity. The leader of the India Government, which is probably the best representative of the impotence and aspirations of the coloured of this earth, I have said, the impotence as well as the aspirations, and the leader of the American Government, which is the mightiest power on earth, are to meet in three days time. That may well be an opportunity.

I have very little hope that India Government and its leader would be able to make use of this opportunity on their past showing, for there is with the Prime Minister of India a wide gap between potentiality and achievement. Until Mahatma Gandhi was alive India's Prime Minister showed abundantly his capacities and proved on many occasions that he was proba-

bly the noblest thoroughfare in the politics of the World. I believe that potentially even to this day amongst world politicians there is no nobler steed. But a steed requires to be ridden. As long as Mahatma Gandhi was alive he rode this steed and managed to see that steed did not go near a precipice or stray too far away from desirable paths. There might have been a little period immediately before the 1942 open rebellion when this horse tried to gallop away without the rider but Gandhiji soon brought him round to the right path. In the past ten years this noble steed has been riderless. I have not the slightest hope that anyone person in this country or any party or the people as a whole would be able to ride this steed within the foreseeable future. But the horse has grown old. And I have a hope that ten years experience in the foreign offices of India might make him listen to certain needs of foreign policy not alone for India but for all the world.

The foreign policy of India and all the world has reached a blind alley. I may straight away assert that the Anglo-American alliance and the Anglo-Indian alliance and the Warsaw alliance are the three chief instruments of evil in this world. A natural conclusion follows. Foreign policy even in its immediate motivation must seek to weaken and finally to destroy these three alliances. And in their place must arise increasingly warm friendship between the peoples and Governments of India and Russia on the one hand and India and America on the other and, in evitably therefore, an increasing approximation between the Russian and American Governments. Such an aim of foreign policy may appear to be an exceedingly remote one at the present moment. Three months ago it might even have appeared insane. But events in Egypt and Hungary have proved that no alliances in the World of today are unshakeable, that they get loosened under the pressure of events, that there is a possibility of other friendships arising, which go contrary to such alliances.

Of the three evil alliances which I have mentioned, the Anglo-American alliance is probably the most evil. The Baghdad pact, the Nato and the Seato, the three subsidiary systems of alliances in South Asia, in West Asia and West Europe, would all go to pieces if the Anglo-American alliance loosened. And what is this Anglo-American alliance based on? On the futile bonds of language just because the two peoples happen to be English-speaking. I said that a futile bond, but apparently it could become a very strong bond, for I will presently show that one of the main reasons why the Anglo-Indian alliance is still persisting is precisely this narrowly cosmopolitan language which I am also guilty of using today, for it prevents

us from obtaining a total view and a clear perspective of the World as it exists today.

Apart from the bond of speaking the English language which holds these two peoples and Governments together, there are also some similarities of tradition and history. And history can be a very powerful factor. What this alliance can mean to the world is patent from America's behaviour with regard to Egypt as contrasted with her behaviour when aggression took place in Korea. America sorrowed when her best friend committed aggression and all her speech and action have flown out of this sentiment of sorrow. But America was angry when communist aggression took place in Korea and within four hours of aggression American armies marched into Korea. They were both of a uniform kind, both the aggressions, but one led to sorrow and other to anger.

America has to carry on her back these West European Governments burdened with imperialist history and a continuing imperialist ruthlessness. I have not the slightest doubt that continuing ruthlessness of England in Kenya and France in Algeria cannot be paralleled elsewhere and, if Indian newspapers make you aware alone of ruthlessness practised in communist satellite countries, put that down to the global war ideological and material that is taking place between capitalism and communism. I will presently show that communism has been most barbaric in its treatment of peoples, whom it often subjected to its sway. There is no intention on my part to compare evil, for I totally reject the theory of the lesser evil. Evil is evil and there is nothing to choose between British imperialism and Russian imperialism.

But if any of you were to believe on account of newspaper propaganda that youthful and vigorous Russian imperialism is cruel and ruthless, while French and British imperialism have stopped being so because of their age and maturity, I could only say you know not what has been happening in Kenya and Algeria. But they are coloured peoples, and when a white man or woman suffers and dies in agony the whole world knows about it. The sufferings and agonies of coloured people are not talked about in the same manner. America has had to act as a cover for West European imperialisms, a shield and an umbrella for their evil deeds because of her Anglo-American alliance.

I would now show how the Anglo-Indian alliance has totally blurred India's perspective. The war in Egypt would probably not have occurred if this alliance had not existed. Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal on 26th of July. On 28th of July the

world knew that British ships and aeroplanes and troops were on their way to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean and that Britain had ordered mobilisation which she called partial. But for the Anglo-Indian alliance the India Government could at that stage have asked Britain to stop its mobilisation on pain of India withdrawing from the Commonwealth.

Six or seven weeks later around 15th of September a situation of war showed itself. Troops had massed on both sides of the frontier. India's Prime Minister may today declare that nobody knew anything about it. But the fact is that every body knew everything about it. There were troops, there were movements, there were massive concentrations, there were incidents, there were exchanges and counter exchanges and all the world knew that something was going to happen. But India's winged bird who spends more of his time in the air than on the earth was away in Kozikhode speaking to perhaps a smaller number of students than I am addressing today. And India's ambassador to Egypt was here in Hyderabad condoling the death of one of his relations. This is how India's foreign policy is executed.

Around the 15th of September, but for the Anglo-Indian alliance, India would have told Britain in a friendly way but firmly, that an attack on Egypt would be considered by her as an attack on herself. No one can be certain about world affairs and foreign policy. But one has to make calculations about the future and also undertake calculated risks. In any event, even if these two moves of the India Government, the intention to withdraw from the commonwealth, publicly declared on 29th of July, and the policy of regarding an attack on Egypt as an attack on India, again publicly declared on the 16th or 17th of September, would most certainly have introduced powerful new elements into the world situation, and probably the final attack on Egypt made on the 29th of October and later would not have occurred. I wish to say with all solemnity that the India Government not deliberately but out of its ignorance and prejudice has been not a peace-maker but a war-maker in this affair of Egypt.

There have been other grievous episodes. The Prime Minister of India wrote to the President of Yugoslavia some time back complaining against Mr. Nasser's action, drawing his attention to a clause of the Brioni agreement which the two of them together with Mr. Nasser had signed and took his stand on a clause in that agreement which provides for safeguarding of "legitimate economic interests of the big powers in the Middle East". That is a phrase on which these three gentlemen, I must say that President Nasser is also included in that list, have put their signatures. The coloured peoples of this earth must beware of

their leaders, for one knows not into what traps they might lead their people. President Nasser of Egypt, Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Tito of Yugoslavia, all three of them put their signatures on a document known as the Brioni Agreement, which provides for safeguarding of the legitimate economic interest of the big powers in the Middle East. I shall say nothing more than that. And to this day, India Government's foreign Office have given no explanation of the letter which India wrote to Yugoslavia.

I have lately come in possession of another most disturbing, at the same time most easily understood bit of news, and that is immediately after the British attack, Egypt approached India for credits. This is the least a friend can do in times of distress. Even a poor country like India had at one time given succour to the people of Burma in their distress and extended credits running into 50 or 60 crores. But at this particular point of time when harassed Egypt approached India for credits, the India Government refused them and was not willing to go beyond the four crores of credits which were already a part of the prevailing trade agreements between the two countries. If the entire story of India's foreign policy is ever written, not you but your sons and daughters will know how badly these ten years of free India were spent.

The Anglo-Indian connection is some kind of a drag on the mind of educated India. And unfortunately India's policy, much more so, her foreign policy are made by the very few educated people at the top and incidentally, lest I forget, executed by what type of people. The auditor of Government of India's accounts has disclosed that one of our ambassadors replaced the silver plate in his embassy, and try to imagine how much silver plate there is, all kinds of cups and saucers or well if not cups and saucers the other things you know those plates and all kinds of other bulls all made of silver. An ambassador of India actually replaced the silver plate of his embassy with, I do not know what, either stainless steel or German silver. So when I said that the educated classes of India are responsible for formulating and executing India's foreign policy, I did not have people like you in mind. I had precisely those hereditary slaves in mind, who know how to be second class Governors, no matter whether the British or the Congress or the Socialists rule this country, and they are not averse to stealing silver. I understand that the ambassador has been punished. But what is the punishment? He has been asked to return that silver.

Now then the Anglo-Indian connection has harmed India's policies and distorted her perspective in more ways than one. The

Egyptian case should be considered by the people of India in its entirety. The enormous extent of the failure of man is visible in this Egyptian episode, where he contents himself with the consolation that atleast it did not lead to a world war, it could be restricted to a localised war. That is the condition to which we have come to, that when we are unable to prevent a localised war, we lay solace to our hearts that it did not atleast develop into a world war. This is the extent of success or failure which man achieves in his foreign policies today. And even in this respect India Government formulated a most dangerous principle, for when the rulers of Russia approached India with a request to send volunteers to Egypt in order to expel the aggressors, the reply of the India Government was very significant. It spoke of the need not to expand the area of war.

This doctrine of non expansion of the area of war may easily lead, as it did in the case of Egypt, to the sanctioning of whatever area of war had already erupted and over a fairly long period of whatever disastrous consequences this act might have led to. It is like saying to a murderer, who had set out to murder a thousand persons, that he shall not murder the other 950, but the fifty that he has already murdered, well nothing can be done about it. The world is consoling itself with the thought that more murder did not take place. I am somewhat shattered after the Egyptian experience, both in a selfish way and as a human being. In a selfish way, I am shattered because of what might happen to my own country at any moment. Should India be attacked tomorrow by the combined might of three armies superior to her in armed power and particularly air power and should that attack last for a whole ten days destroying her cities and her population and should during all that period the world restrict itself to the passage of resolutions of sympathy and not extend to us the slightest material help, how would we feel about it. This is precisely what happened to Egypt.

No material help was sent to Egypt and, while I am at this abandoning of a friend or a sufferer by India, let me point out the utter collapse of all Asian and African powers including the Arab powers. Let this question not be confused with any effervescent sentiments of religion. If there is any proof of the fact that Islam has no role to play as a single combined force in world affairs, the Egyptian case is a perfect example. While Egypt was raided and pillaged, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey were pursuing policies contrary to her interest and they are doing so right to this day. At any rate, three of these countries that I have mentioned belong to the Baghdad pact to which Great Britain is the senior partner. And every body knows how Pakistan unleashed a propaganda war on Egypt precisely during the period that Britain unleashed an armed war on Egypt.

It may well be that Arab peoples and their Governments are not in a position to take stock. The needs of the moment are far too insistent. But a day will come when they will have to take note of the fact that four crores of peoples living in Arabia and another four or five crores of Arabs living in North Africa cannot either become a united force or an agency for world peace or national reconstruction, unless they are able to solve their internal problems. It is impossible for an Iraq governed by the most nefarious kind of native feudalism and dependant on oil subsidies of England and other countries to come to the assistance of another, a sister Arab country, even in times of distress. There is no Islam and no Arabism and the case of Egypt proves that conclusively.

And what did Nepal do. It came out with an announcement that it will ask the British Government not to use Gurkha troops in Egypt, as if those troops used in Malaya or in Liverpool do not give succour to Britain. If Asian peoples and Governments were to content themselves with such putrid policies, Britain and France may well continue to rule a part of the world, atleast, in the old fashion. Britain may well shift about her coloured merceneries from point to point and time to time and, if the Gurkhas do not want to be used in Egypt at any particular moment, she will shift them on to Malaya, and, if the Borneans do not wish to be used in Malaya at any particular moment, they will be shifted on to Egypt. The prime Minister of Ceylon in a similar manner announced that he would not let air and other bases in Ceylon be used for transportation of troops and other things to Egypt. If British materials and troops continue to be transported, let us say, between any two points in Hongkong and in Gibraltar via the Cape of Good Hope, does that make any difference. I have given you an example of the utter mendacity and miserable putridness to which Asia's politicians and statesmen can fall in their enunciations of foreign policy. Ceylon, Nepal, the Arab States, Islamic States, they have all shown that the Afro-Asian combination, the Bandung principles, are an expression of meaningless piety. Where was Panchasila when Port Said was massacred?

Panchasila and collective security are equally meaningless expressions of piety. I would also once again assert that America was found being sorry and just that when her best friend acted an aggressor. In this case, the highest and noblest expressions of human aims in foreign policy, whether in India or elsewhere, have, proved to be so much froth and foam and meaningless piety in the face of aggression in Egypt.

In similar fashion, I should like to draw your attention to whatever happened in Hungary. The Hungariam experience has

proved abundantly that communism atleast in East European countries outside of Russia is the creed of a minority and a cruel and ruthless creed at that. We do not yet know the numbers of those massacred in Hungary but they seem to have run into the region of tens of thousands. Communism in Eastern European countries, which has now proved to be the creed of a cruel and ruthless minority, must be re-evaluated by the coloured peoples of this earth.

There was a time when many people made the mistake as though the iron rod of Russian rule had destroyed all sentiments of freedom in eastern European countries. Let there be no such categorical assertions about human nature and its craving for freedom ever again. Man will resist injustice as long as he lives. There may be brief intervals during which he goes quiet but he will rise again and again as long as injustice prevails in this world, no matter what ruthless barbarians rule over him. The Hungarian episode has made it quite clear that Poland and Czechoslovakia and probably also Rumania would under certain circumstances undertake action which causes collapse of the Warsaw Alliance.

Now what is this Warsaw Alliance. I have no intention to go into the Russian motives but I would like to state the Russian case just in order to understand how their mind works. Russians seem to think that they must provide for themselves some kind of a shield against West European aggression and they have therefore extended their frontiers right upto the Oder and Spree and similar rivers in Europe, let us say beyond Poland and such like East European countries. Whatever might be their motives, their action is of a piece with Britain and France, for if Russian armies can exist in Hungary and Poland and Rumania only if they continue suppressing the sentiments of millions of these peoples, the consequences are obvious. I have often been told that the conflict in Hungary is between progress and reaction. We should reject such an explanation and boldly declare that even if reaction were to triumph, national freedom and sovereignty is an essential condition for all else, until a world parliament is elected on the basis of adult franchise.

I might even assert that Poland will soon perhaps become a far greater symbol of the nationalist revolt against Russia than any other East European country. If Poland is quiet today, it is only because certain communist leaders who were held in Stalin's jails were released in time in order to become Poland's leaders and also because of the Polish-German frontiers.

Communism outside of Russia particularly in Eastern Europe has shown a split between orthodox communist and

heretic communist. These heretic communists, as is shown by the case of Imre Nagy, have not desisted from taking the assistance of other nationalist forces in their land. I wish to repeat again and again that nationalism is today the most dominant force in the world, whether we like it or not, that no internationalism and no ideology of one particular economic reconstruction or another is strong enough completely to cancel this vital force of nationalism. On this basis, I conclude about the Hungraian case that Russia whether today or tomorrow will have to withdraw from the eastern European territories. That may take time. That may also be the result of bloodshed. But there seems to be no doubt that Russian communism is at war with nationalism of east European lands and such a war can have only one consequence.

In any event, communism has suffered its most grievous defeat in Hungary. And with that defeat, another problem arises whether it will at all be possible to restore the nationalist principle without at the same time restoring the representative principle. Communism has hitherto depended upon Governments run by an insurrectionist minority, which at some point of time begins to claim a majority in its favour, but which does not permit elections. But I do not see how the restoration of nationalism in East European lands and as a consequence the restoration of civil liberties will be prevented from extending into another region and that is the restoration of representative institutions, parliament, parties, elections, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. And when that should come, what will happen to the communist empire and the communist creed. Will its beneficial assault on property continue? In any case, this Warsaw Alliance which has resulted in control over enormous east European populations and destruction of nationalist freedom has been proved to be a main instrument of tyranny in this world.

Mr. Nehru is the leader of an impotent country that talks too much and builds very little. Mr. Eisenhower is the Leader of a strong country which sends out as many as ten lacs of travellers to roam over earth in comfort and sometimes in glory. America has no physical and political empires, although she has had her own Gautemalas. But these ten lacs of Americans who roam over the earth are a symbol of America's power and wealth. Although Americans will never understand the sentiments of a coloured man, not even the sentiments of their own European poor relations, let me make one point clear. America thinks that she has come to this power and wealth through her own effort. She has the natural resources, she has the natural ability and her people are hard working. And if they are able

to grow rich what occasion is that for people like you and me to be jealous of them.

America does not understand humanity. We shall be jealous of power and wealth, no matter how justifiably and reasonably acquired. For we know that there is in this world no justified and reasonable acquisition of wealth. If we are a single human family, brothers of one another, the problem will have to be faced as to within which margin of inequality shall we live. In a good family, those who earn more and those who earn less or do not earn at all are not differentiated in respect of their food and their clothing. If a family does so, it is depraved. America often talks of the human family. But what kind of human family is this where one section of it can send out ten lacs of travellers roaming over the earth in glory and comfort and, well, with regard to the other section the Olympian results are before you.

I will not go into that subject, that is also very entertaining. It might interest you to learn that your country was placed thirty first in the olympic games. And whereas countries like Finland and Denmark which are about the size of the city of Hyderabad were placed ninth or twelfth or thirteenth. And all the first ten positions with the exception of Japan were occupied by the White peoples of this earth, which fact must always be understood by coloured peoples. Some people some times think that I want a war between the white and coloured peoples. Nothing of that kind. I do not want it. But those who want to shut their eyes to the fact, the most overwhelming fact in the world today, are preparing for a war. I want the peoples of this world to recognise that the most vital and dominating and significant split in the world today is that between the white and the coloured peoples, that the white peoples own all the good things of this earth. When I say good things, I mean material things, I am not thinking of God and fear, whereas the coloured peoples of this earth are dispossessed of those good things of life. I am not jealous. I remember my ancestors. They sat twice on the peak of world history. It is enough for me to get satisfaction out of that memory. I would not want my country to sit on the top again. But I would want the coloured peoples of this earth to become equal with the white peoples, and that will not be possible, unless facts as they exist are recognised.

There is America with this enormous wealth and power, but also with an opportunity. One thing distinguishes America and Russia from the rest of Western Europe, and that is that West Europeans are physical and political imperialists. Again, I have nothing to say about their motives, whether they are good men or bad men. All men are good and all men are bad. But

West Europeans on account of certain accidents of history have established political and physical rule over large parts of the earth, and are still continuing to do so. In addition to this physical rule, they have also been the main sellers of manufactured commodities. In the past two hundred years, the world has been divided into the enormous town of Western Europe which manufactured commodities in factories, and a much more enormous village of the rest of the world, which grew agricultural commodities. Exchange took place between the two. We grew-what shall I say-ground seeds, linseed, jute, and cotton, and they manufactured for us our cloth and our radios and our fans and our motor cars, and the rest.

This relationship between manufactured commodities and agricultural produce, particularly commercial crops, has existed over the past two hundred years and still continues to exist. Western Europe lives on this relationship. America and Russia have no need either of physical rule or of selling manufactures. They are the only two white peoples of this earth who have no need to do so. They can, if they so desire, sell machines, and those machines which are meant to manufacture machines, to all the earth, without in any way entering into any competition with their own manufacture. If England were to sell a machine which manufactured machines to India, she at once enters into a competition with herself in regard to various manufactures and machines that she sells to India. That is the vital difference between the West Europeans and Russia and America.

Here is a great opportunity for America and Russia to understand not only that they are leaders of the world today but also that they have no stake in the world of yesterday, that they have no vested interest either in physical rule or in manufacture, that they are in a position, without contradicting their own self-interest, to sell machines to all the world. Out of this, certain consequences of foreign policy may arise.

India's Prime Minister, if it is at all possible for him to do so, for we are all slaves of our own past and routine, educated at colleges and universities of a particular type, and we cannot possibly rid ourselves free of influences which childhood and youth had to suffer, should make an attempt to weaken and ultimately to destroy these three evil alliances : the Anglo-American Alliance, the Warsaw Alliance, and the Anglo-India Alliance. Only on the destruction of these three alliances, can a new world be built.

I know that the kind of foreign policy that I have put before you may at times appear to be rather remote. It may not produce immediate effects. But that is another course of India's

foreign policy. In its search for immediate effects, it has neglected to create that reservoir of new creative strength which alone can change the world. And a people so weak as the Indian should not dissipate its energies in a search merely for immediate effects. After all, if Britain was halted in Egypt, it was not because of any resolutions which India proposed or had passed. Two significant acts took place. They were weak acts, but they were acts nevertheless. America halted her supply of petrol and oil to Europe, and particularly England. And Russia threatened to send volunteers and worse to expel the aggressors from Egypt. These two, one an act and the other a near-act, might have had some effect on British policy. But to say that India or any other country, merely through certain effusions of pious sentiment, could produce immediate effect on the course of world happenings will, I believe, be somewhat of a mistake, to put it very mildly. Instead of this search for immediate results, let us go out for a creative endeavour to avert a world war, that is, to create forces of peace.

These are two entirely different propositions. Averting of a world war may take place on account of certain subterranean influences, which are not clear to the eye, but on the surface they may well be ascribed to puerile endeavours of certain persons. Creation of peace is something wholly different from avoidance of war, and there has been an enormous confusion between the two. The prime Minister of India may well-of course, he would not listen to me. Why should he? I have no battalions of public opinion behind me. If I had, I would certainly do my best to hammer this into his mind : that avoidance of war is not creation of peace; that to create peace new forces have to be encouraged and organised, and that these new forces shall be encouraged and organised only when the mind is liberated from old influences.

What these old influences have been is perfectly clear from the face of India's foreign policy from 1948 to 1957, or rather, from 1947. You might remember that although free India had nothing to do with the war against Germany and Japan, the State of legal war between India on the one hand and Germany and Japan on the other lasted until 1950 or 1951. For four years free India was at war with Germany and Japan. Why? Again because of the intellectual enslavement to Great Britain. Because Great Britain was at war with Germany and Japan, in a legal way, not actually, therefore India also continued to be at war. India took reparations. India has similarly behaved most haltingly in regard to Egypt, withheld credits, refused to give any material aid to Egypt, only because of this intellectual enslavement to England, and of course also the material relationship.

I believe that India's armed forces are still to a very large extent equipped with British material. As long as this relationship lasts, there can be no freedom of India's foreign policy. And not only India's armies, but also India's factories, India's air services, and the rest of them. One has often talked of the increasing friendship between India and Russia. I do not deny that there has been at times an intellectual friendship between India and Russia of a somewhat artificial character, so that India's statesmen have often had to be quiet over murderous things, that annihilate the spirit.

In regard to material bonds, this much is quite clear that Russian weapons have not come to India. Material bonds still continue with England and with America. And when all the newspaper publicists of this land talk about increasing association between India and Russia, they might well remember that materially India is still tied up and most enormously with America and England, of course with England more than America, England as the satellite of the American empire. That being the situation, the time has come when the Government and the people of India must liberate themselves from this mental stranglehold of the British and also from the material relationship that exists between the two.

I once pointed out how educated peoples in India like cricket. That is nothing but a remnant of that enslavement. Cricket is not played anywhere outside Britain and her slave territories. Mention me a single country in the World where Cricket is played except the British commonwealth that is the White British People and their slaves. And yet the fondness for cricket continues. This is only an example. In similar manner whether in armies or in factories or in manner of dress or in style of speech or other connections or in the sphere of foreign policy or in the stealing of silver, you might say that the British do not steal silver, of course they don't, because they take good care not to be detected, but in this particular case the person did not happen to be a very good imitator of the British game for he would not have been found out, if he had been really and properly trained by the British.

Let me conclude with this final observation that India's Prime Minister stands before a great opportunity. He was a noble horse when Gandhiji lived. He galloped well. Gandhiji was his rider. Over the past ten years he has been riderless. He has brought the country to the brink of ruin. Ten years have passed. He has another opportunity. This opportunity may not come to him again. Nobody will ride him. There is nobody who can ride him. The people of India have no great

leader, no great party, nor are they yet strong enough although I am quite sure that they will one day become strong enough to ride even such wayward horses as the Prime Minister. But such as he is, this thorough bred, than whom no potentially nobler politician exists in the world today. Please remember I am always making a difference between potentiality and achievement. I will again repeat that in his achievement he has been a dismal and despicable failure in the past ten years. Now once again he has a golden opportunity before him. Let him do his best to weaken and destroy and ultimately to destroy, these three alliances. I know the task is difficult. History and past prejudices will stand in the way and yet, if this job could be done, the increasing friendship between Russia and America on the one hand and these two countries and the coloured peoples of the earth on the other may well create the new world of our dream.

FOREWORD

For a subject-country like India foreign affairs and foreign policy are considered by many to be outside the scope of practical Politics. They are a game at which only free nations can play. There is some truth in this for a subject-country is controlled and bound down by the dominating power even in regard to its internal policy and much more so regarding its foreign policy. India may be an original member of the League of Nations, but all the world knows that this means an additional voice and vote for the British Foreign Office. The people of India have no say in the matter and their so-called representatives are nominated by the British Government. And so, inevitably, the subject-country concentrates on achieving national independence before it can think of playing an effective part in international affairs.

And yet this is a half-truth and we see its limitations even today. In spite of her political subjection to Britain, India is increasingly interesting herself in and to some extent influencing foreign affairs. Even today the voice of India counts for something in international affairs. Why is this so? Because it is recognised that India is on the threshold of freedom and a free India is going to make her weight felt in world affairs. Because also the background of international affairs has changed and is continually changing. Cabinets and governments still play a dominant role in shaping foreign policy, but the mass of the people and their wishes count for more and more, and though they may not yet be able to give shape and content to this policy, they influence it and sometimes exercise an effective check over it. That influence of the people will grow till palace politics and the intrigues of cabinets give place to a real and open collaboration between the peoples of various countries; till a league of governments gives place to a league of peoples.

The peoples of India will co-operate full in this task and it is right therefore that even today they should range themselves with the forces that work to this end. But as a matter of fact it has never been easily possible to separate domestic policy from foreign policy; each manifest impossibility. And so the Congress, in spite of its pre-occupation with the internal strength for freedom, has been compelled by force of circumstances to think of outside affairs and express itself in regard to them. As early as 1921, it passed a resolution on the Foreign Policy of India assuring our neighbouring countries of our friendship for them. As the war danger developed, the Congress expressed itself clearly and declared that India would be no party to imperialist war. We were interested in the fate of Ethiopia, we protested against Japanese aggression in China, we sided wholeheartedly with the Spanish Government in its heroic fight against foreign invasion and domestic rebellion.

We took deep interest in all this and more not only because of our sympathy for a people who were fighting for freedom, but because the Indian people were understanding the true significance of events abroad and were developing a definite foreign policy in regard to them. They saw that India's future was to some extent bound up with what was happening in Europe or the Far East. As our vision and understanding have grown, so has our interest in foreign affairs.

The Haripura Congress went a step further in defining our foreign policy, but still we are on the threshold of this domain and it is right that Congressmen should give thought to this matter and help in developing a clear-cut and comprehensive policy. Events march rapidly now-a-days and we must not lag behind them or be caught napping when the time for action comes.

I welcome this essay of my colleague Dr. Rammanohar Lohia as a contribution to the further study of this subject. He does not necessarily commit the Congress to what he says,

but his back-ground is that of the Congress and many will agree with him. He has discussed at some length the changing policy of the British Labour Party. This policy has often been in the past hostile to India or at best indifferent. It has been weak and ineffective in the domestic field. It has given passive support sometimes to the reactionary National Government of the day. And yet at their last conference there were gleams of hope and we must welcome them. We welcome them because if that policy is really pursued, it might offer a basis of cooperation. We have stood up against the British Government and resisted it but we want to make it clear that our resistance was to their policy and to their domination over India. We would welcome cooperation with the British people and with other peoples on the basis of Indian independence and world peace. That is the cornerstone of our policy and we cannot give it up.

There is talk of collective and pooled security to ensure peace and freedom, while on the other hand the world rushes headlong to war and catastrophe. Those who talk of collective security will have to be on pacts of certain western governments and on the continuation of the imperialist system. To imagine so is to ignore realities. There can be no collective security of peace on the basis of imperialism, just as there can be no peace if fascism holds sway. There can be no pooled security unless the problem of India and like problems are solved. India will throw her whole weight in any real scheme of collective security and peace. But if her own freedom is ignored she will consider the scheme a sham and a farce. The problem of India is thus an essential part of the world problem. Whatever happens, she makes a difference and it is well that this should be realised.

In a world full of war and preparations for war India stands significantly as a country which has deliberately based its policy on peace and non-violence. How far it is possible to apply these methods in the international sphere

today it is difficult to say. But it must be remembered that the non-violence of the Indian struggle is not a weak, passive and ineffective pacifism.

It is a dynamic thing with sanctions behind it and if the world is to progress in culture and civilisation, it will have to adopt peaceful methods of solving its problems. That day may yet be distant. But India will cooperate with all her heart to bring it nearer.

Meanwhile it seems clear that collective security must be backed by some kind of effective sanctions against the aggressor. What must these sanctions be? Military sanctions may perhaps be necessary and inevitable on particular occasions; but they involve war, and the remedy might be as bad as the disease. Economic sanctions may also involve that risk, but not necessarily so. They are powerful and on the whole peaceful; though their effect might not be immediate, it is far-reaching. It is quite possible to control the aggressor by economic sanctions alone.

To have no sanctions is to allow free play to the aggressor, and ultimately to bow to his will. That cannot be agreed to for that means no collective security. It means the law of the jungle.

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

ALLAHABAD

MAY 26, 1938.

The Foreign Policies
OF
The Indian National
Congress
AND
The British Labour Party

THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

The British Labour party has issued an immediate programme which is both an election platform and a definite promise to the country that, when the Labour party comes into power, this programme will be put through by the Government. Under the section 'Foreign policy and Defence' this programme states: "A Labour Government will make every endeavour to remove the economic causes of international rivalry and to enable all peaceful nations to share on fair terms in the abundant wealth of the world. It will take the lead in seeking to strengthen and re-invigorate the League of Nations as an instrument of international co-operation and collective security. It will play its full part in every effort to check the present ruinous armament race and to promote disarmament by international agreement, and, in particular, substitute an international air police force for national air force and to establish an international service of civil aviation. A Labour government will unhesitatingly maintain such armed forces as are necessary to defend our country and to fulfil our obligations as a member of the British Commonwealth and of the League of Nations. A Ministry of Defence will be set up to co-ordinate the three defence services and to increase their efficiency. Throughout these services promotion to commissioned rank will be open to all and will depend upon merit alone and no longer on wealth or class privilege. Conditions of service will be improved and so far as possible employment on the termination of service will be guaranteed to all. A bill will be passed enabling the Government to take over any undertakings manufacturing munitions of war." It is clear that a three fold emphasis is the basis of this immediate programme. (1) strengthening of the League of Nations (2) strengthening of the British armaments (3) closer co-operation among peaceful nations.

The Report on International policy and Defence which the last annual Conference of the Labour Party accepted, concludes with the following observations : "This is the conviction of the National Council of Labour that the next war can be prevented and the arms race can be stopped and that the League of Nations can be made strong again provided that a British government soon comes to power which will base its policy on the declarations of the British Labour movement. Such a government must be in a position to make a powerful appeal to the Fascist states to agree to the abandonment of the arms race and the acceptance of a general disarmament treaty. Such a government in the present state of the world must also be strongly equipped to defend this country to play its full part in collective security and to resist any intimidation by the fascist powers designed to frustrate fulfilments of our obligations. Such a government therefore until a change in the international situation caused by its advent had had its effect would never reverse the present programme of re-armament. Such a government however would immediately re-examine the whole provision made for defence in the light of the international situation and the new foreign policy which it would inaugurate. The British Labour movement fully conscious of the dangers which today threaten our civilization refuses to accept the doctrine of the inevitability of war and will continue to exert all its influence to promote a durable peace based on friendship and justice between nations and respect for international law." A most generous interpretation of this policy of the Labour movement containing two mutually contradictory points of the desire of disarmament in the long run but the practice of re-armament in the short run will be as follows. Britain must re-arm so that her armaments can be an effective force to strike fear into and dominate the Fascist powers. If the Fascist powers are not prepared to listen to counsels of peace and conciliation, such an effectively re-armed Britain will be able to defend the world against Fascist aggression. However, it is also likely that the increasing armaments of Great Britain will bring Fascist powers to see reason and the world will then be prepared to negotiate a general disarmament treaty. This appears to be the basic idea underlying the defence and foreign policy of the British Labour Party. Proposing the international policy and defence, J. R. Clynes said, "We cannot safely conclude that there is no risk of the Fascist States attacking democratic Britain. We cannot therefore leave every preparation for resistance until attacks actually begin. Those who say they would only offer armed resistance to protect a socialist state should remember that millions of socialists in England will be in need of defence if Britain is attacked. It is untrue to say that this report commits

us to a policy of militarism and to a mere defence of the present government. Militarism is the spirit which relies upon armed forces built up without regard to peace efforts and policy and without appeal to the collective endeavour represented by the League of Nations. To that military spirit we are as strongly opposed as any pacifist in this country."

Opposition to this policy of the Labour Party came from two different quarters. One section wishes that the Foreign Policy and the Arms policy of the present Tory government of Britain should not be supported and that, if the Labour Party condemned its Foreign policy, its arms policy should also be included in such a condemnation. This section was however of the opinion that it is now-a-days both possible and necessary to use arms for peace. But then such use can only be made by an entirely different government. So long as the present Government lasts, the Labour Party must, therefore, vote against its arms credits. Another section was opposed to this policy on grounds of antimilitarism. Though acknowledging the necessity of maintaining adequate means of national defence against aggressive attacks from without, this section was opposed to the present enormous increases of national expenditure on armaments.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Walker on behalf of the National Executive said: "We are discussing here as a responsible party affiliated to international organisations and let it be remembered as Mr. Earnest Bevin pointed out this morning that the people in the other countries, not the government but the socialist movements in other countries, all feel very much secure with armed Britain not because it has a national government but because Britain the mother of democracy has always stood for democratic liberty (a voice: India) Yes, India. Shall we leave India for Japan, Germany or Italy to go into? What would have to be done if we left India? What would India require to do? And remember the Congress Party. It is a remarkable thing that because a party calls itself democratic or republican outside these shores, it can be as anti-socialist as it likes and all our great revolutionaries in this country immediately support it and ask you to do everything to defend and protect it." Such a speech as this, and somehow it represents the majority opinion of the Labour party, makes it clear that the Labour Party is confused on the question of democracy. Due to Britain's peculiar position, a certain amount of internal democracy prevails. This internal democracy is however more an outer facade, for the democratic movements of Britain have not yet pushed the demands of democracy to a revolutionary

point. And yet the British Labour movement seems to think that because there is an amount of internal democracy in Britain, British institutions as such are democratic. This inevitably leads to a certain amount of confusion. There are both democratic and anti-democratic institutions and movements in Britain and to jumble up the two together is a serious error. Unless this question is made absolutely clear to the British Labour movement, it will not be in a position to understand the democratic upsurge within the British Empire itself. It will not be able to understand the movements in India and in other colonies. In fact, if the British Labour movement were clear on the internal democracy of Britain, it would support any nationalist movement in India and in the colonies that tended to destroy the strength of the anti-democratic forces in its own country. It would not stop to enquire as to the exact nature and character of the various nationalist movements. Its first instinctive reaction would be to condemn British Imperialism and to support the nationalist movements. After having done that, it will certainly try to influence the nationalist movements, on grounds of peace and international fellowship, to acquire progressively a mass basis and a socialist character. Moreover, the Indian National movement is not at all anti-socialist as the Labour Party spokesman imagines it to be. It may not have as its aim the end of the capitalist system, but this is irrelevant. So long as the Indian movement is anti-Imperialist and progressively democratic, which it is, the Labour Party should have no other alternative but to support it. This however can only be done when the Labour Party has rid itself of its spurious notions of democracy and socialism. So long as this is not done the British Labour movement as a guarantee of world peace will be sadly deficient. Its foreign policy will be lacking a definite shape and point. It will not be able to stand up in reality for an Assembly of Equal Nations, which the League of Nations ought to be. Its foreign policy and wars will therefore not be in consonance with the democratic upsurge in the world and the desire for peace, justice and equality.

There are two basic and irrevocable items in the programme of the Indian National Congress and these have an intimate bearing on its foreign policy. These two items relate to the internal and external policies of the Congress. Internally, the Congress policy is that of complete independence of British rule. This independence is to find expression in a constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly of the Indian people. Britain has no say in the election of the Constituent Assembly or in the framing of the Indian Constitution. The Indian people are the sole and complete masters in their own land. Externally the Congress policy is resistance to Britain's wars.

Britain's rule over India continuing, the Congress and the entire nationalist movement is committed to non-participation in Britain's wars. The external policy of the Congress, therefore, is to resist by direct action any attempts of Britain to drag India into purposes of imperial diplomacy and wars in the wider context of the world, the British Empire does not include India. In like manner, the programme of the Labour Party contains two basic items. Firstly, it is a denunciation of the British National Government. The National Government has encouraged Fascist aggression; it has weakened the League as an instrument of world peace and collective security. Secondly, the Labour Party programme is an outlining of the lines on which the constructive policy of peace might be based. To recapitulate, these lines are mainly (1) Strengthening of the League of Nations as an instrument of collective security, (2) strengthening of British arms, (3) closer co-operation among peaceful nations.

The Indian National Congress is equally emphatic on one item of the Labour party's programme, that is, the denunciation of the present National Government of Great Britain. Through the support that the Congress has extended to Ethiopia, Spain and China, it has directly and openly condemned the present National Government for its policy of incapacitating the League of Nations as an instruments of collective peace. The foreign policy declarations of the Indian National Congress, which include (1) complete independence and Constituent Assembly for India (2) India's non-participation in Britain's wars (3) condemnation of the present National Government, present a big question mark and a major problem to the British Labour Party. The British Labour Party is called upon to answer to questions; if it accepts India's determination to complete freedom and to non-participation in imperialist wars.

We now take up, item by item, the entire constructive peace policy of the British Labour Party. Strengthening of the League of Nations as an instrument of collective security is one basic item of the Labour party's programme. The Indian National Congress has not yet had an opportunity to express itself clearly and systematically on this question. There have been stray utterances and piecemeal measures. The Congress party in the Central Assembly has, for example, proposed the withdrawal of India from the League of Nations. It is apparent that such a proposal runs counter to looking upon the League as an effective instrument for peace. At the same time, the Indian National Congress is an associate member of the world Peace Congress. The four-point programme of the World

Peace Congress includes the strengthening of the League, It is time now that we should put an end to such piecemeal and sometimes contradictory utterances and measures in regard to the Congress attitude towards the League. Such a task is not at all difficult. In spite of the apparent contradiction, our condemnation and support alike of the League of Nations are inspired by similar motives. The motive behind our traditional condemnation of the League of Nations is that it has been and continues to be a League of the Governments. Being the League of the Governments, it has been dominated by the great powers and has, instead of reforming the world, tried to maintain the *status quo*. Another objection is that India has been represented at the League through the British Government and India's membership to the League is not that of the Indian people. The motive behind our support of the World Peace Congress is to utilise the contradiction between the declared ends of the League and the action of the great powers for purposes of building up a non-State democratic block of freedom and peace. There is also the aspiration that a reformed League of the Nations might act as an instrument of world peace. It is possible to combine the two motives. We can put on record our support of the League. We can and should make conditions to such a support. The League must be a League of peoples and, not only should the Indian delegation be representative of the people of India, but that other delegations should also represent their peoples as distinct from their governments. It is also possible that the peoples of the world may be represented at the League both through their governments and their peoples in some such manner as governments, workers and employers are represented at the International Labour Organisation.

Support of the League raises another fundamental question. It raises the question of outlawry of wars, of naming the aggressor, of resorting to sanctions against the aggressor. It also raises the question of the present international treaties. Obviously, questions of naming the aggressor and resorting to sanctions against him have become a matter of daily occurrence in our world today. What should be the policy of the Congress movement until it is not yet in control of the free Indian State? What should be the policy of the free Indian State itself? These are the two questions which the Indian National Congress has to answer. Obviously, both as a movement and as the controlling force behind the future Indian State, the Congress cannot accept the sanctity of present international treaties. It condemns the treaties between China on the one hand and England and Japan and other imperialist powers on the other as much as it

condemns the relationship between India and Great Britain. But, having condemned the present international treaties, the Congress both as a movement and as the free Indian State has to take a definite stand in regard to the application of sanctions against an aggressor. Even while the unequal international treaties continue, aggression is committed and the Congress may not take a negative or neutral attitude regarding such aggression. In fact, during the past three years, it has already taken a positive stand in regard to Italian and Japanese aggression. It has condemned these governments for having violated the freedom of other nations and having invaded their territories. Treaties or no treaties, such aggression can and should be condemned on all moral, legal and political grounds. It is obvious and blatant aggression and no treaties need be recalled to prove it to be so. Even in regard to the Spanish conflict, the Congress has taken up a clear stand.

The Spanish conflict is a case of mixed aggression where both internal fascist forces and foreign fascist forces have unitedly declared war upon democratic forces. The Congress has therefore declared itself against the aggression of fascist forces on democratic forces. All future aggression is likely to fall under either of these two categories. It will either be the aggression of a fascist or imperialist power upon the freedom of another nation or that of fascist forces upon democratic forces. The Congress should therefore have no objection to associate itself with any international measures to name an aggressor and condemn him.

How far should the Congress go in the application of international sanctions against an aggressor? The League sanctions include economic sanctions against the aggressor and, also, military assistance to the aggressed nation. The Congress should have no difficulty in accepting the policy of economic sanctions against the aggressor. In fact, its present resolution to boycott Japanese goods is an indication that it is prepared to apply economic sanctions against an aggressor nation. It should therefore be able to co-operate wholeheartedly in any world scheme to cut off all economic relations of all trade particularly, in war materials, and suspension of all capital transactions. It will be remembered that the League has yet never been able to apply economic sanctions in their entirety nor has any one single power done so. The failure of economic sanctions is largely due to this. Economic sanctions can be a very effective measure against any nation, if they applied in their entirety and on a comparatively worldwide scale. The question arises as to whe-

ther the Congress will also be ready to be party to any world-scheme of military sanctions. Military sanctions stand on a footing somewhat different from that of economic sanctions. Opinion on their usefulness is divided. On the one hand, there is believed to be a certain inevitability about them; it is said that any application of economic sanctions in their entirety is sure to lead to war and, as such, preparedness and willingness for such a war is a necessary part of any scheme of sanctions. If the fight for peace and democracy is to have any meaning, democrats must be willing to use arms against fascists. On the other hand, there is believed to lurk a danger in the application of military sanctions, such as would make the war look futile in retrospect, or, else, the result of the war may not be in consonance with the ends of peace and justice. What is worse, the emphasis on military sanctions is likely to transfer the peace initiative from the peoples to their governments. In fact, such a development has already taken place in part, the socialist and democratic forces of have, through the successive fascist invasions of Spain, China and Austria contented themselves with condemning the League governments for their refusal to act. They have refused to take the initiative themselves and, wherever fascist cargo has been boycotted, it was the result of a purely local and spontaneous action. In such a situation the Indian National Congress will be perfectly justified in restricting its action against the aggressor to the application of economic measures. While such a course of action will be in line with the Congress ethics of non-violence, it may also prove to be a more effective safeguarding of peace.

As the British, French, Dutch and other Empires are satiated empires and as aggression is likely to come from the shortrun enemies of these empires, will the Congress and Free India be justified in resorting to any radical measures against such aggression? In this delicately adjusted world, will not the weakness of Japan or Italy or Germany contribute to the strength of Great Britain or France? If this is so, the Congress condemnation of fascist powers is likely to contribute to the strength of satiated imperialism. This is specious reasoning. It fails to make the necessary distinction between the existing reach of imperialism and efforts to extend it. While both should be condemned and fought against, efforts to imperialist expansion and extension ought to be condemned still more severely. Moreover, the defeat of imperialist efforts towards expansion is never likely to lead to the growth of strength of any imperialist power. It will most surely lead to the strengthening of such nations in the world as are aspiring for national freedom and democracy. In any calculation of respective consequences to, say, two such imperialist powers as Great Britain and Japan, it must not be forgotten

that a third force, the nationalist, socialist, and democratic force, is also strengthened. Secondly, the policy of sanctions is not the policy of any imperialist power. If we look around, we will find that the warmest supporters of a policy of sanctions are to be found amongst the world's democratic, nationalist and socialist forces. The policy of sanctions is most likely to dissipate the energies of imperialism and, consequently to strengthen the forces of peace and freedom.

We may now take up the question of closer co-operation among peaceful nations. It has already been made clear that the various clauses of international treaties need not be invoked in order to show from where aggression has come. In like manner, it should not be difficult to find out all such forces as are working for peace and are determined to resist aggression. Broadly, we may say that the Indian National Congress desires closer co-operation among all such national and democratic forces as are prepared to resist aggression either in the form of extension of imperialism or in that of attack on democratic principles. Among the States of the world, we should have no hesitation in generally supporting Soviet Russia because she has definitely discarded imperialism as the basis of her State policy. In like manner, we should warmly support all such national Governments, for instance, the Chinese Government, which are either through wars or through diplomacy resisting imperialist aggression. A difficulty arises when we are called upon to subscribe to the mis-conception that prevails in many European countries and in America that there are two blocks of nations in the world, the democratic block and the fascist block. We cannot accept that Britain or France or the United States as a whole is a democracy. We have been maintaining and will continue to maintain a distinction between the democratic forces and the anti-democratic forces in these various countries. Our support of world democracy should not therefore be understood to imply support of the so called democratic governments of the world. It may indeed happen that for temporary reasons any one of our policies of mutual defence or international sanctions coincides with that of one or the other government in the world. But our emphasis will continue to rest on the non-State peace, democratic and socialist forces in the world.

We may now take up the question of the strengthening of British arms which is also a constructive item in the peace policy of the British Labour Party. A general question of principle is here involved and the Indian National Congress by virtue of its superior ethics in world affairs will always do well to reiterate it. The general increase in world armaments is the direct result of imperialism being the guiding policy in

world affairs. Disarmament can only come when the world is in reality an association of free and equal nations. Increase in armaments is symptomatic of the diseased state in which we live and of the acute imperialist rivalries which are daily increasing. We cannot but generally condemn all armaments. After having stated this general principle, we may draw a distinction between armaments which are used for aggression and those which are used for defending freedom and peace. Actually, British arms are not being used either for peace or for freedom in the world today. This takes us directly to the question of our own arms policy. The Indian National Congress has traditionally condemned the Indian Government for its enormous military expenditure. It has done so on various grounds.

(1) The Indian army is an army of foreign occupation to whose strengthening and expenditure the Congress cannot be a party. The Congress must resist all such strengthening and expenditure.

(2) The enormous expenditure on the army leaves little for expenditure on the nation-building departments such as education or public health.

(3) With the expenditure that the Indian Government is today incurring on the army, the defence of the country could be made far more adequate. The Government today spends an inordinately large sum on the British section of the Indian army. This sum could be easily diverted to build up and raise a much larger and well-equipped army manned and officered by Indians.

(4) The Congress has stood for the universal right to bear arms and to adult military training. This would indicate the desire of the Congress to have a national citizens' militia. According to this general position of the Congress our arms policy cannot even give a tacit support to the strengthening of the Indian army. Of late however there has been some little mis-conception which may easily result in a radical departure from our traditional policy. A recent move of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly shows that it suffers from such a mis-conception. On the question of the mechanisation of the Indian army, the Congress Party in the Central Assembly appears to have taken up the stand that it would be mechanised. On the ground that the menace of foreign aggression has lately become acute, it is thought that India's defences ought to be strengthened. The stand, therefore, of the Congress Party was that the Government should be condemned not because it is trying to mechanise the army as such but because it is mechani-

sing only the British section of the Army. This obviously cannot be and is not the Congress attitude. So long as British Imperialism continues to dominate the country and our army is not a citizens' militia but an army of foreign occupation, the Indian National Congress can have but one stand which is clear and unequivocal. It cannot support any expenditure on the Army whether it be for the British section or the Indian section. It condemns all attempts to increase the efficiency of this army whether it be that of the Indian section or the British section. In so far as the aggression of imperialist powers other than Britain is concerned, the arms policy of the Indian National Congress is easily evidenced, if we bear in mind our traditional aims. These are the universal right to bear arms and the imparting of adult military training. Whenever, therefore, a question of defending Indian frontiers against foreign aggression arises, the Congress can have, apart from economic retaliation, but two remedies for it, namely, arms for the people and adult military training. Such an arms policy is desirable not only from the agitational viewpoint but also that of effectiveness. It should be clearly understood that no amount of mechanisation under British control can ever adequately defend India's frontiers against Imperialist attack, but the trained army of the people can.

The broad points of the Congress foreign and defence policy are (1) India is determined to participate in world affairs as a free and sovereign nation. The Congress creed of complete independence and the resolve to frame India's constitution through a Constituent Assembly are evidence of this. (2) So long as British Imperialism lasts in this country, India is determined to resist by countrywide direct action any attempt to force her into Britain's wars. It must therefore be clearly understood by the whole world that, for purposes of international diplomacy and war, India does not form part of the British Empire. (3) India desires the transformation of the League of Nations into a League of Peoples and supports it. (4) India does not recognise the sanctity of international treaties but declares that aggression can be easily named. (5) India offers her support to all the national, democratic and socialist forces in the world that are working for peace, freedom and democracy and puts on record her readiness to associate whole-heartedly in any scheme of international economic sanctions against an aggressor. (6) India regards the present Indian army as an army of foreign occupation and cannot in any way support its maintenance or strengthening. The Congress declares that the only way to meet imperialist attacks from without is arms to the people and adult military training.

It is an interesting speculation to trace the differences in the foreign policy of the Indian National Congress and the British Labour Party to their origins. It is far more interesting and useful to combine and unite the world forces of democracy, peace and freedom.

FOREWORD

Slavery invariably induces an unhealthy egoistic concentration upon oneself. This concentration is further enhanced by the helplessness of the slave. It is therefore no wonder that India forgets many of the ordinary obligations that free and normally functioning nations recognise and discharge. Every nation is mindful of its nationals abroad. Their political and geographical borders of the homeland are the concern of patriotic effort. Any insult or indignity to nationals abroad is resented and retribution and retaliation soon follow.

India has her nationals scattered abroad in distant lands but she manages to forget them in her more pressing preoccupations. As long as foreign domination lasts, this concentration upon the all engrossing political problem within India cannot be avoided. But even then we cannot afford to neglect our obligations to Indians overseas. Their theoretical claim to our help has always been recognised by the Congress in many of its resolutions. In South Africa Gandhiji, however, compelled attention. The nation responded with advice and monetary and moral support. Ever since we have been taking little more lively interest in the concern of our people settled abroad. But the knowledge of an average political worker about this great problem is insufficient and inadequate. He has a vague idea that his people lives in foreign lands subject to many and various social, economic and political handicaps. He roughly knows that they are insulted and humiliated by the white settlers, who have made themselves the masters everywhere. Even the politically awakened Indian has little knowledge of the magnitude of the problem. He does not know that for every hundred Indians who live in India, one lives outside India. He is not acquainted with the facts that in some of the islands and settlements his people not only outnumber the whites but also

the native populations. He does not exactly know how these big colonies of Indians maintain themselves economically. He has a faint idea that most of them went as indentured labourers and are perhaps free labourers today. That they have secured some place in agriculture, trade, industry and administration he does not know. He is unaware of the powerful cultural bonds that unite them to their native land saving them "from the strangle-grip of Christianity and consequently from the nameless merging into a dull hybrid cultureless existence." The average Indian has no knowledge of the new dangers that the Indians overseas are confronted with by the new imperial economic policies. He does not know of their linguistic communal and provincial differences and their native individualistic tendencies that keep them apart from each other and make concerted action and opposition difficult.

All this knowledge about the Indians overseas, their hopes and fears, their needs and aspirations, their difficulties and opportunities have been described very ably in a small compass by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia of our Foreign Department. He has marshalled significant facts and telling figures to document his brochure. Dr. Lohia has utilized his opportunities fruitfully. He has sought out contacts and sedulously encouraged and cultivated them. The little book will therefore be helpful not only to us here but also to the different groups of overseas Indians 3 millions strong spread over "a belt which runs around the Equator from the north Atlantic over the Indian Ocean to the South Pacific."

I am entirely at one with Doctor Lohia in his conclusions. If Indians overseas are to live a healthy and prosperous life as good citizens in the lands of their adoption, they must shed off their communal provincial and linguistic differences that they have carried from the Homeland. They must provide universal education for the children of their community for which they have ample opportunities. Above all they must feel their unity, solidarity and identity of interests with the natives of the soil, the Negro, the other Asiatics living alongside with them and such whitesettlers as themselves are the underdogs of capitalist and imperial exploitation. India can help them by supplying the right type of teachers and its moral and material help in their struggle against inequity and injustice. The initiative at effort and reform must however be with them. As in other spheres, so here, India can do her full even as she frees herself from Imperial Domination and attains Purna Swaraj. But even as we get fresh accession of strength by our political struggle here, we get power and authority to help our countrymen effectively in the

Civil Disobedience movements, we could not have made our boycott of Zanzibar cloves as telling as we have done. With added strength come added opportunities and these, well utilized, further add to our strength. The day is not far distant when the imperialist will know that he insults our nationals abroad only at his risk and peril.

I congratulate Dr. Rammanohar Lohia on what he has kept before his countrymen here and abroad. I have no doubt that the pamphlet will be found widely instructive and useful.

J. B. KRIPALANI

Indians
IN
Foreign Lands

INTRODUCTION

Though spread all over the world, the essential concentration of Indian populations overseas has been effected on a belt which runs around the Equator from the North Atlantic over the Indian Ocean to the South Pacific. British Guiana in South America and the neighbouring island of Trinidad contain Indian communities which are nearly one-half of their entire population. The entire South and East of Africa are dotted over by considerable Indian populations. In the three islands of the Indian Ocean, Zanzibar, Mauritius and Ceylon, Indians constitute anywhere between one-tenth and three-fourths of their respective populations. Situated between the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea, they account for nearly one seventh of the population of Malaya. Beyond Australia, in the Fiji Islands, they are nearly as many as the Fijians themselves. The Equatorial life-line of the British Empire is effectively intersected with vast Indian concentrations.

Army-chiefs and administrators built up Britain's colonial empire and capitalists owned it and worked it. Labour and tradesmen were equally necessary for the economic opening out of this Empire. India supplies, these while Britain produced the Empire's capitalists and administrators. In its essentials, the present position of Indians in the British colonies is a continuation of what it has been ever since the first migrations started nearly a hundred years ago. The insult of the indenture system is of course gone as also the feudal serfdom which it entailed. The Indian is no longer tied to his employer in a system of vicious contracts extending over many years. The indentured labourer has also in a number of cases transformed himself into the small peasant. However, the Indian continues to be the labourer, small peasant and petty trader of Britain's colonial empire. In recent years, he has also risen into the free professions

and stray individuals have also come into the ownership of large plantations and factories. Essentially, however, the strength as also the weakness of the Indian position in the British colonies depends upon the labourer, small peasant, petty trader and the free professions. As the difficulties of the Empire and consciousness among the masses are growing, the vast Indian concentrations in the British colonies are rapidly acquiring economic and political importance.

Elsewhere in the Empire and in other foreign countries, Indians number many and have risen into fairly important positions. There is a string of Indian traders which starts from Tokyo and Hongkong and extends over Iraq and Gibraltar into Panama. There are always a large number of Indian students in the more important world cities. Some Indians have held and still hold important professorial, consular, army and international missions of free foreign countries. Such Indians are however political exiles from home and though they have brought honour to their country's name, their position is no index to the general political and economic conditions of Overseas Indians.

Overseas Indians have always suffered from a variety of disabilities and have been very much a tragic community. They went out from their country as serfs, labourers and tradesmen, and India, subject herself to foreign domination, was unable to be of any political or economic assistance to them. They are now faced with a danger which almost threatens to wipe them out. This is the danger of the attempt of British Imperialism to achieve structural changes in its colonial economy. The pre-war structure of a multitude of petty tradesmen and small peasants is utterly inadequate to the needs of post-war imperialism that has no further colonial territories to open out. Imperialism must therefore rationalise itself and wipe out the petty tradesmen and peasants. Indians are the direct victims of this new imperialist attack. Elsewhere too, the general increase of nationalist feeling and the inability of India to be of any assistance have caused a certain deterioration of the Indian position.

Any effective resistance to the new imperialist policies will depend on how far Indians overseas are able to grapple with and overcome their own weaknesses. Their individualistic past and sectional divisions on the basis of their home language and province are their first bane. Uprooted from the communal life of home, Overseas Indians have tended to be narrowly individualistic by virtue of their calling of petty trades and

small farms. In addition, the different Indian languages predominantly Hindustani, Tamil and Gujarati, that are spoken among them have created barriers without any inter-communication or mutual understanding. These divisions have sometimes degenerated into shabby squabbles. The Hindustani, Tamilian and Gujarati have kept aloof from one another. Increasing enlightenment and the general imperialist attack have created an atmosphere in which these age-old divisions have little chance of survival. It should be a first task of Overseas Indians to consolidate and make intensive use of this atmosphere.

There is something tenacious in Indian culture and despite the distance of thousands of miles, this culture has stuck to our overseas compatriots. Inevitably, the dominant trend of this culture has been religious. This explains the comparatively small number of Overseas Indians who have changed their religion and embraced Christianity instead. To the extent that the religious quality of Indian culture has saved our overseas communities from the strangle-grip of Christianity and, consequently, from the nameless merging into a dull, hybrid and cultureless existence, it has been useful; it has however, had serious drawbacks. The dividing line between religion and orthodoxy is not always clear and Overseas Indians have lately fallen under a more serious spell of orthodoxy. Hindu and Mohammedan preachers alike, who know little and care to know less about the world in which they live, have in recent years migrated in large numbers to the colonies of Indian concentration. They have not only confirmed their flock in their faiths but have encouraged them to look upon religion as the supreme principle of life. This religion is often a superstition. From so far-off a land like Trinidad, distanced from us by nearly ten thousand miles, the Congress Foreign Department has received a striking illustration of superstitious religion. The Trinidad Hindus seem to have been carrying on an endless controversy as to whether marriages could be performed after dusk according to Vedic rites and they have requested our co-operation in the solution of this controversy. Such superstitious orthodoxy among Hindus and Mohammedans alike tends to undermine the Indian position in foreign lands and keeps them in a state of ineffective ignorance. Religion becomes their staple mental food. They have little attention and energy for the more engrossing problems of life and culture. Overseas Indians must effect a fundamental change in their mental outlook and shift the emphasis of their thought from religious superstition to more vital cultural problems. It is true that a very large number of Indians in different lands have already liberated themselves from superstitious beliefs, and in consequence, the task of liberating entire Indian communities overseas should not be difficult.

Overseas Indians have a great possibility of achieving universal literacy and education. Still, their attainments in this field thus far are not very praiseworthy. To an extent, the discriminating policies of the various Governments who do not regard the education of Indian children as one of their charges is responsible for this state of affairs. Whatever the attitude of the various Governments, Overseas Indians must and can help themselves to a large extent in the matter of widespread and universal education. They can teach Hindustani, the universal language of India, in their schools and ought to be able to impart to their students a working knowledge of the African and other languages that are spoken in their midst.

There is among Overseas Indians a wide lag between the educated classes and the masses. They know little mutual contact. The free professions and the rich maintain a social existence of their own and seldom concern themselves with the problems of the small planter and the labourer. If the free professions and labourers alike are to stay in the hard struggle of the overseas colonies, they have to destroy the barriers that have separated them in the past. Such attempts are already afoot in various colonies and they have to be further intensified.

This takes us to the problem of organisation among Overseas Indians. Due to individualism and divisions of language, education and religious orthodoxy an effective break with this past has already been made. The new economic policies of British Imperialism in the colonies will further create the pre-conditions of effective organisation among Overseas Indians. In their turn they must forge ahead with the destruction of various evils from which they have suffered in the past and create solid and well-knit communities. They already possess several newspapers and have formed themselves into associations. These newspapers should give vigorous expression of Indian opinion on several problems as they arise from time to time and become focal centres of organising their readers into compact bodies. There should be one central organisation in each colony to which all Indians should belong.

The problem of organisation is however not solely racial. Overseas Indians are but one community among many other communities with whom they live in the closest proximity. Together with the dominant imperialist races, particularly the British, African, Asiatic and other oppressed races live in the colonies. Indians cannot therefore live an isolated racial existence. They have to combine with the other races to advance culture and prosperity in their own colonies and further the

fight for freedom and democracy throughout the world. Such a united front of races must be given an organisational shape. There is for instance the Trade Union of the working class which is easily a united form of all labourers to whatever race they might belong with a view to greater justice and freedom. In like manner, associations of small peasants and small traders irrespective of racial origins may become the united front of all such as wish to resist imperialist exploitation.

The Englishman is everywhere supreme. According to the British High Commissioner in Malaya, the Englishman owns each colony in equal rights with "natives of the soil". In reality, it is the imperialist who is the sole master. Overseas Indians are often counselled to patience and co-operation with the imperialist master. At a farewell dinner to the Indian Agent in South Africa in January 1938, a member of the South African Cabinet advised South African Indians to co-operate with the European. He was concerned to find that, of late, there had been some attempts in South Africa to form a non-European united front in which Indians were taking a leading part. This may be a matter of concern to the South African European; it is happy news for all such as desire international brotherhood based on equality of races. In so far as a united front of Indian and other oppressed races, eminently the African, is designed to combat European supremacy and resist imperialist exploitation, it is both necessary and desirable. Neither Indians nor Africans can singly resist their conditions of political and economic inferiority and of cultural backwardness. They must make common cause with each other. Such a united front however is not necessarily a purely racial combination. Europeans who are themselves exploited or who cannot tolerate the denial of humanity that is a daily practice in the colonies, are welcome to a united front of all races to end slavery. Its new economic policies are a further consolidation of colonial imperialism. The railway may be an improvement upon the boat and the mechanised large plantations upon the backward small plots. But, so long as the motive force of all such improvement is the consolidation of imperialist profits and control, it will inevitably lead to further misery and backwardness. To resist this further deterioration, Overseas Indians should devote themselves especially to achieving a united front of all oppressed races and the exploited masses.

India has often concerned herself with the problems of her overseas children. Mahatma Gandhi started his first Civil Disobedience Movement in South Africa. Ever since, the Indian National Congress has time and again taken up a resolute stand

in regard to the political and economic disabilities of Overseas Indians. Aside from general publicity, she has also tried to defend their position through resort to direct action, as in the instance of boycott of Zanzibar cloves. India can further cement her bonds with her overseas communities. Exchange-visits of cultural contacts may be arranged as also teachers may go out from India to spread education amongst the children of Overseas Indians.

Overseas Indians can also make India better known to the world, alike in the colonies as also in free countries. They can act as the unofficial embassies of the Indian National Congress. Throughout the world they can help in creating a front of freedom and democracy. Already in the cities of the United States, in London, in China, and Japan and in other world-cities, there are considerable numbers of Indians who are helping to bring India into closer contacts with the progressive world. Such work should be intensified.

Indians are not, as is usually supposed, a stay-at-home and tied-to-the-soil people. For every hundred that stay in the motherland, one Indian seeks his living overseas. These 3 million of our stock, who are spread all over the world, are our special concern and our link with the world. We must share their sufferings and joys in common. And while we do so, we may not forget that, through concentration of population and trade, they are the predominant community in several British colonies. With each advance in their unity and organisation, a blow is struck for Indian freedom and against imperialism.

GENERAL

Out of nearly 30 lakhs of our countrymen living abroad, Ceylon, Malaya, South Africa, Mauritius, Trinidad and Fiji account for nearly 80%. The position of Indians in these countries leaves very much to be desired and appears, in certain cases, to be deteriorating.

The 85,000 Indians in Fiji who account for only a little less than half of the entire population of the island are worried mainly over questions of land tenure, domicile, education and franchise. Twenty thousand of these are of school-going age but only 5,000 are actually in school. They have been deprived of their municipal franchise and, with the recent introduction of the principle of nomination to the legislature, they feel that the possibility of any future improvement is very seriously jeopardised. Even such Indians as are domiciled and permanently settled in Fiji must, it appears, secure a landing permit from the Secretary for Indian affairs on their return from India. The Secretary for Indian affairs is a salaried official of the Fiji

Government and seems, together with the Governor of the island, to regard with fear the fact that Indians might profit by the recent discoveries of gold in that island.

Indians do not own land in Fiji. They are tenants either of Fijian owners or of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Under a Crown proclamation, all land should belong to the Fijians. Exception has, nevertheless, been made in favour of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to whom extensive freeholds have been granted. Indians can lease land either of the Fijian owners on a twenty-one year contract or of the Company on a ten year contract. It is clear that such tenancies are always very insecure and generally reduce the tenant to a position of intolerable poverty and indebtedness. Moreover, most leases acquired by Indians date from the period 1917-1920, when the indenture was abolished. In the next few years, these leases will expire and Fijian Indians will be faced with a serious crisis. It is suggested that there is so much unoccupied land in the island that the needs of both Indian Fijians and Fijians can be met.

Ceylon accounts for over 8 lakhs of Indians. In recent years, there has developed an agitation demanding their repatriation and the restriction of immigration. In fact, a resolution on these lines was tabled in the State Council. As Ceylon wants preferential treatment to her export-trade of copra with India, this agitation has not gained ground.

18,000 Indians reside in the Island of Jamaica. The legality of marriages according to Indian rules is not admitted. This disability appears to be a minor one, unless it is viewed in the proper context of domicile and rights of island-born citizenship.

Indians in New Zealand are deprived of old-age-pension and workmen's compensation. Workmen's compensation is granted only to nationals of countries with reciprocity.

Indians are spread all over the world and enjoy a very important position, numerically and sometimes economically, in some of the nerve-centres of the British Empire. Their political position; however, is a source of constant anxiety to them and their economic interests are threatened by European encroachment. They are, above all, anxious to maintain their ties with India.

ZANZIBAR

The Indian has become the convenient scapegoat of the British in Africa. If the African and Arab planter or trader suffers dwindling of his profits due to causes of world depression

of imperialist acquisition, it is ultimately the Indian who is held responsible. Lest the Africans and Arabs should know the real makers of their misfortune, investigating Commissions do their little bit towards strengthening British rule by equating the Indian with all the evil deeds of trade-profiteering and in money-lending and blood-sucking. In Zanzibar and in various South African legislatures, laws are being enacted whose basis is the assumed guilt of the Indian for the country's poverty.

While these laws thus serve the purpose of retarding Africa's political education and distracting her from the anti-imperialist movement to petty intercommunal and anti-Indian rivalries, they are also designed to enrich further the British imperialist. In this manner, through the anti-Indian laws, the colonial office of the British Government serves the threefold purpose of perpetuating the political rule of the British over the colonies, of enriching the British monopolist at the expense of the Indian small trader and of running colonial administrations with the Indian's property.

The Clove Decree of the Zanzibar Government is just such a law. Under this law, the purchase of cloves from growers in distant areas becomes a monopoly of the Association which is not formed of the growers of clove but consists of an advisory body of six or more persons appointed by the Government. The Indian trader will have been completely ousted. He is today the seller supplier of manufactured and other commodities to the African and Arab growers and buyer-collector of cloves from them. He is also an exporter and creditor.

Together with the land alienation and debt decrees, the clove monopoly is justified on the ground that the Arabs and Africans are being crushed under heavy debts, that their lands have passed under Indian control and that the Indian traders' speculation causes great instability of prices. As an answer to these charges, it has been shown that agricultural indebtedness in Zanzibar does not exceed 20% of the assets and that, to this day, Indians do not own more than between 12½% and 17¼% of the total number of clove trees of the land. The Zanzibar clove trees are estimated between thirty and forty lakhs. As for the charge of speculation, it is pointed out that the years when the price of clove reached a low level and later rose were also those of great fall of agricultural price all over the world and of their later recovery.

It is true that the clove growers need assistance of various description. They need to be given proper credit facilities and improved seeds and should be told about the exact requirements of overseas markets. Free storage is desirable. But for all this a monopoly of the clove trade is not at all needed or desirable.

The Indian speculator is likely to have augmented certain unwelcome tendencies of the clove market; but the harm that the monopoly will do is very much in excess and is already showing itself. A representation of the Indian Association of Zanzibar reads :

"The evil effects of monopoly and the resultant harm to the growers are by now quite patent in the case of clove-stems. Since the first of January 1936, export of stems from Zanzibar has been prohibited in favour of the Zanzibar distillery and the growers have been obliged to sell them locally to the Clove Growers' Association or the distillery at about Re. 1. to 1½ per frasila of 35 lbs. This Association is in a position to say that there is a definite demand of stems at Rs. 3 to 3½ per frasila in foreign markets if it were allowed to be exported."

The Zanzibar distillery was a British concern and is now reported to have been taken over by the Zanzibar Government. In any case, no further evidence of how these laws are designed to enrich either the British monopolist or the colonial government at the expense of African and Arab farmer and Indian trader will be found necessary.

The existence of 15,000 Indians who form nearly 6% of the population of Zanzibar is in danger. The Arabs, Swahilies and other African tribes do not stand to gain by these laws. In the course of a letter the Indian National Association of Zanzibar writes: "The Indian community, far from being a burden, have been of great help to Arabs and Africans and have stood through thick and thin with them. It is to be hoped that the anti-imperialist tie among these will not be allowed to loosen whatever the cost."

The Zanzibar Clove Bill came into operation on 1st August, 1937. As a measure of retaliation, Indian dealers and exporters of clove decided in a conference held on 10th July to resort to passive resistance. No Indian is to apply for buying licenses as an agent of the Clove Growers' Association. No Indian is to engage in the export trade. No Indian is to serve on the advisory board of the Clove Growers' Association. It is not difficult to see that this virtually means a hungerstrike of 15,000 Indians now residing in Zanzibar. They are looking at India with expectation and hope in their eyes. They want the Indian people and merchants to declare a voluntary boycott on Zanzibar cloves. India imports 40% of the entire Zanzibar export of cloves and there is ground that such a step will bring

reason to the Zanzibar Government. The Government of India should now impose an embargo; that is an insistent demand. In their determination to resist the Clove Act, the Zanzibar Indians have appealed to the Provincial Governments and Municipalities to assist in the embargo on cloves. What the Clove Law will mean to Indian traders is apparent from the latest activities of the Clove Growers' Association. This monopolist association is carrying out auction sales of Plantation crops under its own authority and arranging to purchase India's gunny bags through European firms in Zanzibar.

While the British Resident in Zanzibar was declaring that the clove-monopoly was the arch of the whole settlement, he was also recommending to the Zanzibar council to approve expenditure of over Rs 30,000 as Zanzibar's contribution to Government of Kenya for coastal defence. Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar are henceforth to maintain in common a Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve Unit and a Coastal Defence Unit at Mombasa. Zanzibar is to contribute 14% towards the total capital and recurrent expenditure is to be incurred for the general East African Defence Scheme. The establishment of a naval unit to safeguard the East African coast for the British Empire and the deliberate ousting of Indians from the clove-trade of Zanzibar appear to be parts of the same scheme.

Information has reached from Zanzibar that the daily business loss of the Indian community there is anything between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000. The strike has now lasted for nearly four months and, at the most moderate estimate, the Indian community of Zanzibar has suffered a loss of Rs. 10 lakhs. The only hope of Indians in Zanzibar is the effectiveness of our own boycott of Zanzibar cloves. We learn authoritatively that this boycott has already told upon the commercial life of Zanzibar. Some Arab and African cultivators of cloves are regarding the Indian strike with sympathy. Despite a bumper crop of cloves this year the Zanzibar clove monopoly is manoeuvring for a very small harvest. The motive obviously is that with little or no export of cloves to India a good crop might depress prices. This has naturally resulted in considerable resentment among the African and the Arab clove-growers. If we can make our boycott of Zanzibar cloves still more effective there is no reason why the combined strength of the African and Arab clove-growers and the Indian traders should not bend the Zanzibar Government to an early settlement with the Indians of Zanzibar.

The action of the Indian National Congress in organising a boycott of Zanzibar cloves has brought our countrymen

overseas cheer and hope. It is perhaps for the first time that India has resorted to action in succour of her overseas children. This will give them faith and courage and hope. The Zanzibar Indians have numerous odds to contend against and an uphill fight. Despite their peaceful struggle, some racial antagonism has been aroused and the Zanzibar Government is accused of encouraging it. Although Zanzibar officers are instructed to "avoid any action likely to give rise to inter-racial friction" the Government admits, "When opinion is divided on racial lines it is impossible for Government to prevent statements being made, even by its own officers, which especially if misunderstood, misinterpreted, misquoted or misrepresented as is occasionally inevitable, may not give offence or arouse resentment between races."

TANGANYIKA AND MAURITIUS

Even while the brave resistance of Zanzibar Indians against the British clove monopoly is still continuing, Tanganyika Indians are faced with a similar but more drastic measure. The Tanganyika Government has proposed "An Ordinance to make provision for the encouragement and control of Native Agriculture and Industry and the marketing of the products thereof." Any product of agriculture, horticulture or animal husbandry may be declared a regulated product and the Government will then set up a Native Produce Board to control its production and marketing. The Board may give directions as to the method of production, grading and packing and these shall be binding on all producers. The Board may also assume a sole monopoly of purchase. It is obvious that the scope of this proposed measure extends over the entire economic life of Tanganyika. Producers may be effectively controlled and traders completely wiped out of existence. There are over 20,000 Indians in Tanganyika and almost the entire trade of the country is in their hands. Among these are merchants, storekeepers, government servants, photographers, typists, electricians, metalworkers and a host of other professions. With the passage of this Ordinance, their existence will be endangered. Some will have to slave under the Board and yet others lose their living and their place taken up by British clerks. Indian opposition to this measure is very stiff and the Tanganyika African Welfare Association has also declared its opposition.

Nearer home, in an island of the Indian Ocean the Indians of Mauritius are in a frightful plight. Even though they form nearly seventy per cent of the entire population, over 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ lac in a total of 4 lacs, Mauritian Indians are either labourers in the French-owned sugar factories or work on the sugar plantations.

They are illiterate, ignorant and disunited. They have taken with them from here the barriers of language and province. A solitary Indian has come into the ownership of three sugar factories and some are moderately rich planters but they do not seem to be very much concerned with the course of their collective destiny. And so the sugar factory owners are left in the enjoyment of their super profits without any resistance.

The worker in the Mauritian factories is ill paid and overworked; his monthly wage fluctuates between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25. The small planter, who has no other market save that of the factory, is under the virtual serfdom of the Factory owners' syndicate. Sometimes the millowners refuse to crush his cane and, when they do crush, they frequently exchange 1 ton of sugarcane for 60 to 70 kgs. of sugar in other words, less than half of the sugar actually extracted. It is believed that there is a systematic drive to seize his lands for non-payment of even the smallest debts and so to form large scale plantations. In both cases the sufferers are the Indians of Mauritius.

In August 1937, Mauritius saw the unique spectacle of workers and peasants strikes. The cry of *Jaya Bharata—Victory to India*—was often heard on their lips. The workers demand increase in wages, right to form trade unions and sanitary working conditions. The peasants demand legal machinery to enforce proper weighments of sugarcane, its compulsory crushing and a fixed rate of payment. These strikes are reported to have resulted in eight deaths and hundreds of arrests. It is unfortunate that some of these deaths should have taken place at the hands of the Indian factory owner, who seems to have been angered out of his wits at the spectacle of a strike.

The agitation carried on by the Mauritian Labour Party which admits Indians and Creoles alike to its membership has also revealed the intensely reactionary character of the Mauritian Constitution. Under the present laws less than 3% of the population is admitted to the franchise, which secures the return to the council of millowning interests.

The Constitution of Mauritius, as behoves a British crown colony, is anti-democratic. The Governor supported by a wholly nominated Executive Council, rules the Island, The Council of Government, the Island's legislature, consists of 27 members, of whom 17 constitute the nominated official and non-official block. The 10 popular members are elected on the basis of the narrow and undemocratic franchise of 9,459 for the whole Island. In addition the Governor is empowered to enact

legislation "considered by him to be essential in interest of good government."

While the Mauritian Constitution is thus an appendage to the authority of the Governor, the citizen's liberties are still more meagre. The Penal Code illegalises strikes and does not permit associations of more than 15 persons without the consent of the Government. Though a Trade Union Bill was published in the Government Gazette in 1926, it has not yet been discussed in the Council and Mauritian workers have no trade unions. As the crop season was nearing in July 1937 and unrest among small planters and labourers, which eventually led to strikes, was evident, the Government banned all political meetings. A direct result of the absence of the liberties of meeting and association is that, contrary to the communication of the British Government to the International Labour Organisation, the law on night-work, minimum wage and non-employment of children are not applied.

Mauritian Indians have to wage the twofold struggle for democracy and for economic betterment. In fact, the fight for more prosperous conditions and for increased share in the government of the colony are two facets of the same task. Indians, not only in Mauritius but in all British colonies, are faced with this task. In this connexion, a communication of the Creole President of the Mauritius Labour Party to the Congress Foreign Department deserves attention: "Most British colonies have a large Indian population forming the labouring classes. It appertains to India who is represented at the International Labour Office of Geneva to take in hand the cause of all the colonies of whatever nationality and to suggest that they should be represented at Geneva. India is the only power represented at Geneva which can stand for the coloured races and see that those races receive their share of the social reforms which are being adopted elsewhere. It is India's duty to be the champion of the colonies where so many of her sons live and toil".

Information comes from Ceylon of the desire of the Ceylonese Government to oust Indian Cultivators from their lands. In Kandapola 37 Indian families have been cultivating vegetables for now over 36 years. They have cleared grassy lands, made them fertile and erected dwellings and cattlesheds. There is yet waste-land and still the Sinhalese Minister of Agriculture will have the Indians ousted from their living. In like manner, the proposed village Ordinance seeks to exclude the 700,000 Indian estate labourers from any share in the local self-government of the country.

So, in the east of the African Continent and in the two islands of the Indian Ocean, the economic and political position of Indians is simultaneously attacked. What does this indicate? Who is to blame? Is it that the Indian is in reality exploiting the African and the Sinhalese and the Mauritian or that he is a distasteful interference to the British in their own pleasant jobs? The maintenance of high colonial salaries and increased expenditure on defence and a few more jobs to the British middle class are a first charge on the British colonial office. Monopolies of native produce are formed and attack on Indian traders follows. Imperialism however does not rest there. It must poison the world with enmity and ill-will. It chokes and throttles the economic life of a colony and leaves no scope for expansion nor elbow-room. The stage is set for a Sinhalese Minister, for instance, to follow the line of least resistance and launch a futile attack on fellow-sufferers. It is also likely that the British colonial office wishes to oust Indians from their present positions in the Empire lest they should become troublesome under Free India.

KENYA AND BRITISH EAST AFRICA

Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika comprise a territory of round 17 lacs sq. kilometres and are thus over one third the size of India. Both as source of raw materials and fields of capital investments, they can be made very productive for the territory; for all practical purposes it is a part of British East Africa. A union of customs and posts and telegraphs has already been achieved. The postal stamps from any part of British East Africa flaunt a lion surrounded by the names of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika printed in English letters. Coins bear the effigies of the British King.

Aside from the obvious military strategic uses, this close political union of British East Africa is essentially a reflection of the Empire's economic aspirations. British East Africa must now change over from a field of extensive to intensive imperialist exploitation. This change-over has necessitated a common anti-Indian policy in economic organisation.

Kenya and Tanganyika have recently formulated a law for regulation of transport. Under this law, monopoly can be granted to such transport as merits the attention of a paid Board of the Government. Not only motor and bus but also boat transport may be entirely wiped out with an administrative order. This drastic law of the Kenya Government contravenes the report of its own expert appointed in 1936 to enquire into problems of transport. "From its nature there seems very little

chance of the Kenya and Uganda railways capturing any large portion of the extensive traffic in local produce which is now being usefully carried by dhows (boats). The Licensing commission would not therefore find it necessary or desirable to introduce any restriction in the present number of operations of dhows." That the Government should have set aside this recommendation of its own expert and all other considerations of advantage to the African is clearly expressive of its inordinate desire to capitalise the country through railways and other business investments. Indians are the direct victims and Africans will suffer indirectly.

The Kenya Highlands controversy is now closed and extensive and fertile lands in the country will now be reserved for exclusively European use through an Order in council. Thirtyfive years ago, in 1902, the Kenya Government had assured the Indian Community that they were "in error in supposing that the Government has any intention of drawing any distinction between Europeans and Indians so far as rights of mining, settling and acquiring lands are concerned." Assurances and promises however cannot hold water against inexorable economic necessities. The Empire today needs large plantations under exclusively European ownership so that its various demands of raw materials, profits on investments and military strategy may be satisfied. The chauvinist leader of the Kenya Defence Force to which no Indian is admitted has already ranted that Kenya Highlands are European and that no interference either by Kenya Indians or by the Government of India will be tolerated.

SOUTH AFRICA

The census figures for May 1936 put the total number of Indians in South Africa at 2,19,928. Nearly 80 per cent of these live in the province of Natal. The European settlers of Natal are certainly no votaries of the principle of racial harmony. As far back as 1894, they had proposed a law depriving Indians of the parliamentary franchise and, after a minor setback they finally put through the Disfranchisement Act 1898. In the interval, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then the colonial Secretary, had preached a sermon about "the tradition of the Empire which makes no distinction in favour of or against race or colour." Finally in 1925, Indians were further deprived of their municipal franchise. The stories of other public and social indignities, reserved tram-cars, derogatory epithets and of economic disabilities are only too well-known.

The province of Transvaal has a still more revealing history. By the Law of 1885 Indians were debarred from

ownership of land in proclaimed areas, which means, in good and fertile areas; the Gold Law of 1908 deprived them of the right of residence in these areas; by the Asiatic Amendment Act of 1919, they could start no new business and, finally, the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1932, the crowning piece of the edifice, has withheld from them both the right of residence and trade except in their own Bazars.

The Union Government is steadily pursuing a civilised labour policy which is also known as the White Labour Policy. Under the operation of this policy, Indians are systematically ousted from employment in the industries of South Africa. The total number of Asiatics employed in industry in the Union was 12,308 in 1917-18; it fell down to 10,215 in 1934-35. This shows that the White Labour Policy of the Government is responsible for driving out of employment nearly 20 per cent of the Asiatics, almost entirely Indians, formerly employed in industry. In the railways of the Union, the twelve years from July 1925 to July 1937 are responsible for the decline of Asiatic employees from 1936 to 506. The 17 years from 1920 to 1937 have brought an alarming decline in the number of Indians employed in the mining industry from 3139 to 790. As against 790 Indians employed in the mining industry today, 44,902 Europeans are employed. The staggering decline in the number of Indians employed in the industries of South Africa during the last two decades is still more alarming, when we consider that during the same period the Indian population has increased by about 35 per cent.

The Wage Bill of the South African industry shows the enormous disparity between the earnings of the European as compared to those of the Asiatic and the African. Europeans form 44 per cent of the total number and earn £ 4,600,000 and Indians form 4 per cent and earn 557,000. The European thus earns three times as much as the Indian or four times as much as the African.

South Africa has a peculiar taste for anti-Indian laws. The South African Parliaments are always discussing one law or the other designed either to inflict further disabilities on Indians or to hurt their national pride. Two such recent projects related to the employment of European women or their marriage with Indians. "Gentlemen, you must realise that you Indians in South Africa will ever be a tragic community because of the temper and temperament of the people of South Africa. They have the temper and the temperament because we are determined to keep this a white Man's country," is the statement made by a South African Minister for Agriculture.

India had the pleasure to receive a South African Goodwill Delegation in the summer of 1936. Some members of the Delegation showed a fair amount of sympathy with Indian claims and one even went to the extent of associating himself with India's fight for Swaraja. Nevertheless, South Africa is run by such Whites as are incapable of broad visions. South Africa however has lately shown a nervous anxiety. She is afraid of Italian aggression and German plans. Till three years ago, the South African Defence Minister, who is also an aggressive anti-Indian, did not even listen to projects of joint Imperial defence and is only too eager to have it now. South Africans stand in need of goodwill and they may also be prepared to pay for it heavily.

It is also interesting to observe certain newer trends among the Indian colonists. The Colonial Born and Settlers Association of Transvaal founded in July 1933 appears to be aggressively dissatisfied with the South African Government's schemes of assisted repatriation of Indians back to India or anywhere else. And assisted repatriation seems to have been the basic item in the Cape Town Agreement, 1927. In rejecting the Cape Town Agreement, the Association also rejects the specious theory that Indians are foreigners in South Africa. Indians alike as any other race have a right to regard South Africa as their home and contribute to its prosperity. They might continue to retain their cultural bonds with India, but they are essentially South Africans. The Associations work for inter-racial co-operation and understanding in South Africa appears to be directed towards near relations between Negroes and Indians.

MALAYA

Indians in Malaya have received the Sastri Report with mixed feelings. They are unable to agree with some recommendations in the Report and feel that a few of their problems have not been touched at all. In regard to wages which were fixed at 45 cents (1 cent : 1 pice) for men and 36 cents for women, the Report has recommended to the Government of India to press for the introduction of the standard rates of 1928, namely 50 cents per day for men and 40 cents for women. This recommendation falls short of the demand for "adequate wages" made by the Indian Associations of Malaya to the Indian Deputation. Recently, the Chinese labourers of the Ulu Langat district plantations had gone on strike and, in March 1937, their demands were partially accepted. The wage rates were decided upon at 75 cents for tappers and 55 cents for males and 50 cents for female unskilled labour. This incident'

according to our correspondent, shows "What the Chinese Estate Labourers have achieved without any delegation but by direct action." It is thought that, unless the wages of Indian labourers were standardised at a rate similar to the Chinese, they would remain inadequate and the Indian labourer would continue in his present state. The working day is nominally 9 of hours, which in practice is reduced to 8 hours, but it is felt that a straight and clear recommendation of an 8 hour working day was called for.

This takes us to the problem of assisted emigration. Even today, Indians form a little over 12% of the entire population of Malaya, over 5 lakhs out of 44 lakhs. During the two years 1931 and 1932, over a lakh of our countrymen immigrated back into India. Those were years of slump in the rubber industry and the planters were lying back upon the enormous profits they had gorged in the preceding years. Wages were reduced and men were thrown out of employment and they had no facilities for settling down in Malaya. On account of these reasons and the fact that Indians have no political status in Malaya, the Indian Associations of Malaya have ranged themselves against assisted emigration.

There are serious grievances in regard to travel and quarantine. As it is today, the Indian labourer is made to embark at Negapatam, where the sea is rough and dangerous, while Madras would be much more convenient. All third class passengers are subjected to quarantine in Penang, and some of these are sent back to India on the ground that they suffer or are suspected to suffer from dangerous diseases. It is argued that such a medical examination ought to take place in India and the unfit should not be made to suffer the inconvenience of a trying and futile travel.

The Sasri Report has expressed dissatisfaction at the educational facilities available to Indian labour in Malaya. It is true that the Malayan Labour Code provides for a school in every place of employment where the children between the ages of 7 and 14 are ten or more in number. But the real situation is entirely different. In spite of the fact that there is a very large element of Indian labour, mostly Tamilian, in Government departments and public bodies of Penang, Malaya and Singapore, there is not a single Government Tamil School in these places. If that is the control which the Malayan Labour Department exercises over Government bodies, the extent to which it enforces its regulations upon private employers can well be imagined.

Both in regard to public services and representation on public bodies, the status of Indians is of a decidedly inferior type. The Malayan Civil Service is now limited entirely to persons of British parentage and to Malaysians. Till some time back, Indians were allowed to enter the Malayan Civil Service. In this connexion, there is an entertaining statement of the High Commissioner to the effect that he knew of no country in which those who were not "natives of the soil or English men" were appointed to such posts. Likewise, the representation of Indians on the Legislative Council of the Colony and the various State Councils of the Federated and Unfederated Malaya States is very meagre.

Finally, the Indian Associations of Malaya have made a suggestion for the establishment of an Indian Commercial Museum either at Kuala Lumpur or at Singapore. Trade between India and Malaya could be made to grow. As it is today, with the high freights charged by steamship lines and the absence of any systematic exploration of trade possibilities, the trade between the two countries is very much below what it could be.

The beginning was modest. In 1819, the East India Company established a trading station at Singapore. Today, British Malaya comprises a territory of 51,000 sq. miles with a population of 4.4 million. This colony is easily one of the richest in British possession. Of the world's total shipments of rubber nearly half goes out from Malaya; so, in 1935, out of a total of 887,000 tons 424,000 tons were exported from Malaya. Of the world's total production of tin ore over 30% is derived from Malaya; so in 1935, this colony produced 41,000 tons out of a world-total of 13,7,000. But Malaya is a colony and, while labour on the plantations and elsewhere is Malayan, Chinese and Indian, its profiteer is the British imperialist.

President Nehru's fortnight tour in Malaya in May 1937, proved a shake-up to the security of British imperialism as also the torpor of colonial labour as never before. The President was called names by the British controlled Malayan press. He became an "agitator, tactless and ill-mannered" and was sometimes reminded of the wide reach of the law. "Times of Malaya" read into the President's exhortation to Indians to gather strength for India's independence an incitement to violence and queried: "strong enough for what, Pandit Nehru?" Regarding the President's insistence on independence as the goal of India's endeavour, "Singapur Free Press" expressed "doubt as to whether his trip is likely to prove beneficial either to him or to the

community in general" and ended up with the rather ominous prophecy : "we may shortly be called upon to defend the Indians of Malaya against one who is in some quarters almost worshipped as the supreme leader of the Indian race."

The President had occasion to refer to the charge of misuse of hospitality. What the British imperialist in Malaya perhaps expected of him was "drawing room manners." As to the Malayan himself, the President made the clear statement that the interests of the people of Malaya should receive consideration before those of the Indian emigrants. The imperialist however is nowhere an outsider.

When tens of thousands sat listening with eager and expectant faces, what else could the President talk about but of economic liberation and Indian freedom ?

A European journalist describes President Nehru's reception by Malaya : "Solegie Road at Singapur was transformed into a river of Indian nationalism. The crowd was intoxicated with excitement, pent up, emotional nearly to the pitch of hysteria." The Malayan and the Chinese were greatly enthused and they saw in President Nehru the symbol of the unity of anti-imperialist peoples of the world.

Aside from rubber and tin, Malaya furnishes the British Empire with one of its strongest naval bases, Singapur. The screeching of the British press is easily understood.

BRITISH GUIANA

Placed on the north-eastern top of the South-American sub-continent, Indians in British Guiana are just a little less than half of the entire population of the country. In May 1938, they will celebrate the centenary of the first advent of Indians into British Guiana. During these last hundred years, some of our country-men have risen into fairly high business and professional positions. Mostly, they are labourers on the British-owned sugar-estates. Despite an equal franchise and absence of racial discrimination, the voice of Indians in the political management of the country is negligent. Lack of education and of cohesive unity fritters away their numerical strength. Centenary celebrations of the Indian colony in British Guiana have therefore a unique importance. The celebrations will of course be expression of joy and delight to which our compatriots ten thousand miles away are entitled after a hundred years' labour. But they will also be a call to organisation and determined unity and a desire to share in the political management of the country. As a sign-post of the advance they have made in

the past and of the growth which will be theirs in the future, Indians of British Guiana have decided to erect a centenary memorial. They are already running a paper and have formed an Association and the centenary building will give them room for further development. To their centenary celebrations, the Indian Association of British Guiana has invited the Indian National Congress to send a delegate.

British Guiana is one of those few colonies whose statutes are not disfigured by racial discrimination against Indians. The franchise is equal, and if Indians stand at a disadvantage, it is due to their illiteracy. Aside, however, from this drawback of illiteracy for which the Government and our nationals might be held to be equally responsible, the economic conditions and laws of employment in British Guiana are such that they favour the strong against the weak, the white employer against the Indian labourer. Of the 136,000 Indians, who form over 40% of the entire population of the colony, over 53,000 are employed as labourers on the sugar-estates. These are weak and disorganised and live in perpetual fear of unemployment. Ever since the cessation of indenture in 1917, when the Immigration Department also closed down, there is no official agency which may supervise and regulate the relations between the employer and labourer. And the labourers are too backward to form trade unions of their own. In this connection, the findings of the Labour Disputes Commission released in December 1936, will be found to be of interest. The Report records that "during our investigations, no resident estate labourers came forward voluntarily to give evidence. We believe the cause of this to be the fear of retaliatory action and possible eviction from house and subsistence plot with but 3 days' Ordinance, and the knowledge that no alternative means of earning a livelihood is readily available." It is astounding how a Statute such as this which enables employers to dismiss labourers and evict them from their houses and plots of land at 3 days' notice is permitted to continue in modern times. The British Guiana East Indian Association has long been demanding the appointment of a Resident Agent General from India to the British Guiana Government. The Agent, they think, would mediate between the plantation-owners and Labour to the advantage of the latter.

IMPERIALIST NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

British imperialism in the colonies is tending towards a new economic policy. Through the unrest in Uganda and Tanganyika, the strikes of labourers and petty peasants in Mauritius and the refusal of dealers to handle Zanzibar cloves run the threads of the new economic policy.

Pre-war imperialism was content to acquire an increasing volume of profits through extension of its territorial scope. There were large areas, particularly in the East African colonies, which were not yet opened out to imperialist trade. Cotton, for instance was unknown to Uganda till 1903 when the Government imported a ton and half of cotton seeds. Large parts of the colony were inaccessible. At the close of the world-war, Uganda was already exporting over 47000 bales of cotton of lbs. 400 each. This was possible through the territorial extension of imperialist trade. New commodities of cultivation were introduced; there was an increase in the production of commercial crops at the expense of food crops. African and Arab producers of raw materials in East Africa and Zanzibar and Indian petty peasants in Mauritius now began to produce for the world market. For maintaining and extending this relationship between the producer of raw materials and the world-market, mediation of widely distributed traders was as necessary as the development of communications.

India fulfilled the Empire's need in traders and middle-men as much as she satisfied its demand for indentured labour in virgin areas. Indians in large numbers migrated to British colonies in Africa and all over the world. When adequate indigenous labour was not forthcoming, they served on the Empire's plantations and in factories. In any case, they were the Empire's middle-men in the colonies. The Indian would put up oil-men's stores in distant villages, where he would, at the same time, collect raw materials and sell manufactured articles. One may today see entire British colonies dotted over by thousands of Indian petty traders who carry on a both-ways trade with Africans, Arabs, Guineese, Malayan, Fijian, Ceylonese and other races.

So long, the Empire has stood in need of these traders. They have organised the Empire's network of trade. With their low standard of living and corresponding margin of profits, they alone could have done it.

The Empire can now no longer afford this structure which was adequate enough when there were yet mysteries in the world. Extensive agriculture and middlemen's profits could be permitted while imperialist capital could yet derive increasing profits out of newer areas. What it has lost in its inability to extend its embrace, imperialist capital must make up by further squeezing what it has in its grasp. This squeezing takes the initial form of squeezing out the middlemen and thus of appropriation of his profits. It also takes the form of rationalised and more intense exploitation of labour in the factories and plantations and involves the squeezing out of the small peasant.

The small peasant may be squeezed out in either of two ways. He may be dispossessed of his small plot either through sale or for non-payment of taxes and debts. He will then be transformed into a wage-earner and the various small plots of land amalgamated into big plantations as in British Guiana. He may also continue to remain in nominal ownership of the land, but come under the inescapable control of price-regulating and money lending monopolist concerns. The United Africa company operating in British West Africa is one such concern and has the West African peasant under its clutches.

In Zanzibar, the small trader is being squeezed out and, thus, the livelihood of over 10,000 Indians is affected. The Zanzibar Clove Monopoly wishes to appropriate their profits and distribute them over imperialist capital in a number of ways. The Monopoly is designed firstly to increase government revenues which are now called upon to contribute towards a new East African naval unit and generally to staff high-paid British officers. It is secondly so designed as to manipulate prices in favour of distilleries and other imperialist concerns. Finally, the monopoly which is today only a buying and selling concern may easily lead to the concentration of the thousands of African and Arab clove-growers into a few big plantations controlled by imperialist capital. Against this monopoly the Indians of Zanzibar are carrying out a peaceful boycott now for over four months. Where Zanzibar Indians have refused to deal as paid officers of the Monopoly, India refuses to import Zanzibar cloves. Bumper crops are standing unharvested. The Zanzibar Government has already lost nearly £ 30,000 in revenues.

In Tanganyika, the Government is proposing a measure similar to the Zanzibar monopoly but more drastic in its scope. Under the Tanganyika Native Produce Bill, state-monopoly may be declared in any commodity. The reason is again the desire to squeeze out the middleman. Unrest is already evident.

A silent fight has waged in Uganda during the last ten years between the small trader in cotton and the big ginning combines. A handful of ginners wish to eliminate the small trader and effect concentration through buying combines. High prices for ginning cotton are charged of the small trader and the government is also placing difficulties in the way of the interior trading posts. This assault on the small traders position is likely to grow and it may easily lead to the intensive exploitation and concentration of Uganda cotton-growing.

Ever since August 1937, there is a serious labour and peasant unrest in the little island of Mauritius. The Mauritian

sugar-factories have their adequate share of the world-trade in sugar and yet they pay only Rs. 20 or sh 30 a month to their labour. They are also mulcting the small planter both in the way of improper weighments and of low prices. Minor defaults in the payment of rent and debts lead to the auctioning of the estates of the small planter both in the way of improper weighments and of low prices. Minor defaults in the payment of rent and debts lead to the auctioning of the estates of the small planters and it is believed that there is a systematic drive to effect concentration of sugarcane-growing in a few big plantations. Both as labourers and as small planters, the victims are Indians. It is only to be regretted that there are, alike in Mauritius and Uganda, a few Indian sugar factory-owners and ginners who are assisting in this new imperialist policy of squeezing the small trader and the small peasant and the labourer.

This new economic policy of imperialism presents both racial and economic problems. In so far as the attack is at present directed almost entirely against the Indian communities in the British colonies, it is a racial problem. In so far as the motive of the attack is to rationalise and stabilise a crumbling imperialism, it is an economic problem.

Essentially, the Indian communities in the colonies must grasp the broad features of this world-wide imperialist and racial attack. They have to date known little organisation and their activities have been distinctly individualistic. Barriers of language and social status cause further dispersion. There is also the problem of a few very rich Indians in the colonies who cannot dissociate themselves from imperialist policies. After an examination of all these factors, small peasants, small traders, free professions and labourers should all combine and act organisedly in defence of their racial and economic positions. The fight in Zanzibar has already started.

Secondly, the Indian communities must realise that the new imperialist policy is essentially an economic policy which involves other colonial peoples like Africans, Arabs, and Creoles. Only on the basis of a strong united front in action, of all colonial peoples, can imperialism be checkmated in rationalising itself. It appears that in Mauritius such a united front is slowly beginning to take shape and already a joint march of the Mauritian Indians and Creoles on the Island's capital has been carried out. Together with this united front of the colonial peoples, it is to be hoped that the labour-movements of the imperialist countries will agitate against colonial oppression and the new imperialist drive.

Thirdly, India can effectively support this struggle of her overseas communities and other colonial peoples. Without her boycott of Zanzibar cloves, the Zanzibar strike would have been of little avail. She has to exercise similar vigilance in regard to unrest in other British colonies.

UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

There has been considerable agitation both in the country and in the United States with regard to the eligibility of Indians for naturalisation as United States citizens. The Indian National Congress has often shown anxious concern over this problem. In the United States, Senator Copeland introduced in 1926 a bill to grant citizenship rights to Indians and considerable agitation, though unsuccessful, followed.

Under the provisions of the Naturalisation Act "aliens being free white persons" and "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent" are admitted to citizenship. Through correspondence exchanged between the United States Department of Labour, Immigration and Naturalisation service and the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress on complaints that arise from time to time, a variety of interesting facts is disclosed.

Indians could only be admitted, under the provision of "aliens being free white persons." In the course of a judgement, the Supreme Court of the United States concluded that an Indian is not a "free white person." Its arguments are fourfold. Firstly the framers of the original law did not have in mind the brown or yellow races of Asia. Secondly, the racial category of "free white persons" should be applied to a group of living persons "now possessing in common the requisite characteristics" and not to such as may be "descended from some remote common ancestor." Thirdly, the Indian type, even if originally Aryan, has been "so changed by intermixture of blood as to justify an intermediate classification." Fourthly, the children of Indian parentage do not merge into the mass of American population and lose their distinctive hallmarks as those of English, French and other parentage do. The Supreme Court has added that it does not intend to suggest the slightest question of racial superiority or inferiority.

It is obvious that there are two strands of reasoning in this judgement. One is based on popular prejudices of colour and features. The other rests on the supposed necessity of the State of a uniform population. On the basis of these two

prejudices, one popular and another scientific, over 15000 Indians in the United States are relegated to a secondary status.

In the interests of closer co-operation among the different peoples of the world for peace and progress, it is necessary that such laws are either revoked or their application modified. The Supreme Court was of the opinion that all Asiatics are generally excluded from citizenship but has prudently added that the final determination could only come upon the consideration of particular cases as they arise from time to time. In this consideration of particular cases, two things are of deciding importance. Indian opinion must be so vigilant as to react unfavourably upon any attempt to reduce Indians to a secondary status in foreign countries. American opinion must be sufficiently progressive so as to appreciate the need for closer collaboration of the human races.

INDIAN CREW IN CHINA AND JAPAN

Indian crew of ships going to China and Japan are poorly and shabbily attired. Some shipping companies it is reported, provide uniforms and clothings to poorly paid crew, but no Indian crew is supplied with such things. If the respective companies employing Indian crew are asked by the Government to see to it that they are properly dressed when the ships are in foreign ports and that they are supplied with a couple of suits at the expense of the companies, the present state of affairs would end.

INDIAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON

An Indian Political Conference was held in London in the month of July, 1936. Representatives of Indian and British organisations and individual delegates discussed the situation in India and the ways and means of furthering the campaign for India's independence in Britain.

The Conference adopted in all eight resolutions of which the "Political Resolution" is concerned directly with our movement for complete national independence. This resolution which is again split up into several parts lays down that the agrarian problem is the fundamental problem of India today, that, as a result of merciless exploitation for 175 years under British rule, the poverty of the Indian peasant has reached its lowest level, his average income being 2d. per day per head, and that the kisan has not only to meet the extortionate demands of the British Raj but also the exorbitant rents and interests of the landlords and the moneylenders. A solution of this problem by

reform or parliamentary legislation is impossible; it can be achieved only by the initiative of the oppressed and exploited masses themselves. The Conference, therefore, rejected the New Constitution which it styled an ingenious fraud designed to continue the reign of terror. To achieve success against this offensive of Imperialism, the Indian National Congress must mobilise the widest strata of the population into a decisive struggle against Imperialism and, accordingly, grant affiliation to Workers and Peasants' Organisations. Such a Popular Front should have for its minimum the demands (1) Release of all political prisoners, (2) Repeal of all repressive laws and restoration of civil liberties (3) Freedom of speech, press, association, (4) Substantial reduction of land revenue, moratorium on peasants' debts and security of land tenure, (5) Fixed minimum wage, 8 hour-day and social insurance. The Conference reaffirmed the demand for complete independence of India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations and the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from India. It called for a complementing of the slogan of rejection of the New Constitution by the positive slogan of the Constituent Assembly.

In another part of the resolution, namely, India and the fight against War and Fascism, the Conference urged all workers and peace-lovers of Britain to realise that their struggle is identical with the liberation movement of the peoples of India and other colonies.

The Conference demanded removal of disabilities on Indian seamen in Britain who, since the Shipping Subsidy Act of 1935, are refused employment in British ships as also effective measures against the present state of humiliation and distress of Indians abroad. The Conference demanded the abolition of the Education Department of the High Commissioner and the dismissal of advisers to Indian students at British Universities, as they were engaged in anti-Indian activities and espionage on students. The Conference protested against suppression of civil liberties in India. It condemned the Fascist conquest of Abyssinia and Japanese aggression in China and wished the dastardly and infamous betrayal of Abyssinia by the League Powers to be known to the world. The Conference, in welcoming the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress, stated that the real scope of work lay in the ranks of the discontented elements of the labour and socialist movements in foreign countries,

**Ineffectiveness
OF
India's Foreign Policy**

INEFFECTIVENESS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

For 140 years of the last century and the present, India was the axis of world affairs. The military security of India was the main concern of British foreign policy, and international rivalries that dominated this period hinged around this concern.

With freedom, India changed from being an object of world politics to the status of its creator. As fettered India was the prime object of international rivalries and wars, Free India was reasonably imagined to be a maker of world peace and prosperity, if not its prime creator.

The foreign policy of Free India must pass this acid test. India has hitherto failed this test. To the world and its warring blocs she makes little deference. All specific issues of foreign policy and Free India's achievements or failures in regard to them are details of this grand disaster, that freedom of India has made no difference to the world and its ways.

Was this disaster unavoidable? To the extent that armour and industry are two main instruments of foreign policy, Free India, unavoidably weak in both for some time, would in any event have been displaced from the centre of world affairs. But ideas are at least as potent a tool in foreign policy as steel, and the constructs of a new world repose as much in men's minds as in the weapons which their hands wield. Thirty years ago Bolshevik Russia was weak in armour and industry. She attempted to construct a new world and her foreign policy was effective from the beginning.

To the immeasurable poverty in ideas and the contemptible refusal to take risks for a new hope at home and abroad, India owes her displacement from the creative centre of the world stage. Poverty and war continue to threaten Free India and the world of which she is a part, as much as they did to enslaved India and the world of which she was then a part.

TWO CAMPS II

As the world was split up into two contending blocs, fascist and non-fascist, before India was free, it is increasingly splitting up again into two blocs, communist and non-communist. There are indeed many other forces such as the socialist, the liberal or the newly-free nations which appear to cut across this basic division of the world. But this is mainly an appearance. None of these forces is strong enough to impress upon the world its own stamp. World politics move on the two axis of American capitalism on the one hand and Russian communism on the other and the conflict between the two.

Both these systems and forces, always poised for mortal combat, are however related in a curious kinship. Either system has taken a leader in the shape of one particular country. That leader strives to construct the world in its own image. Either system results in a high degree of centralisation, the perpetual churning up of all mankind and the creamy centres that result. There are indeed a great many distinctions between the two systems but no preference is possible, if the intention is to achieve a world of justice and peace.

The greatest tragedy that these systems have inflicted on the world is the complete subordination of idea to force. Thinking is propaganda in the service of force that either system represents.

No basic variation is tolerated and the mutuality of theory and fact is therefore completely lost. All facts must be tormented into the rigid theories of either system. Force has indeed always played a part in human affairs. In luminous periods of human existence, however, the primacy has belonged to idea. At any rate, it should. Today, force has primacy over idea. It cannot be otherwise. The human mind has lost its suppleness. It does not experiment in new construction of ideas or let theory and facts march in a gay relationship.

The division of the world into the communist and the non-communist blocs is causing a complete subordination of idea to force, an impatience with the open mind, a total incapacity to regulate human relations by sympathy and reason. Even arguing that there might be a point here and a point there that may be of advantage in the capitalist or the communist system, the question of preference and choice between them does not at all arise, in view of the creative qualities of the human mind they have murdered. They have brought thought to the end of its voyage and they must therefore die.

Capitalism is no more political democracy than communism is economic democracy. Such naive notions cause great harm. Socialism and communism are often regarded as kindred doctrines, the former being milder than the latter. This notion I came across in Europe and West Asia as much as it is prevalent in India. The difference between socialism and communism does not at all consist in the question of property.

I had occasion to use a handy formula before foreign audiences. Communism is equal to socialism minus democracy, plus centralisation, plus civil war, plus Russia. There was response to this formula, for anyone can see that it correctly depicts our world in which capitalism is more kindred to communism than it is to socialism, the question of private property apart, which both socialism and communism wish to destroy. But neither the newly won freedoms nor socialism have made any difference to the capitalist communist clash. Socialism is often unidentifiable. On the world scale, its features melt into the one or the other system as time and place dictate. In the City of Berlin, which is more sensitive to the clash of the two-systems than any other, a Congress of socialist delegates applauded when I told them that the face of socialism was blurred and not recognisable. It was the applause of the man without a face who is told so by another also like him but does so with the wish and the will to acquire one. Unless socialism or the newly-liberated nationalism or both are able to acquire a hard clarity of features, as easily recognisable as those of the capitalists and the communists, the mad cycle of poverty, injustice and war will run on.

SOCIALISM AND WORLD OUTLOOK

Socialism is not a cohesive force on the world scale. It does not possess the international sensitivity of communism, which can always claim a world victory even if it is receding in fifty countries as against the one or two in which it is advancing. Capitalism too with its commercial federations is more world-sensitive than Socialism; the emotive unity of Roman Catholicism gives capitalism a passion as well. Alone of great doctrines that prevail, Socialism has hitherto been unable to acquire a world unity.

European socialism has acquired an intense practical idealism. In the countries where it rises to power, its chief concern is the living standards of its people and their social security. In the streets of socialist Stockholm, I rarely met a person who looked a worker in his dress. Housing conditions

are steadily improving, so that a children's home for the poor looked a fantasy and I can recollect within me a sense of resentment at what I saw in Sweden and what I am used to see in India or saw in Egypt. The greatest concern of the socialist government in Sweden was, during the week I stayed there, over the price of milk; whether the one or two pice increase should be charged to the consumer or to the government in the shape of a subsidy to the producer. Likewise, socialist Britain had its chief problem in the nationalised health services and the like; whether the fee of a shilling should be charged for a prescription or not. Much more than any other issue, unless a war meanwhile occurs, British socialist politics will in the next few years be dominated by the desire to expand trade in the sterling area. The attempt to minimise the achievements of British or Scandinavian socialism is nonsense. They are feeding their people well, supplying them with milk and fruit and steadily improving their health and housing. Social security for the mass of the people is their great achievement. But, when that is said, this practical idealism of European socialists leaves them little time or taste for a more unified thinking in other directions. One often gets the feeling in Europe as if socialism were statistics plus parliament.

This practical idealism drives European socialists into too narrow a nationalistic shell. Charged with the mission to feed and dress their own people, they take on themselves their immediate national needs little too much to the detriment of the world and also perhaps, to their own ultimate detriment. A British socialist is nearer to an Indian conservative than an Indian socialist in the matter of India continuing within their empire; nearer a German conservative than a German socialist in the matter of dismantling German industry.

Such national attitudes turn international socialist organisations, like the Comisco, into a post office and nothing more. Can there be a greater condemnation of international socialism than that its conferences are never attended by front-rank men except of the country where they meet but by second-grade functionaries of the various national parties? On the other hand, international communism, whether as a Comintern or Cominform, is a tool of coercion used by one country on all else. Must internationalism be either a post office or a prison house? International socialism must strive to become a world parliament of socialist parties, neither the ineffective thing that it is now nor the tyranny, that communism represents.

The practical idealist, that the European Socialist is increasingly becoming, may well ask the international socialist to mind

his own business and to do in his own country what the former has done in his. The taunt is somewhat well-merited. Not only is Scandinavian or British socialism providing social security to its people but it is also achieving egalitarian habits to a remarkable degree. Only two members of the Swedish cabinet possess cars; the finance minister owns one and the foreign minister is provided by the Government. Even the Prime Minister goes about when off-duty in trams and buses and his wife teaches in a school. The overwhelming majority of British incomes ranges between £5 a week and £20 and Britain is sometimes styled a five-pounder democracy. In the Bewag, the largest electricity supply of Berlin with a Socialist-controlled trade union in a socialist controlled municipality, the lowest income is round Rs. 200 a month and the highest Rs. 1,200. The capital of the Bewag runs into Rs. 10 crores and more. Such a narrow range of inequality in incomes breeds egalitarian habits. This is of course possible because west-Europe provides a very large range of amenities and of quality, free or very cheaply. On my worrying Mr. Erlander with the problem of the egalitarian drive that socialism could never forsake he told me that some writers in his party were producing literature on that subject. He must have thought he was actually doing what I was worrying about and, in a way, rightly so. British socialists felt likewise and I think Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, one of the younger labour parliamentarians, told me that in so many words. They feel they are achieving socialism and in a way they are right.

And yet there is a snag in their thinking. I missed in European socialism the ethos and the elan so necessary for the final victory of a doctrine. The explanation lies precisely in its achievements, its practical idealism. European socialists are so much taken up with the problem of the moment, the statistical evidence and requirements of their own nation, that they miss the complete view and the world view. They have often to wage a battle to conserve what they have achieved so that expansion is slow or halted. Scandinavian co-operatives do not hope ever to extend beyond one-fourth of the economy and they are bureaucratic already. British socialism is faced with a tough problem of morale. It possesses as Mr Brailsford told me neither the discipline of fear that capitalism makes use of nor the worshipful zeal that total social ownership might awaken. European socialism does not wish to face the fact that it is striving for plenty and equality in a small area amidst a world full of poverty and tyranny. This lack of a world view must force it always to be on the defensive to lack elan, to make it go slow in its own areas and to have no answer for war and its waste.

A reason of the recent electoral failure of British Labour may well be the people's preference for Churchill because of his

worldmind. Churchill's views are wicked, for he contemplates European or English-speaking peoples' domination over the world. And yet these views are wickedly larger than those of Labour; they indicate some type of a world mind. British Labour's excellent record of achievements in the national sphere may one day be stupidly outweighed in the esteem of the British electorate by Churchill's aggressive though wicked world-mind.

If only some way were found to combine the practical idealism of European socialists and the imaginary flights of, say, Indian socialists and make both share in the properties of either, the world will stand to gain. I am glad to report that one meets such fine types of socialist youth as Erich Sommers of Denmark, Bernard Grik of England, Bjork of Sweden, and the German socialist youth after its terrible experiences is naturally very earnest and enquiring. A part from the larger inclinations of youth, socialism in opposition appears to be very different from socialism in government. That I knew the German language or that Germany and India had both suffered and are partitioned were indeed factors, but my warmer reception by the German socialists was due to the fact that Indian and German parties are both opposition parties. Socialism in government becomes practical and narrow and loses some of its elan.

Perhaps, the symbol of the European socialist movement is therefore Dr. Schumacher, the badge of suffering on his body and an uncompromising sharpness of mind, which many men who are not in opposition have often called bitter fanaticism. And yet, the German party is also unable to reach up to a sensitive internationalism.

One of the reasons why Asian socialists have not so far been able to get together is that some are in the government and others in the opposition. Asian socialists in government are afraid to associate with the opposition socialists of a neighbouring country lest they should displease its government party. No such fear haunts the capitalists or the communists because of their world view. When a functionary of the British Labour Party told me that socialists from Rangoon or Jakarta apparently found it easier to meet Indian Socialists in London than in Calcutta, he was right but I told him the other side of the medal as well. Imperialism had long tied Asian countries not with one another but with the metropolis in Europe so that Burmese and Indian trade and currency had to relate via the British pound. All that is over or should now be over. Asian socialists, weak as they are, must learn to get together. Of Japan, one knows so little except that she has achieved a miracle and is once again the material leader of Asia. One should like to know more about the Japanese social-

ists and to work together with them so that Asia's vitality shall ever be used alone for pursuits of human welfare.

South American socialists are reported to be as colourful in their action as they are fresh in their outlook; they and a large number of U. S. liberals should be fine material for any international socialist organisation.

Significantly enough, the European socialist whom I found keenest on the international outlook was an ex-communist. Norwegian ording used to be a member on the Comintern's executive and he appears to have carred over his internationalist elan into his socialist outlook. That George Padmore and I should have chummed up is only natural, but he too used to be an African chief of the Comintern. Heinz from Germany is another; he is editing the paper that Marx once edited. If persons like H. N. Brailsford and Fenner Brockway are such keen internationalists, may that not be due to their having come under the influence of a man and his doctrine, the most significant world-man and world doctrine of the age? I should here like to mention Prime Minister Ben Gurion, General Secretary Lubianiker of the Histadrut, international Secretary Bernstein; a more intelligent and alert socialist leadership than this I have never met. But then the Jews are a world minded people and Israel is keenly alive to the world.

Will Socialism ever be able to acquire a world-face? On this question, more than any other hangs the destiny of the world. A first step towards that is to cleanse the socialist doctrine of the multiple layers of dust that many decades of ideological schisms have accumulated and to enrich it with the truths that have been discovered but are lying unused. Mutuality between theory and facts must be established so that, while theory must ever seek to mould facts, it must also be willing to be moulded by them. Class struggle must be wedded not to compromise but to sympathy. Practical idealism and socialist ethos must rejoin company. Socialism must again recapture its first fine rapture of human oneness and equality, although the effort to draw up clean and classified lines of ideology and action should never cease. Above all, socialism must acquire a world-mind and a world-view. But a ticklish question will be its application to the immediate problems of foreign and military policies.

THIRD CAMP AND KOREA

As the world is increasingly splitting up into the Atlantic and Soviet blocs and the determining issues of foreign and military policy arise out of the clash between the two, the socialist world view must pre-eminently decide upon its relationship with either. An easy way out is to prefer one to the other. The great quality

of the Atlantic bloc, from a socialist point of view, appears to be the possibilities of democratic and peaceful change that it offers. Equally, the Soviet bloc appears to have the eminent merit of equalising standards of living within a nation and all the world over, and thus offering ultimate security against poverty and war. Any theory is to be tested from the results it produces. Ideological preference of the type indicated, reduces socialists to a subsidiary position. They become annexes either of the Atlantic or of the Soviet bloc. They merge almost unrecognisably into the world face of either. This is indeed too tragic a consequence to contemplate.

It is easy enough to draw a balance sheet of good and bad points in both the Atlantic and Soviet blocs. But what use is that to the destiny of man? To the three major questions of 'a full stomach for all men,' 'of free quest of the mind,' and 'of preventing war,' neither the Atlantic nor the Soviet bloc has a meaningful answer. Apart from the question of property relationships, the economic premises of both blocs are kindred and they ensure neither a full stomach nor a free mind. In Berlin, where both systems meet and collide and make the city so sensitive, one can see the difference between the two and get their unity of perspective. In Soviet Berlin, I saw hundreds of workmen cleaning up the city's rubble with much the same inadequate tools as in India. In Atlantic Berlin a workman could get employment only if a decent wage was available to him and his output did not fall below a civilised minimum. This gave me the clue to the Soviet claim that there is no unemployment in Soviet Germany, and I am inclined to accept that claim. Employment, to the Soviets, signifies employment any how, while to the Atlantic community it must secure a minimum basis of decent living and the rest must stay unemployed. While such an apparent difference often confuses the observer and makes him choose one or the other according to his taste, the undeniable truth must be faced that both Germanies are building centralised structures, constructing houses that concentrate political and economic power in the hands of but a few. Furthermore, both systems are like cobras poised to strike and, there is no bridge of ideas between the two. I am not thinking so much of an understanding or even their willingness to talk to each other but of the grievous and total subservience of thinking to force. Ideas have lost their capacity to convert for they have lost their open character. The two colossuses stand to rigid attention, and nothing but force or the threat of force can convert masses of men. The coercion explicit in Soviet thinking and the convention implicit in Atlantic thinking lead to an identical result—the closing of the human mind. A lot too much is made of this distinction between the

medium of coercion and the medium of convention, but the consequences are identical: surrender of reason except as propaganda.

In such a situation, socialism must speak with the voice of authority and an ideological preference, otherwise, either the Atlantic or the Soviet camps will drown that voice in the din around. An authoritative voice must be a voice of independence and volume. Independence of the two blocs, therefore, is a necessary quality of any force that strives for world law and justice. Such independent force on various occasions is being known as the Third force of Socialism. Some Governments and non-socialist forces also have from time to time adopted a foreign policy of independence. Independence of the two blocs is variously termed as a position of neutrality between them. This independent or neutral bloc often claims to decide on each international issue on its merit without prejudice or without affiliation to deciding camps. In principle, such an attitude is excellent, but in practice, however, it does not work. Many such specific issues have arisen in recent years and their detachment from the existing power complex has proved impossible. The Greek, German, Iran, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Palestine and China issues have already shown how exceedingly difficult it is to take a stand except in relation to the two great systems that dominate the world. The background of each specific issue is so interwoven with the Atlantic-Soviet power complex, that independence, unless properly understood, means inaction.

The Korea issue, apparently so simple, bristles with thorny problems. On the face of it, it is a simple case of aggression by North Korea on South Korea. All suggestions of border raids by South Korea may easily be discounted. But then there is the urgent need to unify Korea and to enable its people to lead a full life. Once again it would appear as if North Korea has stalled all United Nations' moves to unify Korea and give her a Government based on free elections. North Korea's case seems to be black indeed.

But then the picture appears to change as soon as it is recalled that the Russians pulled out of North Korea in December 1948 while the Americans withdrew from South Korea in July 1949 and that the North Koreans have been able to shape themselves into a military machine to which the South Koreans are no match. A commonly acknowledged test of the vigour and efficiency of a system is the quality of its military machine. Why is it that the Soviet system is able to infuse greater spirit, courage and cohesion, at least, among the non-white peoples?

This is not to deny the ruthlessness or amorality of the Soviet system. It may also be that the Soviet bloc is fighting to the last

Korean in order to gain admission for Red China into the U.N., as it may one day fight to the last Chinese in order to secure the Workers' fatherland.

The legalistic squibble that the U.S. acted in haste and a few hours prior to U.N.'s resolution is therefore meaningless. If the U.S. had waited, its subsequent action would probably have had to be more drastic. Only such as range themselves basically on the Soviet side in the Korean issue can indulge in such criticism.

The Korean war has already led to the involvement of many States in the war and to the strengthening of the French in Indo-China and of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. Should Russia step into this as the U.S. has already done, a world war will have broken out. Support to South Korea and to U.N. action would then logically lead to involvement in world war on the side of the Atlantic system.

Aggression is indeed bad. But in a world where poverty and tyranny prevail, and peoples are artificially divided and the Atlantic arm reaches out far and wide, what exactly is aggression? Whoever upsets the *status quo* in international law is an aggressor as he is a bandit if he upsets the *status quo* in municipal law. The world situation is such that, no matter what event occurs, the Atlantic system will never be an aggressor in law.

It may be easily countered that elections and the conference method suggest themselves as remedies for injustices—municipal and international. In reality neither remedy is adequate. Only where crude lies and playing on ignorance are kept out of either remedy, at least in the new States where peoples are politically unaware, is there a chance of partial success.

Does it then mean that the world and its issues are so bad as to make a judgment impossible? There is great force in this question. Everybody knows that to get a right answer, in science or philosophy, the right question should be asked. A wrongly framed question meets with silence. That is so in International politics as well. If the Soviet and the Atlantic systems are permitted to ask the wrong questions, the reply will often be silence.

The great drawback of the Third Camp is that its independence of the two blocs is merely passive. It attempts to intervene in the international situation after the crisis stage. While the crisis actually matures it is not a factor and it comes on the scene only after events have come to a head. It tries to assume the role of an umpire or a judge after the play has actually started. The

third camp must not be an umpire but a participator in international events, because, it will never be able to judge issues until it learns to play a part in their maturing. It must first force the right questions to be asked before the right answers can be given.

The neutral bloc is today only passively independent. It must become creatively independent. Its pretention to judge each issue on its merits will ever be hollow until it learns to put something of its own into the issues as they arise. A crude illustration of this is afforded by India's intervention in the Indonesian issue. India's Foreign Minister and Indonesia's President and Premier had collaborated in the anti-Imperialist Conference way back in 1929 and this collaboration may well have become a factor twenty years later in the cordiality between India and Indonesia. If fleeting collaboration can produce such far-reaching consequences what cannot positive action of a continuing type accomplish? It would tie lands and peoples or sections of them into unbreakable bonds of emotional union.

Neutrality that is based on national selfishness or passive waiting on events is inconsistent with the world view. To keep one's own country out of war is something wholly different from keeping war out of the world. The former is passive neutrality arising out of national selfishness while the latter is active neutrality arising out of a world view.

Has then this world view nothing to say on the Korean developments? Its first answer should be vigorous self-criticism. That it allowed a free field to the Atlantic and Soviet systems until even to judge would have meant answering a wrong question. At this late stage, all that it can do is to wish for restoration of the boundary of the 38th parallel and efforts at truce and mediation. Whether it can take a hand in this restoration is quite another question. That task must be left to the Atlantic States. They are a part in the maturing of this crisis and they alone can deal with it. To assume that they would not act without the support of the neutral bloc is nonsense. The power-complex compels them to act.

Who are the natural constituents of the Third Camp? Socialists, newly liberated peoples, anti-imperialist movements and all liberals as want progress and world authority. This Third Camp far outnumbers the other two systems in population. And yet it is not cohesive so as to express the power of its members. Part of this weakness is due to lack of grasp of what this Third Camp is.

A camp, in the international sense of today, consists of a bloc and a force, a bloc of governments and a force of peoples. Quite a number of peoples belong ideologically to the third force and yet their military situation compels them to act with the Atlantic bloc. Such are the West European Socialists. Realisation of this fact would somewhat ease the internal frictions within the Third Camp.

The third bloc of governments is yet a very loose and informal affair. The new States of Asia and probably those of South America naturally belong to it but these newly liberated nationalisms have entered upon an inglorious chapter of inanity after their emergence as states. They have brought neither cheer nor hope to their peoples. They have constructed not one new idea of human freedom or welfare; they have not even woven the old patterns of agrarian freedom or industrial planning. Internal inanity makes for their weakness in foreign affairs. Not possessing the power of steel, they do not even own the passion of ideas. A great part of the blame lies on Asian Socialists, Indian Socialists in particular, for allowing their nationalisms to run into the waste lands of inertia.

The India Government is the chief sinner. On it developed eminently the task of making the third camp cohesive. It alone could have brought into the foreground issues of economic reconstruction of all peoples and economic equality among them, of world government, of freedom and justice. The strength to dictate truce between the two blocs would have been born.

Internal frictions within the third camp, as between India and Pakistan, Egypt and Israel, paralyse it. The Atlantic system is largely to blame for these frictions and their continuance is useful to it. Who knows if India's continuance with the British Empire and her support to American action in Korea is conditioned by her desire to neutralise the Atlantic system in relation to Pakistan?

A bold foreign policy might yet remove these frictions. India should be willing to guarantee the frontiers of Pakistan in exchange for a guarantee to minorities and of a common policy of the Third Camp on the express understanding that a violation of one would automatically bring on the violation of the other. Again, the lack of social justice in her internal programmes has weakened India in her affectionate relationship with the people of Pakistan.

The third Camp is likewise paralysed in West Asia and East Africa on account of an internal friction prevailing within it—the Israel-Arab conflict. I had attempted to arrange a meet-

ing between Prime Minister Ben Gurion and leaders of the Arab League. The Israel Prime Minister told me that he would be willing to travel anywhere in order to meet the Arab leaders. I had the impression that guarantee of frontiers could be effected, although the question of Arab refugees from Palestine could not be resolved without difficulty. In any event Israel would do well to treat her Arabs in Nazareth and elsewhere not merely to a formal equality of citizenship but also to the same benefits of civilized existence, she is extending to her Jews. I have not been able to understand why a beginning should not be made with collective settlements of Arabs and Jews.

Meanwhile, Egypt has had its elections and has a genial Prime Minister in Nahas Pasha. Although the Egyptian Prime Minister did not seem to be very hopeful about the possibilities of the third camp when I talked to him six months ago, he might as well change his mind if he saw India taking a positive line. In any event, a meeting between Nahas Pasha and Azam Pasha on one hand and Mr. Ben Gurion on the other would have its advantages even if it could not prevent the outbreak of another war between Egypt and Israel. No matter how many wars take place, a settlement must finally be effected and such meetings are always helpful.

Federative approaches will have to be made some day between Israel and the Arab world. It I had the impression anywhere of a country fighting to its last man, it was Israel. When I told a young, an earnest Israelite, that one or two million Jews stood no chance against eighty million hostile Arabs and that someday the Arab will be as well armed as the Jews, he frightened me with his calm reply that his people had nowhere to go. Significantly enough, in this country where every girl is a machine gunner, Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography had been read by almost every young person I met. Deep calls unto deep, whether violent or non-violent. Israel is an Asian country. It has human resources and talents which no other country possesses in such abundance. It is experimenting with new forms of living especially in agriculture. All Asia including the Arabs would benefit by inviting Israel into the partnership of peace and reconstruction. The India Government must not delay in according recognition to Israel. I would make the same submission to the Egyptian government. I need not add that I felt more at home with the people at Egypt than in Israel, for the dirt and din and indiscipline of Cairo is the same as in Kanpur and this kinship in misery and hope, and perhaps also, some quality of our two cultures draws us together.

The newly liberated nationalisms must take stock before it is too late. Why is it that Japan, in spite of the bad pummeling

she took in the last war, is once again the material leader of Asia? The discipline that her people acquired by way of a militarist and capitalist society has stayed with her, but it is too late in the day to expect India or Egypt to follow that example. These peoples can acquire discipline only by way of an egalitarian and socialist society, by destruction of feudalism and capitalism, by redivision of land, by decentralisation of political and economic power, by the four-pillar state, by small unit industry and inventions, by the volunteer's spade and by the spirit to resist peacefully and to combat for a world law. How far the Japanese people can share in such an enterprise is yet to be seen. They are forced today to belong to the Atlantic Camp. I have little doubt that in spirit they belong to the third force of peoples, although their adherence to the third bloc of governments may not yet be possible.

As soon as the Third Camp starts pursuing positive policies and begins having a hard core of believers, large and small, in every land, the contempt which it today arouses in the Soviet as well as the Atlantic Camp will turn into respect. The Soviets call it a lie and a sham and the Atlantic call it a camp of imbeciles who preach neutrality towards the plague, for they are both unsure of it and imagine that it would go over to the other side in a crisis. The blame is partly its own, for, unsupported by positive action, the puerility of its passive independence has led it into fickle positions. I must here warn against yet another puerility. There are some people who would want to combine military neutrality with ideological preference for the Atlantic or the Soviet camp. I first met with this attitude in the minority socialist party of Israel, which has an ideological slant towards the Soviets. I am beginning to sense a similar development in India, a somewhat more dangerous one, for the Socialist Party, in spite of its policy of neutrality, cracks emotionally on critical issues. Some party members tend towards the Atlantic and some towards the Soviet bloc. Once such puerilities are discarded, the Third Camp will come into its own.

When that happens, the third camp might begin to have listeners even in the Soviet bloc. That it has none today is a frequent charge against it. Its peacemaking value is therefore pooh-poohed. But, may that not be due to the fact that the face of the third camp or of socialism is hardly recognisable today and that its *bona fides* are open to doubt? Let it have a face of its own, a hard and clean face, and then the time will come to judge whether it can command attention on both sides. The third camp will probably be able then to compel truce between the two warring blocs. The difference between mediating a truce and compelling a truce must be noted. It is not so much the function

of the third camp to mediate and reason and persuade as to command attention and compel truce with its positive action.

The weakness of the third camp in military power often gives rise to misgivings. Actually, however, military power is only a concentrated expression of ideological and economic power.

Ideologically, the third camp has a bit of a past in India. During the 1942 rebellion, the resistance movement had published a pamphlet entitled "The Third Camp" in which the freedom movement of India was shown to be a part of the larger movement for a world law, that neither the axis nor the allies were. I recollect having used the idea and the phrase of the Third Camp even earlier, sometime in 1939 as the world war was to break out. Mr. Phulan Prasad Verma has told me a conversation in the course of which Leon Blum thought that he was the first to make use of it sometime in 1946. Immanuel Mounier, probably the most profound journalist of his time, told me that he and his colleagues were already making use of it around 1932. Whether France or India, whoever first made use of it, was only giving expression to a most intimate stirring of the human heart. I should like to add the remarkable reply of Mounier when I rued the impotence of the third camp in Europe. 'we are only drops in the ocean but it is in the nature of the drop to fall, who knows, perhaps someday' so ran his answer. What the third camp needs today is not so much military power as the power of faith, unshakeable and unbreakable faith. Whether the third world war breaks out soon or not, faith in this camp of peace and reconstruction must remain unshaken.

Immediately on my return from Europe, six months ago, I had reported on the possibility of a third world war. But the spokesmen of India's Foreign Ministry had at that time discounted the idea. They are talking about its imminence now. The third world war may not yet break out but the Indian people will do well henceforth to remember that the world situation is permanently war-like and it may at any time explode.

Is there an issue worthwhile enough for the third camp to wage war, is a frequent question. A ready answer is, if a third camp country is invaded. There might be similar issues. But that is a wrong question, at least partly. To prevent war is a task of the third camp and if a war occurs or when it is forced to participate, that will be its failure, at least partly. The third camp succeeds to the extent that it works for a world parliament and world government based on unpartisan law and sympathy for all peoples.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Self-rule is still denied to a section of mankind and anti-imperialist movements have therefore a world character. Some parts of Asia and practically the whole of Africa are under the heel of foreign conquerors. Their effort at release from bondage add to the forces that strive for a world law.

The freedom movements are however weak, for they belong to peoples who are split among various groups and languages and nationality, none powerful in numbers. In their anxiety to be free they look out for external support and thus become playthings of world views that extend to them moral sympathy or material assistance. They lose their spontaneity, and that well of energy which waters the world with hope dries up. When these movements do not become appendages to the liberal and slow-moving West, they run into the arms of the Communist world view. The extent to which communism with its schisms of Stalinism, Trotskyism and Titoism has penetrated into the African movement is amazing. Their weakness in numbers and want of fresh energy is therefore easily understandable.

Anti-imperialism can become a source of good only if it is separated from the embrace of its Atlantic or Soviet masters. But these freedom movements need a world view and external support suited to it.

India's Foreign Minister recently told the anti-Imperialist peoples of Malaya the vile futility of terrorism. He presented to them Mahatma Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance. One's mind goes back to an incident nearly 35 years ago when Mahatma Gandhi was making his first entry into Indian politics. After praising the terrorist youth for their bravery, he beckoned them to wield with him the superior and more effective method of non-violent resistance. A negative condemnation of terrorism in Malaya without a positive effort to encourage peaceful resistance would only add to the strength of Malaya's Atlantic masters. The reaction of disgust from such advice may also add to the Soviet hold.

This contemptible intrusion of India's Foreign Office into Malayan affairs was matched by an equally contemptible and uncalled for statement with regard to Tibet. Our northern neighbours who are our kinsmen in culture and language, more than they are of any other people, have long been oppressed by their native rulers. If it was too late for India to give any succour to the people of Tibet, she should at least not have gone out of her way to claim the sovereignty of another state over them. A negative and artificial desire for neutrality between two world

views seems to have led to this perversity of a pro-Atlantic attitude in Malaya and a pro-Soviet one in Tibet.

Anti-imperialism must be helped to regain its spontaneous energy. This can only be done by a world view that recognises the unhedged claims of all peoples to be free in a world that has tamed the Atlantic and the Soviet conquerors back into their homelands. The Indian Government would repair its errors by yet inviting the great freedom fighters of the world to visit this country as guests and thus to present a dramatic spectacle of this world view. Emir Abdul Karim and Taib Slim of North Africa, George Padmore and Dr. Azikiwe of Negro Africa must be invited to visit India as her guests as a step towards a spontaneous, unfettered and powerful anti-Imperialism. I had made this suggestion six months ago on my return from Europe, Africa and near Asia. Delay is losing the world this great force of good and compelling it to run into the arms of one or the other bloc or even of religious reaction.

Although Nepal is under no foreign heel, its people do not enjoy self-rule and it is denied representative institutions and responsible government. Tyranny of a small clique in Nepal has caused a vacuum and, unless its people are actively helped to self-rule, Atlantic or Soviet power would inevitably rush in. The Socialist Party has striven to help the people of Nepal to fill up the vacuum with their own power of a self-rule movement. The India Government must give up its policy of doing nothing until the milk is spilt and then of crying over it.

As long as India permits the continuance of Portuguese and French imperialisms within her own body, her effort at coupling the anti-imperialist movements with strivings for a world law will be tarred and blemished. It is monstrous that scores of Indians should be wasting away their lives in prisons thousands of miles away for no offence other than the attempt to hold a public meeting. Portugal must be made to release these prisoners.

The Congress of the peoples against Imperialism will be unable to fulfil its mission if it is restricted to being an information and propaganda centre. It must be a creative centre which radiates the warmth of sympathy and support to all peoples struggling to be free and which unites them into a concerted offensive. Its gravity must shift from its centres in London and Paris to those in India and Africa. I may recall in this connection the farewell words of Taib Slim, the Tunisian fighter whom France had sentenced to death, to me, when he asked me to work for a united endeavour of the Congress Party and the Socialist Party in order to help free the still enslaved peoples of the world.

This is a mission to which men in either party who combine dexterity with faith might well devote themselves. What the India Government has done for Indonesia is a fine chapter indeed but on balance it is lost amidst the barrenness elsewhere. The time for a comprehensive anti-imperialist policy is now.

Imperialism has already become a marginal phenomenon. In its vague and loose interpretation, probably all mankind except the Russians and the Americans are colonials. In its proper meaning of denial of self-rule, only ten per cent of mankind is still subject to this tyranny. It is a sad reflection on the freedom-loving peoples in the rest of the world that this marginal phenomenon should continue any longer. The ruling class of Europe, both West and East, and the US has become Africa-conscious. May not the peoples of Europe and the US and of course Asia strive to release Africa and Malaya from their bondage and bring peace and freedom to Indo-China and Korea? As a marginal issue in world affairs, imperialism is weak and tottering and purposeful assault on it by the free peoples of the world could see its end before our century enters its second half.

INDIANS ABROAD

Indians in foreign lands account for nearly one per cent of the Indian population. Their condition has, if anything, deteriorated after freedom. Partly, at least, that is due to India Government's perverse policies. While it has done nothing assertive for plantation labourers in Ceylon and such like, it, for a long time, intervened futilely with the Burma Government for compensation to Indian landlords. The only worthwhile policy would be to demand assertively nothing more and nothing less, than equal rights and equal duties, in fact, full and equal citizenship for them in the state of which they form a part.

Apart from questions regarding their own status, Indians overseas are faced with the decision of what world-view they shall adopt and practise. The sooner they adopt the world-view presented here, the better for them and, the world. They have it in their power to become catalytic agents of a world order wherever they live.

An essential requirement would be their readiness to shed their separatist groupings as Indians in the political and trade union fields or in any other farmers, industrial and professionals associations. Thus, in Africa or in Malaya, they should join with the Africans, the Whites, the Malaysians and the Chinese, the Party or the association of their choice. Should it, be necessary to form a new party on right ideological lines, the effort

should always be made in conjunction with the other groups of citizens and not as Indians.

RELIGION IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Religion in the political sense has revived on an international scale. Not only are religious organizations trying to influence politics but various religions have set up their own political parties such as Christian, Muslim or Hindu party. They are openly defending property in land and industry. Their support to capitalism is beyond doubt. If Acharya Narendra Deva was publicised as an atheist in the course of an imaginary dialogue between Rama and Gandhi in heaven, some Christian priests in Germany were about the same time persuading their female clientele to threaten their husbands with refusal to perform their wifely duties if they voted socialist.

Some religious organisations cover up their essentially reactionary character by giving vent to vague feelings of good will and harmony. One such organisation on an international scale is the Moral Rearmament Association. Before the last world war broke out, its leader and his flock praised the Lord for sending Hitler to an unbelieving world. Under cover of spiritual rebirth and goodwill, nationally and internationally, this organisation is once again serving the cause of *status quo* and reaction. Significantly enough the India Government encourages or permits its ministers to associate themselves with this organisation.

This open excursion of religion into politics is producing results contrary to what might have been expected and which are actually publicised. Instead of making politics religious, religion is itself becoming political. By the introduction of religious fervour into the power drivers of politics, mankind is being further debased in its conduct.

Another aspect of religious influence over world politics is somewhat different. It is a genuine attempt to introduce morality into politics, to preach the convertibility of means and ends. While the motives behind such an effort are lofty, the consequences have hitherto been none too happy. Except in the hands of the man who was the author of this new mode of behaviour in politics, it tends to lead men into positions of compromise when not of inertia. The ineffectiveness of those who are pledged to morality in politics and are even the successors of Mahatma Gandhi, is pitiful against the strange break-up of collective life that has overtaken India. This appears to be paralleled in Germany. The Social Democratic Party of Germany has two pronounced trends, the classical socialist trend led by Schumacher

and the somewhat religious trend led by Schmidt. While I would at some points prefer the suppleness of the new trend to the rigidity of the classical type, I had the impression that compromise and coalition politics were more popular with the supple than with the classical type. The moral and imaginative approach in politics has so far been unable to rid itself of an obsession with compromise.

Religious politics are nevertheless gaining ground all over the world and it will not do for socialism merely to brand them as reactionary. There must be something in human nature and its needs, which politics has been unable to fulfil and which religion claims it can. Men are perhaps fed up with the continuous clash of politics: they sometimes need the peace and good conduct that religion offers. It is too early yet to say what results will finally be produced by the coming together of Christianity and socialism in the Social Democratic Party in Germany. There is no doubt that the Gandhian tradition of good means will continue in one manner or another with India's major political parties. There is greater need for it today than there ever was. But the danger of compromise with evil or inertia in the face of it seems to attend this tradition and unless it is combated no good will come out of it.

India and the East are famed for their spirituality as contrasted with the materialism of Europe. This is one of the strangest lies prevalent in certain circles. In all those concrete cases of conduct on which reason can fasten, materialist Europe appears to be more spiritual than the religious East. Nevertheless the human spirit and the depths of its religious and spiritual foundations have to be explored and brought into the service of a world order, for otherwise they will be used by reaction.

I remember the Egyptian socialist Ahmed Hussain saying that he was deeply religious and when I smiled partly in curiosity, he explained to me that his religion was a question mark of life and that was all. He would like to approach human affairs with the humility of questioning.

Whatever may be the lowness into which India has fallen, there seems to be something in her culture of 6,000 years and over, which other culture and religions also possess, but which has assumed a complete form here than elsewhere. To the light of reason is added the softness of sympathy; understanding or knowledge is incomplete without a feeling of oneness with the universe and everything in it. I do not know how far this emotion of sympathy could be joined to class struggle and socialism. Should it ever happen that the eye will simultaneously redden at an act of injustice as it will shed a tear, socialism in India will have achieved a miracle for all the world.

MOVEMENT FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

The movement for world government is making headway. It is indeed beset by all kinds of confusions and schisms, but the main idea of supreme world authority is gaining ground over men's minds.

To some, the idea of a world government would today appear unrealistic and impracticable and they would prefer to strive for regional unities such as the government of Western Europe or the Government of Asia. At the same time, there are many who think that a political one-world is impossible without an economic one-world while some would prefer to keep the issue of world government on the purely political level.

The world movement for World federal government is an organisation that strives to unite all forces and groups working for a world government. Its task is none too easy. The double sins of weakness and schisms beset it.

Its weakness arises primarily out of its belief that the UNO is the precursor to a world government. All existing international institutions are clearing houses of disputes and intrigues among nations. No world government movement should therefore get tied up with any one of them. It is quite another matter to assist the UNO in any of its specific jobs as will not mean participation in international rivalries. But the movement for world government should start with a clean slate and its aim should be not any confusing reforms of the UN Charter but the convening of a representative assembly elected by all the adults of the world.

Confusion of aim restricts its activity to the men who matter and does not reach it to the people who suffer. The Indian branch of the movement is a rather extreme example of this; nobody has heard of it and it is confined to a few members of parliament and such others in the capital. The source of this mischief lies in a curious phenomenon of our world of nation-states. The nationally responsible men are internationally irresponsible while men who strive to be internationally responsible have no responsibility within their own nation. The men who matter within a nation are generally those whose views disqualify them from world leadership, while such as are so qualified do not matter within their own nation. Until the movement grasps this fact and takes the issue of world government to suffering millions and weaves it into their lives, it will ridicule itself by running after secondrate parliamentarians or ogling at meaningless messages from wellknown men and ministers.

Many splits and schisms also arise out of the belief in logical sequence, already noted, from regional federations to world federation or from political unity of the world to its economic unity. I can understand a regrettable chronological sequence, but a logical sequence is hard to grasp. The full ideal has to be striven for, though, in the actual achieving of it, there might be some stages.

A notable success of the movement took place when the Tennessee State Legislature enacted to send representatives to a world parliament and to surrender a part of its sovereignty on the formation of a world authority. This was not a policy success, for it led to no action. At best, it was a success of propaganda, for it must have led people to think of world government. Nevertheless. I wish that Cord Meyer, a young American who lost an eye in the last war and who is in some ways a symbol of the American movement realised the inadequacy of such a measure. Existing Legislatures will not be able to achieve world government. It will be achieved when it becomes a passionate need of suffering millions. I have no wish here to enter the controversy that is rending the world federalists between Minimalists and Maximalists, the two groups who differ on the extent of power that a world government should possess, or between the political and functional approach. As soon as the need to carry the issue of world government to suffering millions is recognised, the present controversy will have lost much of its meaning and the political and economic approaches will have to be combined. Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese, daughter of Thomas Mann and Secretary of the world movement, is a European now settled in the US and her experience has probably taught her the virtue of compromise and aiming at the attainable. A recent letter from her has emphasized the need to associate organizations of farmers and workers with the world government movement in Asia; but I should have thought that the need was equally urgent in Europe and the USA. The movement must open itself to existing political parties, trade unions and other organizations in various lands, must in fact seek to enter them, so that it could even cut across existing political divisions and thus cause a national ferment on an international issue. But then votaries of the movement will have to accept the egalitarian idea not only for the citizens within a nation but among the nation themselves.

Such a world view requires great faith. It is difficult for satiated nations to contemplate economic and political equality with hungry nations. The average Indian has to work with tools and machines worth about Rs. 150, the average European Rs. 3,000, the average American Rs. 6,000 and more. This enormous disparity in capital investment is at the root of world's evils; but what favoured nation of man will be so sane as to strive for its

removal? Without such a sanity, however, the world will be doomed to a state of poverty and war and increasing stagnation. A dim realisation of this seems to be evident in the current gossip about assistance to under-developed nations. This whole idea of assistance flowing out from the strong to the weak in a spirit of generosity is fruitless. The world and its nations need mutual assistance. Europe and the US have too much to conserve and too little to create, while Asia and Africa have too much to create but too little to build it on. Conservation and creation are at war on a world scale. Not the passing conflict of power blocs but this great war of our epoch determines man's destiny. When Europe and US realise the impossibility to conserve, until Asia and Africa create, a world mind potent enough to form world government will have been born.

The final solution may yet be a long way off. It will require a revolutionary thinking on technology and scientific inventions and sharing of resources among all the nations. As a first step towards this, the idea of world development co-operation and international brigades of peace and reconstruction, has been mooted. The world has known of international brigades for war purposes. Would it not be possible to form similar brigades for development work in various lands, not as a symbolic gesture, but with a view actually to achieve something. Scott Buchanan, the American philosopher, and Stringfellow Barr are working on this idea, H. N. Brailuford and his wife Eva Maria were insistent on some such mode of action through which men of all nations could be thrown together into teams working for reconstruction.

The India Government might well take the initiative in proposing such resolution to the United Nations. Should such a move prove unfruitful, it might directly approach the various governments of the world and begin work with those who are agreeable. I may here add that Clare and Harris Wofford, the young American couple whom Socialists in India know well and admire, suggested on their return to their homeland that the surplus wheat in America be donated to Indian refugees and other needy groups. Such suggestions and initiatives, isolated and unfruitful as they are today can be crystallised by the India Government so as to give them the shape and substance of a world-wide mutual aid society.

An American Liberal is sometimes a strange type nowhere to be met. I have not met a more earnest and genuine young man, open-minded, slow and methodical, than Clifford Dancer who would be an acquisition to the Socialist Party of any land. Socialism in the U.S. is very much wider than its Socialist Party.

The World Government Movement has decided to convene a World Parliament elected on the basis of one delegate for every million of the world's population. It has an International Steering Committee for this purpose on which Kamaladevi is a member, and she is also a member of the Executive of the world Government Movement. Who could be more suited than she with her dexterity and faith to enthuse diverse elements in India !

A remarkable episode took place in the general elections of Britain when Henry Osborne, the leader of the British Movement for a World Parliament, brought Harris Wofford, Robert Sarrazac, Claude Bourdet and others to campaign for him and for the issue of World Government. For the first time probably, a national election took place in which a team of foreigners took part. Henry Osborne won for British Labour a seat which was considered marginal.

The Movement for a World Parliament has acquired special significance in France. Lieut-Colonel Robert Sarrazac, one time army officer, underground fighter and now a world federalist, has made it dynamic. He has linked it up with the movement to *mondialize* towns and villages and the movement for world citizenship. The idea is to awaken a world conscience among all the peoples and to prepare them psychologically for a World Parliament. A whole zone of three million inhabitants has almost been *mondialized*. First the municipal council and then the adult population of village or town votes for the acceptance of the *mondial declaration*. I may here add the strange case of Garry Davis, a little known American actor, who has acquired such celebrity in France and Germany as is not excelled even by Mr. Churchill. One simple little act made him a hero. He tore up his American passport and declared himself a world citizen. Whatever may be the quality of this act or of Mr. Davis, the episode throws a flood of light on the psychology of Europe, expectant for a new hope and willing to clutch at a straw like a drowning man.

I am glad to report that a majority of students in the Lucknow University have already signed the declaration to make their University a world town. Many villages have also done so. The movement must spread and I hope that Porbunder, Mahatma Gandhi's birthplace, will soon be *mondialized*. I am also glad to report that a register of world citizenship will soon be opened and that Jayaprakash Narayan, Chief of India's socialists, will be the first world citizen in the country. It will be perhaps for the first time that a nationally responsible politician becomes internationally responsible in a formal way.

Efforts to prevent war in the past, and pacifist and peace-pledged unions, had at one time great vogue; but what happened to them on the outbreak of the war! A very large number of soldiers in the last war were presumably peace-pledgers and the like. But the movement for World Government is something different from the movement to prevent war: the former is positive while the latter is negative. Further more, a whole vista of striving and suffering and positive action and satyagraha opens out in connection with this movement. Should the people of the world be even able to elect their parliament, unofficial though it might be, it may well have the history of the Etats General of Louise XVI which refused to disperse in spite of that monarch and started the French Revolution. The World Parliament may well become a precursor to a world revolution to which governments must perforce submit.

When a country like India is ground by poverty and torn by religions and castes, it might seem ridiculous to make the submerged and hungry landless labourer a world citizen. And yet this movement for World Government in conjunction with socialism may be that lever which raises these submerged millions to a new hope and endeavour.

Postscript
TO
Korea

FOUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS KOREA

Since I presented my foreign policy report to the Party Conference, four distinct attitudes towards the Korean incident appear to be crystallising. The pro-Atlantic and pro-Soviet attitudes are easy to understand, once one has chosen one's side in the clash of the two Power blocs. But the independent attitude of the Third Camp has unfortunately been so applied to Korea as to give rise to two different and even contrary policies. One of these policies rests on the belief that, even while the basis of non-alignment with the power blocs stays, each international dispute can and should be judged on merits. North Korea has, according to this belief committed aggression on South Korea. As collective security has to be preserved, the United Nations must defend South Korea. Simultaneously, however, the Government of India got motivated by another principle, the desire to loosen the tension between the two blocs and to give the factual position in China a juridical status. It, therefore, wanted Red China to replace Kuomintang China in the United Nations. Support to the United Nations' action in Korea and inclusion of Red China into the United Nations are the two objectives of the India Government's policy towards the Korean war and, therefore, also of all those who profess to judge each issue on merits and desire a state of no war.

Quite clearly this is a most illogical policy to adopt. One can well understand the pursuit of one or the other objective but the simultaneous pursuit of both objectives is meaningless. To those who judge North Korea, which is obviously a member of the Soviet camp, as an aggressor, it hardly behoves to help the Soviet camp to reap the fruits of that aggression in the shape of an additional adherent in the United Nations and even a permanent seat on its Security Council. Judging an issue on merits, torn from the context of the power clash, must inevitably lead to such absurdities.

The explanation in motive is simple, As soon as an issue is judged on merit and a pro-Soviet or a pro-Atlantic attitude adopted, the nervous desire to maintain one's independence from the two Power blocs and to show it off must inevitably lead to a counter balancing act. A pro-Atlantic judgment must be counter-balanced by a pro-Soviet move and *vice versa*. What precisely is gained by such a policy? Nothing at all, except the alternate strengthening of the two blocs. No ideas or forces or movements apart from the two camps are brought into being or strengthened and this policy of judging each issue on merits degenerates into alternate touting for the Atlantic or the Soviet bloc.

PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The principle of collective security and of aggression must be grasped more fundamentally. Out of over 60 votes in the United Nations less than ten belong to Asia. 50 per cent of the world's population possesses around 15 per cent of its votes. Out of the eleven members on the Security Council, three belong to the non-White races. Less than 1/3rd of the world's population has over 2/3rd of its executive power. The colossal inequalities in the world's development can be gauged from the earnings of Asians which are around 1/4th those of the Europeans who in their turn earn about a half of the American income. Poverty is strangling Asia, Africa and the larger part of South America. Finally, what is collective security if there is no freedom for men to travel and work where they like and the doors of Australia or Russia or the US are barred to them. If a man has the right to die destitute on the streets of Delhi and Cairo, he has an equal right, if he wishes, to die on the streets of Sydney, Moscow and New York. Formal interpretation of the principle of collective security can never be a mid-wife for bringing the new world into being. I readily grant that countries like India must check the increase in their population. No government in India can be called civilised until it takes effective steps towards this aim.

There can be no genuine security, individual or collective until a clean break is made with the past and the world is liberated from the ideological and militaristic strangleholds of the war blocs. India has indeed a traditional friendship with China and the Indian people will always wish well of the Chinese people. It is only proper that an India Government and a China Government should recognise each other. But Red China is a part of the Soviet camp and to undertake supporting moves for the former is inevitably to strengthen the latter. We can only wish for the day when the people of China will regain their independence of mind and action and all official and non-official approaches between the two countries should

necessarily be used to the full. To have initiated Red China's admission into the United Nations, particularly in the context of a war between the two blocs, was therefore wrong; it would have been quite another matter to vote for such an admission on some other occasion.

NEHRU'S PEACE MOVE

The communication that was sent by the Prime Minister of India to the Prime Ministers of Russia and England and the United States Secretary of State suffers from another major blemish. To have established a connection between the Korean incident and the China issue was itself wrong, but to suggest that Red China's admission into the United Nations was to precede the settlement of the Korean issue took away what little meaning there might have been in the spurious move of India. In establishing precisely such a sequence between the China issue and the Korean issue, the Prime Minister of India conceded the Soviet case and only he could have imagined that the Americans would accept it.

West Europeans and particularly the West European left may have generally liked India's intervention. The reasons are clear. West Europe is far more afraid of war than is the United States. It will have to bear the first terrific onslaught of the war. It is, therefore, always favourably susceptible to any action intended to prevent a war or to postpone it. Furthermore, Britain has not yet given up her belief to lead the world. She is undoubtedly quite conscious of her subordination to the United States in the event of a world war, but she would like to play her own game of supple diplomacy. She probably imagines United States to be crude and Russia to be vulgar and believes that her diplomacy would enable her to muddle through some how in a conflict between the two. United States hegemony must also be irking her.

Britain has the tradition of having more than one string to her foreign policy, of pursuing more than one line of action with regard to a single event. It is known that the British Ambassador to the USSR had a series of interviews with the Russian Foreign Office and it is also known that these related to a settlement of the Korean crisis. Members of the British Commonwealth also consult each other on any foreign policy moves, although they are not bound to accept each others views. Both on account of the general strategic position of West Europe and also because of the special diplomatic predilections of Britain, it is only fair to conclude that the inspiration for India's move lay in some West European capital,

The dexterity of British diplomacy was, however, lacking in the Prime Minister's note. No British foreign minister would have so crudely established a sequence between the Red China issue and the Korean issue. In order to smoothen the path of negotiations and so ultimately to achieve peace, he would have left vague as to which act of settlement was to take place first. It would still have been doubtful if the Americans and the Russians would have agreed on settling the two issues simultaneously. But a move which set up sequence of one kind or the other was foredoomed to failure. The British Foreign Office or whatever other source was concerned might well be wondering if they should not have actually helped the Prime Minister of India draft his letter.

ABSTENTION ONLY DESIRABLE COURSE

Abstention is the only desirable course for India to follow in disputes between the two blocs. This would give her an opportunity to project the new policies of peace. In course of time, both United States and the USSR may come to respect India's abstention when they become sure of it. Uncertainty prevails to day. The USSR may well imagine that, inspite of deviations and zig-zags, India is in the ultimate instance tied to the Atlantic camp and her neutrality in the event of a war would either be impossible or short-lived.

The USA, on the other hand, may well regard India more a liability than an asset, as her conduct is very difficult to anticipate and her diplomatic moves may at any time strengthen the Soviet camp. A course of abstention in the disputes between the two blocs has sometimes been ridiculed as *sanyas*, withdrawal from life and its world current. Before examining it that it is so, let us recall that a policy such as that of India's Prime Minister may well be called unfunctioning *priapism*, all excitement and no fulfilment. Unable to give rise to new forces, such a policy may, through some fluke, postpone a war but can never avert it, and after another war, the post-war world would continue as of old.

The Third Camp must guard itself against a continual temptation. It may take up its duty to postpone a war so senselessly that it does not build anything new. Its actions may then be of no avail except that it secures to the two warring blocs a breathing space and an interval for piling armaments. Only they can avert a war who seek to unite the world or such parts of it as believe in a world law without prejudice or self-interest. Even if they may not be effective enough to save the world from a war, they will certainly be able to put their impress on the post war world. Too keen a concern with this problem of avoiding

a war leads into a blind alley. In the matter of international rivalries, the post-war period, after World war I as well as II was largely in continuation of the pre-war period. What is needed is to snap this continuity. The Third Camp must indeed strive to do all it can to avoid a war but it must also concern itself equally with the building up of such strength as will be adequate to open a new era in world relations.

THE IMMEDIATE TASK

The policy of abstention towards disputes between the two blocs does not at all mean a policy of withdrawal. There is a whole territory of international relationships where a People committed to such a policy may yet bestir themselves.

I should think that the Third Camp has its immediate work in fields such as the various types of world unity movements, the anti-imperialist movements which are not attached to either of these two blocs, the international socialist movement, in particular its Asian wing, and cultural or no-war movements unaffiliated to either bloc. The United Nations is also not to be completely discarded. Several of its activities and agencies are such in which the Third Camp can gainfully take part. The Third Camp may also under certain circumstances offer to reduce the world tension but only in such a way that its activities do not strengthen the two war-like camps. It may also seek to combine all the world on such projects as a world development corporation, international projects of re-construction and peace and a world food pool.

The most serious argument that has so far been advanced against the Third Camp is its inadequacy in arms. That argument may at once be conceded, but arms are a concentrated expression of a virile economy which in its turn is also a concentrated expression at least partly of a virile attitude. What is needed now is to set up a virile federation of the mind. The federation of governments will inevitably follow. To liberate the human mind from the octopus grip of the two camps is to build up this new federation of the mind.

A Himalayan Policy
FOR
India

A HIMALAYAN POLICY FOR INDIA

The fairest and the most frigid hills of mankind are warming up. On both sides of the mighty Himalayas, around 80 million people are astir and their old stability is gone. Warring ideas and armies are competing for their souls and, should they lose their freedom or fall under the influence of other peoples, they as well as the world will lose and the Himalayas will cease to be the traditional sentry of India.

From Afghanistan to Burma over Tibet and Nepal spread these peoples who are tempting missionaries of the idea and the sword. Beyond are the Russians and the Chinese and somewhat uncertain peoples like those in Sinkiang. All these are bearers of the Soviet idea and sword, at least for the present. What yet remains to decide, therefore, is the fate of Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal and Burma.

A peculiar feature of these territories and peoples may be noted. Corresponding to each one of them is a territory and a people closely related to them on the Indian side of the Himalayan frontier, thus, the tribal areas at both ends and the Pathans of the west and the Tibeto-Burmans of the East and, in between, Indians of Nepales ancestry as well as Tibetan such as those in Sikkim and Bhutan. A responsive relationship between these allied groups on both sides of the Himalaya exists. This provides an instrument of state policy to whoever can get hold of one group or the other.

Neither the snows nor the unscalable heights of the Himalayas can now do sentry duty for India. Contentment to the body and anchor to the mind of these 80 million peoples alone can provide security to India. Old concepts of foreign and defence policies must change. The strategic is now also the moral, the national is the all-world and the interests of India,

the world and the Himalayan peoples coincide. India, her people as well as her Government, must evolve a Himalayan policy, which is both strategic and moral.

China's invasion of Tibet which can only be likened to baby murder has brought out into the open trends and clashes already visible to the more discerning. There is no such thing as an Asian mind. There is perhaps an Asian necessity. But three types of mind are trying to give expression to it and have given birth to three mutually incompatible Asias, status-quo Asia, Communist Asia and Socialist Asia. Status-quo Asia has collided with Communist Asia in Tibet, but neither can express the needs of Asia or the Tibetan people.

A corrupt and cowardly bureaucracy has clashed with a reactionary communism intent on slaughter and rule and, to most Asians including Tibetans, there is not much to choose between the two. In the war between the Tibetan Government representing status-quo Asia and the Chinese army representing Communist Asia, the Tibetan people find no place nor, in fact, any Asian people who desire the new civilisation of active equality and tranquil activity. It is clearly enough a defeat of socialist Asia that it could not quicken the people of Tibet into a socialist consciousness. That the India Government, despite warning, spoke of Tibetan sovereignty in imperialist terms or forgot Tibet's relations with India, which have been closer than with China is a miserable episode.

Is it at all possible now to bring the people of Tibet into the picture? The answer is partly provided by the revolution in Nepal that took place close on the heels of the invasion of Tibet. At a time when the world's mind was overwhelmed by the Atlantic and Soviet armies and cynicism had so deepened that the line between liberation and conquest was hard to draw, the people of Nepal stood such a dramatic witness for people's force and the Third Camp. For 4 years the people of Nepal had prepared for this revolt and this preparation has its lessons for Tibet as well. The Nepali Congress thrived for a long time on the labour of Indians of Nepali ancestry. Indians of Tibetan ancestry can similarly strive on behalf of a free and socialist Tibet.

Die-hard Indians and the Atlantic Camp have been none too pleased by the Nepali revolt. They profess that unstable conditions in Nepal are an invitation to the Soviet camp to step in. Everybody knows that the contrary is true. With status-quo tyranny ruling, the Soviets would walk through Nepal like a knife through butter. Alone a democratic and socialist Nepal however unstable, is a guarantee against invasion and foreign rule. It is true that a democratic Nepal shall no longer be a recruiting

ground for Atlantic Gurkhas and that has perhaps frightened the Atlantic camp. It is also true that a democratic Nepal must increasingly travel in the direction of socialism and redivision of land and that has perhaps frightened India's landlords.

India's ruling party has been of uncertain mind. Unhelpful in the preparation and even abusive of the socialists who helped build up the Nepali Congress, the ruling party of India has adopted a policy of non-intervention towards the Nepali revolt. Non-intervention means support to status-quo and tyranny. In any event, the Nepal policies of the Government and people of India must differ. Whenever the India Government adopts rightly or wrongly a policy of non-intervention towards the issue of freedom in the Himalayas, the people of India must with greater determination help their neighbour achieve or maintain democracy. That is both strategic and moral.

Four years' experience with Goa and Nepal has proved that any further effort at democracy in neighbouring lands had better be frankly named as a socialist effort. What's there in a name may be all right for poetry, but, in the Indian context of the clash between the Congress and the socialist parties, much depends on the name. No matter that the Goa and Nepal Congresses have been assisted by socialists rather than congressmen of India, their names mislead and produce certain reactions and are likely to obstruct radical reforms. Nevertheless, Delhi is a great attraction and temptation and the ruling party of India can always and without exertion pull to itself a section at least of the democratic forces in neighbouring lands and play mischief. The prospect of help from the India Government makes these democratic forces lose initiative and weaken in self-confidence and the spirit of sacrifice and they take to lobbying rather than work on the spot. One hopes fervently that the Nepali revolt spreads into all hills and plains and enters every hamlet so as to pull down the usurpers' authority and form committees of people's power and that all elements of the Nepali Congress will work on the spot. A revolution as far-reaching in world-significance as that of India will then have taken place in Nepal. It will give the people of Nepal bodily contentment and mental anchorage, justy redivided land and power distributed into villages and, thus, dramatically project the Third Camp into world affairs.

Indians of Tibetan ancestry have a significant role to play, if only they become aware of it. They have already done so in some measure. Sikkim was saved for India, against the Maharaja and almost against the India Government, by persons like Tashi Shering and socialist C. D. Rai. Delhi however has no use for men like Tashi Shering and has deputed civilians to rule Sikkim and supervise affairs in that area and Tibet. Raja

Dorje lives more in Darjeeling than in Bhutan and is better known for his horse-racing than for his Prime Ministership of Bhutan and such men appear to suit the India Government's policies very well. Bhutan, however, has begun experiencing unrest. Incidentally both in Sikkim and Bhutan, Indians of Nepali ancestry constitute the majority, but a feudal attitude continues to associate these two areas with their Tibetan princes. In any event, democracy must prevail in Sikkim and Bhutan and Darjeeling before Indians of Tibetan ancestry can become carriers of democracy for Tibet.

Such Indians as Durgasingh on the western approaches to Tibet like Almora and Tashi Shering on the eastern approaches like Kalimpong and Gangtok can make the Tibetan people aware of the need to redivide land and to reform administration and yet to stay free and follow the policy of the Third Camp. Inside Tibet, the vast masses of the people and the monks including the Sunda Sum (Three Pillars or the three great monasteries of Lhasa) will respond to such a policy of socialism at home and the Third Camp abroad.

What urgency attaches to this Indo-Tibetan problem can also be gauged from the uncertainty that prevails on our Assam frontier. The Ballipara tract is not known over a width of more than a hundred miles and how many persons have visited that eerie place called Sadavasanta (eternal spring) within sixty miles of Tejpur. The Daflas, Abors, Mikirs and Nagas are potentially agents of the Third Camp as much as of the Atlantic or the Soviet and what shall they be. The people of India may be astonished to learn that the Naga heroine, Rani Guilallo, of whom congressmen had oncesung romantic praise, was forgotten and stayed interned for two years of the freedom until I drew the Assam Governor's attention to it. India Government has no policies.

Nearly two years ago, certain policies with regard to the tribal areas in Assam were outlined and they may be here repeated. A large part of the income from Hindu religious endowments may be diverted to mission work in these areas, in the sense of education and social reform, the Gauhati University may open departments for the major languages and literatures of this area, a food army may begin work on these enormous uncultivated lands and excursions of pleasure and adventure may be arranged from all over the country to the Ballipara and Sadiya tracts.

Frontiers are always so exciting, for their smell of romance as much as of battle. What a strange experience is it to travel

through a hundred miles of Naga hills and then to reach the last outpost of Indianism in Imphal, where India's vitality has striven for a deeper impress than in the earlier abodes. The smell of battle must fade forever but that of romance will do good to both the plains and the tribes-people. Furthermore, these greatest hills of mankind have given birth to a mind that is sometimes given to magic and then to mysticism, to much that is spook and yet sometimes in the nature of a deep quest. While the magic and the spook must go, the simplicity and sympathy of the humble quest should transfigure all endeavour.

Indians of Afghan ancestry in the Tribal areas and the Frontier province are naturally depressed at the partition of India, the Faqir of Ipi has formed a provisional government and eight million people under the Frontier Gandhi and the Faqir are striving for a Pathan State. Afghanistan is taking a keen and direct interest. Even if the India Government may find it embarrassing to proclaim a policy towards these Pathan stirrings, the people of India and, in particular, the Socialist Party must associate themselves with the Pathan demand for freedom and democracy. In order to buttress themselves against the destructive impact of the Atlantic or the Soviet system, the people of Afghanistan will also do well to adopt a policy of socialism at home and the Third Camp abroad.

The Atlantic Camp seeks its allies in status-quo Asia and the Soviet Camp in Communist Asia and either is unable to understand socialist and freedom-loving Asia. India Government's policies are to some extent responsible for this misunderstanding. All excitement and no fulfilment is as irritating to both camps as alternative surviving of either. A genuine policy of the Third Camp with regard to the Himalayan region can offer no positive service either to the Atlantic or the Soviet Camp but it can guarantee the negative advantage that this territory shall not be used against either.

The Third Camp must grasp the limits of intervention as well as indifference. It cannot of course intervene imperialistically in the internal affairs of a country, nor can it send invading armies under the shameful name of Liberation Armies in the fashion of China. At the same time it dare not stand the sight when democracy and freedom are slaughtered in any one of its constituent territories and, short of armed intervention, it must do everything possible to assist the growth of democracy and socialism in all its areas. Should, for instance, the people of India adopt a policy of indifference or even non-intervention to the events in the Himalayan ranges, a vacuum will arise and it must be filled up either by the Atlantic or the Soviet Camp. To

insulate the Himalayas against either camps and nurture the growth of the democratic and social forces is a great challenge to the Indian people in the three-fold interests of the world, the people concerned and India.

India Government's home policies as much as its foreign policies are naturally a bar to the growth of the Third Camp. When India has re-divided land on an egalitarian basis and ended bureaucratic administration in favour of decentralised power, economic as well as political, she will by that single act give to the Himalayas, anchor to the mind and hope to the body. The Himalayas will harden once again into the traditional sentries of not only Indian freedom but also of world peace.

The Socialist Party has striven in the past three years to act in terms of such an Himalayan policy. It has not been worried by the ill-informed abuse that such matters of foreign policy belonging to the Government and not to the people or any of its political parties. When India's patrimony is squandered by the men in-charge of Delhi the people of the country and their political parties must act with even greater force. The people of India and members of the Socialist Party and in particular those who reside on both sides of the Himalayan ranges must become conscious instruments of a Himalayan policy basing itself on socialism at home and Third Camp abroad. Socialists and freedom loving Asia must defeat the equally dangerous reactions of status-quo and Communist Asia and thus provide a genuine expression of Asian necessity and the Asian mind.

Third Camp
AND
The Soviet Bloc

THIRD CAMP AND THE SOVIET BLOC

The *New Times*, a Moscow journal devoted to the questions of the foreign policies of the Soviet Bloc, commenting on my Foreign Policy Report, wrote in its issue No. 29 of 1950:

"The leader of the so-called Socialist Party in India, Lohia, took advantage of the Party's Congress in Madras early this month to sing the praises of the British Labour Party's 'Socialism'. But even this brand of 'Socialism', Lohia discovered, has some defects from which, it appears, only the Indian Socialist Party is free. The Labour leaders, Lohia feels, lack that 'breadth of view and genuine internationalism' 'which he finds' in the representatives of 'Asian Socialism' that is, in himself.

From this he draws the conclusion that India's Right-wing Socialists must take the lead in building up a neutral 'Third Camp' of the 'new national states' of South and South-East Asia. His programme for this 'Third Camp' shows that the latter is in fact nothing other than the aggressive Pacific Pact which the American Imperialists have so long been trying to engineer and which the British leaders support.

Even as regards his own role, Lohia failed to produce anything new; for in the Pacific Pact, too, as we know, it is the Indian reactionaries who are offered the leading Part. This Indian pseudo-socialist is now endeavouring to smuggle through Washington's schemes under the flag of Socialism. But that is about as easy to do as it is for the camel to pass through the proverbial eye of the needle. Lohia himself paraded his devotion to the US schemes by calling for support of the American intervention in Korea."

The *New Times* while commenting thus, deliberately misrepresented facts. In order to correct this note on misreporting of

facts, I wrote to the editor without entering into an argument on opinion and the manner of their expression:

“The Third Camp is not to be built out of only the new neutral states of South and South East Asia. The Third Camp has its potential in all the five continents. I have always made it clear that the neutral Third Camp should function in two capacities; when acting on the governmental level, it is the third bloc of governments and when acting on the popular and party political level, it is the third force of peoples. Even as the third bloc, wherever that may mature, its reach does not confine itself to Asia but extends to European States like Sweden and Yugoslavia and several South American States. As the Third Force, however, its voice may someday become strong enough to reach the Russian people or some of its sections.

I have never called for ‘support of the American intervention in Korea.’ Having no ideological prejudice between the American and the Soviet Blocs, I have suggested abstention in all disputes to which the Third Camp is not itself a party. In strengthening the Atlantic Bloc through support to UN action in Korea and in strengthening the Soviet Bloc through initiating, at the same time, Red China’s admission, the India Government has pursued a policy of serving the Atlantic and Soviet blocs alternately. I have rejected both actions. I want India to pursue a policy that rejects war-mongering on both sides and steadily builds up forces making for equality and peace in the world.

I do not mind being abused, but that too would serve a useful purpose if you tried to understand the other man’s view point and then pointed out its errors. Will someone in Soviet Russia make an intelligent attack on my foreign policy report.?”

The *New Times*, in its issue No. 43 of 1950 reverted to an attack on me and followed the unusual expedient of elaborately criticising my letter without printing it. While deliberate distortions and lying are a little annoying, anybody would prefer even this wicked attempt at conversation to utter silence:

“Issue No. 29 of *New Times* (July 19, 1950) carried among others an item on the congress of the Socialist Party of India in Madras. Discussing the foreign policy report made at that congress by party’s leader, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, we said that, in calling for a ‘third force’ and a ‘neutral third camp’ of states, the Indian Right-wing Socialists were for all practical purposes lending their support to the Washington and London imperialist policy of building up anti-Soviet blocs. We exposed the falsity of the appeals made at the Madras congress for a supposed ‘neu-

trality' in the present world struggle between the forces of reaction and democracy. We pointed out that Lohia's speech consisted mostly of encomiums to the Labour Party's pseudo-socialism and expressions of solidarity with the organizers of the armed intervention in Korea and that there could accordingly be no talk of neutrality.

Dr. Lohia took exception to what *New Times* said. We have received a letter from him, intended, he writes, to 'correct this note on misreporting of facts'. He is most magnanimous: 'I do not mind being abused,' he says, 'but that too would serve a useful purpose if you tried to understand the other man's viewpoint and then pointed out its errors.' To make his viewpoint easier to understand, Dr. Lohia gives another exposition of it in his letter, and winds up by asking condescendingly for 'an intelligent attack' on his foreign policy ideas.

But Dr. Lohia's letter contributes nothing new to an understanding of the Indian Right-wing Socialists' 'viewpoint' as regards the cardinal issues of the present international situation. No matter how many times he may repeat his pet word 'third,' it does not change the basic fact that under present-day conditions, the 'neutrality' he preaches profits only the US and British imperialists, who fear the active participation of the masses in the fight for peace, democracy and freedom.

Dr. Lohia writes:

'The Third Camp is not to be built out of only the neutral states of South and Southeast Asia. The third camp has its potential in all the five continents. I have always made it clear that the neutral third camp should function in two capacities, when acting on the governmental level, it is the third bloc of governments, and when acting on the popular and party political level, it is the third force of peoples.

In expounding the 'third force' theory' Dr. Lohia is not at all original. He is only trying to transplant to Indian soil a weed that had its origin elsewhere. One of the first advocates of the 'third force' was the notorious Leon Blum. Then the British Labour leaders took to waving this flag. The French and British Right-wing Socialists maintained, just as Dr. Lohia and his friends do now, that they were in fact the living embodiment of the 'third force' in the domestic and foreign policies of their countries. They too promised to build up an international 'third camp' which, they claimed, would act as arbiter in the struggle between the forces of reaction and democracy.

We know what the upshot was of all this noisy publicity for the 'third force' as a panacea of salvation. The Right-wing

Socialists in France and Britain teamed up with the arch-reactionaries in a common crusade against all the forces of democracy and progress. On the international scene, their 'third force' policy culminated in Britain and France joining the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc, which is now engaged, under the direction of American imperialism, in furious preparations for war against the Soviet Union, against the People's Democracies, and against free China and all the Asian peoples that seek to shake off the age-old yoke of imperialism.

But perhaps Dr. Lohia wants to pour new wine into old bottles? Perhaps his 'third camp' will really be capable and desirous of resisting the pressure of American imperialism?

No, that is a conjecture one has to discard from the very start. The moment Dr. Lohia names the bricks out of which he and his colleagues intend to build their 'third camp,' the real nature of this scheme becomes only too clear. Out to show that the application of his ideas is world-wide, Dr. Lohia writes:

'Even as the third bloc, wherever that may mature, its reach does not confine itself to Asia but extends to European states like Sweden and Yugoslavia and several South American states.'

And so Sweden and Yugoslavia are to be the European pillars of Dr. Lohia's 'neutral third camp, and Chile, Peru, or Ecuador, its offshoots in the Western Hemisphere. Lohia does not say which of the Asian countries, apart from India, he considers fitting candidates for membership in the 'third camp.' But evidently it is the Philippines of Quirino or perhaps the Thailand of dictator Synggram, which the United States has long taken in tow.

The list speaks for itself. Who will take seriously the 'neutrality' of the Swedish Right-wing Social-Democrats after the experience of the second world war? The Swedish rulers' semi-covert, semi-overt participation in the aggressive preparations of the Atlantic bloc is now such common knowledge that one can only marvel at Dr. Lohia's boldness in advertising Sweden as a citadel of some neutral 'third force.' And a very bad joke indeed is the presence in this set of Tito's Yugoslavia, whose active participation in the war-mongers' intrigues has been proved beyond refute. There remain Dr. Lohia's 'several South American states.' But the policy of their rulers consists solely and exclusively in serving the interests of Washington—their line in the United Nations is ample proof of that. Does Dr. Lohia seriously hope to convince anybody that the South American countries, which the State Department has coerced into the inter-

American 'mutual defence' pact, can at the same time serve as ornaments of 'a neutral third camp'?

Thus even a cursory examination of Dr. Lohia's proposals reveals that his plans for a 'third camp' are in practice very much of a piece with the U.S. and British imperialists' schemes for setting up sundry new 'alliances' and blocs as auxiliaries of the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc. India and Yugoslavia and Sweden are all, as we know, being invited to join these blocs. And instead of rebuffing this selfish policy of the imperialist powers, which serves the interests of their right group, the Indian Right-wing Socialists, and Dr. Lohia among them, themselves advocate it and make it their political credo.

That this attitude is not fortuitous is made very clear when Dr. Lohia proceeds to map out the objects and line to be followed by his 'third camp,' with India at its head.

For this is what Dr. Lohia writes, again making great play of his impartiality and 'neutrality'.

'Having no prejudice between the American and the Soviet camps, I have suggested *abstention in all disputes to which the third camp is not itself a party.*'

As to the statement about having no 'prejudice,' we shall leave that to Dr. Lohia's conscience. The anti-Soviet speeches made by the Indian Socialists' Right-wing leaders at and since the Madras congress convict Dr. Lohia of at least a one-sided attachment to the Anglo-American bloc.

What is much more important is that the programme outlined in his letter is innocent of the slightest reference to the need to combat the danger of another war and the colonial oppression of the peoples of Asia, whose welfare the advocates of a 'third force' claim to have at heart. All Lohia suggests is 'abstention in disputes,' passivity. He tries to make it appear that by abstaining from disputes 'to which it is not itself a party,' his phantom 'third camp' would help to promote world peace.

No counsels could be more treacherous and pernicious. According to Dr. Lohia, the peoples' salvation lies in looking on impassively at the machinations of the imperialists. According to him, the best of all possible policies is the notorious 'non intervention' which led to the second world war. The absurdity of this theory is particularly obvious today, when there are no international problems—or hardly any—that do not affect the interests of every country in the world, especially if they are problems connected with the crucial matter of the danger of war.

According to Dr. Lohia's amazing logic, the Indians and the other peoples of Asia should look on dispassionately at the American aggression in Korea, since they are 'not themselves a party' to this issue. And what if the U.S. and British imperialists attack the Chinese People's Republic? Or the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam? Why, Dr. Lohia will no doubt advise remaining quite impassive in that event too, in as much as these countries do not belong to his projected 'third camp.' It is not clear that if Dr. Lohia's ideas were to triumph, it would enable the imperialists to gobble up country after country, until it was the turn of the 'third camp' itself? Perhaps that is just what India's Right-wing Socialists want?

Such are Dr. Lohia's theories, such is his 'viewpoint,' in defence of which he takes up the cudgels in his letter to *New Times*. His practical activities are no less discreditable. Presumably by way of demonstrating that he 'has no prejudice,' Dr. Lohia moved a resolution at the Madras congress which amounted to support of American imperialist aggression in Korea. We might note that more than a third of the congress delegates voted against this resolution and that it was passed only under pressure from the party's then General Secretary, Jaiprakash Narayan.

In his letter to *New Times*, Dr. Lohia writes that he only wants India to pursue a policy that 'steadily builds up forces making for equality and peace in the world.' After examining Dr. Lohia's political programme and activities, one cannot help doubting the sincerity of this wish.

We have cited and analyzed all the arguments given in Dr. Lohia's letter. The reader will see that, having started out by protesting against our supposed 'misreporting of facts,' Dr. Lohia, despite himself, provided the fullest corroboration of our appraisal of his policy."

In my rejoinder to this detailed attack I wrote:

"The idea of the Third Camp was suggested by me as far back as 1938. Leon Blum and the French and British Socialists starting propagating a somewhat similar idea almost eight years later. I do not know why the Russian Communists are so keen on falsifying dates in spite of repeated clarification.

The international context during the last world war was such that fighters for freedom and democracy were faced with an identical situation then as now. If there was very little to prefer between the two camps of the Axis and the Allies at that time, there is not much to choose between the Atlantic and the Soviet camps at the present moment. Precisely in this situation

between the Axis and the Allies emerged the idea of the Third camp so that the freedom revolt of the Indian people could be viewed as a part of the wider revolt of humanity for progress and peace.

Together with being an international justification of the Open Rebellion in India, the Third Camp was at the same time an ideological and a tactical structure to build a new world on foundations different from those of the Axis and the Allies. The Third Camp, as we propounded it in 1938 and after, has been able to start on an internationally clean slate. We had no burdens of the past to carry, neither imperialist nor capitalist, nor had we been goaded by a false doctrine into an oral rejection and an actual imitation of the old by the new.

GENUINE NEUTRALITY

When Leon Blum and the European Socialists took over a somewhat similar idea eight years later, their setting and motivation were altogether different. They did not start on a clean slate and their prejudices and obligations were numerous. Being a direct and physical part of the clash between the Atlantic and the Soviet Camps, the European Socialists could not adopt the policy of a Third Camp of genuine neutrality. They knew that they would ultimately have to take sides and, therefore, their objective was restricted to easing the tension between the Americans and the Russians and to maintaining West Europe's precarious independence from the United States.

Whether we are original or not is of little consequence; what matters is whether we are right or wrong. In this particular case, we are both original and right. It will not do to continue repeating the lie that the Third Camp is an idea of the European Socialists. It has in reality been the idea of the Indian Socialists and of a much earlier origin. Again, this original and distinct character of the idea has given it a meaning far deeper and more significant than in the hands of the European Socialists. It can be genuinely neutral and start on a clean slate and is not burdened by the falsities of capitalism or of communism.

POLICY OF ABSTENTION

I moved no resolution at the Madras Congress, much less the Korea resolution. For a variety of reasons, I was not even present at the Madras Conference. I do not know why the *New Times* should go on repeating this lie. I believe that the Socialist Party made an error of interpretation at the Madras

Congress. It should not have supported in any manner whatever the U.N. action in Korea. The war in Korea being directly a war between the Atlantic and the Soviet Camps, a correct application of the Third Camp policy would mean an abstentionist attitude. I agree, however, that this was a fleeting error of the movement. Since the Madras Congress, I have made it repeatedly clear that the policy of the Third Camp necessarily means an attitude of abstention to the Korean war. I should imagine that the Socialist Party adheres to this view.

Some people seem to imagine that such a policy of abstention results in passivity. The Communists seem to think that it would enable the imperialists to gobble up country after country. Precisely so do the Atlantics believe when they assert that it would enable the Communists to gobble up country after country. Neither fear is true. The Third Camp would not abstain in all conflicts. On the contrary, its aim would be to draw larger regions into its own and away from the reaches of the two warring camps. It would certainly fight when attacked by either the Atlantic or the Soviet Camp. But the inevitable corollary would be that the Third Camp should keep away from all such conflicts where it is in no position to engender the forces of world progress and peace.

CONSTITUENTS OF THIRD CAMP

I am often asked as to who are the constituents of the Third Camp, and the *New Times* is cheaply sarcastic. To start with, let me tell the Russian Communists as a topical item that Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal and Burma are natural constituents of the Third Camp, and that Tibet's invasion by China has been a most reprehensible act.

It augured well for humanity that the people of Nepal rose in rebellion against the Khatmandu usurpers and thereby demonstrated the spontaneous might of the Third Camp, of Socialist and freedom-loving Asia's determination to defeat both the *status quo* and Communist Asias. How badly informed the Russian Communists are is evident when they ascribe this people's rebellion in Nepal to the machinations of the U.S. State Department. The Socialists of Nepal and India have been striving to help the people of Nepal since the beginning of 1947.

SWEDEN AND YUGOSLAVIA

The *New Times* has made fun of Sweden and Yugoslavia as constituents of the Third Camp. I would like deliberately to give it another opening. I do not see why Peron's Argentina should not be permitted, at one stage or another, to

join the Third Camp, should the Government of Argentina be willing to detach itself from the Atlantic Bloc. I believe that the supreme test of the desirability or otherwise of a political force is whether it is a part, or not of one or other of the two warring camps. If it is not a part, its possibility of doing service to its own people and the world is larger. Even if a whole people and a country may not adhere to the Third Camp, sections of it may become part of the world wide Third Camp.

I believe that even among the Russian and the Chinese peoples, not to talk of the Americans and the British, there are possibilities of a Third Camp which may mature in time.

OUR ASSESSMENT OF RIVAL CAMPS

The Russian Communists will do well to disabuse their minds about our assessment of them. It is a matter of principle with us not to prefer the Atlantic Camp to them or *vice versa*. To distinguish is not to prefer. We naturally distinguish between the Atlantic and the Soviet Camps with regard to this or the other issue but, in their totality, we do not prefer the one or the other. Individual utterances may at time show a difference in emphasis, but I have been anxious in the past two years and more not to say anything which would militate against this principle. When the American-controlled Radio of Berlin insisted that I should make a distinction between the Americans and the Russia and asked me if I would be allowed to talk as freely in Russia as I was allowed to do in West Europe and told me that the Russians talked with their cannons, I had but one very brief and simple answer to make : 'Do not the others talk also with their cannons?'

Even in the Foreign Policy Report submitted to the Madras Congress I have striven to show that either Camp is identically inimical to the growth of the human spirit and the universal satisfaction of minimum needs. If British and European Socialists have come in for such praise as they deserve, they have also had to suffer criticism.

I should have liked to act identically towards the Russians. That is why I wanted to go to Russia. I am sure I would have liked many traits of the Russian people just as I had occasion to admire many traits in the Americans and West Europeans. I would then have been in a position to note in a more intimate way the faults and achievements of the Russians. As it is, my comparison of the Russian sector with the Western sectors in Berlin is as good an example of impartial assessment as any. It is the fault of the Russians themselves if they do not permit people like me to make an assessment of them in the manner that I

assessed the West Europeans. I must confess that in my desire to go to Soviet Russia I missed going to Yugoslavia, a folly I will not repeat again.

OUR TASK

Some day the world will have to start on a clean slate. I do not know how many wars mankind may yet have to wage, but I know this for a fact that the last war shall only be that at the end of which man shall refuse to recognise the distinction between victor and vanquished. Among the great tragedies of recent times was the failure of Gandhi's India to abolish this distinction. Free India came into the UNO and became guilty. It acted like the jackal to the British and Russian lions in extracting reparations from Germany and Japan. While Gandhi's India rebelled against tyranny and inequality, Free India became an upholder of the *status quo* the distinction between the victor and vanquished. Once again, we are on the threshold of a similar calamity.

If the Socialist Party of India and the Third Camp have their way, no matter who wins or loses the next war, the world shall start on a clean slate and there shall be no distinction between victor and vanquished.

The policy of the Third Camp is a very difficult one to follow. It will become increasingly difficult as bitterness and hatred grow. Should the India Government choose one or the other camp the work of India's Socialists will become tremendously difficult, for they will have to restore sanity. I can only tell the Atlantic as well as the Soviet Camp that we of the Third Camp shall do neither of them any positive service.

They may rest assured, however, that we shall never allow ourselves to be used against either of them, provided they do not attack us.

It may be difficult for the Atlantics as well as the Soviets to believe in our capacity to stick to our own policy and to carry it out. They probably fear that in the last instance we will be swayed over to the camp of their enemy. That is why the Soviets probably like to re-ensure themselves by the Communist Parties in India and elsewhere, same as the Atlantic re-ensure themselves by a different set of intrigues and machinations. It is probably too much to expect of the Atlantic and the Soviet Camps to give up their efforts at re-ensurance or to believe in our capacity to be neutral in all disputes to which the Third Camp is not itself a party. In any event, the Third Camp will at some stage have to nurture the Third Force also among the

Chinese and the Soviet peoples, however remote it may appear to be today.

It is undoubtedly easier for the Communists to nurture their force all the world over, while the Third Camp has to operate under conditions of illegality in Communist and Fascist lands.

KINDRED DOCTRINES

The *New Times* could have acquainted itself with the Third Camp better if it had chosen to consider the formula in my report: Socialism minus democracy, plus centralisation plus civil war, plus Russia is equal to Communism. I believe that capitalism and communism are kindred doctrines, for they are both doctrines of centralisation, civil war and leadership of one country over the entire world. My comrades and I have striven for the last four years and more against these two doctrines and for the principles of Socialism and the Third Camp. And whose practical activities have been discreditable shall be for history to judge.

In spite of the polemics of the *New Times*, I offer to the Soviet Camp, as I do the Atlantic Camp, the assurance that the Socialist Party shall never do either of them any positive service but guarantees them negative advantage that the territories of the Third Camp shall not be used against either.

I trust that the *New Times* will print this fully before commenting on it."

I had occasion to note that Continental Europe is more receptive to strangers and strange ideas than England. I am glad to note the Russians and the Americans share the European temper. I hope that the conversation will tend to be more truthful as it proceeds.

India
AND
Pakistan

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan is a bit of India torn away from her on 15th August, 1947 and constituted into a separate state. This would indicate clearly that India-Pakistan relations are as much a matter of internal as a matter of external policies within the two territories. Pakistan that was a part of India until three years ago would be a far more truthful and objective description than that suggested by the conjunction between India and Pakistan.

Three years is not a long time for a newly created state achieved out of an unpleasant partition to become enduring in history. Whether Pakistan will endure will ultimately rest on the solution of a question that has vexed the Indian people for 700 years and more.

Are the Hindus and Muslims of India two nations or do they constitute one nation? Seven hundred years of Indian history have been of two minds over this question and a continual settling and unsettling of answers has taken place. Brave efforts have been made to smelt the two faiths into the political communion of one nation and they have often come within an ace of success. But the irritant of difference in faith has been too strong for the melting pot to settle down and fanatical fires have as often posed the question over again. One outcome is nevertheless undisputed. The Muslim of India including Pakistan has greater affinity with the Hindu than with any other national including the Muslims of other lands. Likewise, the Hindu of India is related with the Muslim of his land more than with any other national.

Under British rule, the two processes of smelting Hindus and Muslims into one political community and of estranging them further apart were simultaneously at work. Hindus and

Muslims had almost become one nation. But the British made use of the old irritant in order to prolong their rule. Whether they partitioned the country as an inescapable consequence of their past acts or out of a conscious or unconscious desire to continue their game between the two states is indeed an interesting question.

To throw the entire blame on imperialist cunning would, however, be wrong. What could the British have done, had not the old irritant helped them to unsettle the melting pot once again.

It is easy enough to point to a number of mistakes made by the national movement in the last 50 years. These were all tactical mistakes related to communal or weighted representation and provincial autonomy and residuary powers and the like. Behind them all lay the strategic weakness of the national movement, its inability and unwillingness to run risks and to master the processes of history.

At the time that India was partitioned, Hindus and Muslims were at the same time one nation and two nations. They were in a fluid state of communion as well as estrangement. Partition suddenly separated them into two states, but the corresponding task of national separation is not so simple nor easy. Divisions of states may be effected with a suddenness but the division of a people is troublesome and tardy. The people of India have separated into two states but, as a nation, they are in a fluid state, neither one nor two, perhaps more one than two.

The question of 700 years has now crystallized in the form: shall there be two nations in the image of the two existing states or shall there be one nation and therefore one state?

In order to endure, Pakistan must continue the process to which it owes its origin. It must drive Hindus and Muslims further and further apart so that they become two nations irrevocably. That is an inescapable necessity of the Pakistan state. The temporary rulers of Pakistan may or may not be conscious agents of this necessity, and the Indian people may only hope that they will realize the horror that it entails and therefore reverse the process.

To achieve the common nationhood and secular democracy of Hindus and Muslims is equally a necessity of the Indian Republic. The temporary rulers of the Republic may or may not be conscious agents of this necessity and, in spite of the inclination of some of them to imitate Pakistan, they cannot

act otherwise unless an unforeseeable accident overwhelms their sanity.

The problem that partition set out to solve stays unresolved and the answer to the question of India's destiny is yet unsettled. Partition was accepted in the hope that it would achieve peace between Hindus and Muslims but after it was brought into being an era of bloodshed and uprooting has followed. A large scale war would probably not have claimed more than 600,000 dead and 20 millions uprooted. It is idle to guess what would have happened if the people and the Indian National Congress, which was then their instrument, had continued fighting foreign rule without accepting partition. But one thing is certain: Pakistan has not solved the problem that gave it its birth.

Indian civilization is once again confronted with this question: two states and therefore two nations or one nation and therefore one state. Whatever tragedy and horror may yet pile on the Indian people, awareness of this question will hinder ugliness and advance civilization. Bearing this background in mind, a study of the issues in dispute between India and Pakistan may now be attempted.

The issues that have in the past caused disputes between India and Pakistan and may continue to do so can be grouped under four heads, those relating to minorities, territory, trade and foreign policies.

As the minority in one state is the majority in the other, the problem of minorities acquires a far wider significance than is elsewhere the case. It is not only a human problem but more so a political problem involving the integrity of both states.

Around 8 million Hindus still live in Pakistan and 35 million Muslims in India. If the security of either is violated, it produces conditions in which the security of the other is also in danger. Not only the cycle of barbaric acts is thus set in motion but the state itself is threatened with extinction either due to unsuppressed mob frenzy or because of the excessive use of repression.

If the faith of a population or its sections were to denote the character of the State, India is as much a Muslim state as Pakistan is. Likewise, Pakistan is also a Hindu state.

The continuance of large masses belonging to the Hindu as well as Muslim faiths in both states makes it impossible for Indo-Pakistan relations to function purely on the foreign policy level. To say that what happens in Pakistan is Pakistan's own concern and India has no business to interfere with her internal

affairs and *vice versa* is to talk as if this two-way link-up of whole masses of men did not exist. Gruesome deeds anywhere cause an aversion of feeling in other parts of the world, or at least they should. But, in the relationship between India and Pakistan, the effect does not stop at an emotional reaction but leads to another chain of gruesome deeds. Suppression of a minority is always an attack on human civilisation but, with regard to Indo-Pakistan relationships, it is also an act of aggression by the offending state. It is, therefore, an act of war and a threat to the peace of the world. It is very much Pakistan's business that India should treat her minority well same as it is very much India's business that Pakistan should also treat her minority similarly.

Should the Muslim minority in India be suppressed and slaughtered, Pakistan will have every right to counter this act of aggression from India and to invade her. Similar right belongs to India should the Hindu minority in Pakistan be suppressed and slaughtered. To suggest that this is fanatical behaviour and that one might as well seek militarily to restore civilisation wherever it suffers setback, whether in Europe or Africa, is senseless. Any state worth its name must secure equal citizenship for all its citizens and must put down ruthlessly efforts by one section of the population to disrobe another. In the event that such disrobing takes place either in India or Pakistan, the other state is compelled to make a choice between two courses of action, similar disrobing in its own territory or counter-attack upon the offending state.

The Minorities' Agreement between India and Pakistan concluded after a series of barbaric acts begun in Pakistan which later led to somewhat similar acts in India, is based on an implicit recognition of this principle. Violation of this agreement means war, and as just a war as any can be. It is true that a distinction will have to be made, as was done by government benches in the Indian Parliament, between isolated incidents of barbaric character and a mass outbreak of barbarism, which alone can justify a counter attack and marching of troops.

Slaughter, loot and arson are not the only forms of attack upon a minority. A continuing sense of insecurity or an economic and social boycott also imperils its existence. That such a situation obtains is evident from the heavy exodus still going on. Nearly 20 million people have been uprooted in both states. Such numbers of refugees have rarely disfigured human civilization. Nearly 15 million were uprooted following upon the first series of expulsions immediately after partition, the numbers of Sikhs and Hindus on the one hand and Muslims on the other being

nearly equal. The account is nearly even also with regard to the slaughtered 6 lacs. In the second series of expulsions, however, which are still continuing, 4 million Hindus have already been uprooted against one million Muslims. What part actual conditions and their unbearable character or a sense of fright at what is to come have separately played in these expulsions is difficult to say. To put them down to the cowardice of those who flee is a bad joke about the eclipse of civilisation that the Indian people in India as well as in Pakistan have suffered.

Although these expulsions do not yet amount to a violation of the Minorities' Agreement and therefore to an act of war, they certainly signify its partial failure. No amount of false hallelujahs sung in praise of the Agreement can obscure the glaring fact that, at the present rate of exodus, there shall be no minority left in Pakistan. One would have thought that the existing transport system stretched to its maximum capacity would not be able to remove over 12 million Hindus from East Pakistan within less than 10 years or so. 4 millions have come away in eight months of the current year. Group passions obviously make mince-meat of statistical expectations.

Whether Pakistan consciously desires the total expulsion of the Hindu minority and the achieving of a homogeneous people belonging to one faith, the Muslim faith, is anybody's guess. The drive of the Pakistan state, however, even in spite of the conscious intentions of its rulers, would tend to be in the direction of a homogeneous faith. A number of people in Pakistan are also reportedly happy at what is happening. They believe that they are damaging the economic and social life of India or at any rate, of Eastern India, which can only be a source of joy to the fanatic opponents.

Exchange of population has rightly been ruled out on the Indian side, although some people continue to advocate it as a solution. A deliberate acceptance of exchange must inevitably add to the process which is tearing India and Pakistan apart into two nations. No matter if Pakistan desires to convert itself into a homogeneous religion, the continuance of Muslims and Hindus in India and their growing equality of citizenship will effectively block the division of the Indian people into two nations. The choice for India, therefore, is between a willing acceptance of refugees from Pakistan and pressure on Pakistan to mend her ways and, not at all the present course of namby-pamby conduct; perhaps the two choices are not so much alternatives as complementaries.

A calamity of such vast dimensions as has already driven away 20 million persons from their homes and into far corners

of the country was bound to produce an effect on the morale of the entire people. It might well have steeled them into a harder and cleaner life. Instances are not wanting where the refugees themselves have put up an example of endurance and economic improvising which the rest of the people might follow to their advantage. The sudden stab always excites more interest than the long pain, but whenever the full story is told, these uprooted men and women will have been found to have woven elfin stories of common life. On the whole, however, the nation has declined further in its stature which was none too high. Callousness has deepened and men have tried to make money out of people's misery. Both in its direct effect on Hindu-Muslim relationship and in its indirect effect on the morale of the people, the tackling of the refugee problem on a plane cleaner than hitherto would also contribute towards the resolving of the Indo-Pakistan problem.

No matter what happens, the Indian people must determine not to treat the minority in India or allow the minority in Pakistan to be treated as pawns and slaughter material in a game of politics played on other fields.

The only outstanding territorial dispute between India and Pakistan concerns Kashmir and no other is even theoretically in sight. On the basis of international law as understood and applied in the U.N., Kashmir is part of India and Pakistan has waged war as an unashamed aggressor. That commensurate action has not been taken against Pakistan by the U.N., is due to complications of foreign policy to be considered later.

Pakistan is determined to acquire Kashmir anyhow, for otherwise its effort to divide the Indian people irrevocably into two nations suffers serious setback. On its frontiers would stride an area the majority of whose population practice the Muslim faith but which would be a part of the Indian state and committed to smelt the entire Indian people into one nation. Pakistan has already used war and all its works to achieve this Kashmir objective. India too cannot let Kashmir go, for that would be a defeat of her effort to build up a collective existence in which the religious denomination of the individual does not matter. Kashmir is a symbol of the conflict between two ways of life, one that leads to separation and conflict and poverty and the other aimed to achieve integration and prosperity.

The outside world does not realize the full implications of the Kashmir issue. For it, India has placed herself in the wrong by seeming to create difficulties in the way of holding a plebiscite and ascertaining the will of the inhabitants of Kashmir. The mis-handling of the Kashmir situation by India's representatives

in the U.N. and their starched approach to the smaller states of the world have in no small measure contributed to this misunderstanding. India does not know how to stick to any one line of thinking. Good luck saved India from the harm that her representatives would have done her by their successive changes of front with regard to Hyderabad. Subtlety and elasticity are always commendable in diplomacy but the fact of Pakistan's aggression on the small but gallant people of Kashmir should not have been dropped out of any picture. And around it should have reared up the great drama now being enacted between India and Pakistan, integration versus disintegration.

India is pledged to a plebiscite in Kashmir and must fulfil that pledge. It is a democratic pledge. But democratic conditions must be created before the pledge can be carried out. Invading troops must be cleared out of Kashmir. U.N. may send observers but the authority that shall hold the plebiscite must be the lawfully constituted Government of Kashmir. I know that these democratic conditions will not be acceptable to Pakistan unless the U.N. dictates, but India should also make it clear that no other conditions will be acceptable to her. Too long has the India Government slid from one concession to another and that process must be halted.

The hesitancy of India in regard to the secular outlook has also weakened her in Kashmir. The maharaja of Kashmir should have gone much earlier than he did. A Minister of State in the Indian Cabinet should have been made resident in Kashmir. Land reforms should not have been delayed. These are not after-thoughts, for I had submitted a report on these lines over two years ago after visiting Kashmir on the outbreak of the war. The India Government has been hesitant and has taken no bold action, with the result that it has half lost the ideological battle in Kashmir. Pakistan and Moscow are now entrenched in Kashmir, and with Pakistan stands the Atlantic Camp as well. Perhaps it is never too late.

While Kashmir is an obvious territorial issue between India and Pakistan, various parts of Pakistan and relationships among them may perhaps become the indirect cause of future disputes. That does not apply to India for there are no parts not naturally belonging to her or wanting to get away from her. Pakistan on the other hand is a highly artificial construction, two major parts of which are separated by over a thousand miles of Indian territory. West and East Pakistan cannot stay in their present relationship. East Pakistan must either become the colony of West Pakistan or continually loosen its present relationship in favour of that with the neighbouring areas of India. West

Pakistan does not possess the armed resources to reduce East Pakistan to a state of subjection. The ideological hold is, of course, there but it is difficult to say how long it will last. The likelier outcome therefore is towards independence rather than colonization of East Pakistan.

Historical destiny is inescapable. Although India may do nothing to help achieve this destiny, Pakistan will be suspicious and will throw the blame on her for something which develops naturally. Already issues of trade and language and the bureaucratic caste have caused friction between East and West Pakistan and more are to come. Instead of working out this friction rationally, Pakistan has sought the dangerous expedient of obscuring it and transferring it irrationally into Hindu-Muslim and Indo-Pakistan relationships.

While this unnatural union between West and East Pakistan contains dangerous possibilities, the inclusion of the Pushto area in Pakistan is no less explosive. Nearly eight million Pushto speaking people live in the Frontier Province and the tribal area and their demand for Pakhtunistan is only a logical continuation and a bitter fulfilment of Pakistan. The tallest among living Indians in many ways, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, lives in a Pakistan prison and his adherents are also imprisoned. The Pathans have also suffered gruesome massacres like the ones at Charsadda on 12th August 1948 and later at Swabi. They have a tenacious friend in Afghanistan. Things look black for Pakistan in this area, however much it may count on its well-equipped armies to rain bombs and bullets on the tribal Pathans in order to hold them in subjection as it again did on 19th August, 1950 on the Ahmadzai areas, Pugin and Damanzai, Musababa and Miranshah.

The territorial mal-adjustment inside Pakistan is so heavy that it may at any time start falling like nine pins but, before that happens, it may seek to avoid its historical destiny by making India the scapegoat and waging a policy of riots and war. Already the Indian people have been guilty of the infamous perfidy of betraying the Frontier and its Khuda-i-Khidmatgars. The India Government may yet stay neutral in the face of their agony or that of East Pakistan. The Indian people, however, must not. Any democratic aspiration of the people in East Pakistan or in the Pushto speaking area will awaken responsive echoes in the rest of the Indian people and nothing should be done to stifle them. The Indian people must not suppress their yearning for a complete integration of their own whole and also with Afghanistan if it were willing. The only wise course for Pakistan would be to reverse its course from separatism to integration but such wisdom is rarely known in human affairs.

Another issue of friction revolves around problems of trade and currency between these two territories whom geography and economic resources have designed as parts of one another. An attempt on the part of the two governments to regulate the exchange value of their currencies not on economic but on extraneous grounds is bound to cause dislocation in trade and decrease the earnings of people on both sides of the frontier. Everybody knows that the suppression of the minority and the eclipse of civilization which started with East Pakistan in the beginning of the year was itself preceded by a sharp and continuous drop in the earnings of East Pakistan's jute growers. Whether there is any connection between these two happenings and whether other factors were not equally important in the occasioning of East Bengal's riots can be fully answered only by the administrators on the spot. That trade and currency between the two territories should be so regulated as not to violate geography and economic compulsions is undeniable. But Pakistan's effort to create a nation wholly distinct and separate from the Indian militates against this desirable policy.

Trade between the two territories has another aspect. It can best be illustrated by what was happening in the tribal areas until recently. Russian sugar was sold there at As. 5 to As. 6 a seer while Pakistani sugar cost a rupee. This naturally awakened the curiosity of the Pushto people and disposed them towards receiving information about the Soviet system that made living so cheap and easy. Perhaps the greatest lack in the relationship of the peoples on both sides of the frontier has been the utter stagnation of their economic systems and the fact that man has not improved his lot in either territory. If India had kept her pledge of social justice and economic well being, she would have awakened echoes of sympathy or at least an interested curiosity in the Pakistani people. India has not made use of her best argument with Pakistan which is also conducive to economic and armed strength. Even if Pakistan had sought to stifle trade with an India marching towards prosperity and justice, Lahore is not so far away from Amritsar nor Dacca from Calcutta and news would have travelled. The more of well being there is in India, the greater will be the resentment of the people in Pakistan at their own economic stagnation and, possibly, regret at the futile division of the country.

When socialism is proclaimed as a cementing force between the two territories and an instrument for their re-integration, it is with two possibilities in mind. Should socialist governments come into being in both territories, they will have no communal loads to carry and may be expected to start on the process of

re-integration. The setting up of a socialist government in India irrespective of what happens in Pakistan is another possibility. This incident would be a mighty irritant to the internal affairs of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan would either see the wisdom of increasingly friendly integration with India or the people of Pakistan would be resentful and even rebellious. That landlordism and capitalism should go and that land should be redivided or industries socially owned is a necessity not only for the well being of the people but also for strengthening India and its processes of integration against Pakistan and its processes of separatism.

Indo-Pakistan relations are a part of the wider complex of international relations and therefore problems of foreign policy vitally affect the former. Any divergence in the foreign policies of the two territories is bound to be exploited by the Atlantic or Soviet camp in its own interest. Likewise, both India and Pakistan are tempted to exploit the Atlantic or Soviet camp against each other. It is these weaknesses and temptations of foreign policy arising out of the partition of the country that have reduced and even nullified free India's capacity to intervene for the world's peace and progress.

A vivid illustration is afforded by the Kashmir incident. It is hard to believe that the great powers of the world retain, if they ever had it, their ability to judge a dispute solely on the merits of the case. They have also in mind the alliances of the disputants and which one is on their side. They can also rationally justify this wicked attitude on the very highest principles of world law. Their side, they firmly believe, is the one to bring peace and law to the world and therefore whoever is on the other side is the morally superior party to the dispute.

Pakistan is on the Atlantic side very much more so than is India. Atlantic personnel of all description is welcome in Pakistan and they hold good positions or have influence with Pakistan's key-men. Pakistan has also been inclined to tow the Atlantic line and made no reservations about it. Pakistan's alliance with the Atlantic camp in the event of a war with the Soviet is in no doubt, her air and sea bases are readily available and she is a nearer neighbour of the Soviets than is India. Whether the Atlantic camp is reasoning well from the long range point of view is quite another question. Clouded in its vision by its immediate needs, it is probably acting against its own interest but of this there is no doubt that it is surer of Pakistan than of India as an ally against the Soviet camp.

Kashmir or the Pathan demand or even the entire basis of Pakistan is judged not on merits but in the background of Pakis-

tan as an ally against the Soviet camp. The U. N. was pretty fast in judging the Korean aggression but has tarried to this day on the issue of Pakistan's aggression against Kashmir. Nor is it ever likely to understand the evils of insanity and slaughter that arise out of the separatism which is Pakistan's basis.

The soviet camp possesses no such direct influence over India or Pakistan as does the Atlantic camp. But it has its adherents in both territories and the quality of its conscience is at par with that of the Atlantic camp. Before going into the reasons why that has been so, two remarkable attitudes of the Soviet camp with regard to recent Indian developments may be noted. For a whole two years, India's Communists did their utmost to sabotage and kill while Pakistan's communists lay low. India's Communists have always supported separatist demands from the initial demand of Pakistan to the subsequent ones of Gurkhistan, Jharkhand and Sikhistan.

The reasons for such attitudes are obscure and may be manifold. It may be that Pakistan does not provide the same legal frame-work for communist activities as does India and that communist violence would be met by the combined fury of the government and the people in Pakistan. It may also be that the Soviet camp considers Pakistan an appendage and believes that with the fall of India to Communism Pakistan would follow suit. Perhaps the entire policy of the Soviet camp to Islam is another reason, for it has always been rather slow going in the Islamic states, with what reasons and motives it is difficult to say. More specifically with regard to Kashmir, the Soviet camp as known everybody has put forward the idea of an independent Kashmir. Furthermore it is now securely entrenched in Kashmir within the government and among the people.

It is too much to expect that the Atlantic and the Soviet camps will desist from exploiting differences between India and Pakistan for their own aims. Not unless the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. realise the short-sightedness of a policy that seeks to capture the alliance of a corrupt people, would they be willing to help India and Pakistan achieve an honourable integration or at least not to aggravate the conflict. The desirability of India and Pakistan coming together on their own on issues of foreign policy is therefore greater. Apart from aggravating internal conflicts, divergent foreign policies may ultimately see India and Pakistan on opposite sides in a war or one may be neutral and the other a participant. India and Pakistan should be on the same side whether as participants or as neutrals. Such a summation is possible only if either state follows a policy of creative independence from the two blocs, the policy of the third camp and of abstention in warlike disputes of the two camps.

This overall situation in respect of minorities and disputes regarding territory, trade and foreign affairs is forbidding enough but there is always a possibility of a rational solution being achieved. Whether or not India and Pakistan may ultimately wage war on each other, the basic question to answer is whether Pakistan will be able to complete the process of dividing the Indian people into two nations and to form a Pakistani nation in the image of the Pakistani state. The answer seems to be plain. Whatever further tragedies the Indian people may yet have to pass through as a result of the Pakistani effort, its failure seems to be certain precisely owing to the various factors already noted.

No people can be suddenly divided into two nations if they have had for long centuries a common history and a common language, although the communion may be incomplete, and ties of geography, economy and foreign affairs can be sundered only at grave peril. Whenever such a situation has occurred as between Austria and Germany or in the separate continued existence of Switzerland, it is due to factors which are totally absent in the case of Pakistan. Austria could remain separate from Germany only as long as she had a large colonial empire in Eastern Europe. Pakistan cannot even dream of annexing Afghanistan or Iran as its colonial empire; hostility at least in one case is evident. Nor is Pakistan a brave little Switzerland whose neutrality respected by the world may become a strong enough base for a sense of nationality. As these possibilities of leaning towards other neighbours and of Swiss type neutrality are absent, Pakistan does not have the necessary international background in which to form an exclusive and distinct nation.

The world wide Muslim sentiment may aid Pakistan in some ways but it is totally valueless in her effort to form a nation. The tomb of Zanglul Pasha bears such symbols of the infidel as the snake and although Egypt is a Muslim state she has a long memory which is essentially Egyptian. That applies equally to countries like Iran and Indonesia. In her search to form a nation, Pakistan will inevitably have to draw from sources of history which are common with India. Already, over six hundred years ago, Ghiasuddin's tomb bore Hindu symbols, the pitcher on its pinnacle and the lotus on its walls. If Pakistan were to aspire for the impossibility of creating a Muslim nation which spreads from Egypt to Indonesia, not only would her effort be foredoomed to failure but it could also not be started effectively in view of her contradictory desire to form a Pakistani nation.

This is not to say that troublous times are not ahead. The gap between India and Pakistan in respect of names and language

is widening. Efforts are being made to deck out the Pakistani woman in garrara instead of the saree, an unhappy development in view of the fact that the unveiled Hindu and Muslim woman more than the man have been indistinguishable from each other. At the same time, it is worthwhile to recall that grammar is the hard core of a language and, no matter how much Hindi and Urdu may temporarily depart from each other, their community can never disappear. Furthermore, the desire to be modern is as strong in Pakistan as it is in India and dangerously external symbols such as the beard and the top tuft which have so long distinguished the Muslim from the Hindu are fated to disappear.

Certain groups of Hindus are also pursuing their separatist inclinations. In a burst of uncultured revivalism, they want to miss the substance for such empty satisfactions as naming their country Bharat. They are also inclined to give up words, most of whom are derived from Sanskrit, which have been rounded off by the wisdom of centuries into simple and sonorous symbols of meaning for the doubtful originals. The source for such insanity is not far to seek. Islam came to India as a conqueror and such Hindus have not yet grown virile enough to conquer the memory of that period. They are anti-muslim in their outlook, but they forget that whoever is anti-muslim must necessarily be pro-Pakistan and anyone who wishes the end of the Pakistani idea must necessarily be pro-muslim. These people might well be astounded when they are told what they really are. They probably imagine that a powerful Hindu Raj, which treats Muslims as second grade citizens and worse, will one day conquer and subjugate Pakistan and they may therefore resent being called friends of Pakistan. That day indeed may never occur, not at least on the basis of conquest and subjugation. Meanwhile, they give succour and support to Pakistan with their separatist action and are therefore her friends.

An argument derived from recentmost experience has subconscious hold over the Hindu mind. In a secular and perhaps federated India, some Hindus fear that Muslims will have weighted representation and privileged consideration. That is an irrational fear, a hangover in memory from the period, when Britain played the Muslim against the Hindu. Not appeasement of any group, but equality among all citizens in law as well as in social and economic practice is the goal of secular democracy. Whatever some people may think, the Government of India and its Prime Minister and his Deputy are no appeasers; they are sentimentalists. That the Deputy Prime Minister may at times give a disastrous slant to his sentiments in the internal sphere is of no special consequence in view of the fact that he is more or less a carbon copy of his chief in all major matters of Indo-

Pakistan relationship and it is therefore the sentiments of the Prime Minister which merit some study.

The utterances of the Prime Minister following upon the Indo-Pakistan minorities' agreement throw an interesting light on his mind. At that time his popularity was high, as anybody's would be who had somehow been associated with the averting of a crisis, and he made full use of it by fulminating against those whom he styled as war mongers. He also included among war mongers those who had described suppression of minorities as an act of war, and who had advocated that in the event of another barbaric outbreak this act of aggression should be countered by a defensive war. For a whole two weeks he continued his rhetoric relentlessly. Then suddenly while on his way to Indonesia he made a speech that he had given marching orders to his troops, that they stood poised to strike on the Indo-Pakistani frontier and that a last minute settlement averted the catastrophe of war. No statesman could ever have made such a speech. What is worse, no man anxious to be truthful could have spoken like that. On his own admission, the Prime Minister was a worse war monger than those whom he had decried, for they had only wanted a counter attack in the event of a repetition of barbarism, while he had decided to counter attack as a result of something that had already happened. Finally, he told the Indian Parliament that while the minorities crisis was in full swing he had thought of resigning and of going to East Bengal as a man of peace and in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi. Whether these utterances drive from a conscience intent to lie or they are the consequence of a mind without a well thought out purpose is indeed a subject for psychiatric enquiry. But one thing is certain that the Prime Minister is a sentimentalist and, apart from the swaying sentiment of the hour, the weightiest consideration with him is not so much the long range solution of a problem as the need to retain the confidence and esteem of his people. In the three years since the attainment of freedom, the Prime Minister has acted like a superb politician but his statesmanship has been of little worth. These utterances are on a level with another frivolous observation he made equating the Pakistani base of the Islamic state with the illustrative phrase of 'Ram Raj'. One cannot also sufficiently condemn his riot making speech made in the midst of a severe crisis of mass emotion in which he spoke of gold bangles that he saw on the wrists of women who had been hounded out of Pakistan, a speech which contributed in no small measure to the outbreak of barbarism in India.

Ever since the partition, the India Government has adopted a sentimental approach to Pakistan. It was effusive in spon-

soring and welcoming Pakistan's admission into the United Nations. If it could not have voted like Afghanistan, it should at least have maintained a dignified silence. These warm effusions are attenuated with strongly abusive epithets against Pakistan on other occasions especially when an emotional crisis overwhelms the Prime Minister and his Deputy over Kashmir or Hyderabad and the like. The Government of India and its spokesmen are obviously no appeasers; they are sentimentalists living from hand to mouth without purpose or policy. Unless the people bestir themselves or a miracle intervenes, I see it plain enough that this Prime Minister whom insane Hindus look upon as an appeaser will without preparation lead his people against a possible aggression of Pakistan and ride the war horse. The people will do well to force their Prime Minister to become a statesman or else to drive him and his deputy out of office. I may be pardoned for having written at such length about an individual, whose worth to history is yet little, but my excuse is his deadening grip over the mind of his people and the distress to which he has brought them due to lack of purpose and policy.

The people and the government of India must adopt a realistic policy towards Pakistan, a policy that will indeed satisfy the need of the hour but will never lose sight of the great question that history is asking. If it is at all possible to answer this question by the method of negotiations and peace, no effort should be left undone. Even in the midst of the severest crisis, India should never abandon the method of negotiation. She may even strive to answer the historical question by a move seemingly contradictory to the purpose of creating one nation and therefore one state. India may give Pakistan the guarantee that it sought to obtain in the United States. She should go on record for her readiness at any time to guarantee the frontiers of Pakistan should Pakistan be in turn willing to enter into a bilateral guarantee of common policies on minorities, trade and foreign affairs. Violation of one guarantee would automatically involve the violation of the other. If Pakistan is only anxious to lead a separate but civilized existence, it should have no difficulty in entering into such a contract with India.

In a crisis of relation between two states, one yearns for a supreme world authority that will be guided alone by justice and world conscience. If there were a world Parliament elected on the basis of adult suffrage and a world government constituted out of it, no one should object taking disputes between India and Pakistan to it and submitting to its verdict whatever that might be. That such an authority may come into being will depend on how soon the world is able to throw up leaders who are inter-

nationally responsible and when it is willing to accept dictates of world law over-riding national or separatist interest. The Indian people will do well to put this proposal before the people of Pakistan and of other lands, no matter when it may finally mature.

The people of India must in any event remember that their supreme weapon against the two-nation objective of Pakistan is the treatment that they mete to the minorities within the Indian Republic. Only when Hindu is willing to fight Hindu, through the Government as well as people's action, in order to protect the Muslim and raise him to equal citizenship not alone in law but also in social practice, will it be possible for India to answer the question that has plagued her for 700 years and that brought Pakistan into being. Whether it is peace or war, this is an essential condition for the success of India. Whatever else might happen, the integration of Muslims and Hindus within the Indian Republic will make the effort of Pakistan to create two nations impossible. A socialist revolution within the Indian Republic moreover must inevitably hasten the re-union of the people. Finally, the people and the government of India must ever be ready to meet any eventuality.

In 1948, a few months after the partition I had ventured to foresee the end of Pakistan in any one or all of three possible ways within a period of 5 years; increasing federative unity through negotiation, socialist revolution in India and counter-attack in the event of Pakistan's aggression. This speech had irked Mr. Jinnah who was then the Governor-General of Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi was then alive, but there is no reason to change this opinion except that his death has slowed all processes of healing. The responsibility for whatever delay occurs lies squarely on Hindu fanaticism.

September, 1950.

India
AND
Pakistan

STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNALISM WITHIN AND ACROSS THE BORDER.

I have received some letters and telegrams about conditions in East Bengal. Until I read Maulana Azad's reassuring statement on Calcutta I hesitated to write. But obviously events must not be allowed to happen without plan or purpose. Lack of purpose is making Hindu-Muslim and Indo-Pakistan relationships unnecessarily gloomy.

I believe that it is sinful to touch the hair of a single Muslim in the Indian Republic because of happenings in Pakistan, a sin not only against man but also against the Indian people, including Hindus. However, to make this belief the common property of Hindus and to avoid all retaliatory actions on Muslims in the Indian Union, a just, consistent and firm policy towards Pakistan is necessary. Such a policy must entail the recognition that Pakistan is an artificial construct, born out of the selfish and short-sighted policy of British Imperialism even at its wisest moment and the lack of grit in the Indian national movement at that time.

An artificial construct can become a natural organisation only after it has waded through a long and bloody period of conflict and crisis. The simple issue accordingly is: Will India complete the process, already achieved of becoming one nation and therefore one state or will the continuance of two states be ensured through a further tearing apart of the Indian people into two nations? The India Government must overcome its sense of shame for complicity in the imperialist and communal game to weaken the Indian people by partitioning the country. It will then cease to be of two minds with regard to Pakistan, one mind purposelessly appeasing and the other equally purposelessly aggressive.

The policy towards Pakistan must be built out of the fresh premises of an honest federative approach on the one hand and a lively interest in the happenings across the unnatural frontier on the other. The Indian Government has done well to offer a no-war pact to Pakistan. It must go further. It must offer a foreign policy union and be ready to offer any other kind of federative or confederative solutions. At the same time the fullest winds of publicity must blow on happenings inside Pakistan. Killings, rape and arson taking place across the frontier must be made known to the world, in particular to the Arab countries, Iran, Afghanistan and Indonesia. The world does not even know that 40 million Muslims live in India as against 50 million Muslims in Pakistan. When the India Government cannot do this in full, other agencies must be allowed to do so and also to trace the poison of communal states and their imperialist midwifery. I cannot understand the suppression of my persistent efforts, over a year and half ago, to agitate against the massacre of over six hundred Khudai Khidmatgars by the new Frontier Government and against the imprisonment of the Khan brothers.

Everybody knows that the continuance of the Indian Union in the British Commonwealth is largely due to India's desire to awaken Britain's moral conscience in regard to Pakistan. That policy seems to have partly succeeded for what Britain cannot now do to encourage Pakistan is taken over by the United States! I have no intention to list the blunders made by India's delegation at U.N.O., starting from the initial sponsoring of Pakistan by India and ranging over the policy-changes in the Hyderabad debate. These blunders, presumably made at British insistence, have only stiffened the attitude of small nations in the U.N.O. against India. Let the Indian people understand that the large number of small nations at the U.N.O. instinctively tend to take the side of the smaller state in a dispute with a bigger state. India will do well to understand this psychology and stick to frank and honest policy without giving in to or making use of legal subtleties.

Additionally, India must make a positive appeal to the smaller nations, particularly for a policy of revolutionary peace, of complete freedom and political equality for all nations, of increasing approximation to economic equality among nations, of commanding a truce between the Power-blocs and more umpiring between the Power-blocs. In this connection, the India Government might make an approach to the U.N.O. for international brigades of peace consisting of teams from all nations including the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., to work jointly on projects of reconstruction all over the world.

The India Government's weakness towards Pakistan and in world affairs generally is also largely due to the total lack of an economic policy at home. A programme to end poverty pushed through with speed will awaken nostalgia in Pakistan for re-union with India and also earn the affectionate respect of the world. Refugees from Pakistan must be more rapidly absorbed into the social and economic life of the republic. The pursuit of such an over-all policy will enable the India Government to adopt a firm line with Pakistan and, in course of time, firm action, should that ever be unfortunately necessary. The knowledge that the India Government has decided to pursue a purposeful policy will give hope to the religious minority of Hindus and the political minorities of Muslims in Pakistan and will sustain them through gloom, however dark or long. Undoubtedly, it is the duty of the India Government as well as that of every Hindu to protect Muslims of the Indian Republic, no matter what the cost, and this duty is unconditional, no matter what else happens or does not. The discharge of this duty will, however, be facilitated by the adoption of a positive Pakistan policy.

If no other argument prevails with certain sections of Hindus, they must be speedily educated into the realisation that an opponent of Pakistan must necessarily be a friend of Muslims in the same way that an opponent of Muslims is inevitably a friend and agent of Pakistan. To oppose and persecute Muslims is to uphold the two-nation theory and, therefore, to ensure the continuance of Pakistan. Furthermore, the India Government must take the sternest and readiest police action against communal rioters. The Indian people will welcome such action, once they know that it is also part of a wider policy towards Pakistan.

India's policy towards Pakistan must be above parties. Efforts should therefore be made to get the political parties of the land to agree to a common policy and then to pursue it with consistency and vigour.
February, 1950.

A PEACE BASED ON FACTS

The scheduled meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan is likely to result in the easing of tension between the two states. But peace is something more than a mere lessening of tension. When peace will be ushered in will depend on how far India and Pakistan agree to work together, to begin with, in certain restricted spheres, with well-defined rights and responsibilities, as a result of the meeting. One of these spheres must

necessarily be that of protection of minorities. A well-meaning statement will not suffice.

There must be a treaty or concordat of bilateral guarantees to minorities, so that if a minority is oppressed in either territory both states acquire the right and duty to protect it. Such a concordat would be an ideal solution based on equality of sovereign rights between India and Pakistan. India must go on record as having proposed such an arrangement. Other agreements, resulting in monetary and customs unions, should be sought. Preliminary explorations for a common foreign policy, so that India and Pakistan strive together for a World Parliament and a World Government and seek to achieve combination of peoples and governments of the world in order to keep war out of it, would be welcome. Even in the midst of the darkest hour of crisis and pre-war conditions, statesmanship demands conciliatory and federative approaches between disputing States. They never come to nothing. Should a war prove unavoidable, such approaches help in constructing a healthier post-war peace.

Over four months ago, I had suggested to Mr. Ben Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, and the leaders of the Arab League that informal consultations between them might take place. Mr. Ben Gurion unhesitatingly accepted the idea and volunteered to travel to Rhodes Islands or anywhere else in order to meet the Egyptian leaders. My argument with the Egyptians as well as the Israelites was that such a meeting might perhaps achieve peace and that even if a war became unavoidable it will have acted as the beginning and a base for a post-war conciliation. I hope that such a meeting will now be possible between the leaders of the Arab League on the one hand and the leaders of Israel on the other.

A peace-maker, however, is not "that man with the umbrella." I am no minister and therefore under no obligation of silence. The interests of a nation and the cause of peace are served not by men of the Opposition adopting an unmeaning silence but by speaking out freely and frankly on the evil forces of war.

Two great conflicts of Indian history are drawing to a close. The five-thousand-year-old conflict between Hindu liberalism and Hindu fanaticism, which seems to have begun with the pouring of molten lead in the ears of such Hindus as were not authorised to hear the Vedas and whose last pitilessly evil act was the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, has neared its end. Likewise, the one-thousand-year-old conflict between the unitive single-nation theory and the disintegrating two-or-more-nations theory has entered its final phase. The two conflicts have interpenetrated each other. Everybody knows that the serpent goes into hiber-

nation. Evil forces lay off for a while and then they re-appear, I do not want the Indian people ever again to be unprepared for the outbreak of evil. In order to overcome events of the future and mould them to the advantage of civilisation, the mind must move faster than they. This is no time for doubts and hesitation. A great movement of the mind must sweep over India so that all barriers are annihilated, the Hindu and the Muslim, the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin are smelted together into one community, and an emotional identification of everyone with everyone else takes place. I think such a movement of the mind is immediately possible, provided it becomes part of the needs of the Indian state and a security of its continuance.

An inevitable counterpart of such a belief would be the liveliest of concern by the people and the Government of India in the happenings of Pakistan. The recurrence of barbarism in Pakistan would then not be an internal matter but an act of aggression. The halting of such an aggression would then be the automatic duty of the Indian state.

April, 1950.

Arab World
AND
Iran

ARAB WORLD AND IRAN

The Arab peoples, in their West-Asian as also their North-African areas, are a natural constituent of the Third Camp. But the natural situation is thickly overlaid with artificial crusts. To remove them is therefore a main task of Arab Statesmanship.

A number of these areas are not yet completely free. Even those which are comparatively free are subject to some kind of foreign hold. Dynastic ambitions and rivalries interplay with these various imperialistic influences to prevent the Arab peoples from enacting their natural destiny. They are poor in economy and poorer yet in that basic emotional and ideological motivation which propels a people to great deeds. Not even the conflict between the monarch and the people, as to who is the ultimate repository of power, has been fully resolved. In this already complex situation the question of Israel has become another indigestible ingredient. Not unless the Arab mind is able at least to straighten out this complex and confusing situation into its various strands, can it free itself from the temptation to apply changing and ineffective remedies dictated under fleeting pressure.

But the Arabs are a gay and a logical people and their potential contribution to the growth of a free and happy mankind is as great as that of any people. What they need is to get a firm grip on the various problems that confront them, dynastic, imperialist, economic, jewish and ideological and in the midst of varieties of tactical moves that may yet be necessary, never to lose sight of the long-range and all Arab solutions, which are also in consonance with the enduring interest of mankind.

The dynastic question should no longer present any ideological difficulty. Whatever may be the practical difficulties that have yet to be overcome, the Arab mind must have already grasped that the existence of monarchs as a political factor not only confuses internal issues but also provides hunting ground for imperialist adventures. Whether or not monarchs should continue as constitutional rulers is a secondary question best left to each Arab people to decide, but their political power must be broken so that they can no longer keep alive the feudal ownership of land nor act as colonial instruments in schemes such as the Greater Crescent Union.

Dynastic ambitions are not indeed the only source of such separateness as exists among the various Arab peoples; in some cases, one might speak of different ways of Arab life. Nevertheless, the pull towards some kind of federal or confederal union of the Arab peoples would have been irresistible, had dynasties not acted as a check and a confusion. In fact, this peoples' urge towards union is being used by dynasts for their expansionist rivalries, who also permit themselves to be used as imperialist agents so forcefully illustrated by Transjordan and the Greater Crescent scheme. The effort to combat imperialist influences in the Arab world or to form some kind of a federal union must inevitably be linked up with the movement to curtail dynastic authority.

Imperialism operates also in director ways as on the Suez Canal zone and over almost all of North African territory. The banishment of imperialism from all this area is not a matter of opinion; the only question is how to do it. Undoubtedly, the principal actors in this drama are the subject peoples themselves but their need for support from the outside world, in particular from India and the Third Camp, cannot be denied.

Egypt enjoys a peculiar position of responsibility as well as opportunity. Situated in the Eastern tip of the African continent, Egypt has for ages been the meeting-place of Asia and Africa. An excessive interest in West-Asian happenings to the detriment of the North-African, in fact, of the entire African question, is unnatural and unhealthy and a balanced approach must be restored. The time is now come to prepare the final blow on all imperialisms in Africa. While the Egyptian people may be more directly and emotionally affected by the North-African issue they and all the North African Arabs might consider the high desirability of encouraging and uniting an all African drive for freedom. What little they might lose in their ability to play one imperialism against another, they will more than make up by the great access to the peoples' passion for freedom that will ensue as a result of their high ideal. In this, they

will have the unstinted support of all the Third Camp of freedom and peace.

Two questions arise, one related to the tactical feasibility of ending all imperialisms in the African and the Arab world while the great Atlantic—Soviet tension lasts and the other related to the capacity of Arab States to do without foreign money and arms. Before considering the ideological and practical aspects of these questions, it is necessary to think of the Arab world as it ought to be and not as it is. That brings to the fore the internal question, not alone in its dynastic impact, with which political groups of Arabs have hitherto and unfortunately shown little concern.

An internal policy that provides prosperity and discipline to a people is a necessary condition for a foreign policy of independence and effect.

Asian statesmanship suffers from a grievous lack in this respect. Asian statesmen wish to play a grand role on the world stage without any corresponding grandeur in their internal policies. This may be due to either the almost insurmountable weakness of Asia's economy or the mistaken belief that a world role is possible without a national role. Asia's statesmanship must now bestir itself to correct national poverty and indiscipline with the proper use of internal resources rather than adventitious aids from outside. The question of property is a serious obstacle in the way of enriching and disciplining the Asian peoples. I have no doubt that West Asian nations as much as all Asian nations must destroy feudal property and carry out an equitable distribution of land before they can renew themselves. Likewise, whatever free enterprise may mean to other parts of the world, enterprise will stay shackled in Asia until it gives up its base of private property and acquires a social character. Arab politics will continue stultified until dominant political groups grow in all Arab lands that are committed to redivision of land and the social ownership and planning of industry.

Except for such ineffective communists as Arab peoples possess, such an internal policy has not been advocated by any substantial groups. Communists however suffer from the grievous error of solving the question of private property without solving the political and technological questions, so that their doctrine has no applicability to the non-European world. Communism is a doctrine of the rich or the semi-rich peoples. What Asia including West Asia needs is a doctrine that will make use of the small-unit machine, of capital formation that may not be sufficient but will be spread over all the land, of political power that is decentralised and can therefore encourage local initiative.

Political and technological decentralisation is therefore as essential as redivision of land and social ownership of industry.

That raises the question of the great ideological tension that is dividing the world today. However much capitalism and communism may quarrel with each other, they are both irrelevant to Asia. Both of them believe in the efficiency unit for agriculture as well as industry, which is for Asia as impossible as it is undesirable. Before they can play a significant role on the world stage, Arab lands must form dominant socialist parties that advocate the community unit as distinct from the efficiency unit, that advocate political and technological decentralisation as much as abolition of private property.

Asia, including the Arab peoples, must keep out of the Atlantic-Soviet struggle not alone in the interest of world freedom and peace but also because of questions relating to their bread and internal economics. The Socialist ideology of the Third Camp is alone a guarantor of bread and freedom to the non-European world, for communism can give it as little bread as capitalism can give it political freedom. The Arab mind must therefore rid itself of sentimental vacillations in its attitude to the two great camps. The Atlantic or Soviet camp may from time to time favour one or the other Arab interest but that should not be permitted to distort or disfigure the ideological neutrality of the Third Camp. Only they can serve the cause of the Third Camp in Arab lands who reject communism as much as they reject capitalism, and regard both of them irrelevant.

The question of foreign aid is indeed of vital interest. Arab peoples receive military and capital assistance from foreign lands. The question may well be asked if such assistance will not be refused if Arabs pursue the socialist policy of Third Camp. Our answer to that is two-fold. This policy will so renew the Arab peoples that what may be lost in foreign assistance will be more than made up, perhaps several times over by the increase in internal prosperity and discipline. Furthermore, a policy that rejects communism and the Soviet camp as much as it rejects capitalism and the Atlantic camp is bound to arouse attention and respect and in time, lead to the growth of a world wide climate of opinion in which the idea of a world development corporation can become a reality. Foreign aid will then flow to areas where it is needed, not of course out of charity, but as an intelligent business transaction.

A question as important as the ideological stand with regard to the Atlantic and Soviet camps is the attitude of the Arab peoples to religious fanaticism and religious politics. As long as political groups which base themselves on Muslim

sentiments are dominant, Arab peoples can neither renew themselves internally nor play a fruitful role in world politics.

The question of Israel is indeed of deep significance to the Arab people. If Israel regards itself as a part of Asia and West Asia, she must strain her utmost to remove the tension with the Arabs. Federative approaches at least in matters of economic and foreign policy must be initiated. An island of prosperity cannot for ever exist in an ocean of poverty. Not only must problems relating to refugees and territorial guarantees be resolved as soon as possible, the effort to treat all West as an economic unit must grow at least in some direction. All this depends on what the foreign policy of Israel is likely to be. Should Israel align herself with the Atlantic camp and there are growing dangers of this, this policy with regard to Israel falls and Arabs of the Third Camp will then have to face another difficult ingredient in their situation. In any event, efforts at Arab-Jew amity on the basis of the policy here outlined must be initiated. Israel will do well to assist the Socialist and anti-imperialist urges of the Arab peoples, even of North Africa.

Should Israel accept the Socialist policy of Third Camp and make federative approaches to the Arab nations in matters of economic and foreign policy and make a joint effort with the rest to treat West Asia as an economic unit, a lasting solution of the Arab-Jew question will be found. It is thus that the Jews, who have a world mind, can help find the long range and all Arab solutions, which are in consonance with the enduring interests of peace and of mankind. The Arab mind can then free itself from the temptation to apply changing and ineffective remedies dictated under fleeting pressure.

The problem of Iran has come to the fore. The dispute about the Iranian oil is nothing else but a part of the world wide conflict that is raging between the haves and the havenots of the world's nations. A cursory glance at the comparative position of Iran with other oil producing lands shows to what extent profits out of oil flow overseas and the Iranian people are deprived of the chance to abolish their poverty. All those who stand for an equal world can have nothing but unstinted support for Iranian efforts to nationalise their oil company.

The question naturally arises as to who shall be the recipient of the power and prosperity that shall flow out of such nationalization. I am not merely thinking of the internal class position of Iran but more so of the dominant groups in Iran that are committed to a policy of support to the Soviet camp. In our desire for equality in the world, we have of course to beware against the possibility that the recipient of the existing power

and profits of the Atlantic camp may not be transferred to the Soviet camp and thus, inspite of a shift of power, perpetuate world inequality. It is heartening in this connection to note that the national front and its leader the Prime Minister of Iran belong to a school of thought which is a potential supporter of the Third Camp.

Even among the pro-Soviet Tudeh party and the religiously fanatical Fidiyan Islam, there are considerable members who would, if they had the opportunity, accept the policies of socialism and Third Camp. To all such we should like to make an appeal. While extending our unhedged support to the Iranian effort to nationalise their oil we would like all elements of religious fanaticism or communist disruption to weaken and parties like the National Front that can travel in the direction of Socialism at home and Third Camp abroad to grow.

Delhi, June 9, 1951.

9 June, 1951.

**U.N. Vote On "China
The Aggressor"**

U.N. VOTE ON "CHINA—THE AGGRESSOR"

India's abstention in the U. N. vote on supply of war materials to China was an hour of victory for all votaries of world unity and peace, and in particular for the Socialist Party of India. The India Government deserves the world's appreciation for thus reinforcing a constructive policy of building the new world.

For four long years India had followed a policy of vacillation and alternate service to the Soviet and Atlantic camps. It has opened the Indian people to Soviet as well as Atlantic infiltration, sapped their resources of the mind and inclined them to surrender in a moment of crisis. This policy was often enough mistaken for one of independence and neutrality and consequently brought into great disrepute all those who have been wanting to build up a constructive force independent of the two great power camps. We hope that this vote reflects the India Government's desire to cast away the role of a weak mediator and a harmful meddler and to take to the honest toil of a genuine builder in however small a way. From Indonesia to Egypt stretches a belt of peoples which can be gathered together in a network of ideological, economic and military security and which has its far outposts in countries like Sweden also. By going beyond capitalism and communism which are both doctrines of centralization and violence and leadership of one government over all the world and by advocating the principles of equality within a people as well as among all the peoples and of decentralised reconstruction, the Socialist Party has tried to provide ideological security to this belt. Had the Party been the Government of India, it might have gone a long way towards acquiring economic as well as military security.

India's Prime Minister is a thoroughbred, who, when Mahatma Gandhi rode him, produced fine results, but ever since he has been riderless, has been bringing the country to the brink of ruin. An eleventh hour security may yet be achieved, if the Indian people choose to ride him well and compel the India Government to endure in the course of abstention, and of pursuing the positive aims of securing the neutral belt and of achieving equality and prosperity for all the world. The hour of victory was however somewhat saddened by the breach of Yugoslavia from the world front of abstentionists to which she has claimed such firm and principled adherence. We would urge upon Marshal Tito and his brave people to return to the abstentionist fold, notwithstanding that considerations of national security may have become overwhelming.

While the India Government's policy of abstention has brought fresh hope and cheer for all mankind, the Prime Minister's answers to questions of Japanese and German rearmament have again reflected an unintegrated mind. It is ridiculous for a Prime Minister of a state which has an army and wishes to retain it and even enlarge it to wax morally eloquent over clauses in Japanese Constitution that forbid an army. Japan will rearm anyway in spite of these moral vapourings and the complete rout of Japanese parties that stood by these clauses of the Constitution in recentmost municipal elections of Japan proves it. Germany will travel in a like direction. There is disarmament either for all the world or for none. So long has India been used to her internal caste system that she has found no difficulty in acknowledging and accepting the international caste system that reduces the world into five brahmin nations and sixty or so pariah nations. India can serve the world only by outright rejection of the Big Four or Big Five theory, of secret agreements of Potsdam, Yalta or elsewhere, of distinctions between victors and vanquished nations. In consonance with her policy of abstention in the disputes of an old world, India should boldly assist the claims of a new world, that recognises no imperialist, capitalist or communist privileges.

Delhi,

May, 24, 1951.

An Interview
ON
Kashmir

AN INTERVIEW ON KASHMIR

From the freezing cold of Gulmarg to the heat of Delhi and Nagpur, all in the course of a day, is an experience, and shows how vast our country is. It is perhaps this vastness that has given India her tolerance and understanding during the brighter periods of her history. To cut away from this vastness is like a stab in the heart and in any event reduces the possibility of tolerance.

Secondly, the lie has gone round the world that Kashmir is the only outstanding issue between India and Pakistan and it must now be nailed on the head. There are any number of other issues like Pakhtoonistan, the East Bengal separatism and questions relating to minority as well as economic arrangements, each one of which can cause trouble. Even if the Kashmir issue could be settled to the satisfaction of Pakistan, these other issues may yet disrupt her and she will lay the blame on India. No enduring and mutually satisfactory settlement of the Kashmir question is possible unless Pakistan sees her way to reconstruct herself.

Thirdly, should Kashmir be handed over to Pakistan on the ground of religion, that will not only amount to sacrificing innocent people but also drive deeper the poison of religious fanaticism into the body of Asia. One of the main perils that confronts Asia is precisely this fanaticism and religious separatism and to appease Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir would necessarily result in making India and all Asia a still greater prey to forces of fanaticism and disruption.

I am sorry for the people of Pakistan that they have been so badly indoctrinated into a longing for Kashmir. I can easily imagine what difficulties such a longing can create for the Government of Pakistan. But the solution to all such dark longings is not appeasement but a thinking-out afresh the foundations on which to order one's life.

Fourthly, the United Nations Observers in Kashmir are not playing the game. I heard the story of a Major-General attached to the U.N. Staff who told the Bengal Minister, Dr. R. Ahmed, that the grand processions and meetings of the Kashmir National Conference were only 'surface shows'. The Major-General probably thought that he could confide in a Muslim, forgetting that there are Muslims and Muslims. This only shows how the poison has entered even into such a body of men as the U.N. Observers. The staff of an organization, apparently striving for peace and justice, should be better trained. But perhaps that is not possible; for the United Nations organisation has become a clearing house of international intrigues and a stage for the manoeuvrings of the 'Great Powers'. No issue is today judged except against a background of alliances and possible military assistance. The Atlantic camp can probably count on Pakistan as a safe ally against the Soviet camp. This naturally prejudices the Atlantic camp in favour of Pakistan; but the disastrous consequences of such an attitude to the framing of a universal law based on justice can be easily imagined.

Fifthly, when I have said this about the United Nations my attitude should not be mixed up with that of India's Foreign Minister. He is prone to hysteria and treats every issue, whether it is that of postal delivery on Sundays or of Kashmir, on a highly personal level. No principles, whether of world unity or India's national interests, have guided him.

If he can accuse the United Kingdom and the United States of aiding and abetting Pakistan, so can he be equally legitimately accused of alternately aiding and abetting the Atlantic and Soviet camps. The twists and turns of his exceedingly futile foreign policy have made India's position extremely suspect and no nation can trust her even as a neutral.

I can well understand the desire of other nations to re-insure themselves against uncertain moves by India. If the Foreign Minister of India could only rid himself of his vainglorious desire to play a supreme role on the world's stage without any ideological or material strength inside the country to back him, he would probably not throw his weight about futilely and would stay strictly neutral between the Atlantic and Soviet camps and thus arouse some kind of confidence.

Sixthly, the United Nations consists not only of the Big Four or Big Five but of 56 other nations. Not all these nations are anti-Indian or guided by base motives. That none of them has shown any genuine understanding of India in relation to Pakistan proves conclusively the despicable failure of India's foreign policy. Only a bad dancer blames the floor for his faults.

Like the parvenu, the India Government has been consistently shabby in its treatment of these smaller nations. India's Foreign Minister has never once declared himself against the international caste system that divides the world into five Brahmin and 56 pariah nations. If he would only do that and base his foreign policy on the destruction of this international caste system and on the equality of nations, he would rouse a pure and healthy ferment for world equality and peace which would necessarily contribute to a better understanding of the Indo-Pakistan problem. In any maturer democracy, India's Foreign Minister would have been dismissed a longtime back.

Seventhly, there has been a great deal of hurtful delay in solving Problems, varying from the institution of the ruling family of Kashmir and the arranging of elections, to the formulation of an economic policy for Kashmir. I hope there will be no further delay in abolishing the rulership, electing a Parliament and initiating a sound economic policy.

Eighthly, the Government of Kashmir cannot afford to imitate the rest of India in such directions as seeking of power and money and favouritism and nepotism. I understand that a great deal of heart-burning is caused among the people of Kashmir by such acts. Matriculates with a pull are selected for service in preference to graduates who have no such pull; and in any event the present Rulers of Kashmir have to keep their conduct austere and pure so that Pakistan may not obtain a handle.

Ninthly, I hope larger numbers of our people will go out to Kashmir and seek their holiday there and thus help to steady the economy of Kashmir. I must however warn these tourists to remember always that Kashmir is perhaps the final battleground of the two-nation theory, where it will either be buried for ever or live a resurrected life. If they give themselves over to defeatism or to unkind treatment of their Kashmiri brethren, these tourists will have done more harm than good.

Tenthly, I should have thought that delegations of organisations of youths in Europe and elsewhere would have come out to Kashmir and report on the problem of Indo-Pakistan relationship. The youth may be expected to take a long range view of human affairs unsullied by baser motives. Except for the lack of money the Socialist Party of India would have attempted to organise such youth delegations. Likewise a delegation of Kashmiri youths should be encouraged to visit other countries.

Eleventhly, I should also like to mention such fine names as Maulana Saeed (General Secretary of the National Confe-

rence), Janab Mohamed Shaffi and Jialal Tamiri, in addition to Sheikh Abdullah, whose deeds of unexcelled physical and moral bravery should be better known in the rest of India.

A curious coalition between the disruptionists of the R.S.S. variety and the Communist variety has been in existence for some time past in Jammu, which led at one time to the threatened resignation of Maulana Saeed. I hope that the National Conference will know how not to allow such elements.

I should like to express in the end my confident hope that Kashmir, which is a part of India, shall stay a part of India, in the interests of a free and equal world, in the interests of a resurgent Asia purged of disruptive fanaticism and in the final instance because the people of Kashmir as an integral part of the people of India, wish it.

June, 1951.

Some Reflections
ON
Internationalism

SOME REFLECTIONS ON INTERNATIONALISM

WORKERS of the world, unite ! For nearly a century they strove hard to unite until they found in August 1914 that they were more workers of their own nations than those of the world. The beginning of the first world war made it clear that socialism was dead as a creed. Too many working classes throughout the world had been fed on the hope that the next war would be turned into a civil war so that, instead of waging it, they would overthrow capitalism at home and imperialism abroad. The resolution on the subject passed several years earlier by the Socialist International was indeed equivocal, as almost every socialist resolution relating to grave matters is. This resolution had awakened fond hopes among the multitude of European working classes that they would strike their last blow for the unity of the human race, should imperialists ever again venture into a new war, but it had also left the leadership to prevaricate, to stall and ultimately to defeat. No great creeds can ever work their destiny through prevarication. Dynasties may prolong their years of power through craft. Creeds must however have the power to touch the heart-strings of man. In August 1914, when every socialist party in Europe stood dutifully behind its government and voted men and credits for the war, socialism lost its power to touch man's heart-strings. It thenceforth became a doctrine of material comfort and nothing more, albeit comfort for the mass of the people. Socialism became a doctrine of parliament plus statistics and an ever increasing standard of living. In most European countries, to whom have accrued benefits of industrialisation, socialism was able to achieve in considerable measure this limited aim of improvement within national frontiers. Socialism made the European State increasingly a welfare State, a state with pensions and insurance and food subsidies and good education and medicine for the million. But it lost its ambition to reconstruct the world; it ceased to be a proposition for the united socialist world and became an amendment to the existing capita-

list society; it was no longer a creator and it shrunk into an ornament. This fact was brought to me with unforgettable vividness by Bill Crawford, a steel labour organiser in the U.S.A. who looked as prosperous as his Buick, but in whose breast lay buried the secret of 1914. He confided to me how he had also dreamt of a united human race in his youth but, after the shattering experience of the first world war, had settled down to acquire comfort for himself and the working men of his own land. A man can live on half a bread, if he has an ideal. If the ideal vanishes, he must live on a whole bread and more. I do not blame that steel unionist nor millions of others all over the world. Their echo in Asia was even more hollow.

Asian socialists imbibed the socialist doctrine as it was preached in Europe after the end of the world war and, apes as they were, they turned it into a more terrible caricature of itself. They were unable to effect a rise in the peoples' standard of living. They settled down to achieve a rise in their own personal standards. The socialist rank and file in Asia was still an agent of revolt against injustice and will continue to be so. But the mass of the socialist leadership in Asia increasingly forgot the revolt and remembered the improving standard of living and, in the absence of prospects of general uplift, started appropriating to itself such uplift as was possible. Everything they did was in moderation. They aspired only to a moderate rise in their standard of living, acquired not through labour or skill, but through the mere act of jealousy, indeed, moderate jealousy. Their thoughts were mediocre, their styles of living were mediocre, the refinement of their speech was mediocre, their acts were mediocre, their political work became bureaucratically mediocre and, whatever they said, thought or did, reeked to the high heavens of mediocrity. All this happened particularly after the split away of communism from socialism as a result of the Russian revolution. Socialism died as a creed in August 1914 and 1920 saw it robbed of whatever traditions of revolutionary fervour it had. The robber was communism. It told the workingmen of the world that the human race would never be united through simultaneous loyalty to the nation and the international working class. The loyalty to the nation must end. The loyalty to the international working class must also receive an embodiment. The Russian State was already there to act as this embodiment. A new experiment started. Such working men in the world as could still be inspired by the Russian vision gathered their forces to sing once again of the united human race, this time, not through an abstract working men's unity, but the Soviet Russia of working men. Between national revolution and world revolution was achieved the mediacy of the Russian revolution and the Russian temple gave increasing hope and comfort to such

millions as came to it for worship. This experiment has turned out to be even more disastrous than the earlier. In the name of freedom and democracy, nations have been enslaved; in the name of life and health, murder has been rampant; on behalf of truth, lies have roamed the earth; and, except for the strengthening of Soviet Russia and such benefits as may accrue from it, mankind has suffered a hundred horrors. Workers of the world are as disunited as ever before, if not more so. The Socialist International was unable to reconcile the two loyalties to the nation and to an abstract working class unity and has eventually settled down to an unabashed acceptance of the former. The Communist International tried to destroy conflicting national loyalties by herding the working classes of the world into a temple of fixed location in Russia and the priest usurped the functions of the deity and all the evil consequences ensued.

The Socialist International with its headquarters in Europe has been suffering from an intimate association with politics of power camps and of imperialism. Its major constituents, the socialist parties of Europe, are sometimes charged with the task of governing their countries and have therefore to play a leading role in the worldwide anti-Soviet campaign and also in the maintenance of imperialist rule. They tend to prefer moderate courses of action to radical politics. The Asian Socialist Conference was founded precisely in order to overcome the three inadequacies of the Socialist International in Europe, namely, Atlantic bloc action, imperialist politics, moderatism. The Socialist Parties of Asia, it was axiomatically assumed, would combat imperialist policies as they had no imperialist interests and would also keep away from bloc politics as they had no bothersome burdens of recent history to carry. As most of them had played an honourable role in the fight for freedom against foreign rule, they were also expected to continue their revolutionary tradition under native rule, whether in or out of office. Experience has proved all these assumptions, however axiomatic as they might appear, to be wrong.

A meeting of the Asian Bureau held in the first half of 1954 revealed that Asian socialists had feet of looser clay than their European comrades. Consternation spread over the meeting whenever anything of generalised import and that had teeth was proposed. The peoples of Kenya and Tunisia were then being beaten down with ferocious savagery and the proposal was made that goods emanating from imperialist countries as were practising such barbarism should be boycotted. The proposal was not accepted. No other plan was proposed or sought to be carried out. Simultaneously, the South East Asian Treaty and Defence Organisation was being put up

by the Atlantic Camp and the Asian Socialist Conference was called upon to declare itself categorically against such a move. No matter how this proposal was framed, whether denunciatory or critical of the South East Asian Treaty Organisation, it proved to be unacceptable. No alternative course of action was suggested or accepted. The Asian Socialist Conference and its Bureau have ever been chary of resolving on anything except matters of meaningless generalisation or of limited national interest about which there was no clash of opinions. They seem to have been congenitally incapable of concrete generalisations. Every time that attempt was made, the Indonesian, Israeli and Burman delegations wanted time to consider the proposition. They never put forward proposals outside of their own limited national interest. I was indeed very glad once to initiate a firm and categorical proposal for the withdrawal of Kuomintang troops from the Burman frontiers at the request of the Burman delegation. In fact, I had been contemplating to do so even without their request, for the presence of Kuomintang troops in Burma was of a great concern to an Indian, a human being and a socialist as it could be to a Burman. Nobody stalled nor asked for time to consider this proposition.

Yet, I remember a similar question being raised about the admission of Vietnam into the Asian Conference. The gentlemen who had come from Vietnam were exceptionally charming, although somewhat pathetic, and they drew everybody's sympathy but left one wondering whether they were socialists. But their sponsors had apparently been impressed by their anti-communist record. They were however unwilling to be similarly impressed by a slightly pro-communist record of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party. Nothing came out of the proposal but it revealed certain unfortunate tendencies at the headquarters of the Asian Socialist movement. There was a definite averseness to doing anything positive in regard to critical affairs. Most delegations were fond of dilatory tactics and always wanted time. They were not at all abashed that they had not, on their own, thought of the gravest problems that were currently afflicting mankind and in particular their own Asian portion of it. What amazed me was their unashamed attitude of blocking, of refusing to consider a proposition, which they should themselves have initiated in all conscience and to which their attention had subsequently been drawn.

I must here make a distinction between U Ba Swe, who presides over meetings of the Bureau and U Kyaw Nyein, who generally leads the Burman delegation. U Kyaw Nyein is a former foreign minister of the Burma Government and is one of those Asians who acquire a reputation as intellectuals and

whose intellectuality consists in cottoning up mentally to one or the other European camp, in his case the Atlantic Camp, and in alternatively reproducing stale quotations or witty phrases. He impresses in the first phase of acquaintance. If he were only an individual, there would not be much need to bother about him. He has however been the spokesman of a very powerful trend in the Burman Socialist Party and, in an organisational sense, he seems to have larger influence with the front rank leadership of the Party than that exercised by the man who has now become the prime minister of Burma. U Ba Swe is a man of revolutionary instincts, capable of taking risks, and seems to be inspired by the ideal to steer clear of the Atlantic as well as the Soviet Camp, but he also appears to be a man of such compromise as would be willing to stay with his associates even at the risk of doing nothing at all. I wish to record here the sharp exchanges, short ones on the Part of U Kyaw Nyein and firm ones on the part of Ba Swe, that took place between the two in regard to the proposal of SEATO, and somewhat less so concerning the boycott of imperialist goods. A grim silence had followed these exchanges. I was very happy. This was the right kind of internationalism. Two members of a socialist delegation belonging to a single country were, for one reason or another, taking up different positions publicly, one of them somewhat agreeing with the foreigner and the other disagreeing.

THE debacle of the Asian Socialist Conference is worthy of investigation. Apart from the general diseases of middle class moderatism and desire for improving standard of living that are eating into the vitals of socialism all the world over, Asian socialism seems to be particularly afflicted by considerations of national self-interest, fear of the unknown and oppressive concern with the attitudes of big neighbours. India is the big neighbour to all Asian Socialist parties. China too is, but by turning communist, she has placed herself out of court with Asian Socialists. That leaves India as the only big and potentially friendly neighbour to Asian Socialists. Whoever sits on the throne of Delhi, if he were to profess adherence to a socialist creed from time to time, commands the partial allegiance of socialists of neighbouring countries. The bonds between the government of India and its Prime Minister and an Indonesian socialist for instance are no more tenuous than those among the socialists of India and Indonesia. The coalitionist mentality is therefore intensely powerful among Asian socialist leaders. This curious myopia of vision in the international sphere is indeed based on a somewhat realistic appraisal of the needs of foreign policy, of the need for instance of the Burma

Government, however socialist, to stay friendly with the India Government, however unsocialist.

This concern for national self-interest may sometimes go to such lengths that it may defeat its own reason. Self-interest when carried to unreasonable extremes may cancel itself. I have not the slightest doubt that the great reluctance on the part of the Asian Socialist Bureau to declare a boycott of imperialist goods, particularly from Britain and France which were at that time practising savage butchery in North Africa, arose from a confused understanding of national self-interest. Every country is interested in every single vote at the United Nations. No country therefore wants to take the risk of affronting another. A vote or action against France or England on the issue of African colonies may result in adverse votes on the issues of Kashmir or Kuomintang troops or something similar. Complete paralysis thus sets in. A nationalist movement which has been vigorously healthy in the phase of its fight for freedom and has unhesitatingly espoused the cause of oppressed peoples all over the earth suddenly shrivels up when it becomes the government of the land and is nervous of doing anything positive in the anti-imperialist cause. This applies even more so to nationalist movements of small countries.

Lack of knowledge and experience, absence of tradition and a fear of the unknown also play their part. Socialist Parties in Asia are oppressed, even more so than their European counterparts, by the current or prospective cares of office. They have no tradition of the movement being bigger than the government to which it has given birth. They do not yet know that a people may go beyond their government in view of its limitations. The government cannot be held responsible for everything that a democratic people or its various sections do. It certainly cannot be held responsible for decisions of such a large body as an international conference of Asian Socialists. The Conference may decide to boycott French or British or any other imperialist goods; its various parties would try their best, but in their own way, to carry out such a resolution, while the government, even though it belongs to any one of these parties, may content itself with doing nothing positive against it. What astounds most are the cares of office that Asian Socialist parties in opposition are ever dreaming up as around the corner.

Undoubtedly, fear of the unknown is a considerable factor. I have no doubt in my mind that the Burman refusal to condemn or criticise the SEATO arose out of their desire to have a defence ring in one direction that would counter balance the other military ring that had stationed itself elsewhere. The

Burmans were no doubt unwilling to become part of that ring. Their unwillingness in large part seemed to be sincere. But they were unwilling to oppose the formation of such a ring, for it seemed to afford them some security. Such a state of mind, in which one wants to reap advantages which one does not sow and has no intention of sowing, is the breeding ground of hypocrisy and paralysis.

I must here mention that small nations and their political parties, also those of socialism can sometimes, exercise a tyranny as big or bigger than that exercised by big nations and their parties. They can easily put on the hurt mien. One has to give in, for courtesy's sake. They may sometimes use the small nation argument openly and unashamedly in order to band themselves together. They are also known to use other curious arguments. Socialist parties of small countries, when they are in office, are known to claim some kind of a privileged treatment compared to their counterparts in immeasurably bigger countries, should they happen to be out of office. Pomposity is a feature of the socialist doctrine as it is understood and practised today. The tyranny of the big nation is well known and must be combatted consistently and strenuously, but the tyranny of the small nation needs also to be ferretted out of the dark interiors of the mind.

The behaviour of Israeli socialists at the Asian Conference has been as revealing as it is disappointing. On every major issue of anti-bloc or anti-imperialist import, Israel took the lead in stalling and delaying. This was quite clear on the issues of boycott of imperialist goods and of the South Asian Treaty Organisation, as it had been more than clear on the issue of Arab refugees from Palestine. Israeli socialists have proved with their own acts that Israel is without doubt the projection of Europe into Asia. It is no pleasure for me to have to say this. More than any other individual, I have introduced Israel and her socialists to Asia and her socialists. I must today confess my error of premature universalism. The somewhat socialistic settlements of Israel impressed me but I deliberately overlooked the fact that they were artificially maintained by foreign money and also hopefully believed that they would have an impact on the whole of Asia, at least West Asia. Of this there has never been any chance nor shall there ever be on present showing.

Suffering can take a person or a people towards intrigue, diplomacy and narrow fanaticism, just as much as it might incline them to a life of pure and undeviated harmony and undifferentiated universality. The Jews have suffered more than any other people on earth. Only those who are unmitigatedly

coarse will refuse to stand with the Jews as their kinsmen. This is not a case of sympathy; it is a case of being one with them. To be one with a Jew is however by no stretch of imagination to be one with Israel. That is where I made my oppressive mistake. This statelet born out of such deep suffering as hitherto unknown to mankind, should never have been allowed to come into existence, for it congealed one of man's greatest sufferings into intrigue and fanaticism while the experience should have been used to broaden his chest.

On my part, I was guilty of premature universalism. I shut my eyes to the artificiality of European standards of living on the soil of Asia and did not see that they bore no relevance to us nor bode good to mankind. Not to talk of the Israeli, we are brother even to the American and the Russian. But that is what we ought to be and perhaps shall be one day, but we are not yet so to-day. We are to-day their poor cousins of the tenth or even the twentieth remove. Only he is universal who recognises that universalism is yet to be attained. It is not nice to claim or grant brotherhood on the basis of an exceedingly poor cousinhood. I am still in favour of unrestricted immigration. The Jews, like any other, should be free to go wherever they please and work or die where they like. But this freedom of immigration has nothing whatever to do with assisted immigration, which is what took place in Palestine.

I also noticed that Burma and Israel had struck up some kind of a pleasant relationship which one sometimes tries half-heartedly to conceal. Military and air missions and the like were being exchanged between the two countries. I suspected some kind of an arms deal. Israel is certainly in no position to sell arms of her own manufacture. She must have been acting as a broker for another country with which Burma would perhaps have been embarrassed to transact an open deal. This throws another light on the situation of small countries. They may act as a cover behind which shady deals may take place. Peoples inhabiting these countries should be ever watchful lest their governments should lead them into ugly situations without their knowledge. Israel also showed us that the greed of the small can be as offensive as the grab of the strong.

If I had known what an ill-shapen and ill-gotten thing an Asian Socialist Conference could become, would I have still helped to bring it into being? At the time that I trudged my way from one corner of Asia to another in the effort to achieve a union of Socialist minds and organisation, I was hopeful that our lack of recent history would free us of the taint of moderatism, imperialism and bloc politics. I have now learnt

my lesson. If history is a burden, it is also a beacon. Asian Socialists unburdened by history have been enveloped by the darkness as though of primeval matter and have been blinking their eyes in a vain effort to see. If they had a history, they would probably have made mistakes, but they would have walked their way. I do not know whether the Asian Socialist Conference is beyond redemption. Its Indian affiliate has been guilty of unparalleled slaughter of internal democracy and also of culpable moderatism. There is no force left in the Asian Socialist Conference that can renew it. But, after this Conference has disintegrated, an experience will have been learnt and the socialist parties of Asia will acquire history. Towards the achievement of a world International of Socialists or, as a matter of that, any kind of a genuine international, the experience of this Conference will have been invaluable.

THERE are other types of internationalism as well, United Nations and diplomacy, catholic, rotary and free masons, Chambers of Commerce, professional and, above all, the liberal. The United Nations internationalism has in varying degrees always existed in the world. It is the internationalism of diplomacy given a public and demagogic character. The United Nations internationalism can best be called clearing house internationalism, where national interests try to accomodate with each other and where, in case of conflict, the national interest with the longest purse, the sharpest claw and the most effective tongue wins out. This clearing house of mutual adjustments of national interest naturally tries to talk an international language. It speaks and acts as though whatever is done is in the interest of a peaceful and a better world. That result is indeed sometimes achieved, although to a very slight degree, particularly when mutually adjusting national interests happen to coincide with world interest.

Diplomacy, whose chief function is to avoid war, has always sought this aim. It is therefore ridiculous to think that traditional diplomacy and the United Nations are fundamentally different in their aim and method. A world sighing for peace in the closing stages of a war and after has always put its trust in whatever new international contraption comes into being. It did so with the League of Nations. It did so again with the United Nations. Experts and scholars and all big men wrote tomes to prove that the United Nations belongs to the family of peace while the League of Nations belonged to the family of intrigue. Differences of detail were confused for differences of character. A difference of character will arise only when a new international mechanism is able to make a direct

appeal to every man against or over his State. But mankind has always been fed on such exuberance as accompanied the birth of the United Nations and always to its ill-health.

The catholic international is almost exactly like the communist international. It has a pope and a seat. It has a system of confessions. It can send people to perdition. It has enormous wealth, perhaps the second wealthiest single instrument next only to the U. S. State. It has the word, Christ's Bible, in the same way as the Communist International has the word, Marx's Communist Manifesto. Almost the sole difference between the two consists in their age and all that goes with it, refinement of an old institution that is still living and the crude vigour of a youthful upstart. For the rest, the catholic and the communist internationals are both prison house internationals.

The rotary international and that of free masons or commercial chambers is an international of successful men. These men have amassed wealth and have also acquired reputation in their locality or profession. One would think that there was so little to bind them together and the differences of language, creed, and styles of living would prove too strong for any kind of association. But the bond of success is obviously very powerful, as powerful as any other, at least among those who are successful. These internationals of successful men range themselves generally on the side of the status quo and are known to use their influence directly or insidiously against change. Aside from such day by day and corroding influence, these internationals do not possess any ultimately decisive significance. Successful men of respectable incomes are slaves to whatever regime may exist and some of them are hereditary slaves. Their families are known to transfer their allegiance from regime to regime. In any event, the internationalism of successes is a factor to be taken into account.

Some professions have also tried to set up internationals of their own. Trade unions of various professions such as transport workers, for long have had their internationals and, on top of that, two world-wide organisations of the working classes and their trade unions exist, each according to the camp to which it is allied. The farmers of the world have not yet been able to effect such great worldwide conglomerates. In addition to such massive organisations of workers by the hand, there are international organisations of the free professions such as lawyers and a vague internationalism exists among all men of knowledge and research and Science and they often hold conferences of a world wide character. One may assume that these internationals effect a certain broadening of the vision. But the raucous voices of the warring camps have also riven

them and knowledge has generally run into the wastes of propaganda.

The liberal international has no registers nor membership nor any kind of formal existence on paper. It is like the gossamer, frail and delicate, but what a fantastic mass of webs it is. Should one ever dare to touch it in ignorance or in self-confidence, it shows its mass and weight. The liberal international affects a certain liberality in the styles of speech and inclines towards moderate courses of action. Together with post office internationalism of the Socialists and the prisonhouse internationalism of the communists, we may count all types of internationalism that exist in the world today, clearinghouse internationalism, prisonhouse internationalism, Post-office internationalism, success internationalism, professional internationalism and the liberal internationalism. Of these, professional internationalism alone is capable, under certain circumstances, of doing good to the world and in it I would include men of all vocations, of religion and politics and science or any other activity, who take their calling seriously.

A new type of internationalism has come into being particularly since the advent of Mahatama Gandhi. I would call it exuberant internationalism. It has taken two shapes appropriate to the agency to which it belongs, a popular shape and a governmental shape. The popular shape has been seen in such organisations as the Peace Pledge Union. These organisations sometimes make a tremendous hit with the people and make them feel as though the new age was about to dawn. They have also the power to extract suffering devotion from large sections of the people. But they are irrelevant to the deep wells of life, those mechanisms which ultimately control the destiny of man and decide whether there shall be war or peace, equality or misery. They appear in their heyday to make for revolutionary changes, as for instance, the Peace Pledge Union of England did when it collected tens of millions of signatures which vowed not to take part in a war. But they did not simultaneously vow disloyalty to the British State and, in the event of conflict, the oath of loyalty to the State won over the oath of loyalty to peace. These exuberant vows are with most people utterly sincere; those who make them are people who are only dimly aware of reality and its conflicting loyalties. With a clearer awareness, these peoples' organisations of exuberant internationalism may yet play their part in the making of a new world. I am excluding such exuberant internationals as are dependent on munificent gifts of eccentric and rich persons.

Exuberant internationals of governmental making are merchants of the high-minded phrase. I do not know if they

have created anything new even done something positive to remove inequality and poverty among mankind. They may have indirectly inspired others of different mould, the men of action. Such men have never taken their objectives from the weavers of charming phrases but have sometimes been inspired or intoxicated into earlier action than would have been the case in their absence. Those who sit on seats of government and are inspired by exuberant internationalism make the great peace-makers of their day. History however has little use for them. Their chief function is to suspend or stop something that has happened elsewhere, that has been enacted by other people. They are permanent heroes of ceasefire. They have nothing whatever to do with the heroism of open fire, neither violent nor non-violent, except when they open fire on their own unarmed people. The great reputation of India as a peacemaker rests on the cease-fire, ceasefire in Korea and cease-fire in Vietnam and attempted cease-fires in Algeria, Kenya and all other places.

But post-Gandhi India never fired a shot, violent or non-violent, for anything big in history. She has been intoxicated into sterility by her own exuberant internationalism. She has a foolish desire to be effective. She thinks she can mould the world far beyond her strength. She has no appreciation of the forces that exist in the world nor of her own spiritual or material strength with which she may sway them. Every event that happens in the world appears to her to have decisive significance and her exuberant internationalism leads her to want to change it. The desire to be effective, to intervene in every international event, leads to a permanent priapism, perpetual excitement and no accomplishment.

In this as in all spheres, the desire to be effective can have disastrous effects. Persons and parties that acquire a neurosis for being effective or practical become brokers of other peoples' goods and are totally incapable of producing any of their own. Creation requires patience. It is the sister of failure. Only those who can patiently start again after every failure, no matter how often it may occur, are able to create something new. In spite of their failures, they are the centre of events. Others live on the fringe of events. At one time, the leaders of the warring camps were creators and they are still able to continue their mastery of skills and resources which they once created. A true internationalism that will impose high standards of behaviour particularly on the two warring camps dare not become exuberant. It must be patient, it must be willing to fail and it should not give way to the puerile desire to be effective.

A major obstacle to the growth of genuine internationalism lies in the attitudes generated by crisisism. There is always a crisis around. If it is not there in actuality, it is always there in the mind. Revolutionaries have been particular victims of this attitude of crisisism. What will happen when a war takes place? If a war takes place in one connection or another, what shall we do? I remember how I was once barracked by a group of lovable young persons in an American University who wanted me to take the lead in organising an international brigade of non-violent volunteers who would transpose themselves between the warring armies in Korea. The young men who made this suggestion were utterly genuine. Some of them would probably have laid down their lives if the suggestion had matured. Their counterparts have proved it in Goa. I am also willing to admit that what happens today in terms of tens may under continued inspiration begin to happen in terms of hundreds. But then it would stop, and before stopping, it would have generated a hatred and anger that would deluge the non-violence of the peace-brigade.

I told these young men then that I would not be able to assist in their endeavour without being able to tell them why. I know the reason today. I would not want to spend young lives or my own trying to palliate a crisis of other peoples' making, to intervene puerilely into forces towards whose maturing or denouement I had no part to play. This is what I would want every young man to say of himself. There would indeed be great sense in laying down one's life in an endeavour which appears to be exceedingly impracticable at the present, which ends in failure not once or twice but many times over, but which brings into being new forces and keeps on maturing them. Such an attitude can never be generated by an excessive concern with questions of crisis, with how to avert this impending calamity or that threatened war. Calamities and wars are inherent in man's present situation. This situation must be laid bare in the raw and then we must go at the maggots and revive the cells of health. In fact, new cells have to be introduced in the shape of new ideas. But before this can happen the mind must be freed of its obsession of crisis. A mind obsessed with crisis can only react, it can never act; it can only intervene in other peoples' crises and it can never create a crisis of its own; it can only cease fire and it can never open fire. A truly international mind must want to create crises of its own making. A crisis is after all the simultaneous existence of conflicting forces that are contending for mastery and are no longer able to live together in peace. Persons and parties that are wanting to create the united human race must continually create new for-

ces appropriate to their aim, which will without a doubt clash with the existing world and its constituents. Men of peace may only want that these crises are generated and matured in terms of non-violence.

Creators of crises, who aim at a united human race, must first understand their present situation that, when a war breaks out, everybody is in it. Unless an immediate revolution and overthrow of Government occurs, the people will wage the war that their government makes as long as they have any energy left to do so. The people will be on the side of their government, for the alternative to that is butchery, first by their own government and next in the event of defeat by the foe of their government. When Hitler lost the war, the advancing Russian armies and their satellites made no distinction between Nazi and Communist, all they knew was that a person was German. I was once charmingly told of a story from an East European land by a German who, not knowing whether communists belonged to the third or the seventh international, described the fruitless efforts of German Communists to establish kinship with Russian communists and were beaten, raped or killed just the same.

Not alone in times of war, but also in those of peace, this belonging to one State and nation is of decisive significance. A socialist or communist of distinction travelling in a plane or transport owned by capitalists of his own nation would feel more at home than when travelling in socialised transport of another country. He would be known to pilots and managers of that private enterprise and he would be an unknown quantity to foreign pilots and managers, however socialised. This simple fact would make all the difference in behaviour, the privileged courtesies of one and the routine care, if that, of the other. What man is there who would not be swayed at least momentarily by this difference. The British Socialist would prefer an Indian Congressman or Conservative to the Indian Socialist, for the former stays in his common-wealth while the latter would like to step out. An officer of the world government movement in America once told me how his State Department tipped him concerning a Peace Conference that had been summoned by communist Yugoslavia. International conferences are such complicated business and they also cost a lot of money. Foreign offices of various States tend as a consequence to acquire a grip over such conferences and their organisations. Foreign relations have, in the world of today, generally shrunk into governmental relations. They are peoples relations largely for a rhetorical background. I guess I have been foolish enough to want to have peoples relations. I guess I could also have the red carpet

spread out for me, at least in those early stages when my relations with my government were not too badly strained. But I have deliberately chosen to travel like an Indian and, more so, an Indian socialist. I do not wish to complain against the treatment I have received, for I do not think that any person out of office has received a warmer hospitality in most of the lands that I have visited and yet I have felt that the situation would have been different if I had relations with my embassies, of course, only such relations as may exist with decorum between an oppositionist and a government man.

Among the natives of all lands, there is what may be called an India crowd, an Italy crowd and so forth. These groups have contacts with the embassy of the country in which they are interested. They feel lost therefore when a national comes visiting from the country of their love and has no relations with his own Embassy. Foreign interest around a country is therefore of a peculiar quality; it is hard to awaken among the mass, and the sections already interested are tied up with the embassy of the country concerned. Who can today think of a parade of an opposition leader, who is opposed to his own government and also that of America and Russia, through Broadway or the streets of Moscow in the manner that he might have it on the streets of his own capital? All triumphal parades of visiting foreigners are today undertaken at the behest and most often under the management of the host government. Foreign relations have so thoroughly degenerated that they have become the toything of the government.

Nothing has given me greater sorrow than the total silence of all socialists of Europe and of Asia in face of some of the cruellest repression of their comrades in India carried out by the Government of India on more than one occasion. On one such occasion, nearly 3,000 persons were put in jail. But no meetings were held anywhere in the world, no resolutions passed and no protest marches taken out. One must say this of international communism that it knows how to stand alongside of its servants and allies, at least through propaganda. One can say that of catholic internationalism as well. But all other internationalisms are in this respect downright selfish and lacking in courage. They think that the great issues of the day are of such overriding importance and the needs of their world wide system of alliances so strong that they must cover up the ugly sores, whose exposure is likely to embarrass the national self-interest of their foreign policy.

To the modern man, the State is the great mother. He derives his being from his State. This is so not only in times of

crisis in war, but even more so in day by day life. The modern man delivers his passions and devotion to his State and, if he is unable for one reason or another to accept the authority of the government that is for the moment administering his State, he must necessarily suffer a void and a lack in the sphere of international relationships. Any genuine internationalism must dare to see the world in the raw, must first acknowledge, that the State is the great mother. This fact cannot be wished away by exuberant phrases. It must be submitted to deep meditation. That a national is not the representative and ambassador of his government but of his people and more so of his idea and movement is a meaningless generalisation unless it is woven concretely into the protocols of daily life. The protocol of life recognises only that a national is the representative of his government.

There seem to be four great objects in life to which man could offer his continuing passion and even surrender his life in time of trouble—self and its needs, state or nation, mankind and God or woman, truth or beauty. I cannot imagine any other object that can arouse the devotion and the suffering or the continuous toil that these can. Of these, the object of mankind is still dormant and that of truth or beauty in the doldrums. Alone, Self and State are the two great tyrants of the present world and they move most of what happens. A true internationalism can never come into existence until the object of mankind is given a shape, concrete enough not to be mistaken for another and general enough to drive its votary to that madness “raging in the blood, if a hill or girl be fair.” This is not the place to talk of truth and beauty in any elaborate detail. One may however surmise that, with increasing recognition of the object of mankind, the mist that has spread over truth and beauty might also somewhat lift.

The search for the object of mankind will do well to make a study of the three songs that have moved men, particularly Europeans, to startling deeds, Marseillaise, International and Horst-Wessel. Their text is so different, their occasions are so different and yet what a unity of melody and sentiment runs through all three of them. The Marseillaise says: “Allons enfants de la patrie”, the International says: “Voelker, auf zum letzten Gefecht,” or in the text of another language: “Arise, ye children of starvation”; and the Nazi song: “Die Strasse frei, Die Fahne hoch.”

In each of them there is a summons, a call to battle, a grappling with the enemy in the last bloody encounter. The Marseillaise does it against tyranny, the International does it

for uniting the human race and the Nazi song does it for the comrades "whom red front and reaction killed and who are marching with their spirit in our rows." There is a getting out of one's own confining skin in each of these songs, each of them enshrines a common idea. The battle is either for the united human race or against tyranny or for the spiritual companionship of one's fallen comrades. Incidentally, a fact of great importance stands out. All theories and ideals aspire for universal validity and, in the time of their strength, they actually achieve such validity. The Nazi theory or the French revolution ideal may have deliberately set out to achieve limited national aims, but they had a universal quality. Some of them may have been evil, as, for instance, was the Nazi creed. But then certain aberrations of the International have been no less evil.

Every theory, no matter how limited or wide its aim, tends to acquire universal validity when its strength increases and shrinks in the periods of weakness. When Nazism grew, many peoples or their sections deliberately overlooked that it related specifically to Germany and universalised its song, ideas and programmes of action so as to apply to their own town or country. In similar manner, a theory which may have been originally meant for a city or a quarter may acquire universal validity if all other cities and quarters in the world imitated it. The fact that the International talked of uniting the human race and the Nazi song of clearing the way for S. S. Battalions has not been of deciding consequence to humanity, for they have been unable to take their devotees away from the State which is the great mother and have not given them any other object of devotion and worship. They share the sentiment of another great German song to stand brotherly "in defence and offence." Each of these songs is a paean of blustering violence. None of them fixes mankind as an object of devotion.

The situation must be squarely faced. Is the State the great mother? Is the world State the great mother? If both of them are to be the great mothers, their respective roles, functions and places must be defined and limited. As long as mankind does not receive a concrete meaning and recognisable instrument, it is bound to disappear like thin mist before the national State, whose concrete favours and punishments are for daily sight. I have no intention here to elaborate the conceptualisation of mankind except to say that it must see itself through a world state. Such a world state must in the nature of things arise out of the loyalty of the individual human being and must therefore be elected by men and not nominated by their government.

A world parliament must acquire definite powers and, however minimum these powers may be, they must never again be subject to the will of national parliaments. The framing of a constitution is a very minor matter. The deciding factor would be the will of the peoples of the world as to what they would like to have. I should think that certain rights and powers of a world Parliament have almost become self-evident. Thus, for instance, is the right of every human being to travel, work or die wherever he pleases. Right to death is today severely curtailed or even destroyed in view of most countries preserving their high standards of living against immigration from suppressed areas. The world is definitely not one. On grounds of indigence and passport and visa, it does not permit a person to die where he may choose. The streets of Washington, Sydney and Moscow must be kept cleared for the well fed and the well shod.

In similar manner, the armed forces and defence expenditures of various nation states must be thoroughly investigated with a view to defining the areas of a world Parliament's powers. Complete international control over armed forces of nations may yet be a long time to come. The least that can be attempted to-day is that a fixed percentage of the defence expenditures in every State be pooled into an international authority in order to reconstruct the world. A later effort may be the establishment of a world armed force no matter how small. But the formation of a world army is a small matter compared to the election of a world parliament, which may either grant weightage to small nations or on a regional basis or set up a Senate of equal representation irrespective of the size of the nation. The essential thing is that the world parliament should be elected by adult citizens of the world. A direct bond should be established between the individual and his world State. This bond may be tenuous in the beginning. It may also snap in the earlier stages of the crises of the spirit; of conflict between loyalty to the world State and that to the nation state. After a number of such bonds have temporarily dissolved in the same manner in which chieftains or citizens of smaller states were able to dissolve in the emerging nation State, the world state shall have become an object to which man could offer his devoted passion.

Nothing was ever won without a fight. The peoples' songs of Europe have therefore invariably summoned men to the last fight. But the kind of fight they had in mind was only an armed fight, meant to effect improvement in the nation state while keeping its basis intact. The new internationalism must attack the very basis of the nation state, it may well be

that the attack is not wholesale and a reasoned adjustment between the appropriate basis of a nation state and the world state is achieved. Such an attack cannot be mounted in terms of violence. Armed forces of the nation state would suffice for any such attack; it may not come off in any considerable strength. Even those who may be willing to mount a non-violent attack on the basis of their own nation state may shrink from doing so if the attack is violent. Very few people can murder their parent; almost everybody can under certain circumstances disobey the parent civilly. The nation state is indeed the great mother. She is however doting and in some ways extremely tyrannical. She must be disobeyed civilly. This is where the secret of the new internationalism seems to lie: the concrete aim of the world state of adult citizens should become the beacon and the method for its achievement should be civil disobedience. Internationalists aiming to create a world Parliament should solemnly abjure the use of violence. But they must as solemnly vow to use the methods of civil resistance for the realisation of their aim.

If a single people of France could through their representatives solemnly vow not to disperse until they had given themselves their Parliament and their constitution and so have sparked off the French Revolution, why cannot the peoples of the world similarly vow to give themselves a world constitution? This will bring them in conflict with their nation state. They must then be prepared to practise civil disobedience. What a great experience would it be for mankind if masses of men in different countries of the world simultaneously and civilly resisted their own governments in pursuit of the common aim to achieve the world State. There is no need to add that such civil resistance of an international character will also have to be practised for other aims such as percentages of war budgets or nationalisation of exploitative foreign capital. The true internationalist must not waste his time overmuch in trying to intervene into crises of other people's making; he must create crises of his own with his aims and with his methods. He must therefore practise his vocation almost day by day; even if it be for a hour, and not content himself with an occasional one in time of crises.

Such an international movement must inevitably depend on individual membership as much as on collective membership. All international movements have so far arisen out of coming together of national sections. The individual member of a nation state or a national party has not been affiliated to them. The Communist or the Socialist internationals for instance are both associations of national parties, although they may differ in the

firmness of their bonds. So long as national sections come into an international movement or organisation, the loyalty to the nation state continues unabridged. Individuals must be allowed to come into international movements. They must also have the right to express themselves against their own national sections, if they feel that to be necessary. Great ingenuity will be required to adjust the claims of individuals and organisations but, if a system of just representation as between the individual and affiliated membership of certain European socialist parties could have evolved, there is no reason why that may not be possible in a world organisation. I have now strayed too far from my original theme. I have not the slightest intention to advocate the formation of a new international in the foreseeable future. What is necessary is an international debate over ideas, some of which have here been outlined.

**World's Jackal and Fox Mentality
Eisenhower and Khrushchev
Must Meet**

WORLD'S JACKAL AND FOX MENTALITY: EISENHOWER AND KHRUSHCHEV MUST MEET

[A summary report of a speech delivered by the author at a meeting of socialists in Calcutta on June 13th., 1959]

Rammanohar Lohia told a gathering of Calcutta Socialists that an early meeting and understanding between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev was essential for the physical and moral health of the world, for their rivalry had sapped the foundation of morals. The foreign aid they give, according to him, sustains corrupt governments of the world and creates among the peoples a mentality devoid of all self-respect. Except these two almighty powers, said Lohia, "the rest of the world is either a jackal like Pakistan, Poland and Equador or a fox like India, England and Jugoslavia. This jackal and fox mentality must go, and this can happen only when rivalries in giving and receiving foreign aid go".

Continuing his criticism of India's politics, Lohia said that politics in India are personal, emotional and unrealistic, while they ought to be impersonal, realistic and as far as possible, idealistic. Illustrating this remark by events of foreign policy, Lohia guessed that, if a Bengali had been prime or foreign minister of India, the Indo-Pakistan conflict would have revolved around East Bengal in the same manner as with a man of Kashmiri ancestry, it has done so around Kashmir. He thought with a Tamilian at the head of India's government Indians in Ceylon would probably have acquired first place in the list of foreign problems. Lohia said, "the entire outlook must change and in this connexion first of the people and then of the leaders. The peopl must begin to think impersonally, before their leaders can do so."

Rammanohar Lohia also said that what existed in India existed in Bengal in an accentuated form, for Bengal's middle classes have for a century now been the top of India's middle classes. He said, "more often than not, a Bengali is at the top in spheres of individual excellence. In rifle-shooting, boxing or parachuting, in beauty contests, in science and for merit in the free professions and the fine arts, Bengal generally occupies first or second place. But the mass of Bengal's population numbering 2 crores 60 lakhs out of 3 crores is the most non-descript of all India. Unless the Mahisyas, Namsudras, Gopes, Ansars, Telis and the like carry out a revolt based on self-respect and preferential opportunities, Bengal cannot express herself fully. India must go through a revolution of the mind deeper than any she has known before. She must know that the Indian Renaissance is yet to come and, to the extent that it has taken place, its father was not the rich, English-speaking, fair-skinned, raja Rammohan Roy but the poor, the commonly dressed, dark Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar. India must abandon her craze for and respect to a fake aristocracy."

**British Elections and The Future
OF
Socialism**

BRITISH ELECTIONS AND THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

[Stenographic record of Press conference on the 13th October 1959.]

I HAVE long maintained that orthodox and organised socialism is a dead doctrine and a dying organisation, but the third successive defeat of British socialism at the general elections has given topicality to my view. The massive vote which backs up European socialism and the fringe vote which helps it ride to power must necessarily make it cautious and afraid to think and still more afraid to speak out new thoughts. The fringe vote is a combination of conservatism and radicalism and any appeal to it must necessarily be cautious. That and the substratum of national unity make conservatives and socialists almost indistinguishable. Mr. Churchill wants the bomb and also wants to test it, while Mr. Bevan wants the bomb but does not want the test. Similarly, German socialism has been unable over the past 10 years to achieve the clear-cut policy of German reunification on the basis of neutrality and has more or less run behind Herr Adenauer. These orthodox and organised socialists possess no world view of their own and borrow their ideas largely from the capitalist democracies and occasionally from communism.

The left socialists who have from time to time been splitting away from their root organisation have leaned on the internal strength of native communism and the international strength of Russia. Socialism without crutches has been a rare thing in the past 30 years. The only exception to this world-wide phenomenon has so far been the left socialism of India, which has consistently refused to lean either on the right or on the left and is based on the theory that capitalism and communism are alike irrelevant for the purposes of creating the new

civilisation. It is not widely appreciated that the Indian general elections of 1957 saw right-wing socialists allying themselves with communism, while left-wing socialists fought their battles in almost terrible isolation. I understand that the Nenni socialists of Italy and the Bourdet and Mendes France socialists of France are groping their way towards this theory of equal irrelevance, which must necessarily make them give up all hope of immediate results. This is the only hope for a revived socialism, a patient but hard working socialism.

I should think that this new socialism will adopt as its frame of references: 1. Maximum attainable equality of incomes and expenditures, towards which nationalisation of economy may be one necessary step. 2. A decent standard of living throughout the world and not increasing standards of living within national frontiers. 3. A world parliament elected on some kind of adult franchise with beginnings towards a world government and world army. 4. Collective and individual practice of civil disobedience so that the unarmed and helpless little man may acquire the habit to resist tyranny and exploitation civilly. 5. Freedom of the individual against unjust encroachments of public authority and safeguarding an area of free speech and association and private life over which no government nor organisation may exercise control. 6. Evolution of a technology which would be consistent with these aims and processes. I am convinced that such a socialism alone can save the world from the sloth of Asia and the strife of Europe and give humanity a new civilisation of tranquil activity.

Q. What is this technology ?

A. Small-unit machines wherever possible, large-scale industrialisation wherever necessary.

Q. Apart from your party, the Socialist Party, are there any other left socialists in India?

A. There may be sections even among Congress and Communists, not to talk of the Praja Socialists and, of course, parties like the Workers and Peasants, Republicans, Revolutionary Socialists. If my party were strong, it would have netted in these elements. I sometimes feel that we are fighting an almost lost battle from the view point of immediate results, but on the ashes of our defeat a new effort may be built up. That is why although I may occasionally lose hope I go on fighting, for that is the only battle for me.

Q. Suppose socialism comes to power after 2/3 generations, in which way are we concerned about our grandchildren?

A. We personally suffered for the sins of our ancestors and that is why we should want to try at least for the wellbeing of our grand children.

Q. Is not conservative victory in Britain the victory of India's Swatantra Party?

A. The Swatantra Party will first have to practise a combined capitalist and imperialist development in India for 300 years, acquire colonies and exploit them and also learn firmness and humour before it can become a party like the conservative party of Britain.

The Swatantra Party is the party of thrifty, narrow-minded and out-of-power capitalists while the Congress Party is the party of luxury-loving, somewhat broad minded and enthroned capitalists. Their battles have no enduring significance for the people of India. In fact the prime minister can now strut about as the great radical and without having to produce any arguments he can just point at the Swatantra Party.

**India, China Congressism
AND
Communism**

INDIA, CHINA, CONGRESSISM AND COMMUNISM*

The conflict between India and China must be viewed from the four angles of India's northern frontier in the Himalayas, comparative total strength of both the nations and their speed of growth, India's foreign policy and Tibet.

BHUTAN, SIKKIM AND URVASIAM :

Let us take the northern border first, which includes Ladak, Bhutan, Urvasiam and Nepal. In spite of repeated warnings since 1950 the government of India has done nothing to harden this area. These people and the regions have been deliberately kept soft, as a standing invitation for foreign aggression. It is an essential part of our defence to strengthen and harden these people. Hardening does not mean mere arming them with weapons, but strengthening their morale, their way of thinking and their living conditions. But what the conditions of these people are in actuality the prime minister told us recently after his visit to Bhutan and expressed his happiness and joy at what he saw. There were no roads, no schools, no newspapers and no industries in Bhutan ! It seemed as if the words belonged to a man who had grown old and worn out in the vices of the world and sought asylum in a place which was free from modern complexities. Would a prime minister be ever happy to declare that his country's frontiers people have no communication, no education, no enlightenment and living standards worth the name ? How else does a country invite aggression from another?

About Urvasiam, the first thing that should strike our mind is that for twelve years our government has not found a name for a big region of the country and calls it N.E.F.A., which is an abbreviation from the English "North Eastern

*Translated and adapted from a Hindi speech.

Frontier Agency.” And this is not a small area of a few miles, as such casual naming may suggest; its area is around 35,000 sq. miles. The Indian equivalent would be Uttara Purva Simanta Anchal, which is not a phrase of any one language of India but is Talugu, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese etc. at the same time. Such a comprehensive nomenclature and what a beautiful name you can have by joining the first letters of the first, third and fourth words and the second syllable of the second word, URVASIAM, as if to signify the home of Urvasi, the mythical nymph. We don’t come across Rambhas, Menakas and Tilottamas in our day-to-day lives and it would be a really joyous invention to call an area by a famous beauty of our myths.

And until very recently it was an offence in this Urvasiam to keep pictures of Gandhi, or any other leader, or of any gods and goddesses. It is unbelievable for those who are not informed about such things that for twelve years in a part of independent India it was a crime to have Gandhiji’s pictures. How could this happen ? This area is under the direct administration of the centre and the latter has appointed Mr. Verrier Elwin, an ex-padre, as advisor to the government on tribal affairs. I won’t say much about it beyond that the government could not find anyone more suitable than a foreigner as its advisor on matters relating to the frontiers of India. Now the prime minister and Mr. Elwin have together arrived at a principle of protecting the existing culture, manners and modes of living of these adivasis of Urvasiam the Mismis, Daflas, Ahoms and so many others—by completely separating them from the rest of the people of India. At Gir in Madhya Pradesh, similarly, some 400 to 500 square miles have been protected for the lions. Nobody can shoot animals there but one can go, if one wishes to, and see things there. But the tribal humanity is treated still differently from the Gir lions. They are put in a cage, unobserved and untouched by the outside world, so that their colourful dresses, their bow and arrow, their dances and songs may continue unaffected. How ignorant and how dangerous ! An area of more than 30,000 sq. miles is kept in cold storage, insulated from any further development, with its people eternally condemned to the primitive stages of life !

So that is how the government of India has treated Bhutan and Urvasiam, the two important chunks of India’s northern frontier. About Sikkim I shall say this much that although it is under India’s protection, its people have not yet been given the right to elect their representatives to the Indian parliament, whereas the ruling group, which consists of a few people of the Raja’s caste, has the privilege of nominating representatives to

the Lok Sabha numbering more than what is warranted by the population. A few people of Sikkim had met me sometime back with a proposal to start a popular struggle there. I am, however, not left with much courage any more, for sponsoring such struggles. In this context I may relate what happened in Nepal ten years back.

NEPAL AND LADAK :

These four divisions of our northern frontier, viz. Ladak, Bhutan, Sikkim and Urvasiam, have been kept soft and vulnerable as a direct result of the government's policies. But Nepal, the fifth link, is not so vulnerable now as it was ten years ago, because a popular struggle had been launched there successfully and some sort of a democratic government has been already brought into existence. At that time, when a popular struggle in Nepal was launched, all such people who are considered to be responsible leaders of the country, were against it, and held out the warning that Indians helping in this struggle would be responsible for spoiling the neighbourly relations between India and Nepal. Among them were all congressmen, and Mr Bidhan Chandra Roy, the present chief minister of West Bengal went to the extent of making a public statement against the agitation. The present premier of Nepal, Mr. Visheshwar Prasad Koirala, had met me after my arrest in Goa. Many others, in the form of delegation of youngmen and students, also had come to tell me that while I was trying to liberate Goa, I did not care how things went on in the state on our northern border. However, I advised Mr. Koirala to seek the help of congress leaders since it was a big problem and my party was after all not so big. He informed that he had already been disappointed in those quarters and that is why he came to the Socialist Party. My next advice was that since he was in Bihar he should go and meet Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, who also belonged to Bihar. After a few days he again came back to tell me that nobody was prepared to take up the cause and I should any how come forward to help in the struggle against the Rana rule.

So I agreed and took up their cause and organised as much help as was possible on my part. While the struggle was on, a tirade of ridicule and disapproval was let loose against us from the Indian press and public platforms, accusing us of harming the India-Nepal relationship. Not that these people and congressmen did not wish to strengthen the border, but viewpoints differed. These people were of the view that the northern border could be well protected if India remained in friendly terms with whatever government there was in Nepal,

while according to the other view Nepal would have remained vulnerable if the Rana rule continued and so the proper thing was to awaken the masses and establish a people's rule in place of the old style feudalism.

The struggle went on for about four years and these two views stood in relief all this time. Ultimately Ranashahi was brought down and the Nepali congress, for that was the organisation through which the agitation had been carried on, is now ruling that country. Now where are the prime minister and others? On which side are they? Some people believe that I can start a thing, up to a point advance it, but fail in the end. I shall not indulge in its verification. The truth is deeper than that. A poor man seeks the help of a poor man, but when attains his own riches he finds it suitable to leave the old companion and goes over to the rich, trying meticulously all the time to avoid unpleasant reminders of the past humble comradeship.

And this becomes necessary to a certain extent. Direct relations between these who sit in the throne of Kathmandu and those sitting in Delhi are inevitable. Whether it was in respect of Nepal or independence or world peace, people like me should have the satisfaction of doing their own duty. It is not to be worried about if such things do not afterwards further our own interests. In any case one work got done. The people of Nepal have succeeded, however partially, in establishing their control over Nepal and it is not so easy now for a foreign aggressor to tempt the people in Nepal as in the case of Bhutan, Sikkim, Urvasiam or Ladak.

As for Ladak, it seems that Chinese incursions into this territory have been a systematic and planned thing for the last two or three years. A road was built there and occupation took place. What was the India government doing when all these were happening? The prime minister was cunning enough to admit the lesser guilt and thereby cover up the greater one. He told the parliament that it was a mistake not to have informed the parliament and the people about it. People thought the prime minister was honest enough to confess a guilt and forgot the greater evil. The greater evil was that the government had done nothing about it; it had taken no action to strengthen the northern border of India.

For the last ten to twelve years the Himalayan borders were kept weak, and I should say, knowingly. A great misconception was that the Himalayas were too big and impenetrable to need protection and, a second, that friendship between India and China was too old to take an evil turn.

There was a tendency to deprecate any attempt to awaken this apparently dormant border. But the border was not asleep. It was wide awake. It was awake even in history. People came and went through it. Nine years ago a Himalayan Policy had been formulated, at nongovernmental levels, with a view to strengthening the people of the borders mentally, politically and economically. Some work, too, had been started in this direction, for, apart from the armed aspect of defending borders, there is also the other important aspect, to keep the people of the borders alive and kicking, which should never be lost sight of. In spite of all these warnings the government did not open its eyes.

The government has indulged in mean excuses, such as calling the occupied land hilly and barren. No Indian ought to have uttered such words about his own country. It is like calling the fingers of one's mother useless projections or her nose a blot. Generally such things are not said. But it reveals how weak and unthinking the government's outlook on the border problem has been.

MODERNISATION—TWO WAYS:

Now let us look at the problem from the angle of the comparative internal strength of two countries, India and China. I am not an apologist for China, nor do I approve of its communism. But I cannot close my eyes to facts. I recognise the facts of Chinese growth without the least liking for China's communism. China is today producing steel to the tune of one crore tons annually whereas India's output is 25 lakh tons. Coal output in China is 35 crore tons as against 5 to 6 crores of India. In agriculture, India's 5 to 6 crore tons is over-matched by China's 20 crore tons. The population of China is only one and a half times more than that of India, but probably less.

Some differences in production would have been inevitable, had India taken to pure Gandhism and China pure Marxism. India could have increased her steel production by 6 or 7 lakh tons annually through the mobilisation of the lakhs of indigenous blacksmiths who are spread all over India. But India was so much drunk with the imitation of Russia and America that it could not see anything beyond establishing a few big plants like Durgapur, Rourekela and Bhilai. China, on the other hand, set upon increasing steel output by using also the thousands of village backyard furnaces.

Modernisation has two aspects: modernisation of production and that of consumption. Even in case of production

there should arise the question as to what sort of machinery should be adopted in developing a poor and underdeveloped economy, in what special ways should science be applied to industry. This problem will arise when a good government comes to rule in India. But here I shall concern myself with the modernisation of consumption, which has been suppressed in China. Whereas India goes on wasting the much needed money of a poor country on modernising consumption. We have to build up factories and we need capital, but how can we have it for production purposes when so much is spent on luxuries? Nearly a half or more of the money set by for plan expenditure in India is used for modernising consumption—in the construction of luxurious mansions, luxurious airports, luxurious trains and so on. The expenses of our big men are really astounding. There is a great and striking difference between the standard of living of our administrators and that of Mao tse-Tung, Chou en-Lai or Ho Chi Minh. The last mentioned is perhaps the best example in this respect. He is so plainly dressed like an ordinary man of Indochina that it would be difficult to take him for anybody else if one meets him on the road without any previous acquaintance with his face. In China it is the same and I think in Russia, too, during the first 30 or forty years of revolution, there was not much difference between the people's dress and the rulers' dress. India is different. The ruling class fastidiously maintains a different apparel. Whether it is the western tie with coat or the ancient *churidar*, there is that resort to a visible difference which would immediately brand a man as belonging to the ruling groups. In the last twelve years of freedom there has been a deliberate effort in establishing this label of distinction.

THERE is still another important factor which separates the people from the rulers in India. The rulers of China, Indochina, and Russia of the revolution period did not think that the public use of a foreign language was necessary for the country's progress. They did not think that their languages were too poor to cope with the modern needs.

A chief reason why China's pace of development was greater than India's was this narrowing down of the differences between the rulers and the ruled in their language, dress and ways of living, whereas in India the estrangement has been ever on the increase.

Take science for another instance and what do we find? India went on building imposing architectures for housing the laboratories, and there must be by now 15 or 20 such buildings dedicated to science, so that a visitor from outside gets the impression that India is making great leaps forward in science. In China, or Europe, considering the earlier stages of scientific

development, the first thing has been to discover the scientist, to find him out and nourish his work. In India the building comes first, then equipment and, last of all, the student. In China, or for that matter in a true process of development, the order is just reversed. Everything in India has been made to stand on its head for the last twelve years.

FOREIGN POLICY:

PASSING on to the third angle of foreign policy, I am reminded of an apt and pithy headline I came across in a recent issue of the weekly *Chaukhambha*: "The Bhakra and the Panchsheel have been washed away simultaneously." The internal temple, for that is how Bhakra is regarded in relation to the internal policies of the government, and the external temple, Panchsheel, have been swept off together. All the evils and weaknesses are being exposed in a synthetic, symbolic manner. What is Panchsheel uptill now but a hollow phrase, whose utterance gives some sentimental satisfaction to the people and the government? And whenever a foreign dignitary came and mouthed these phrases once or twice in his statements the people and the government used to think that their policy had been successful and accepted by the world!

Nothing concrete has been achieved in the last ten or twelve years in the field of foreign policy. Of course, the Indonesia affair is a different matter and we may be able to find one or two such other examples. That is all. Otherwise the history of our foreign policy is a history of mere words, attractive words. And the people were caught in the net of words. Now the situation is changing and the people are able to grasp the situation. Whether it is the Goa problem or Kashmir or the question of northern borders, the foreign policy has turned into a fiasco everywhere. Ordinarily people realise the gravity of a problem only when it hits them with all its force. They should have read the writing on the wall—they should have known that a government which cannot utilise the internal strength of the country for economic growth, which is responsible for weak and harmful industrial policies, can never formulate a strong and positive foreign policy. The Indian government says with pride that its foreign policy is independent of both the Atlantic and Soviet camps. But like a cunning grocer the Indian government has indulged in playing tricks with the scales to deceive the customer. It is another matter that those who have been watching this performance have been so foolish as not to find out his trickery. From 1952 to 57 the foreign policy of the Indian government was pro-Russian and now it seems to be leaning towards the Atlantic camp. If, as it professes,

the Indian government had considered every problem on its merits, and supported, let us say, Russia on the Kenya problem and America on the Hungarian problem then, of course, it would have been understandable. But the truth is that it has been leaning towards the American and Russian camps for three or four years alternatively. It seems that the camp which gives more gets greater support. It is also possible that when the internal agents of a particular camp become stronger or weaker, policy changes in external affairs are made accordingly. Perhaps the government now believes that the agents of the Russian camp, the communists, have been domesticated and cannot create much trouble for the time being.

The Lebanon affair is a case in point. When the American forces landed in the Lebanon it seemed as if the third world war might break out. Though there were various hitches, the situation was pretty serious. At that time there were talks of a summit conference and the Russian government suggested that India might be invited to this conference. The Indian government's mouth watered at this suggestion and the prime minister said that they would certainly not shirk their responsibility but they would not go to the conference if only one side invited them; both the camps should extend the invitation. How absurd! How can the Indian government, even if it wants to, take part in the summit meet, if only one side invites it? It is obvious from this incident that the chief aim of the Indian foreign policy is to provide some important position to the rulers or the rule of India. Somehow they must acquire a name, fame and a place in history. Now that the expected invitation from the other side hasn't come, it is possible that they have been hurt and learnt a lesson that such low trickery is not sufficient for getting recognition from both sides.

Something about the summit conference, because it may materialise, now that Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Krushchev, leaders of the two most powerful nations, have already met. I shall be glad if some accord between Russia and America results from such a conference. For the cunning and beggarly politicians of the whole world will find themselves unemployed; they will be forced to stand on their own legs. This is necessary for the physical and spiritual well-being of the world.

TIBET :

WHEN Tibet was first invaded about 10 years back by the Chinese army, what exactly were the opposition parties and the government doing? Both the government and the opposition parties have been sources of confusion with regard to for-

eign policy. Today some gentlemen are being very sympathetic to the Tibetan cause and the Dalai Lama. It seems as if neither Bhoodan, nor Gramdan but Tibet-dan is the most important question of Indian politics today. When the Chinese monster grabbed Tibet ten years ago no one said a word about it; but now when the monster wants to devour its prey there is a lot of breastbeating. Both the government and the people of India by their inaction and passivity did a great harm to Tibet, the world and our own country. At that time also a few people like me had said that a monster was killing a baby. And some people had remarked that I wanted to create bad blood between India and China. Indian foreign policy specialises in sugary words such as *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai*, *Hindi Rusi bhai bhai* and now we may have occasion to hear *Hindi-Amriki bhai bhai*. And if the British queen Elizabeth comes to India then our sugar-coating industry will reach its High water-mark. Indians and Englishmen have always been brothers and if the brotherly climate is not enough, a sisterly climate may also be created! This kind of false sentimentalism has been the curse of Indian foreign policy.

Not only the India government which has never considered any problem seriously and sincerely but the educated people of India have also failed in their duty. They dubbed men like me who dare to speak the truth as hot-headed and rash, and those who always hide the truth were showered with praise. Now everyone knows in what harm all this has resulted. Tibet should be free as it has always been. I would like to tell those who swear by history that at one time Tibet had ruled China. Then why don't they make China a part of Tibet? These people talk of treaties and documents but forget the abiding factors of history.

Talking of treaties, I agree with the Chinese that the MacMahon line is imperialistic. The name itself proves it. Of course, my interpretation is different from theirs. The correct name of the highest peak in the world is Sarga Matha. I have not invented this name. The people of Nepal call Mt. Everest by this name. So the old name, the original and the real name has been supplanted by a name given by foreigners, and the educated people of our country follow it. Yet it would be foolish to say that as the name is Mt. Everest there is therefore no such peak. The reality is that we, the brown, black and yellow people, were enslaved and the English or European names became common. MacMahon line is an imperialistic name but the land across it is not imperialistic. Though I would accept it as a correct demarcation between India and Tibet, it has to be changed when Tibet becomes part of China.

Tibet should be free. And if the question of closer relations is raised, western Tibet including Mansarovar is closer to India than to China from all points of view. From historical and cultural points of view Tibet is definitely closer to India than China. Their script, language, religion, way of life all these go to prove that there has been a larger measure of Indian influence on Tibet than the Chinese influence. Perhaps, even when it is true, one should not talk of 'influence;' it would be better to say 'exchange of ideas' between two countries than talk of the influence of one over the other. The word 'influence' in this context assumes an imperialistic tone, it creates misunderstanding and mars friendly relations. Here I would like to point out that just as in the case of Nepalese struggle against the Ranas, so also with regard to the Tibetan problem political leaders and political parties of India have taken a wavering stand. I recognise the religious authority of Lamaism apart from my personal like or dislike. Some may want that like all organised religions Lamaism should also go. That is for the Tibetan people to decide. But the political and economic powers of Lamaism must go. The Lamas possessed large tracts of land in Tibet as also political authority. Sympathy for Tibet does not necessarily mean sympathy for the Dalai Lama and sympathy to the Dalai Lama does not mean that we should accept everything that he says. No doubt the Dalai Lama today has become a symbol of Tibet's struggle for freedom, its sufferings and endurance. It must be clearly understood that a positive foreign policy can be built only when our friends and neighbours are made strong. It is quite obvious that 40 lac Tibetans rotting under the political authority and economic privileges of the Lamas can never become a strong nation. Had there been agitations against the Lamas 15 to 20 years back, something good could have been achieved.

Considering the Indo-Chinese conflict from all angles one is startled to find that India's borders are extremely weak. Even its heart Delhi and its surrounding areas are weak. And the government asks us what should be done. It is a very strange manner of putting things. First it follows a weak and harmful policy and when the hammer falls on the head the people are asked to supply the solution. When America started giving military help to Pakistan the people were instigated to organise demonstrations against America. Now the people are being instigated and encouraged to demonstrate against the Chinese to join armed forces etc. A man like me, a common citizen, can only ask this government to take back the territory the Chinese have captured by whatever means it thinks fit—through her Panchsheel diplomacy, with Shri Krushchev's help or by any other method. The Indian government knows the strength of

the Chinese forces as also its own strength or weakness as the case may be. My only demand is that our areas should be taken back and that very soon and the Indian government should take whatever steps are necessary in this direction, with determination and strength. Some people demand that military action should be taken. The Indian government, which does not want to do anything, says that it is not a civilised approach to a problem. And so in this way a false controversy is started. We are not concerned with all that—we demand that our areas should be taken back!

Now I am not one of those who talk about shedding their last drop of blood. I sometimes wonder at these gentlemen that though they have been talking in this manner for the last two or three months they still seem to be hale and hearty, though by now all their blood should have been completely drained away. Even Gandhians, old and new, are talking in this vein. They have started flourishing their unsheathed swords in the air. I don't like armed forces, in India or elsewhere. It would be better if violent actions and armaments are given up completely. If the world wants to make any progress it will have to give up armed forces. But when there is an army it should be properly administered and used. Neither of these things is being done in India.

Our armed forces are not being properly administered to day. As usual the government lied when it said that there are no group, political or caste considerations in the matter of promotions. A number of officers have resigned. In the last eight months two officers have resigned. For the present I shall give out the name of one officer—Shri Jai Singh Apji. If there is an occasion I will reveal the other name also. The Thimaya-Menon episode is a part of this bungling in the administration of our armed forces. Different newspapers have interpreted it in different manners to suit their own interests. There are demands that if Mr. Menon is guilty and he should be removed, and if Gen. Thimaya is guilty he should be sacked immediately. But no one talks about the man who appointed them. After all what exactly is the difference between Mr. Thimaya and Mr. Krishna Menon? One is a man of the British Right while the other is a man of the British Left. That is, if Mr. Thimaya has been brought up by the British right-wing politicians, Mr. Menon has been brought up by the left-wing politicians of Britain. Yet if ever I have to choose between Mr. Thimaya and Mr. Krishna Menon I will choose the former. After all his profession is such that he will prove to be a man of devotion and loyalty. It is there in the military profession as such. Therefore if I were ever forced to choose between the two, provided both are civilians

and not that one is a civilian and the other a military man, and to choose whom I would believe more, I would believe Mr. Thimaya more than Mr. Menon.

The ~~problem~~ is not civilian versus military, nor one of temperamental differences as given out. The real problem is ignored, the problem of mal-administration in the army, of group politics. May be even Mr. Thimaya is part of the group-politics. Those people who today are engaged in issuing certificates of good character have pushed the problem of mal-administration in the army to the background.

Coming back to the border problem, I won't talk about military action, nor about the last drop of blood, nor do I want to say that I shall support the government. I am not the sort of man to say that I shall support whatever action this government takes to defend the integrity of India. It is a meaningless and foolish language. How can I support a government which has kept the borders in a state of confusion and weakness, tried to sugar-coat the Tibetan tragedy, followed a wrong policy in regard to the agrarian and industrial problems and which in its foreign policy puts consideration of the prestige of a few persons above the considerations of benefit to the country and humanity? Our only demand is that our areas should be taken back without much delay. And we shall certainly fulfil our duty in a crisis like this. We shall try our best to keep up the morale of the people and keep alive the love of the country in their hearts. And whatever difficulties we may have to go through, we shall not flinch from our duty and will try to imbibe our people with the same spirit.

TRAITORS AND PATRIOTS.

There are the question of patriotism and treachery. These questions arise because there is in our midst a party which gives some hope to the Chinese and Russians, the Communist Party. What is betrayal of the country? This word should be properly understood. Not that I am going to prove that communists are not traitors. Yet it would be better to understand the nature of their treachery so that in a time of crisis we may not be caught napping. Bibhishan was also a traitor but he betrayed his country for the great cause of truth and justice. In the same way if there are certain people who are prepared to betray their country because according to them communism will bring about a just and good government, then at least the people of India should be able to understand it in the traditional background. There have always been and there shall always be people who are ready to 'betray' their country for the sake of truth and justice, according to their own conceptions of justice and truth.

Should only those who support the enemy be called traitors? What about those who have been the cause of the country's weakness at a time of crisis, who have continually kept the borders in a state of weakness? A mistake or two can be forgiven. But when absolutely nothing is done about the problems of language, price, agriculture and industrial growth, then it becomes a serious matter.

The Socialist Party has always launched agitations in these directions. But the parties like the Praja Socialist Party have always launched agitations which instead of strengthening the country weaken it. They are the people who swim with the current—whether it is the current of Tibet or of Samyukta Maharashtra. Sometimes I too lose hope about the socialist movement; yet it should always be remembered that the Indian socialists are engaged in the task of finding out and strengthening new and positive paths in politics. Today Sri S. M. Joshi talks about pushing out communists from the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, because, he says, they are traitors. Didn't Shri Joshi see their treachery in 1942? What about Hungary and Tibet? But Shri Joshi perhaps thinks that anybody who can be helpful in winning the elections is good enough—only so long as he is useful. A P.S.P. leader told me, without being asked, that they formed the front with the communists simply because their very existence was at stake. It is obvious now that a party like the P.S.P. cannot exist without MLAs and MPs, specially when it is a question of competition with us. If our party wins more seats then naturally the PSP will die. So for the PSP the supreme problem is to exist, to exist at all costs. I told him that when it is a question of principles and life, it is better to perish than sacrifice principles; your death will not go in vain, it will produce new growth.

I shall not for a moment be surprised to find the self-same persons, who are raising a hue and cry that the communists are traitors, entering into electoral alliances with the Communist Party in 1962, as they did in 1957, in their anxiety to reap a good electoral harvest. And then a thousand and one reasons of democracy will be found out. Therefore, we must have the entire picture before our eyes while examining the word 'treason' in all its implications. It is clear from the foregoing that I do not hold communists as patriots. But I have seen so many varieties of treason in the last 15-20 years that I should be on my guard. Ten or fifteen years from now I thought communists alone were traitors. I was angry with them, even from within the heart; anger of the mind is, of course, always there. Now I have found out that the self-styled patriots are also traitors. May be on

account of their follies, or selfishness, or the so-called duty to save one's life in peril, or on account of the fact that they use the office for self-glorification and not for changing the world for the better. Under such circumstances of all-round betrayal one must be on one's guard while branding any one party or group as traitors.

Now I may relate a recent conversation which I had with a communist. In days gone by he was with us. He is a labourer and has some regard for me. When he met me this time we had an open-hearted talk for about three hours. In the beginning he had thought that there would be greater comradeship among communists. But he found that it was not even that much as there was in his old party. Asked if he felt alienated, he said, no; now he has settled down. Initially he felt rather upset. But now he has calmed himself. He is there and shall remain there. He made this much clear to me at the outset. Then he said communist leaders committed a grave error. They issued statements which showed as if they were not patriots. A clamour arose within the Communist Party and men like him raised voices of dissent. Now some of the communist leaders were talking all right. For they also say that they will defend the country and her frontiers if there is an aggression.

When we took up issues one by one he laughed, bringing arguments to an abrupt end. "It is all a manner of speech," he said. "Who sheds blood and who does not? Had the communist leaders adopted this manner of speech from the outset, we need not have faced many troubles."

Finally I asked him what he meant when he said that they would defend India. "Can you really fight for India against China?" He said: "Why not? We must have the country's freedom intact." "Don't be in a hurry," I pleaded. "Talk patiently. Tell me if you consider what China has done now aggression or not?" "I don't." "In case Chinese armies march on the Delhi roads to liberate you, will you consider it to be an aggression or not?" "It cannot happen. It is well-nigh impossible. India will turn communist only when the masses of their own will put communists into power. Hence the question does not arise."

"What happened in Kerala? Was not democracy butchered there?"

"Yes, it was."

"If any force could save democracy there, would you not have welcomed it?"

"By all means we would."

"Just exercise your mind a bit more. Suppose Kerala has moved to the north and is Himanchal Pradesh, and communists rule there. Delhi government puts an end to the communist rule and democracy is butchered. And then neighbouring China opposes the Delhi government to save democracy. What will you do then ?"

"Then it is a different matter."

I have seen many a treason in my life. And I am intensely angry with treason. And I want to save my country from treason, but from the real traitors. I do not mind talking a word or two with love and affection with such peasants and workers who are rather innocent people. Those who are continually weakening the country on account of *apad dharma*, the duty of saving one's existence at any cost, or for self-glorification are the more serious traitors.

How do the communists continue to remain strong inspite of the evil they are ? It is erroneous to think that we can do our duty and also dispose of the communists by calling them 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists.' Communists have been disposed of in this fashion twenty times in the past. They have committed a thousand and one sins and yet are gaining strength or maintaining whatever strength they have. They put an end to the civil liberties in Russia and yet did not lose strength. They slaughtered thousands in the Hungarian revolution and yet did not lose strength. They occupied Tibet forcibly and yet did not lose strength, national or international. They aligned with British imperialism in India in 1942 and sabotaged India's freedom struggle; and yet they did not lose strength. What is the reason behind this stubbornness of their growth ? Beware of such Indian leaders as believe that they have finished the communists with such abusive phrases as 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists.' What sort of traitors are these who continually go on increasing their might !

I may point out here two such reasons. One is their internationalism, their sputniks and luniks. When a Hungary is enacted and people's minds get ruffled, even members of the Communist Party become shaky, there comes the sputnik and starts revolving round the earth or dashing towards the sun or the moon. And the ruffled minds settle down again. They say to themselves : No matter what sins are there, after all our sect is a mighty one and can alone deliver the goods to mankind! Try to understand the mind of the communist, and also the man who changes his mind at the sight of the communist might. A man like me has never learnt to do so, Sputnik or

no sputnik, my mind about Russia and China and communism will remain the same. In the same manner I have said many a time that howsoever wealthy America may be, my opinions about capitalism will remain the same. But the great majority of the people in India or elsewhere, look at the sputnik, its radiance and might, and change their minds.

There is yet another reason. When exploitation and tyranny are rampant and good men do not resist injustice by good means, bad men will win over mass support by their evil means. In the last 12 years tyranny has prevailed in respect of prices of food grains and inequalities of income and the insecurity of the common man is growing day by day. If the right type of parties do not come out to fight these tyrannies nonviolently and do not help the masses against the government and their bosses, communists will certainly win over the masses through their vile methods of resisting exploitation. This is rather simple.

If we keep in mind these two factors, it is easy to realise that communists cannot be done away with in India or elsewhere by simply calling them traitors.

COMMUNISM VS. CONGRESSISM:

RECENTLY the communists enacted a big agitation in Bengal. Big in the sense that many a life was lost; some 60-70 persons were killed. The communists agitations in India at the present are to a certain extent similar to those in pre-de Gaulle France. They indulge in bloody violence and disorder for three or four days in a year and let the government alone for the rest of the year. All this goes on as if there were an understanding between the two.

What type of agitation was this? I have come across only two types of propaganda about it. The communists and communist-supporters call it a mass upsurge. Whereas the anti-communists point towards the cruelty and savagery of the communists and the loot, arson and murder and damage done to the country by them.

The food agitation deserves a closer study than all this. It has, of course, revealed the unmitigated evil on which the Congress administration and the Communist party are alike built. But to say this is not enough, for there is no alternative to them at present.

I may relate here a few incidents. On the 1st September police inflicted savage injuries on the demonstrators, numbering

around 40,000. Some say nearly 500, yet others say around 1,000, persons were beaten by police lathis resulting in serious injuries to the bones of the arm, back or leg. While thinking of communist cruelty we should not forget the congress cruelty which preceded it, otherwise our judgment about the whole affair is liable to go wrong.

I have been saying all these years that communist maggots grow on the congress dunghills. You cannot wipe out the communist maggots alone, unless you also simultaneously sweep out the congress dunghills.

The essential background to the food movement goes far beyond the existing political parties in the state, for it is on the one hand a matter of history and on the other a question of certain inherent social and economic tensions. Everybody knows that if Bihar and Uttar Pradesh exhibited crowd bravery during the struggle against British rule, Bengal was notable for individual bravery. There were occasional exceptions to this, as for instance the Midnapore masses, but by and large it was the terrorist movement in Bengal which produced unexcelled individual bravery. Such individual bravery is not an unmixed good, particularly when its inheritors are a party like the communists.

By a curious twist of fate, the bulk of living terrorists as also their tradition were swallowed up by the Communist Party. The communist vilification of Netaji Bose should have prevented this development. But the fact that no other political party accepted the creed of violence in its basic theory or practised it effectively as the communists did on however few occasions decided the issue. Unless the theory and practice of civil disobedience are able to produce such acts of individual bravery as would link them up with the terroristic politics against the British rule, there can be no hope of dissociating that great tradition from communism.

The other feature of the situation, which is perhaps obvious in so far as communism in West Bengal is concerned, is to a certain extent anti-Marwarism. One half of industrial and trade wealth is owned by the rich Marwaris, who because of their language, dress and other styles of living are not a part of the mass of the people and therefore become targets of attack, and the Communist Party of India is asble to swallow and make use of the mass emotion against them. But the actual expression of this mass emotion is despicable in the extreme. It vents itself against the poor man from the Hindi-speaking areas and also the poor Marwari, for the rich man makes use of his powers and he is also otherwise protected. An eminent geographer once

described Calcutta as the city "par excellence" in all the world where money is respected most and men least—among these men are particularly Biharis, the Eastern Uttar Pradeshis, Oriyas, Tclugus and now the East Bengal refugees. The bulk of these men draw to them selves the emotion of hatred which is originally generated against the rich Marwaris. The result is most disastrous. It has destroyed the universalist character or what is generally known as the cosmopolitan character of this city, India's largest and most consequential. It has also given to economic movements of progress a curiously reactionary twist. Instead of generating opposition to the Marwari capitalist as also the Bengali capitalist and landlord, communist and such like movements are splitting up the ranks of the mass of the poor.

I do not know how far the people of West Bengal have been able to see the curious kind of cowardice that is inherent in communism. Between the 1st and the 4th of September communist leadership fled from the field of action, while many bloody acts were taking place. The communists might try to assert that they were in jail, which would be a lie considering the very large numbers of them who were out.

A rumour is afloat that communist leader Shri Jyoti Basu was "absconding" in Mr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's place and was comfortable there. Maybe it is not true. But I shall not be suprised if it were true. For Mr Bidhan Roy has a niece called Sri Renu Chakravarti, who is a communist. If she has a room in her uncle's home what is there to wonder about? And if she keeps her leader in that apartment, what can the poor uncle do about it?

I may also add to the foregoing that after all India's political parties are of the same stock—the middle class. The fight among them is like the quarrel between partners of the same family.

The communist leaders were not to be found anywhere in the field between September 1 and 4. In the violent battle the general is always in the rear; in the battle of satyagraha the general is ever in the front. If a believer in satyagraha is accused of flying from the battlefield he will feel hurt and may subsequently correct himself. But for one who believes in violence in his heart it is the rule!

The theory and practice of constitutionalism cannot save Bengal nor India from communism. In a situation as the present, its first attempt will be to finish the communists by calling them traitors and ruffians. But since they cannot be finished that way

the false fears of impending communist rule will be raised, along with frantic appeals to strengthen the Congress. I may categorically state here that if congressmen like Mr Nehru continue in office and the internal and external weaknesses continue, communist rule would be established in India. Such parties as the Congress and the PSP are destined to fail.

The only way to check communist rule lies in awakening the masses for putting an end to the Congress rule as early as possible. Those who have lost faith in people's strength and who do not want to have people's movements and those who want to solve the country's problems by words alone, have only one way: They find communists gaining strength, and side with the Congress to save themselves.

What might save the situation is not a party of extreme constitutionalism but peaceful action. Nothing large-scale is immediately possible in states like West Bengal. What should be done is to build up pools of sanity, incessant person to person conversation as well as public meetings on the basis of cutting away from the evils of congressism and communism and at the same time agitations wherever possible and civil disobedience wherever necessary against governmental policies of food, caste, language and the like.

Today the conflict is between 60 crore Chinese on the one hand 40-50 lakh Indians on the other. Unless India's women, backward castes, workers, peasants, shop-keepers and minority Muslims and Christians are raised, how can they ever be prepared to defend the country? Strengthening the country should mean this in concrete terms—the uplifting of the 39 crores who form the depressed and backward classes of India.

Those who tax their mind quite a while on the question of India and China come to the same conclusion in all sorts of round about ways: Increase the country's strength and might. Then alone China's challenge can be met. When China does nothing to the British and Portugese enclaves of Hongkong and Macao, but intrudes in Ladakh and Longju and interferes in Indonesia with regard to the settlement of the overseas Chinese question, she is acting in the traditional styles of power politics, which is to engage in combat with the weaker rather than the stronger foe. When the India government does nothing to Goa, is some-what on a par with Pakistan and practises it guns in the bloody massacres of Kharswan or the Naga hills, it is prudently choosing its own people as the target least likely to retaliate with effect. Panchsheel or peaceful co-existence to the strong and the gun against the weak is the policy alike of

India and China. Till the country gains strength the India government's policy is only a policy of impotent Kautilyism. For Kautilyism goes with strength and not weakness.

THE BOMBAY INCIDENT :

LET me also refer to the Bombay incident. Letters were exchanged between government of India and China on this affair wherein reference was made of the Socialist Party. I do not like to deal with it at any length. For the Prime minister has apologised for what he wrote to China about the Socialist Party. When a person apologises, in whichever way, one should accept it. It is true that had the prime minister tendered his apology stating reasons for the same, he would have done good to himself and the country at large.

In a demonstration in Bombay, a few socialists threw some tomatoes and eggs on Mr Mao tse-Tung's portrait. This antagonised the Chinese government. They wrote that it was a "huge insult" and the Chinese can never forget the incident, not in a hundred years. May be it is Chinese way of writing. They used very harsh words. The India government in its reply said that this was an act of the Socialist Party, which is a small group and which has split away from the bigger socialist party called the Praja Socialist Party. There is nothing to be surprised at the statement. It is natural for the elder brother to praise the younger one and if the Prime minister encourages the PSP it is only to add to his own strength. This party, the note adds, is of no consequence. They are a small band of irresponsible persons with no effective voice in the country, and are continually indulging in objectionable activities against the government, and so forth.

When I heard about the incident six or seven days after its occurrence, I said it would have been better if such a thing had never happened. There has been a tradition in European democracy to express one's intense dislike of a person or policy by throwing rotten eggs and tomatoes on the person concerned. Of England it can be said that there is no leader who has had no experience of rotten eggs and tomatoes quite a few times cannot be deemed fit to become the prime minister. Democracy does not mean the imitation of traditions of England, Germany or France. Certain things are customary in those lands. Indians do not dwell deeply on such matters and consider the throwing of rotten eggs and tomatoes as something very foul. Foulness is not the only thing behind throwing rotten eggs. Whenever an Englishman or a Frenchman throws anything at a person

he does not want to cause injury. Also, in Europe nobody will perhaps object to the throwing of rotten eggs for there is hardly any person who does not take eggs. But one half of India's population does not take eggs. All these things are to be thought of. Whosoever in India throws rotten eggs and tomatoes on a person must be a bit childish. And then the western tradition is to throw rotten egg etc, on the person, not on his portrait. Your victim should have a chance to retaliate. Throw it on the leader of the government of your own country if you at all want to throw it. But so long as frontiers between countries exist and there is a native and a foreign land, one ought to discern between the two.

Since the prime minister has apologised we should not be swayed by anger but should think coolly over it. The prime minister should not have written to a foreign government about his own countrymen so carelessly. It may be true to say that we are not a party of sufficient strength. Had we taken to violence and throwing bombs the government would not dare to speak out so loosely about us. But we are determined to go the non-violent way, come what may. In the last three years 25 thousand of our men went to jail and a few died in jails, but socialists did not throw back even a pebble.

What, after all, is a small party? Our party is small, if smallness or bigness is measured in terms of seats in the parliament and assemblies. Owing to our rules allowinig only those seats to be contested where our party membership is one percent of the total voters, we contested only 300-325 seats in the last election. We should now try to see that we contest some 1500 seats this time so that we win around 200-250 seats. We must now do away with this state of being a small party. For this comes in the way of practising our principles. How these 1500 seats are to be contested? With 'Clearance' and existing conditions or in some other ways, is to be thought of.

Cleverness Or Courage
IN
Nepal ?

CLEVERNESS OR COURAGE IN NEPAL ?

"POLITICIANS of Nepal should not try to be clever. They should remember that small countries like Nepal have been able to safeguard their freedom not with Czechoslovakian cunning but with Yugoslavian courage." In a press interview with the representative of the *Hindustan Samachar* on December 18, 1959 Rammanohar Lohia further said: "Prime minister Koirala and other Nepalese leaders say that Nepal has been under the influence of China and India equally. It is not true. Many Nepalese went to the jail in India's struggle for freedom and many Indians suffered for Nepal in the same manner. Why did it not happen in regard to China? It is obvious that in matters of language, script, culture, religion, physical feature etc. Nepal is akin to India. Such statements will not deter the Chinese from their plans and whenever there is a chance they will certainly try to thrust a communist government over Nepal. Perhaps such statements may prepare the Nepalese for closer relation with China. I hope Nepalese leaders will not talk in this vein hereafter.

"I appeal to the opposition leaders, Shri Upadhyaya and Dr. K. I. Singh not to use the Indo-Chinese border question to gain some political advantage over the Koirala government. They must remember that the communist leader Shri Adhikari is in China. Momentary advantages should not blind them to the fact that under the Chinese they will have to go the way of Shri Koirala. There must certainly be a number of other problems on which the Nepalese opposition can base its fight."

Dr. Lohia said that for the last many years he had not spoken about Nepal because Nepalese leaders of both the opposition and the government had worked with him at the time of the Nepalese rebellion against the Ranas while other Indian leaders had either kept aloof or opposed the movement

Yet the ideals for which they had all fought have been forgotten, the ideals of people's government and equality. "India also is following an impotent and seemingly clever policy. In both the cases the reasons are the same. In Nepal as in India a few English educated upper caste people are ruling the country. Instead of the rule of the 90% common people—Roy, Gurang, Dewan, Chhatri, Limbu etc—it is a government of the 10% upper caste Nepalese. Until and unless the poor people of Nepal take over the country, defence of Nepal will be difficult."

THE ROUT IN BURMA AND A CALL

To most socialists, the rout in Burma must have caused agony as the defeat in England some months ago was the occasion for sorrow or anger. To such socialists, with whom the inadequacy of the socialist doctrine has become a matter of continuing anguish, every such event is both a stab of pain and a satisfaction of the expected. Ever since Karl Marx, socialism has become a doctrine of environmentalism, which inclines the socialist to emphasise the environment and to minimise the individual, to love humanity without loving man. Incomplete abstractions tend to cruelty or dictatorship. After communism appropriated the environmentalism of socialism, preeminently the abolition of private property, and practised it successfully, the socialist has tried as a counter move to reduce or even forget the environmental base of socialism. After having learnt to forget man, communism has at least been able to retain the love of humanity, while socialism has now lost its love for humanity without being able to acquire love for man. Nothing therefore is left for socialism except to skate on the ice or moss of opportunism, to manœuvre and intrigue, to make cynical calculations, which it calls realistic but which are generally wrong, and to ache for parliamentary and ministerial positions. I am sorry for U Ba Swe and others, whom I have liked in the past, but I would ask them once again to break with the cynical realism of U cho Nien or to persuade him to give it up. I also urge the Praja Socialists of India, perhaps for the twenty first time now, to break with the unprincipled realism of their leadership which is bound one day to destroy them physically as it has already destroyed them spiritually. I should also like to hope, although there is very slender basis for it, for a small assembly of a 100 socialists from all over the world which would consider problems of socialist doctrine for a fortnight and more and not bother itself directly with immediate programmes.

INDIA-CHINA AND COLOURED PEOPLES SOLIDARITY

[Press record of a speech by the author at Fatehpur on the 16th April, 1960.]

Dr. Lohia deprecated the tendency among most of the Indian circles to prefer Russia to China on certain nationalist and probably temporary considerations. The two countries represented like systems and if there was anything to choose, the Chinese belong to the group of coloured peoples whom the white people are suppressing. Lohia regretted that Chinese communists appeared to be forgetting this most vital fact of their existence, which he wanted to present to Mr. Chou-en-Lai on his arrival in this country.

He recalled that when General Chiang-Kai-Shek visited India in 1942, he had similarly wanted to remind the general of this fact. At that time he was acting as a post man between Gandhiji and General Chiang, but Mr. Nehru blocked his efforts and he could only tell Mr. Nehru what he wanted to tell General Chiang.

Lohia desired Mr. Nehru to make approaches for Sino-Japanese peace, however futile they might have been in their actual outcome. Mr. Nehru had then said that fever would take its own course, upon which Lohia had said that fever pills did hasten the cure or atleast alleviate the misery. The Chinese Prime-Minister said Lohia, would do well to recognise the sovereignty of Tibet, to cede Kailash and Mansarovar and east flowing Brahmaputra to be India's frontier, and on that basis India and China could put up, together, a fight against the white domination of Australia, Africa, and South America.

RESOLUTION
Two-Nation Theory—Root
OF
Indo-Pakistan Conflict

RESOLUTION

TWO-NATION THEORY—ROOT OF INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT

Partition was accepted in the hope that there would be peace thereafter between the two major communities. That hope was cruelly belied by the events that followed immediately after partition. The hope persisted, however, that after the first outburst of pent up feelings the relations between India and Pakistan would improve and the two communities would live at peace with each other in both Indias. But there has been a steady deterioration in the situation and a stage has been reached now when it has become incumbent to take steps to resolve the conflict in a conclusive manner.

While, superficially considered, there may be many causes of the conflict between India and Pakistan, there are certain enduring and deepseated causes which must be clearly understood. Hindus and Muslims have lived in this country for centuries; and there have always been two trends in the evolution of their relationship.

One attempted to fuse the two religious communities into a common nationality, while the other identified nationality with religion and opposed the process of national fusion.

TWO-NATION THEORY

The Muslim League, while originally seeking only to protect the interests of the Muslim minority, emerged finally with the slogan of a separate Muslim nationality and demanded a separate state. Pakistan was thus founded not because minority interests could not be guaranteed, or preserved in actual practice,

in a multi-communal national state, but because the Muslim League denied the very possibility of Muslims and Hindus living together in friendship and amity and sharing a common and equal citizenship.

It is that basic theorem of the League that determines Pakistan's attitude to its own minorities and to the Muslims in this country and to India herself.

The whole world is moving towards the secular and democratic bases of social life, but Pakistan has put the clock back and proclaimed itself an Islamic State, in which the non-believers have naturally an inferior status. Pakistan has gone further and denied democracy even to the faithful. Witness the fate of the Khan brothers and the Pathans and the massacre of Sardaryab.

India, on the other hand, has taken a different path and is trying to evolve a common Indian nationality in which men of all faiths have equal rights and status.

It is true, there are forces in this country too which echo the aims of Pakistan, but that merely shows that the process of national fusion has not yet been completed.

Despite the existence of communal trends in the country, it is undeniable that the Indian State is based squarely on secular and democratic foundations.

The existence side by side of these contrary principles of secularism and democracy on the one hand and theocracy and dictatorship on the other cannot but produce eternal conflict. One must prevail over the other.

VALUES OF HUMAN LIFE

The principles for which India stands are the principles of human civilisation, and India has a right to expect the co-operation of the civilised world in their realisation. These principles underlie the very Charter of the United Nations, and India has a right to invoke the aid of that world tribunal in her fight for the preservation of these great values of human life.

It is in this setting that the happenings in East and West Bengal must be viewed. The current rioting might subside, but there can be no doubt that it will recur again and again. The present incidents have, therefore, created an opportunity to seek an enduring solution.

JOINT EFFORTS BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN

A first step towards this solution is for India to demand that Pakistan and India join hands to guarantee in words and deeds fullest protection and opportunity for development to all minorities, religious, cultural, political or otherwise. In this connection the Prime Minister's suggestion for a joint enquiry commission and a joint tour with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was a commendable beginning. That suggestion bore no fruit.

But further attempts should be made and the idea of a joint tour and enquiry should be expanded to wider joint action. Our neighbours in Asia, particularly the Muslim countries, should be kept in touch with these developments and their support to the principles involved and the methods suggested for their realisation should be secured. World opinion should be kept informed.

MAINTAIN PERFECT COMMUNAL PEACE

At the same time in the country the people and the Government must combine to guarantee to all our citizens not only security and freedom from fear but also equal status and opportunities.

THE PEOPLE SHOULD REALISE THAT ON OCCASIONS SUCH AS THESE IT IS ONLY FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE ACTION, AND ANY MOB ACTION OF THE KIND TAKEN AT CALCUTTA IS NOT ONLY CONTRARY TO HUMANITY AND CIVILISATION BUT ALSO CUTS AT THE VERY ROOTS OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE AND FURTHERS THE AIMS OF PAKISTAN. THERE MUST THEREFORE BE PERFECT COMMUNAL PEACE AND HARMONY MAINTAINED IN THIS COUNTRY.

If the earnest attempts of our Government do not succeed and the people and Government of Pakistan persist in their present policy, India must finally, and sooner rather than later, act on her own and take every measure to protect the minorities and human rights in Pakistan. To allow incidents such as have occurred and are occurring in East Bengal and to look helplessly on till the situation endeavoured to solve itself in the manner of the mass migrations of the Punjab would mean not only plunging into untold miseries millions of hapless people in

both countries, but also the final defeat of nationalism and secularism and democracy and the end of all that India stands for, and, not the least, disturbance of world peace.

Finally, the National Executive of the Socialist Party is anxious that the people and the Government of India evolve a common front on this policy, the two prongs of which are a firm and positive policy towards Pakistan on the one hand and complete protection and equality to Muslims of India on the other.

March 12, 1950

India Must Be Firm With Pakistan

AND

Just To Its Forty Million

Minorities

INDIA MUST BE FIRM WITH PAKISTAN AND JUST TO ITS FORTY MILLION MINORITIES

[Based on Press-Report in the Janata, March 12, 1950.]

Poverty and Pakistan are the two great sources of danger to the Indian people in the year 1950. Solutions to poverty will inevitably differ. But the danger from Pakistan must be met by a common front of the major parties of India. In pursuance of this programme of a common front, the General Secretary of the Socialist Party has got into touch with the Prime Minister of India. At the same time, the Socialist Party is observing March 19 as an all-India day in order to press for a pro-Muslim and anti-Pakistan policy.

"The National Executive of the Socialist Party has demanded a firm and positive policy towards Pakistan. Pakistan may be an independent State, but it is part of India and the people in their state are identical. What happens in Pakistan affects happenings in India. Through its suppression of political minorities as in the ghastly massacre of Sardar-yab and, more recently, through the wholesale terrorisation of the religious minority of Hindust as in East Bengal, Pakistan has become guilty of three major offences against man.

It has slaughtered human rights, it has threatened and begun to invade the integrity of India, and, it is, there fore, endangering world peace. Pakistan has shown itself to be a war instigator.

ACT OF INVASION

The plain duty of the world and more particularly of India, is to repel Pakistan invasion, to protect human rights in

East Bengal, and to restore civilised conditions there. Although it may not have sent its armies or planes across the frontier, Pakistan is increasing the deadly weapon of communalism which threatens the integrity of India and is, therefore, an act of invasion.

SECURITY FOR THE MUSLIM CITIZENS OF INDIA

India must prepare to repel attack. She must give complete security to her Muslims.

In the present national emergency, Hindus found tampering with Muslim lives and properties must be treated as prowling beasts of night and enemies of the people. India must hold aloft and untarnished the banner of human civilisation.

FIRM WARNING TO PAKISTAN

India must give a firm warning to Pakistan and make an equally firm appeal to world-conscience. Should barbarism recur and should conditions continue to deteriorate, India will feel compelled to repel Pakistan's invasion and restore civilised government to East Bengal.

Simultaneously, India is ready to make federative approaches ranging from bilateral guarantees regarding minorities to common citizenship.

12, March 1950

Foundation of World Government

FOUNDATION OF WORLD GOVERNMENT

The Foundation for World Government is a million dollar trust donated by Mrs. Anita McCormic Blaine. This foundation has nothing whatever to do with Mr. Dalmia and so far as I know this Indian millionaire did not find it easy company with any of the other World Government societies nor they with him.

Mrs. Balaine appears to be an extraordinary person, possible only in medieval India or modern America, who is also reported to have given a million dollar or two to Mr. Henry Wallace for his presidential campaign. It may be remembered that Mr. Wallace's Progressive Party was very near the Communist Party at that time. When Clare and Harris Wofford pressed me to go to the U.S.A., and their last bait was Mrs. Blaine, I wondered who this 80—year—old lady worth a billion dollar and more was and smiled. My friends know that I am a very poor beggar and I could rarely get money when I asked for it although it has sometimes come to me unasked.

FROM ACTION TO RESEARCH

The foundation has decided to shift from action to research. Its success depends on what research it carries out. The report contains two types of research, of which only re-interpretation of contemporary history may produce results. The other type of research may produce some very competent brochures. How essential is the battle for men's minds is evident from President Truman's warning. This battle is unfortunately being waged as between two sets of ideas, whole, complete and rigid, the American and the Russian idea.

A real battle of ideas will take place only when a scheme of ideas is elaborated such as will grow with the battle that is waged for it. That scheme of ideas already exists in parts and

I do not know whether any individual has it within his power to infuse a living unity into them. Perhaps the foundation can.

In the sphere of action undertaken hitherto, the French section mentioned in the report specialised in world citizenship and the declaring of villages and towns as fragments of world territory and Robert Sarrazac and his mates, I found, are living people. The British section, as symbolised in Mr. Henry Usborne, is able and sincere and I am astonished that Harris Wofford, the American, could take part in Usborne's election campaign and the British did not mind it. Usborne has been re-elected to Parliament. This was internationalism in action.

AMERICAN MOVEMENT

I recall Cord Meyer as the symbol of the American movement for world Government. This young man suffered grievously during the war. I met any number of young men and women in Europe who have gone through hell. What was an experience confined only to a very few who took part in the freedom movement in India seems to be a universal experience with the youth of Europe and America. That makes this youth mature and who would not like them? Cord Meyer is probably one of those who strive for a world Government through purely political and legal means and yet I recall with regret that my indolence kept me away from having a lunch with him.

There are all kinds of other people in the world movement for world Government, from Albert Einstein to Lord Boyd Orr. This British lord is generally considered the greatest authority on world's food. I have often wondered if, in order to merit recognition, a man is to be competent in the world as it is and, therefore, must necessarily lose in creative drives.

Of the Americans, I like Scott Buchanan, Stringfellow Barr, Cliff Dancer, charming Clare and her lucky husband aside. Scott Buchanan is a philosopher and I would very much like him to come out to India and pall up with us to see if we cannot re-interpret contemporary history from here. Stringfellow Barr, the President of the Trust, is a wonderful conversationalist and, so far as I know, a complete man but I do not know when I will get his recorded story of what happened to him in New York on the day that Mahatma Gandhi fell.

REGIDITY OF HUMAN MIND

To bring these diverse elements under a single umbrella is an almost impossible task. Part of the difficulty lies in the rigidity

of the human mind which thinks in terms of a before and after rather than side by side.

I do not think there can be one political world alongside of too many economic worlds. And yet I do not think in terms of before and after, and I would work side by side for both movements.

Cord Meyer has probably such a sequence in his mind although I would not mind being under the same umbrella with him so long as he did not try to prevent me from striving for one economic world.

There are of course, any number of young Americans and young Europeans who are in this world government movement and can also qualify to be members of a Socialist Party. I can never forget how that clean and vigorous young American, Cliff Dancer, told me of his mother who died prematurely because his father did not have money enough and yet belonged to the class that does not take its sick into general wards and that must have bit into his soul. Hart, the Briton, and Roupp, the American, gave me as their farewell-message that they would very much like to work for some village settlement in India.

India is in a very good position for a world government movement. As a young state, but a good bit partitioned from her, she is in a perilous position. For instance. I think that suppression of minorities in either realm of the Indian people, whether India or Pakistan, is not an internal matter, but an act of aggression on the other state and must, therefore, be resisted. But I hate war. I should, therefore, like to have a world authority that can fairly and justly pronounce over such issues; but such an authority does not exist to-day. Judgment is pronounced to-day not on the merits of the case but on the basis of balance of power and what friends and foes would any judgment bring to the judge.

NATIONAL INTEREST AND WORLD INTEREST COINCIDE

Furthermore, national interest and world interest coincide very intimately so far as India is concerned. In the more developed countries, they do so ultimately and in the short run divergence is possible. In India, even in the short run, the two coincide. I should, therefore, want such a movement for world Government to be initiated in India as would bring all diverse elements under a single umbrella and yet at the same time

give them fighting power. May it also not be possible to set up reconstruction units in India drawn from all the nations of the world and thus bring into visible action international brigades of peace ?

I am still waiting for some one who would give to me or any one of my colleagues unasked money so that such a movement for one world and an equal world may be initiated from India. I may add that a few villages in North India have already declared themselves fragments of world territory.

7, May 1950

**Chinese Invasion
OF
Tibet**

CHINESE INVASION OF TIBET

[Based on Press-Report in the Janata, November 5, 1950]

China has invaded Tibet, which can only mean that the giant has moved to rub out the life of a Child. Tibet's present rulers may or may not be reactionary and tyrannical, but of her independence from foreign control there can be no doubt. If internal conditions of a country which do not directly affect the stability of another can be a justification for invasion, it is China today which has moved into Tibet; but on that logic America may someday move into Russia and Russia into India and there is no knowing where this sort of thinking may stop.

I had refused to take sides in the war between North and South Korea, precisely because this was directly a war between the Atlantic and the Soviet camps. But Tibet belongs to neither camp. To call the invasion of Tibet an effort to liberate three million Tibetans is to make language lose all meaning and stop all human communication and understanding. Freedom and slavery, bravery and cowardice, loyalty and treason, truth and lie, will become synonyms.

Our friendship and esteem for the people of China will never dim, but we must state our conviction that the present Government of China will not be able to wash out the infamy of this invasion and baby-murder.

Defeated in Korea, the Soviet Camp may have attempted to bolster up its prestige through conquest of Tibet and that emphasises the need for China to free herself from the foreign policy of the Soviet Camp.

China's claim that she wishes to secure her western frontiers in Tibet is thoroughly mischievous. Every nation will then try to secure its frontiers all over the world. Furthermore,

Tibet's ties are stronger with India than with China, ties of language and trade and culture, not to speak of the strategic affinities between India and Tibet, particularly western Tibet. The present Government of China has offended not only against international morality but also against India's interests by moving into Tibet.

If the Government of China takes its stand on some wholly inoperative but technical and doubtful issue of sovereignty, let the will be the people of Tibet be ascertained in a plebiscite.

The India Government will do well to advise the China Government to withdraw its army and, in view of the genuine friendship between the two, to offer its services in the arranging of such a plebiscite.

LET US NOT FORGET NEPAL

While Tibet is already aflame, let us not forget Nepal. Over a year ago, I had drawn attention to the softening of our northern frontier. Between the corruption and tyranny of the present government of Nepal and the chaos of the Soviet Camp there luckily stands the wall of the Nepal Congress. But this wall must now become a bastion and the Rana rule must go. The Nepali freedom-fighters are aware of the urgency of their work but they are being arrested and whipped. We have it on the authority of Bisweswar Koirala that women-prisoners including Mrs. Sushila Chalise have been stripped and flogged and the worst is feared for that brave fighter, Ganeshman Singh. Further delay is dangerous and the people of India must lend their active support to the Nepali struggle for democracy and I warn the Atlantic Camp that any encouragement to Rana rule in Nepal will be as infamous and mischievous an act as any other.

November 5, 1950

The Task Before Nepal Congress

THE TASK BEFORE NEPAL CONGRESS

The struggle between the democrats and the usurpers of Nepal has entered a decisive phase when a bold leap might well carry the Nepal revolution into the inner core of world history, while a hasty settlement would repeat the usual run of Asian revolts and compromises and frustrations.

The Nepal democrats have grown stronger with each succeeding day. The spectacular capture of Birganj by the Nepal Congress and its subsequent loss have obscured the real happenings in Nepal. The revolt is spreading steadily into the hills, from where the gallant Gurkhas are recruited, and both plain and hill now echo to the lusty cry of freedom. Whenever democrats are compelled to retreat, they only move out to another post and so the torch of revolt is carried to newer areas.

The India Government should not attempt to abort this ever widening and unbeatable revolt of the Nepali people against their usurpers. The Ranas of Kathmandu are a weak tyranny, for they are not only usurpers but are also unable to exercise effective governmental or military power. Unsupported by India, their end is beyond doubt.

Some people in India and also in Nepal had imagined as if the battle for Nepali democracy were to be waged by the Government and army of India. That impression is largely gone, although some would still like to cast the Indian Army in the role of a liberator. Such persons are impotent, when they are not imperialists or communists. For four years, the people of India or at least a section of them, have helped the people of Nepal with their toil and are now doing so even with their blood. Let there be no mistake, however, that the people of Nepal themselves are the primary agents to rejoice and to suffer in the struggle for Nepali Democracy.

One aspect of India Government's policies is, however, causing intervention in favour of the Kathmandu usurpers. The Ranas have all the arms and ammunition they need but they do not possess loyal soldiers; the democrats have all the loyal soldiers they need but they do not possess the arms and the ammunition. As the only rightful and, in places, the effective authority in Nepal, they must be able to buy arms in or to carry them through India. To deprive them of this right is contrary to law and virtue.

But the struggle in Nepal is more political than armed, just as it is more a matter of arms than of diplomacy.

The Nepal Congress must not hesitate any more, however, ill organised or militarily pressed it might be, to take those political leaps to which it is committed.

PANCHAYAT RAJ

Every village under the authority of Nepal Congress must elect its panchayat on the basis of adult franchise. To the panchayat must pass not only powers of administration short of those necessary for the unity and security of the country, but the bureaucracy must also be made subordinate to it.

A group of five or ten villages meeting in exercise of their adult franchise or in their panchayats should elect one delegate to the provisional and revolutionary parliament of Nepal. Such a parliament can be called into being within a fortnight. Let this parliament be the focus and the rallying point of Nepal's aspirations, the mother of a provisional government and its directing principles.

The proclamation to redivide land is not enough. A start must be made at once. The revolutionary parliament may fix upon a maximum of land-ownership. All lands above such a maximum may be classified into certain categories just as landless labourers and the poorer farmers may also be divided into appropriate categories. The work of redividing land must begin at once on such an instalment plan of categories.

THREE-POINT POLICY

I beseech soldiers and political leaders not to be overwhelmed by their military responsibilities nor to be paralysed by the lack of proper communications. Let them make one supreme effort to put through this three-point policy of decentralised administration, revolutionary parliament and land redivision by instalment. After all, these are their own decisions. This three-

point policy will give them the unity of command, drive and co-ordination they so ardently desire. Faltering and delaying tactics, at this stage will turn them into the jests of history.

In the deafening clash between the Atlantic and the Soviet Camps, the whisper of the Nepali struggle may yet acquire a clear and audible tone.

Democracy in the sense of representative and decentralised government should be wedded to revolutionary action in the sphere of economic equality, something not hitherto attempted in the annals of mankind.

WITHDRAW RECOGNITION OF RANAS

This must produce echoes of sympathy throughout the world. It is true that, under Catholic or Communist auspices, the Nepali revolution, such as it is, would already have become the great talk of the world. We request democrats and socialists all the world over to hold meetings and to rejoice in the Nepali struggle for democracy; and, those of the U.S., Britain and France to urge upon their governments to withdraw recognition from the Kathmandu usurpers.

Stability is not to be achieved by methods of stagnation. That Asian mind which refuses to move or experiment as a result of contemplating communism is vicious. While I warn the people of Nepal against the communist double-crossing that is already emerging in the Nepali struggle, I urge the democrats of Nepal to redouble their efforts. Any unsettling that takes place as a result of democratic vitalising must necessarily stabilise Nepal against invasion or infiltration.

**U. N. Unfit To Be Tribune
OF
World Conscience**

U.N. UNFIT TO BE TRIBUNE OF WORLD CONSCIENCE

Countries in and around three continents like Indonesia and Afganistan in Asia, Egypt in Africa, Sweden and Yugoslavia in Europe, whose Governments have abstained in the vote on the U.N. China resolution, deserve our tribute, for they have spoken the voice of Peace and New order in the world. India Government is tragically enough blurring this voice and robbing it of purpose and strength. Not by alternately serving the warring camps, not by acting as the broker of Soviet Camp today and the mercenary of the Atlantic Camp during a war, can a people further the cause of Peace, but by maintaining an attitude of strict neutrality. We hope that neutralism will grow. This spirit of neutralism alone can beget trust among peoples and reconstruct a broken world in an impartial way.

But peoples who do not strive to achieve democracy and socialism are incapable of carrying the burden of neutralism and the abstaining peoples must re-construct their economy.

It must also be pointed out that the basis of voting in the United Nations is utterly devoid of Principle. Seven nations which voted against the resolution and the eighth nation China form a half of the world's population, no matter that the votes ranged against them belong to an arbitrary number of 44 nations. The United Nations Organisation by virtue of its unprincipled and unequal representation, is not competent to act as a tribunal of world conscience.

A world parliament elected on an equal and adult vote can alone vehicle world conscience.

At the same time, the Indian people must force their government to abandon its reckless policy of serving British interests, of brokering the Soviet Camp today and of soldiering the Atlantic Camp tomorrow, and to reinforce the neutralist spirit in the world.

February 11, 1950

**World Government,
Only Hope**

WORLD GOVERNMENT, ONLY HOPE

[Based on Press-Report in the Janata, April 29, 1951]

A very little possibility that still exists to prevent the war cannot, however, be utilised by serving one or the other existing camps alternatively. For such a state of affairs, India's membership of the British Commonwealth is also responsible. The Government of India are pursuing, at the moment, a policy which is that of a member-satellite. Whether with regard to Egypt or China or Malaya, their policies have coincided with those of England. The Government of India cannot claim any unbeatable approach. Their policy has failed to create a sense of security in the minds of the people.

The policy of the Third Camp is that of "Socialism at home and Third Camp abroad." The most difficult issues in the world to-day are the disputes among nations. For a considerable time mankind has been trying to evolve agencies which would solve these disputes. In our own time, both the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation have practically proved to be a failure, and it was no wonder that they have failed. Disputes among nations could be solved successfully only when there was some kind of law which enabled men to judge individual issues and some kind of authority whose impartiality was not doubted. No such universal law exists to-day, nor is there any such authority.

WORLD PARLIAMENT

If a body of universal law and authority that can administer such a law is to be formulated or established by mankind, I believe there can be only one basis, the basis which nations have sought, and that is of adult franchise. The whole of mankind should be treated as one whole, and each individual

should have a vote. The adult population from all the countries should elect delegates to a World Parliament and this World Parliament should frame the universal body of law. There are difficulties here also. The World Parliament might arrive at decisions which were not acceptable to one or the other party. Some of these might even go to the extent of challenging the world authority. But have we not the previous examples of human history when we have passed through difficulties? All that we have to find is the basis of the world government to become universally acceptable. There is no other alternative.

The two warring camps to-day are leading mankind to a blind alley. There is no creative thinking or action and therefore the possibility of armed action has increased.

There are issues as of China and Korea. But after they have come into a stage of cold or hot war, I don't see what a people like us can do about them. The Government of India say that they judge each issue on its merits. Whatever may that mean, the result is that it does not encourage creation of any force apart from the two camps.

POLICY OF ABSTENTION

Some Governments have followed the policy of abstention which I would advocate. Yugoslavia has done that. Yugoslavia, Indonesia and Egypt had abstained on the Korean issue.

On the positive side, the external policy of the Third Camp would be marked with the World Government, and maximum possible equality among nations, and the internal policy would include democracy on the basis of the four-pillar State.

CONDITIONS IN BURMA

[Based on lecture Shortly after the author's return from Burma]

The present Government of Burma was able to resist the attack on the new republic that came from two peoples, the Karens and the Communists.

The Communists have no reasonable excuse for engineering this revolt, for practically all the demands they made were conceded by the Government of Burma and whenever an occasion arose for a discussion between the Communist leaders and the Government of Burma, it was clear that the Communist Party had no substantial demand except the one that unless the present Government was removed, the revolt would continue.

At one stage probably 80 to 90 percent of Burma's land was captured by the insurrectionists, but now they control not more than 5 to 10 percent of the land. The Burmese Government has proceeded daringly with the nation-building plans. Land was nationalised and a maximum holding was also fixed. The Irrawady Flotilla Co. the principal concern in Burma, was nationalised by payment of a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs only, while the first year's profit amounted to Rs. 60 lakhs. The minimum salary fixed for employees under the Government or in the undertakings controlled by the Government was Rs. 84/- while the maximum was Rs. 1, 600, excepting in case of certain foreign technicians.

April 29, 1951

Equality Of All Nations Essential
FOR
World Peace

EQUALITY OF ALL NATIONS ESSENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE

First of all I wish to submit to you the greetings of the Indian Socialist Party. My Party is not yet a full member of the Socialist International, but it is confidently expecting that at its Congress in 1952, a decision for affiliation will be taken.

This delay is justified on two grounds. We desire to let all our members participate in the taking of such an important decision. We would also like to see other parties of Asia join together with us. We are very much in favour of making the Socialist International a world-wide body.

Let me now proceed to say that I am opposed to the Resolution on Peace which is now before the Congress. I should hate to give the impression that I feel in any way superior to anybody here. I am only too conscious of the many unsatisfactory aspects of the Indian position. But this resolution, in my view, is not at all distinguishable from anything that a bourgeois party, Liberal or Conservative could say on the subject. There is not a specific Socialist idea in it.

It is a frequent complaint these days that Democratic Socialism has lost its own identity and is not clearly distinguishable from either Communism or capitalism. Should we not speak with a clear Socialist voice, even if we have not yet the power to carry out Socialist policies ?

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS .

Behind this resolution it seems to me, lie two basic assumptions with which I should like to deal. The first is that of collective security, the second the contrast between the Free World and the Fettered World.

As regards collective security, the questions for me are these: what kind of a world is it that we wish to maintain by collective security? What is the nature of the United Nations? Are we to guarantee the status quo of a world in which oil and steel are concentrated in a few hands? In which a few armies determined the fate of all countries? This status quo is unacceptable to us.

We do not accept the division of the world in the Soviet section and the Atlantic section. We believe that there is a Third World which is not at all satisfied with things as they are to-day, and which refuses to join either of the two antagonistic camps. This Third World stretches from Indonesia, Nepal, India to Egypt and includes many populous countries of the Far and middle East.

We understand that the peoples of Western Europe found it necessary to link up with America for reasons of defence, and that the Socialist parties of these countries support this alliance. But for India and many other countries collective security or an alliance with the United States does not come in question. We do not belong to the Atlantic world.

This does not mean to say that we adopt an attitude of neutrality, or refuse to meet aggression. We simply do not believe that the present collective security system is going to protect all parts of the world from aggression. It is, in fact, meant for the Atlantic world. Moreover, it imposes a tragic burden upon Europe. Why should a similar burden be laid on the shoulders of other nations as well?

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

I now turn to the fundamental assumption of the contrast between the free and the Fettered worlds. It is a mistake to assume that the differences between Communism and socialism lie only in the sphere of democracy. There are other important differences between Socialism and capitalism. Communism and capitalism are actually motivated by similar aims. Ford and Stalin stand for similar things, such as mass production, large-scale industry, increased output. Both believe in industrialisation as the basic foundation of society. Both want their respective countries to lead the world.

I said that we cannot accept the defence of the status quo in the world as our aim. Let me explain what I mean by that. Two thirds of the world live in dire poverty to-day. We believe that the essential international problem lies in the difference between the rich and the poor countries. The rich countries

have achieved much, and they therefore want to preserve defend, whereas we on the other hand, must create and desire to create.

But our dilemma is that we lack the basis for such creation, capital and skill. It is this difference between creation and preservation that lies at the bottom of the difference in our political attitudes on international problems. The desire to preserve causes fear, whereas the desire to create causes courage.

The resolution on Peace which we are discussing here is understandable as a proposal based upon the wish to preserve. It does not appeal to us who are concerned with creation. It does not appeal to youth.

BREAD AND FREEDOM

It is often suggested that the Soviet world stands for bread, and the Atlantic world for freedom. I believe this to be a false contra-position. Bread and freedom are very closely linked together. We in Asia lack bread. Does this mean that we are particularly exposed to the danger of Communism? I do not believe so. In my view, richer countries, countries which have at least started building-up wealth, especially industrial wealth, are much more likely to become Communist. Communism needs some material basis upon which it can build its industrial structure and its organisation. If such a basis is lacking, it would have to destroy millions before it could offer anything to the people. We in Asia who lack bread are inclined to strive for decentralisation as the best form in which political, economic and scientific advance may be made. This does not encourage Communism. It encourages freedom because we are out to distribute power between the towns and the villages. Thus it is not only the Atlantic world which stands for freedom.

Then we are told that Russia has economic democracy though she lacks political democracy.

In our opinion, there can be no economic democracy where there is no political democracy, and the opposite is equally true.

China has not found the way to provide either bread or economic democracy.

ATLANTIC WORLD

It is also a fallacy to maintain that freedom is the characteristic of the Atlantic world. We should not ignore the facts

which prove the contrary. What happens in Madagascar or Algeria refutes such claims. If we have these facts before our minds we shall fight shy of such glib statements.

Nevertheless, the Socialist parties of Western Europe may have no alternative but to belong to the Atlantic world. But the Socialist parties elsewhere do not feel the same compulsion. They wish to remain outside the system of competing big power alliances. And they may find allies for their view-point even in Europe, for instance in Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, possibly in Western Germany.

Burma provides a test case to the validity of our viewpoint. Burma did not give in to Communist aggression. She defended her independence and has been successful in so doing without belonging to either the Atlantic or the Soviet system. She relied upon the strength and determination of her own people.

EQUALITY BETWEEN NATIONS

The peace of the world will be secured only when there is equality between all nations, and within each nation. We aim at attaining this equality and we shall attain it.

We shall abolish the big land-lords and the capitalist class in our own country—and I am convinced that within five years we shall have reached that goal. The big landlords and the capitalist belong to an era that is fast disappearing. So does the caste system which is still so pronounced in our country and which is such a disgrace.

But there is also a caste system in the international field, and it must also disappear. There are five big powers which determine everything—and the 65 or so smaller powers occupy a very subordinate position. Countries such as Germany and Japan may even be called parias among the nations.

We must realise that the equality of all nations is one of the most fundamental Socialist principles. If this had been realised there would have been no difference between victorious and defeated nations after the last war. We believe it was also wrong of the Indian Government to accept reparations. If I had to work out a peace settlement, reparations would have no place in it. In my opinion, we shall only have fought the last war when there are no victorious and no defeated nations at the end of it, and when a world parliament giving equal rights to all peoples has been elected.

This may sound very pessimistic because it may seem to imply that there will be further wars. But it lies with us to make the outlook less gloomy by making international Socialism a force which can abolish the international caste system. To the extent to which we advance in this direction there is hope for the world.

August 12, 1951

Socialist World Action
IN
The Struggle For Peace

SOCIALIST WORLD ACTION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

*[Draft Resolution, referred to by the author in his speech,
quoted by the Janata, August 12, 1951.]*

The first Congress of the Socialist International reaffirms the conviction of its predecessors that world peace must always be one of the fundamental aims of International Socialism.

The war in Korea has already endured for twelve months and has caused immense human suffering. It shows that world peace is at this moment in mortal danger since the Cominform is clearly prepared to use military aggression as a means of extending its power.

The war in Korea also shows that collective action by the peace loving peoples can halt aggression and save the world from general war.

The Congress recognises the need for the democracies to build up their military defences so as to play their part in preventing war through the United Nations. It believes that in defence, as in all aspects of policy, equality of sacrifice must be assured both within each nation and between the nations.

Though peace cannot be secured without arms, arms alone are not enough. The underlying causes of conflict between nations and classes must be removed by constructive policies.

International Socialism has both the moral inspiration and the political understanding to face this task with confidence. The Congress of the Socialist International pledges itself to work unremittingly in the cause of world peace for the following aims:

- (i) to remove the sources of conflicts within each nation through social justice by the methods of Democratic Socialism;
- (ii) to redistribute the world's wealth so that all peoples have equality of opportunity and national independence;
- (iii) to unite the peoples of the free world within a single community based on democracy and social justice.

Yugoslavia
OF
To-Day

YUGOSLAVIA OF TO-DAY

Yugoslavia today, for a number of reasons, attracts the attention of many men in my country as well as of people throughout the world. It is attractive for its efforts to carry out the decentralisation of government, for its desire to achieve equality and in essence, for the spirit of its peoples.

I should like to add here that I have seen the motor-road in Yugoslavia, as an example of constructive and voluntary labour. I think that this constructive work is one of the things a man must admire in Yugoslavia. Even we, in India, had heard about this motor-road.

During my four-day sojourn in Yugoslavia, I have studied various aspects of life in this country. As regards decentralisation, which is one of the basic characteristics of this country. Yugoslavia is now exerting serious efforts to decentralise not only political but also economic administration. If human civilisation is to progress in the future, I think it can progress only on the basis of such decentralisation. But, I should like to add here, that in my opinion, small-scale machines are more suitable for this decentralisation than large-scale machines.

VOLUNTARY WORK

As regards voluntary work, I have seen the youth railway-line Banja Luka-Doboj. I consider that the Yugoslavia youth is not only working hard to build up its country, but that this work-drive has aroused great elan among the young people, great enthusiasm. I do not know how much work and how much construction is being done here through voluntary work, but I hope that this voluntary work will not cease when your country develops more, because we know that as soon as a country modernises and develops, voluntary labour is discarded as a method of work.

As regards equality of peoples, I think that Yugoslavia is a country which should be admired most in this respect. Perhaps it ranks among the foremost countries as regards equality and perhaps it is even the foremost one in this respect. Yugoslavia has undertaken important measures to achieve the equality of peoples and the inequality of peoples has truly been reduced in this country. I hope that there will not be in the future any special privileges which might diminish this equality.

As regards the spirit of the population, I can only admire the Yugoslavian peoples. The men of my country also admire them.

Yugoslavia had the courage to say "NO" to a great power, which is at least ten times its size by the number of inhabitants and many times bigger in other respects.

We can secure peace in the world only in two ways. The first way of securing is to pay for it with our freedom. Many countries did so in the past, and the consequence was war with all its unfortunate aftermaths. The second way of securing peace is to be prepared to pay for it with our lives. I think that one can really secure peace only in the second way.

That is why all small nations in the world have now a great example in Yugoslavia, in its effort to preserve its independence, regardless of difficulties which it encounters on its path.

INTERNATIONAL CASTE SYSTEM

I would now like to say a few words on the world system. It seems to me that the system in the world can at present be compared with an international system of castes, such as is the caste system in my country. True, this system is now dying, out, but it was earlier very strong in our country. The world now appears to have five Brahman peoples and about 65 Pariah peoples. I think that a new world cannot be born on such a basis. There must be equality among peoples if a new world is ever to be created.

Yugoslavia has dealt a heavy blow to this international system of castes and we in India support Yugoslavia in its efforts in this direction. I believe we can put an end to this system only if we pursue a certain policy in a political and economic sense. What I mean is that I think, that we shall in the long run have to have a kind of world parliament. This will have to take place, sooner or later. Each country will be represented in this parliament on an equal footing namely every nation in the world, regardless of its size, will have an equal number of

representatives in the upper house of that parliament. But, great difficulty is economic inequality which exists in the world and inequality in armaments. Another difficulty lies in that people are at different levels of development. Under-developed countries should be modernised, not only to do away with their poverty, but also to put an end to the international system of castes. In my opinion, the modernisation of under-developed countries can be carried through only by means of socialism.

I am speaking here of socialism, and you know that I represent the Socialist Party. I do not like communism, but I like the Communist Party of Yugoslavia better than many socialist parties.

CLOSER RELATIONS

[A Press Conference]

BBC Correspondent : Do you prefer the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to the Socialist Party of Great Britain ?

Dr. Lohia : That is a very complicated question, but my answer is "yes" as regards foreign policy.

I hope that my Party and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to develop closer relations in the future and that Yugoslavia and India will be able to co-operate in the UN and other international organisations, in the field of the development of under-developed countries. I am greatly surprised that the Indian Government has so far failed to appoint a permanent ambassador to Belgrade. As far as I know, there is only one ambassador for Italy and Yugoslavia. I think an end should be put to this because extremely important things are taking place in Yugoslavia, and it undoubtedly deserves to have a permanent embassy and a permanent ambassador.

BBC Correspondent : Mr. Lohia has dwelt on the modernisation of under-developed countries. Do you Mr. Lohia, hold the Colombo plan to be an important contribution to such modernisation?

Dr. Lohia : You will forgive me for I know comparatively little about Colombo plan and about similar plans. I consider that all these plans lack something essential as regards the modernisation of under-developed countries. How do I look upon this matter?

It is not only a question of extending assistance or granting small sums for capital investments to those countries. What is important is the development of local capital in those countries.

For instance, we in India, have only 35 dollars of capital investments per capita. This should be compared with the 2,000 dollars per capita in the USA. This is a huge difference. No matter how many roubles, pounds or dollars were to be invested in India, we should not be able to increase the proportion of capital investments.

What would happen if we were to receive substantial assistance from a country, say from England or America? we should perhaps be able to increase capital investments from 35 to 50 dollars per capita, but that would still not be sufficient. We must make use of our CAPITA, but that would still not be sufficient. We must make use of our internal resources and our internal possibilities to extend our production and our capital investments. Hence, I think that machines on a small scale, or small machines alone provide an answer to this problem. I think that the USA and Great Britain can help us best by getting their inventors to construct small machines and by placing them at the disposal of under-developed countries. It is my opinion that inventors have some-how failed in this respect. I think they should swell more the question of small machines, and if they do so, then the Plan, Colombo and Point IV of Mr. Truman's programme, will truly help under-developed countries.

SMALL MACHINES

Reuter's Correspondent : What do you understand by the term "small machines"?

Dr. Lohia : What I meant were power-operated weaving and spinning machines. Those are small textile machines which do not require large investments but which would raise the level of employment and also increase production. That is important for countries such as Yugoslavia and India.

Reuter's Correspondent : Do you think that would be a good thing for Yugoslavia and India for the present?

Dr. Lohia : I think that would be a good thing always, and that it is for the present, to say the least, inevitable.

Tanjug Correspondent : Mr. Lohia is of the opinion that under-developed countries, such as Yugoslavia and India, should first produce and import small machines. We, however, hold a completely different view. We are also an under-developed country which lacks the necessary number of small machines. We have started with capital construction, with the construction

of the heavy industry, of factories which will produce these small machines, such as textile machines, etc. What does Mr. Lohia think of this step taken by our country?

Dr. Lohia : A minimum of heavy industry is, of course, necessary when I spoke of small machines I did not preclude the need for heavy industry. That is undoubtedly necessary. You in Yugoslavia have started building up a heavy industry, and that is quite natural. India would do the same and India is doing the same.

But, I consider that the problem does not lie so much in what should come first and what later, but in what should proceed along side, namely, I think that both the heavy and the light industry should be developed along side.

You said you wanted to build up a heavy industry first and produce small machines afterwards. I should here like to warn you of one thing. You may not want to listen to it, and perhaps mankind will not want to heed this warning either. Once you start building up your heavy industry, your appetite for it will grow and then there will be no end to it for it is very difficult to check. You should be conscious of this difficulty.

CONCEPTION OF COMMUNISM

Borba Correspondent : Mr. Lohia said he did not like communism but that he liked the Communist Party of Yugoslavia better than some socialist Parties. I should like to ask whether this had anything to do with his dislike of Communism or of what Moscow terms communism.

Dr. Lohia : I like your conception of Communism, for example, if that is what you meant. I think these terms often create confusion. When I said I do not like communism, I only wanted to give an illustration of how often such terms can create confusion. I think, that in essence, socialism and communism agree in basic matters, that is with respect to the overthrow of feudalism and capitalism. Whoever lives in India cannot believe in gradual socialism. He must believe that socialism can be achieved only at a certain speed, through one blow, so to say. We are very poor and undeveloped country and we cannot develop at a slow rate.

Under the programme of the Socialist Party, for example, 80 per cent of India's industry should be nationalised immediately. As regards the over-throw of feudalism and capitalism, socialism and communism are, in this respect, only two terms for the same doctrine.

But a doctrine is not the only thing in the programme of a party. It is only the goal of that party, but in its development every party acquires other characteristics. The Moscow type of communism is the type that is recognised in the world to-day as genuine communism. We cannot now dwell on those questions in greater detail, but I should only like to point out to those things in Yugoslavia which have not only attracted my attention, but have also attracted the attention of many men like myself. They are: decentralisation, voluntary work and the spirit of the people. I find these three things, these three characteristics extremely attractive and if they are part of the communist doctrine, then I think it can only be a good thing.

PEACEFUL REVOLT

Radio Yugoslavia's Correspondent : Mr. Lohia said that things could be changed through one blow. Does he think this can be achieved through revolution or by means of reforms?

Dr. Lohia : This is a difference which is usually emphasised in European countries. I should like changes in my country to be effected by means of voting, if that is possible, but if that is not possible then by means of a peaceful revolt. This is a conception which you may find strange, but we are used to it in India. I should not like to see violence used for internal aims. But we might reach that stage—and I sincerely hope we shall when the masses will take over the land and distribute it themselves. I don't know how much you know about Indian history. Often, when bad laws were passed or when good laws were abused by the authorities, we infringed these laws and were thrown into jail, tear gas was used against us as well as violence and other measures. That means that we truly revolted in a peaceful manner. And the difference I wish to underline is that those who revolted did not resort to violence but revolted in a peaceful way.

BBC Correspondent : If the masses arise and take over the land, is that not physical violence, can that be called peaceful resistance.

Dr. Lohia : You are right if you view the matter simply as a play of words. But we in India consider that would undoubtedly be peaceful resistance, because we would use no weapons, we should not kill, but, on the contrary be prepared to be killed. We suffer and provoke these sufferings ourselves, because we behave in a way which provokes the authorities to undertake some measures against us. We provoke these suffer-

ings by our own behaviour, because we consider that it is necessary not only for the health of our country but for the entire world as well. When the authorities undertake certain measures against us, we no doubt suffer from it, and the authorities can thus disarm and defeat us. But we have sufficient moral force, we shall rise against them again and we can once more win a victory over them. As regards these sufferings, they are common to all of us.

I should never want to deny the will of a people. If a people want to take over the factories, if that is the will of the majority of the people, then they will succeed in this. I consider that the essential part of the socialist doctrine consists in that socialist do not wish to organise themselves in order to carry through violence, because they hold organised violence to be the negation of reason. I am not speaking of relations among countries but only of relationships within a country. I think that no force or violence should be used in settling internal questions.

ASIA OF CHANGES

'Borba' Correspondent : Which, in Mr. Lohia's opinion, is the course leading to the victory of socialism in Asia in view of intersecting interests and Asia's memories after so many hundreds of years of foreign exploitation? What, for example is the opinion of Chinese policy, of movements in various other Asian countries? What is the perspective of socialism in Asia, generally, in his view?

Dr. Lohia : If you should give me ten years time, I might perhaps be able to answer your question, However I think that Asia can develop only by way of socialism, and by no other way. I am saying this not only in view of political and psychological reasons but also in view of economic reasons.

Free enterprise and capitalism may mean one thing in Europe and America, but in Asia they only mean the accumulation of profit, speculation, black market and similar things, and this capitalism lacks the necessary capacity to develop capital construction in Asia. We must assume that Asia will develop through enterprises that are owned by society.

This particularly refers to industry. As regards agriculture, it can also develop on the same basis, through co-operatives, etc., but this is not of such vital importance for agriculture.

As regards the foreign policy of the different countries of Asia, I hope that Asia will through socialism, become a mediator in the establishment of world unity by means of a world parliament of which I have already spoken.

FOREIGN POLICY OF ASIAN COUNTRIES

You mentioned certain specific countries, you spoke of China, I can say that I do not like the Chinese policy; but that is not an important question. What is important here is what Asia I have in mind. As I see it, there exist three Asias: the first is the status quo Asia; the second is an Asia of Chaos and the third is an Asia of changes. I think the status quo Asia and the Asia of chaos must be liquidated and that the only Asia which can exist and be a bearer of progress is the Asia of changes. Only thus can Asia advance.

YUGOSLAVIA AND BURMA

I think that Burma is a very interesting country in Asia, and I think that Yugoslavia should establish closer relations with Burma only Yugoslavia and Burma gave me some joy in the course of this year. Burma is a very small country which is also following a socialist course. They have already distributed the land there and are now nationalising various industries. They have also diminished inequality within the country itself. The lowest income in Burma is 86 rupees, while the highest is 1,400 rupees per month. That is a very small difference. And who were those who put all this into practice? They were neither the followers of the Atlantic countries nor the followers of the Soviet Union? They were the internal forces of Burma itself. They have performed the miracle of defending Burma from right wing and left-wing extremists, and safeguarding it for two years from various uprisings organised by the leftists and the rightists. Burma, during these uprisings, was a very small republic, it had a very small territory. But these men, mostly socialists succeeded in defending their country and I think that now only 10 per cent of the whole of Burma is still held by rebel elements. I think that only such forces can build up Asia and help it to advance.

India too, has similar elements, and these can also be found in Egypt, in Iran and in Afghanistan. These countries are following the course of socialism and what I wish to stress is that the men in these countries do not want to belong to either the one of the other camp.

FUTURE OF INDIA

BBC Correspondent : That means you do not agree with Nehru's statement when he said that the future of India lies in a combination of socialism and private enterprise.

Dr. Lohia : No, I disagree with him entirely on this question. I am very unhappy about it, but perhaps Nehru too is unhappy because he and I often disagree. Two years ago I would not have been ready to answer your question, because I consider that internal questions should not be discussed during trips to foreign countries. But I now consider that one can speak of these matters and I can say that I do not agree with Nehru on this question. I think that there is no place for private enterprise in India, especially as regards industry. As regards agriculture, that is a different matter. If we leave a maximum of thirty acres which a proprietor can possess, I think that is sufficient, because conditions of accumulation in agriculture are not the same as in industry. Accordingly I have a different attitude to the nationalisation of industry and to the nationalisation of land.

BBC Correspondent : How long are you staying in Yugoslavia?

Dr. Lohia : I am leaving the day after tomorrow.

BBC Correspondent : What have you seen in Yugoslavia ?

Dr. Lohia : I have visited Belgrade, Banja Luka, Doboj and Vojvodina.

BBC Correspondent : Will you see Marshal Tito?

Dr. Lohia : I do not know.

KASHMIR PROBLEM

BBC Correspondent : Do you see any hope for a near solution of the Kashmir question and for an improvement of relations between India and Pakistan?

Dr. Lohia : I think you had better put that question to the ministers of foreign affairs of India and Pakistan.

Budimir : What is the attitude of the Socialist Party of India to this dispute?

Dr. Lohia : That is a very complicated question and I shall assume that you are acquainted with the background, that is the history of this problem. The problem of Kashmir is

only an expression of the problems of India and Pakistan generally, which in turn are only a manifestation of the general Hindu-Muslim question. There have been difficulties with regard to these questions for several years already. Some people abroad think that a nation can be created on the basis of religion and that each country should have only one faith. That in our opinion, is a religious fanatic conception of the state. The outer world views this problem far too simply. However, the question of faith has no connection here, because almost 40 million Muslims live in India itself, while there are only two to three million Muslims in Kashmir. I think that India is just as Muslim a state as Pakistan, at least by the number of Muslims who live in it. My party believes that the state should have no connections whatever with religious beliefs or religious fanaticism.

If we were to cede to Pakistan in this respect, that would only encourage the religious fanatics who exist there, and then the same question would be raised again. The same questions, exist in Pakhtunistan and in East Bengal. For an instance, in a part of Pakistan, in Peshawar, Khan Abdul Gafarkhan is fighting for lofty aims and has been in jail for three years. The region in which he has been working wishes to break away from Pakistan. There are similarly several areas along the very boundary, which want to secede from Pakistan. If we were to cede to Pakistan over the Kashmir question, then Pakistan would say that India was also creating disorders and separatists movements in all regions which want to separate themselves from Pakistan. And even if the problem of Kashmir were settled, Pakistan would still have great difficulties with the separatists because that question constitutes one of its basic problems.

If India had a socialist Government, we should settle this issue in another way. We should, in the first place, invite the ministers of Pakistan to come to India, where we should jointly discuss the history of this problem. We should then endeavour to reach a general solution without any religious fanaticism. If we should succeed, then the problem of Kashmir would become a small element in the general problem. If, we however, failed to succeed, we should then endeavour to reach agreement with Pakistan on the question of a plebiscite in that region. We would ignore completely the conditions laid down by the present Indian and the present Pakistan governments. We would start everything a new. And if we should fail to find a solution to this problem in this way, we should say: the whole of this area where the Kashmir National Conference begins should be a separate area under the administration of Sheikh

Abdullah, who is the main figure there now, and they should have their own parliament, their own Constituent Assembly, should decide on their own fate themselves, and should reign with the approval of their people.

Tanjug Correspondent : Does the Socialist Party of India reject arbitration like the Indian Government, or does it accept this arbitration as Pakistan requests?

Dr. Lohia : We reject arbitration because we consider that the United National should not interfere in this problem at all. We consider that there was a bit of international intriguing over this issue.

"20 October" Correspondent : If I am not mistaken, Mr. Lohia sees future co-operation in a world parliament. Would the UN become superfluous in that case, or if not, how does Mr. Lohia see co-operation between the UN and this parliament ?

Dr. Lohia : The UN would then become superfluous.

August 26, 1951

Hong Kong Press Looks
AT
Lohia

HONG KONG PRESS LOOKS AT LOHIA

HONGKONG, so often extolled as the Rivera of the Orient by admiring tourists, has received a brushing down from a visiting Indian politician, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. While congratulating us for living in one of the most beautiful spots in the world, Dr. Lohia includes Hongkong in a world of dirt and disease which stretches from Tokyo to Cairo.

He says he was depressed when he arrived here and found himself in a familiar world—one of teeming population, filth and underwear hanging out to dry.

Dr. Lohia was bewildered to find certain "geographical demarcations" here...the hill tops seem to be inhabited by Europeans and Asian millionaires. This should be stoppbe and the slums should have their share of the hill tops, he says.

Dr. Lohia, who is the Chairman of the Indian Socialist Party's Foreign Relations section, arrived here recently from a tour of America and Japan and expects to leave today on his return trip to India.

Yesterday he spoke of his ideals of a social democratic state for each of the countries of Asia achieved peacefully. He deplored politics by assassination and government by terrorism.

Dr. Lohia said what struck him on his round-the-world trip was that there were really two worlds, one from Rome to Honolulu which was clean, comparatively well-fed and well-housed and the other from Tokyo to Cairo, including South America, which was dirty and ill-fed and ill-housed.

THREE REMEDIES

Three remedies were recommended by him for the betterment of such a worlds a check on population to improve the quality of the people; the establishment of social ownership

because free enterprise could not combat dirt and disease; and the invention of new machine tools requiring little capital and providing work for more people.

Dr. Lohia was not prepared to choose between Communism and Capitalism. Both were equally bad or equally good, he said. Both the Soviet Bloc and the Atlantic Allies (headed by the U. S. A.) were trying to make the world conform to their own way and, in his view, it was this serious disease of conformity that was over-taking the world to-day.

Dr. Lohia hoped that a third force of Social Democracy would rise in China to relieve the tension of the conflict between Mao's regime and the Kuomintang. China was the only great Asian country without a third force. The people most likely to foster this would be Chinese in Hongkong, Malaya and overseas who were not so involved with the present conflict.

Questioned about Mr. Nehru's apparent friendliness for Communist China, Dr. Lohia would not comment except to say that a feature of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy was too much excitement and too little accomplishment. It had not created any new force. Mr. Nehru was a servant of both the Soviet and the Atlantic camps.

Facts had to be recognised even though they might not be approved and it was a fact that China was under the rule of Mao-Tse-Tung, said Dr. Lohia. He was surprised that no one had suggested having both Mao's China and Chiang-Kai-shek's Formosa in the United Nations.

Dr. Lohia expressed pleasure that there was peace with Japan, but he thought two aspects of the Japanese Peace Treaty undesirable—the fact that some territory was still to be held by America and Soviet Russia and that the Treaty marked the beginning of militarism in Japan.

Dr. Lohia said he had great admiration for the British social security schemes and the narrowing of inequality of income within Britain itself, but many of the schemes would not be applicable to Asian countries, he said.

Countries like India and China needed methods more drastic and revolutionary—nevertheless without violence.

But, "one has to make sacrifices, suffer death or imprisonment to achieve a country internally renewed and externally at peace. We may not succeed this time, but we will try again and again," he said.

Dr. Lohia said his Party in India would sponsor an essay writing competition on Social Democracy and would invite entrants from Hongkong to write in English or Chinese. The winner would get a free trip to India.

ASIAN PEOPLE WILL NEVER YIELD TO CENTRALISATION

[A Press Report, The Janata, October 14, 1957]

The Indian Socialist Party will convene an all-Asian Socialists Conference in the near future, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee of the Party, declared here following his arrival from Tokyo by PAA.

Among the invited nations will be Burma, Indonesia, Japan, Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan, Malaya, India and possibly China. However the date and site of the conference have not yet been decided he added.

He stressed that his Party advocates drastic and revolutionary actions, but without violence, to reach its political goal in India. Elaborating, he said that unlike Communism, his Party rejects revolution with killing and in terms of an army of violence.

DECENTRALISATION

When asked to comment on the difference between his Party and the Chinese Communist Party, Dr. Lohia explained with a formula "Communism every-where except Yugoslavia equals Socialism minus democracy plus centralization and the Soviet Union." He believes that the Peking regime will eventually fail unless they give some effect to decentralization and invent a new machine of Orientals.

He emphasised that Asian peoples will never yield to centralisation regardless of its nature, whether capitalistic or communistic.

Regarding Mr. Clement Attlee's socialistic policy, Dr. Lohia revealed that insofar as foreign policy is concerned Indian Socialist Party stands on the same front as Mr. Attlee. Nevertheless, because of the different domestic circumstances, Britain can afford to do it gradually as she deals with the well-to-do countries, whereas India, surrounded with backward nations, has to be revolutionary.

He went on to say that Socialists in America have to take up a different attitude to win the people on account of the

fact that the American people are mostly well off and therefore Socialists there cannot apply the same method of improving the economy as in other countries.

The Indian Socialist leader, who recently visited America and Japan, observed that the majority of the American people accept Socialism, but he couldn't tell how successful it can be.

U.S. POLICY CRITICISED

Concerning the influence of his Party in India, he pointed out that in the by-elections held in the past few years, the record shows that the Congress Party, led by Pandit Nehru, holds the support of about 50 per cent of the people while his party has 25 to 30 per cent.

Criticising America's policy, he said that it took President Truman four years to say "there is no difference between victors and vanquished" which his Party voiced in 1947.

Upon his arrival, Dr. Lohia gave the local press a written joint statement issued by the Socialist Party of India and the Social Democratic Party of Japan declaring the five common views the two parties shared.

Dr. Lohia was earlier reported to have been requested by SCAP authorities not to make any public speeches. However, he denied that he was handicapped, by the SCAP in carrying out his work during his stay in Japan. He will stay in the Colony for a few days before proceeding to Bangkok and back to India.

October 14, 1951

**All Excitement
AND
No Accomplishment
THAT IS
Nehru's Foreign Policy**

ALL EXCITEMENT AND NO ACCOMPLISHMENT THAT IS NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

THE Indian Ambassador to the U.S. is not correct in stating that the major political parties of the Republic agreed on foreign policy, for the Socialist Party holds fundamentally different views from those of the Indian Government.

The Socialist Party repudiates all possibility of a meaningful foreign policy, unless it is sustained by internal achievements and creation of new strength. To take an example, all the Asian territory that stretches from Indonesia to Egypt is vulnerable to infiltration and conquest, for a vacuum in ideas and in economic and armed strength exists in this area.

The practice of democratic and decentralized socialism can alone secure this entire territory ideologically and economically, while a series of mutual assistance pacts would provide it some armed security.

The India Government has pursued no such programmes. India herself is forced to stagnate in ideas and in economic capacity. Unable to create, due to lack of policy, the India Government probably imagines that it can make do with clever diplomatic tricks; an idle hope.

INITIATIVE ABANDONED

The lack of creative policies has forced the India Government to abandon all initiative and only to react favourably or not to what others do. The India Government rarely acts; it only reacts. The Socialist Party, to take the instance of the Japanese treaty, had announced its policy not to distinguish between victors and vanquished four long years before President

Truman declared it and would therefore, have made peace or achieved a state of no war with Japan, Germany and Austria on the morrow of Free India's advent. Its government would have pressed right from then on for neutralizing the group of danger spots comprising of the nations of the world to form a world parliament and government and also a world development authority. It would act for Africa before it is too late and that awakening continent turns into another Indo-China. The India Government sits back until a crisis breaks out and then seeks futilely and sometimes harmfully to mediate, while a Socialist government would ever create new forces before outbreak of a crisis so that it is able later to conciliate effectively and gainfully.

To sit back and mediate is the India Government's policy and the Socialist Party's policy is to create and, through that, to conciliate.

FRIENDLESS ISOLATION

Absence of creative fervour has also paralysed the Indian Government with regard to the conflict between the Soviet and the Atlantic camps. Let no one henceforth claim that the India Government is neutral, for its ambassador to the U.S. has authoritatively stated it not to be so and to be pro-United Nations and "pro-free nations." The India Government is an alternate servant of both camps, a broker of the Soviet camp, more often of Soviet China than of Soviet Russia, and, in the ultimate elements of its foreign policy, a mercenary of the Atlantic camp, more particularly of Britain than of the U.S. Such a policy can only mean all excitement and no accomplishment and a great deal of nuisance. A Socialist government would have abstained in the vote between North and South Korea but would also not have linked up the China issue with it or been guilty of such timing and, bad execution in securing China's admission in to the United Nations. To brand North Korea as aggressor and to stall at China being similarly branded is the expression of a disintegrated mind. A socialist government in India would have abstained on both issues owing to the clearly stated principle that collective security is meaningless until the international caste system and inequality are abolished.

Two-thirds of the world that is starving and weak can best help itself and the cause of peace by such an abstentionist attitude.

The socialist government would utter no equivocal or un-meant phrases, for it would have no desire to please the Americans or the Russians at the expense of integrity and it

would have been in possession of a valuable lesson that equivocal policies of the present government had resulted in its friendless isolation.

The Socialist Party would however lose no occasion to relieve existing tensions by accepting, however temporarily, of existing frontiers, whether between India and Pakistan, Israel and the Arab world or China and Formosa. Confederative tendencies might well flow out of such a move—Coexistence is a stupid concept, but co-existence with gradual approximation is not.

The Socialist Party would also like India to obtain entire freedom of action by stepping out of the British Commonwealth. India must be a friend of Britain as of other countries, but not its relation.

It is of vital importance to the Asia of freedom, democracy and Socialism to grasp the difference between the policies of the India Government and of the Socialist Party. The rest of the world should also not be unconcerned.

October 14, 1951

**Britain Must Quit
Suez Zone**

BRITAIN MUST QUIT SUEZ ZONE

[A Press Report; the Janata, November 18, 1957]

Addressing a press conference in Madras, last week, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia said, "The Socialist Party fully supports the Egyptian demand for the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 and the evacuation of the British and other foreign interests from the Suez Canal zone."

But at the same time, he added, the party wanted the abolition of 'feudal interests' in Egypt and the growth of a full-fledged democracy there, so that she should be strong enough to protect herself against any outside interference. He thought that the control of the Suez Canal by Egypt would not lead to any troubles. On the other hand, he said, its control by Britain has led to what he called a totally unbalanced world. So long as all vital water-ways in the world were not internationally controlled he did not see any reason why the Suez Canal alone should be singled out for such control.

SUDAN

As regards Sudan, he said, it was a matter between the Egyptians and Sudanese. But in any case, he made it clear that the British must clear out of that country whatever might happen. It was for the people of Sudan to decide their future.

KASHMIR

As regards Kashmir, he said, religious propaganda should be totally eliminated there prior to plebiscite; as such propaganda in the past had resulted in the loss of millions of lives in the country. I am totally against the partition but this and other problems must be thrashed out with Pakistan.

BRITAIN

The coming back to power in Britain of Conservatives would result in no change in Indo-British relations.

He felt that Mr. Churchill, the British Conservative leader, and Mr. Nehru would be able to understand each other well. Dr. Lohia said that actually Mr. Churchill had a larger social outlook than Mr. Nehru. Mr. Nehru had no social perspective at all.

At the same time, Dr. Lohia, severely criticised Mr. Nehru's servile foreign policy. Mr. Nehru's policy is a servant's policy. Mr. Nehru never acts, but reacts to what Stalin or Truman does. He can never take a positive or creative step in Foreign Affairs.

STATE OF PEACE

Replying to a question put by a press correspondent, Dr. Lohia declared that a Socialist Prime Minister would have made a declaration on the day after India attained her independence i. e., 15th August, 1947, that the state of war between India and Japan had ended. Socialist India would not have retained the prejudices bequeathed by the British. Secondly, a Socialist Prime Minister would have proclaimed a state of peace with all nations of the world. Thirdly, he would have asked all members of the United Nations to forego the reparations from the defeated nations or at least declared unilaterally that India would forego the reparations assigned to her. Fourthly, India would have advocated a policy of guaranteed neutrality for Japan and other defeated nations.

November 18, 1951

**Concerning Our Attitude
Towards Red China**

CONCERNING OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS RED CHINA.

The Indian people are being subjected to a concerted propaganda that China is not a Communist country and that private property exists in most spheres. A member of the Goodwill Mission which visited China recently and Mr. Pannikar, Indian Ambassador to that country are at least agreed on this. Many others have begun to or will begin increasingly to play this note.

The immediate player will be a dupe or conscious thinker, but the purpose of this tune seems to be either to win China some kind of good-will throughout the world or to prevent the crystallising of a determined Socialist opinion of Asia.

Most Asian Governments, the Indian Government in particular, are policyless and vague. They are radical in speech and conservative in action and are therefore particularly fond of ideas that blur and confuse. They would naturally feel happy if they could enlarge their camp by the inclusion of China. Furthermore, a Socialist opinion is crystallising in Asia. I understand the Prime Minister of India has very actively intervened to fix up a visit of Dr. Sjahrir, the Socialist Leader of Indonesia to China. Dr. Sjahrir is far too shrewd a person to allow the Indian Prime Minister to obstruct a Socialist combination in Asia. I hope Dr. Sjahrir will visit China and enrich Socialist Asia with his intimate experience of that country.

The people of Asia must soon enough recognise the difference between the two types of association that on Government level and the other on popular level.

They must also learn not to suppress the truth or to smudge its outline in order to purchase a shaky friendship.

All Asian Governments must try to maintain correct diplomatic and wherever possible friendly relations with the Peking Government. But this should under no circumstances involve distortion or even silence which in some ways is worse.

Although a member of the goodwill Mission had a certificate of good conduct to the Russian experts in China, he has made the breath-taking revelation that there are over 80,000 of them in that country.

That would mean a numerical strength of Russians in China over one half of the British in India under Foreign rule. The Russians may be behaving exceedingly well in China, but there can be no manner of doubt that their grip over the country is firm. Except as the result of an open clash, the dissociation from Russian foreign policy does not seem possible. Mao-tse-tung, the Chinese leader is becoming increasingly inaccessible to his people according to a member of the Mission.

There is another aspect of the Chinese situation which will be perilous for Asians, to neglect or rationalise. Over a million persons have been executed in China since the advent of Communists. They have been described as counter-revolutionaries, black-marketeers and saboteurs. That may or may not be true.

Assuming all those executed are wicked elements, a million executions are enough to condemn outright a system that has to resort to that. Nothing good can come out of them. I understand that Communist Magistrates have taken special delight in executing their own counter revolutionary parents. A certain class of reformers may feel exalted that love for the people may so override filial bonds, but I consider it an unparalleled coarsening of humanity.

That China has redivided land must not blind Asians to the perilous aspects of its foreign policy or its government by terrorism. Furthermore, a redivision of land in China is as much a paper transaction as the 5% limitation on profits under Hitler. Crop procurement, price fixing, conscription of peasant youth into war service and political judicial powers stem from Peking.

As long as village councils do not share in these functions and powers and as long as justice does not become independent of the executive and of mob out-cry, redivision of land as carried out in China is meaningless and has no relation whatever to what the socialist demand and struggle for.

Whether private property exists or does not in China should not be turned into an issue of emotional and deceptive appraisal. Such vague controversies are helpful alone to the capitalists or the communists, because with them, ideas are not expressions of truth but agencies of fleeting self interest. To Socialist Asia in any case, the issue no longer rests between public and private property. Firmly believing that social ownership over industry alone can reconstitute Asia's economy, socialist Asia has now to achieve appropriate forms of centralised and decentralised public property.

It must be clearly understood that the policy of abstention towards disputes between the Atlantic and Soviet camps does not at all involve silence or refusal to judge, just as there is no refusal to judge the French or British massacre in Africa or the conformist attempt of the U.S. to mould the whole world. Opportunists who are used to changing ideas for their personal or narrow national interests refuse to judge off times, because they do not wish to embarrass a likely benefactor.

The India Government is at present a broker of China and will after the outbreak of famine in India or war in the world become a mercenary of America. It must therefore observe silence on many issues or double-talk or double-act. That Mr. Nehru has some friends in both camps is easily understandable. Opportunists do not lack in a certain number of people who woo them and court them but they are thoroughly incapable of creating a new nation or building a new world.

Socialist Asia must definitely reject the equally evil doctrines of conformism and co-existence. Conformism implies a deadening rigidity of thought and the concept of co-existence carries with it a vague and woolly and gutless mind. Socialist Asia must refuse to conform either with the Atlantic or the Soviet system, it must also refuse to practise co-existence with them or between them on the basis of silence or of suppression of truth.

There must be co-existence with systems approximate to one another only on the basis of free enquiry and open debate. In refining and elaborating the outlines of its own thought Socialist Asia must on the one hand erect its own positive structure of ideas and action and on the other not to refuse to point out the errors of evil practices in Capitalism and Communism. A socialist who practises the principles of co-existence with approximation in the sphere of foreign policy will ever strive to remove the errors and evils of the Atlantic and Soviet systems so that they may approximate to one another until we have a world of peace.

The great overseas communities of China residing in Malaya, Indonesia and elsewhere and of course the Hong-Kong Chinese can give birth to the democratic and Socialist idea among themselves on the basis of an equal rejection of President Mao-tse-tung and Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. This will powerfully influence the Chinese mind on the mainland and also in Formosa. Approximation may come out of it.

A major difficulty in the assessment of China is the hope that Mao may go the way of Tito. I would very much welcome if Mao went the way of Tito, if China started freeing herself from internal centralisation and external tutelage of Russia. But no amount of cajoling or refusing to judge ever makes a Yugoslavia. An intimate national or world experience alone makes a Yugoslavia and foreigners can hasten or deepen such an experience by declaring their judgements without malice and out of deep sympathy. Even Russia and China will some day understand that their best friends in India are the Socialists who refuse to be their brokers to-day and shall ever refuse to be Atlantic mercenaries. I would also like to tell the U.S. that their best friends in Asia are the Socialists on the same plea.

The Chinese are ancient and great and I have nowhere seen a finer texture of skin or sensed a greater suppleness of mind. Between the people of India and China the ties of traditional friendship must stay and their Governments, however we may judge them, strive to observe correct relations.

December 9, 1951

Foreign Policy : Party
VS
Government

FOREIGN POLICY : PARTY VS GOVERNMENT

[Based on a press report, The Janata, December 9, 1951]

"Our criticism of the India Government's foreign policy has nothing to do with the Communist criticism that India should join the Soviet Camp or the capitalist criticism that India should join the Atlantic Camp. We reject both these criticisms. India should, however, follow an independent and creative policy.

On the world plane, such a policy must slay the twin demons of hunger and war. The Socialist Party has proposed a positive two-fold policy of World Parliament and World Government on the one hand, and a World Development Authority on the other.

The Prime Minister in his address as Congress President, said that the present United Nations did not have a sufficiently good basis and its Charter would have to be revised, but he refused to indicate what was wrong and what was to be done. This is precisely our criticism that the Prime Minister's policies are afflicted by gaps and incompleteness.

The Socialist Party would like to end the present division of the world into great powers and small powers, would like all old treaties and charters of an unequal type to be abrogated.

The Party believes that world peace can be secured only through a World Parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise with perhaps an upper house, granting weightage representations to nations out of which a World Government for minimum subjects, such as defence, may be formed.

The India Government, after persistent criticism, did instruct Sri B. N. Rau to raise the issue of World Development Authority in the United Nations. But that has been done

occasionally and without persistence. The Socialist Party believes that threat of war and preparations of war are paralysing the European-American part of the world, and famine and want are paralysing the rest of the two-thirds. The European-Americans cannot conserve what they have created unless they are willing to help the two-thirds of the World create what it cannot by its own unaided efforts. If the Socialist Party is returned to power, it would make these two policies of World Parliament and World Development Authority, driving principles for its delegation to the United Nations.

Coming now to Asia the Socialist Party has proposed a Five-Point positive policy :—

(1) Expulsion of foreign and imperialist interests wherever they exist and their replacement by native will and native organisation.

(2) Acceptance of existing frontiers and efforts at confederal solution wherever clashes between any two Asian countries exist.

(3) Guaranteed neutrality for disarmed areas like Japan.

(4) Abstention from actual war and vote regarding it if the combatants are exclusively the Atlantic and Soviet Camps.

(5) A series of mutual assistance pacts in the region which is still unaligned to either camp.

Let now the Prime Minister state that the Socialist Party has not put forward any constructive policies. He may disagree with them but he should carry out the debate on a rational level and not indulge in vague and airy nothings.

The Socialist Party's policy of guaranteed neutrality for Japan would, if accepted, result in the withdrawal of American forces from Japan. Otherwise, it would give Japan the right to keep an army of her liking. Against this, the Prime Minister's policy has been merely formalistic and procedural and thoroughly devoid of any positive content. He has permitted the Atlantic Camp and the Soviet Camp to take the lead with regard to this most important Asian problem.

Similarly with regard to South Asia and West Asia there are certain common diseases, such as, feudal and weak economies and poisonous politics by religions and castes. The Prime Minister talks a great deal about anti-communalism, but any Asian statesman should be aware of the fact that the whole of South Asia is prostrate because of one or another type of religious politics. A common South Asian policy for the purpose of

eliminating this religious poison should be evolved, but it has not been. Similarly on account of India's own international inability to carry out reconstruction of industry and agriculture, she has been entirely incapable of proposing a common South Asian policy for economic reconstruction. In West Asian World three schemes are today being contemplated. (i) an Arab pact, (ii) a West Asian defence pact under Atlantic leadership (iii) an Islamic Pact.

With the exception of the first, the other two pacts not only endanger India's security but would also make impossible the continuance of any independent policy.

The only bright ray in an otherwise dismal record of failures was the Prime Minister's intervention regarding Indonesia. I pay him tribute for that. But even in Indonesia unwelcome forces are now becoming strong. On the governmental plane, the most important single individual is the American Ambassador, Mr. Cockrain, and on the people's plane the Pakistan Ambassador is making a great headway.

Through complete lack of any positive politics Indonesia is being subjected to American influence. When the Indonesian Prime Minister did not attend the Delhi Conference, this was the actual reason. The people of India may have forgotten the Asian Conference that met in glory and splendour some years ago, but its continuing committees and the decision to hold another conference seem to have been completely abandoned. This is a typical example of the Prime Minister's colossal failure. Even if the Asian Conference did not result in policy achievements, it should at least have been used for the purpose of destroying the poison of religious politics in Asia and for the purpose of providing an ideology of economic reconstruction.

The Prime Minister asserts that he would not allow any assertion either to right or to left in his foreign policy : I assert that it has all through been deviating right and left and follows no positive course. It is not a policy of independence but a policy of alternative alignment with the Atlantic and Soviet Camps.

On the issue of Korea, the Prime Minister aligned himself with the Atlantic camp and on the issue of China, particularly after the outbreak of the Korean war, he aligned himself with the Soviet Camp. His acceptance of the principle of collective security, and through his Ambassador in the United States of

the division of the world into free nations and totalitarian nations, make it quite clear that India will be on the side of the Atlantic camp in the event of a World War. India may in the process also act as broker of the Soviet Camp, but ultimately will be reduced to being a mercenary of the Atlantic camp.

ABSTENTION

The Socialist Party lays down a definite policy of abstention with regard to all conflicts such as Korea and Indo-China where no force or political party other than that of the Soviet and Atlantic Camp exists. The Prime Minister has also said that he would not frame his policy so as to make the rich richer. This is a gross untruth. Over a billion from such a poor country as India have been exported to the United States and England by way of shady jute transactions. Nearly 50 crores worth of gold have been smuggled into India. The various export and import licences as also combination of Indian and foreign manufacturers have made the rich richer.

It should be recognised that intervention, after a crisis has actually occurred, has little meaning unless there has been some intervention in the pre-crisis stage.

India should be able to introduce positive elements of progress and peace into the Asian and African situation before a crisis actually occurs, otherwise, she stultifies herself into a position of a weak mediator. For instance, the only world initiative which the Indian Government, undertook in the past five years, namely, in regard to Korea was damp squib.

The Prime Minister has also made a cruel charge of war-mongering against Socialists. Socialists have never talked war between India and Pakistan, except on one occasion, when there was widespread trouble regarding minorities in East Pakistan. Similar trouble was feared in India. In order to prevent such barbarism happening in India, the Socialist Party wanted India to protect civilisation in East Pakistan.

The Prime Minister himself at that time moved his troops to the Indo-Pakistan frontier as was revealed by him in his Trivandrum speech. If the Prime Minister accuses the Socialist party of war-mongering he should first accuse himself of war-mongering in action.

CALUMNY AND LIES

Has the Prime Minister made up his mind to avoid the election campaign through calumny and lies? I hope, he will

have the gentlemanliness to withdraw this calumny. The Socialist Party has never accused him of wanting to appease Pakistan. It has accused him of pursuing an emotional and unsteady policy, sometimes of anger and abuse and sometimes of love-making. The Socialist Party would pursue a steady policy. With regard to vague assertions that his (Prime Minister's) policy has raised India's prestige in the world, I like to put down two definite tests :—

(i) What is the status of Indians overseas ? It is steadily deteriorating, and even such a country as Lanka is not permitting free travel between India and Ceylon.

(ii) What do foreign capital and publicists think of India's policies ? The Prime Minister says that nations big and small look to India for guidance. Excepting Burma, all nations big and small are keeping away from him and increasingly falling into the orbit either of the Atlantic or the Soviet camp.

Then there is the paramount test : has the freedom of India made any difference to the world ? I believe, the present world, with its increasing armaments and developing threats of war and great power to the two camps, is a sufficient proof that India's freedom has in no way altered world conditions in the direction of peace or progress.

Replying to a question during the press conference on India Government's action regarding South Africa, the author said, "Insofar as the issue of Indians in South Africa has been brought up before the UN, it is all to the good. But the issue should have been more clearly brought so that all coloured peoples—negroes and others—would have been encouraged to combine against racial discrimination."

Asked if he supported the Government of India's stand in regard to Kashmir, he said that the question of supporting or not supporting does not arise. India Government's policy in regard to Kashmir has not been free from vacillations. At a moment India and Pakistan seemed to have agreed to a plebiscite in Kashmir, the only condition being demilitarisation. The Socialists would advocate addition of another condition, namely, total prohibition of religious propaganda. The Socialist Party is aware of what might happen if religious propaganda were permitted.

Speaking on the Government of India's approach towards Chiang, the author remarked : "Pandit Nehru has been clever on this matter. If he ever succeeds in alienating Mao-Tse-Tung from the influence of Moscow, his triumph will be hailed in the Western World. But this will be an empty triumph after all. But if he fails, it will help jockeying for possessions."

He further clarified that the criticism had nothing to do with the Socialist Party's stand in regard to China. The Socialist Party, he pointed out, was the first political organisation in India to have advocated China's recognition by the UN.

In replying to another question, last of all, the author said: "No matter who the Prime Minister of India is, India will be recognised in the World as a great country for the four reasons :

- (i) India is an ancient country;
- (ii) India is a country of 350 million people;
- (iii) India is the possessor of a fine army;
- (iv) India is the land of Mahatma Gandhi.

A Five-Point Foreign Policy
FOR
India

A FIVE-POINT FOREIGN POLICY FOR INDIA

(A Press Report; The Janata, December 23, 1951)

The foreign policy of India should be evolved with reference solely to this truth and Mr. Nehru's foreign policy, which pretended to serve both the national interest and human civilisation, but which in reality served neither, must be accounted bad.

Dr. Lohia asserted that Western capitalism and Soviet Communism, despite apparent differences, were alike in their being 'conformist,' that is, in their requiring the whole world to adhere to their ideas and to none others and in their not tolerating any dissension, in their excessive centralisation, and in the emphasis they placed on revolutionary technological developments and in making man the subordinate of the machine. Both the systems were irrelevant to humanity today, as two-thirds of mankind could not have their ills removed through either of them.

From this point of view Dr. Lohia enunciated a five point foreign policy for India, which he also recommended for adoption by Asian countries.

Replying to Mr. Nehru's comments on him and Dr. Ambedkar at Madras, Dr. Lohia, said, "I am not used to formulating the policy of my party either with a rising star or a setting star. (Laughter) The policy of the Socialist party is formulated at the annual conference.....As for the 'unholy alliance with Dr. Ambedkar', our policy is not formulated in the streets of Bombay." He added that Dr. Ambedkar had nothing to do with the foreign policy of the Socialist Party.

FIVE-POINT FOREIGN POLICY

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, outlining his five-point foreign policy for India and Asia in the present world context, said that it should embody the following elements: (1) abstention with regard to conflicts where the Western Powers and the Soviet Union are concerned; (2) acceptance of existing frontiers, with an effort at confederation between the Asian countries themselves, where suitably situated; (3) a policy of guaranteed neutrality in respect of Asian areas which are disarmed and liable to be threatened from one or the other of the two Power blocs and both the blocs should be called upon to give a guarantee that the neutrality of the concerned areas would be respected by them; (4) a policy of expulsion of all imperialist interests, whether of the Atlantic or the Soviet variety; (5) a policy of mutual assistance pacts for the countries in the belt from Indonesia to Egypt.

Dr. Lohia pointed out that if Mr. Nehru had declared a policy such as this, the position of Japan, an important member of the Asian body politic, now threatened with engulfment, would have been vastly better. Mr. Nehru, instead of acting as legatee of the foreign policy of the British empire, could have ended the state of war five years ago, instead of declaring it as continuing till a month ago, and have declared to the world on Aug 16, 1947 that India was at peace with everybody. The guarantee of neutrality for Japan on the lines suggested, would have greatly helped Japan.

What however Mr. Nehru did, said Dr. Lohia, was not to evolve a policy towards Japan until Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson gave him the opportunity. Nor had Mr. Nehru said what his policy towards Japan was. Mr. Nehru was nearly formal and procedural. It was not as though the Socialist Party had not given him the idea, but Mr. Nehru would not accept the policy of guaranteed neutrality. Had that policy been formulated by the Indian Government four years ago, it would have resulted in a situation Mr. Truman and Mr. Stalin would not have had it their own way. Japan would, under such a guarantee and policy, have had to keep its armies under a certain minimum, and America would have had to withdraw from Japan and India would have with the rest of Asia, given a joint guarantee to the effect that Asia would stand by Japan in the event of violence. How else could the occupying armies of America be withdrawn from Japan? The only policy which could result in the withdrawal of American forces from Japan was that of guaranteed neutrality.

GUARANTEE OF NEUTRALITY

"I have," Dr. Lohia declared, "stood against any kind of Indian involvement in world affairs, but I would have gone for an all-Asian guarantee for Japan as she was one of the group of nations defeated in the last war and constituted one of the danger-spots of the world.

If the defeated countries could be turned into neutrals then the danger which they represented to the world would have been eliminated. Atleast the world could start with some kind of disarmament.

Dr. Lohia pointed out that such a guarantee of neutrality to Japan had a juristic precedent in the act as passed by America for the perpetual neutralisation of the Philippines, at a time when the American democracy was still vital.

Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson now-a-days talked of 'situation of strength'. Mr. Stalin also wanted the same. But if there was anything that Asian statesmen should go in for, it was one of situations of neutralisation. A splendid opportunity had been lost in the case of Japan.

Again, with regard to the idea of mutual assistance pacts for countries in the belt from Indonesia to Egypt, he was prepared to concede that some of the countries in this belt would have aligned themselves with either camp. For instance, Egypt might have joined the West if her demands had been conceded. So the fact that the countries in this belt were yet un-aligned to either system (the Atlantic or the Soviet) was due to dissimilar reasons in the case of the various countries.

But this belt had certain common features. Economically they were somewhat soft and militarily they had not much significance. A certain kind of inequality arising from capitalism and landlordism also characterised them.

Dr. Lohia emphasised that when he referred to this un-aligned belt, he was not thinking of the monarchs or the governments, but of the people, who were dynamic and were in a state of flux, and who, with a correct Asian policy, would be able to overthrow the feudal regimes in their countries. "Do not for a moment imagine," remarked Dr. Lohia, "that I am staking a claim for India's leadership over this belt; it is a question of saving oneself and it is also a question of creating a new civilisation."

FADING INFLUENCE

"But what had been done to this belt?" asked Dr. Lohia. Mr. Nehru's one act of wisdom was perhaps his stand on Indonesian independence. India did play a part in the achievement of Indonesian independence. But, if some time ago, India was held in high esteem in Indonesia, the position was today rapidly deteriorating. And the fact that the most important person today in Indonesia in the governmental plane was the American ambassador while in the popular plane it was Pakistan ambassador who was fast becoming important would show that the Indian influence was fading. Because there was a vacuum and countries like India and Burma had not evolved a common Asian policy, naturally some others filled the gap.

The countries of the South Asian belt suffered from the poison of religious and caste animosities. A common Asian policy would have helped to eliminate them. On the basis of the present economic creed in these countries, they would continue to be unsuccessful in removing the poison. These countries had adopted a peculiar creed of non-interference with one another on Asian issues, fearing embarrassment for their neighbours. That was the case with India's neighbours with regard to Mr. Nehru's Kashmir policy and Mr. Nehru's policy with regard to issues in the other countries in the belt. That was due to the lack of a social philosophy, of integrated outlook. They were both unwilling and unable to adopt a common policy. The Asian Conference that had been held at Delhi four years back with great pomp failed as both policy and propaganda instrument.

He observed that it seemed to him that a good many among the Indian intelligentsia thought that whatever emanated from Mr. Nehru must be correct! But he would appeal to them to understand the views he was placing before them.

TWO ASPECTS

Foreign policy, was the sphere of relations between one country and the world as a whole. Looked at from one angle, it was part of the national life; yet, from another angle, it was the whole of human civilisation itself, and he would go as far as to say that national life itself was part of foreign policy. Two aspects one of human civilisation, and the other of national life, had both to be kept in view in considering foreign policy.

Whenever a foreign policy was able to do justice to both these aspects, it was at its best. When it served the national interest alone, it was moderately good. When it served neither,

while pretending to serve both, it was bad. And when it was disloyal to both it was at its worst !

"I believe," he said "that the foreign policy of India belongs to the third category, that is one that pretends to serve both, but serves neither." He would however concede that Dr S. P. Mukherji would have made a worse Foreign Minister, because, with him, India would have aligned herself with the Western bloc. Likewise, Mr. Dange as Foreign Minister, would have aligned India with the Soviet camp. That was however not to say that Mr. Nehru was not bad enough. He believed that Mr. Nehru's foreign policy was bad because it was not serving either of the two interests he outlined. That policy further failed to take account of the vital forces dominating the world today.

CONFORMISM

The Atlantic and the Soviet Camps, together with certain philosophies and attitudes to life which they represented, had still one feature in common, in that they were both conformist and every puritanical creed was conformist. Both the capitalist and communist systems tried to shape the world in their own image; they were chary of any kind of dissension. American foreign policy to-day stemmed from this puritanical creed of conformism. The Soviet camp adhered to a similar view.

At times, one or both of these two camps had taken up the attitude of co-existence. Three or four years ago, America took up this attitude in the faith that there was room for both the systems in the world. This American attitude appeared to him to have arisen from a fussy kind of idealism. Perhaps it was a combination of both fussiness and cleverness that made Mr. Nehru adopt his foreign policy.

But originating as virtue, conformism, after a stage, became a vice, India, used to faiths which did not proselytise, which were willing to see truths in other faiths as well, could see that conformism could become very cruel indeed. At the same time, tolerance could become weakness, and the dividing line between the two, thin. India ran a risk badly because, in its desire to be tolerant, Mr. Nehru was likely to miss whatever was of real and creative value, was likely to run the risk of not doing anything by himself but of merely arriving at some kind of compromise between the things existing in the systems. As the Kathopanishad had pointed out, what one took to be the truth tended some times to degenerate into cruelty

and even profligacy. And any attitude of agreeing in the co-existence of the two conformist systems might lead India even to profligacy and disillusionment unless India became aware exactly where and how it was to act.

Ford and Stalin, Dr. Lohia pointed out, both believed in mass production plus high wages, they stood for rise in the standard of living, for continual application of science to industry and agriculture and increasing equality among fellow-men. These were virtues—or vices, call them what you will. But however much the communist or the capitalist tinkered with the problems of men, they were incapable of creating those bases which were necessary for mankind. True, Europe had contributed certain imperishable gifts to mankind. And modern European civilisation had achieved a measure of equality which no other civilisation whether in India or elsewhere had achieved. Nevertheless, the factors out of which the European civilisation was composed had no further relevancy to the world. For the increased standard of living had brought men and women to a state in which they could have no peace of mind. Mankind had been subordinated to machines, leading to excessive centralisation both politically and economically. This was inimical to freedom. Hence modern civilisation, with its high capitalisation was irrelevant to mankind today; because two-thirds of mankind could not cure itself of its ills through it. How could any one industrialise India, for instance, on the basis of the American or the Russian economy? A technology based on the American or Russian model, would, for instance, exterminate some seventy million Indians before they could rationalise Indian agriculture.

So Dr. Lohia would not make a choice between the two systems, the Atlantic and the Soviet, not because he had no regard for moral values but because he believed in a new human civilisation which had to be created: And because the two existing systems were irrelevant to India and the other countries of the East.

NEW CIVILISATION

Even for the White one-third of mankind, the existing modern civilisation resulted in a continual 'dis-peace' of mind and therefore a continual state of war. The new civilisation must be formed out of ingredients which must give small machines to the underdeveloped two-thirds of mankind; which would enable villages, towns and districts to live without interference from the Centre, and would achieve the maximum equality for man. That was his concept of the new civilisation

needed. And without this framework, it was a waste to frame a foreign policy. He would recall that their philosophy told them that the present cannot be sacrificed for the future. He would, therefore, put forward his five-point foreign policy for the consideration of India's intelligentsia.

THE TALK OF HARD WORK

Dealing with the internal situation in India, Dr. Lohia said Mr. Nehru's slogan and call to the Indian people to work harder sounded strange to a people working 16 hours in the day as against the eight hours in which their fellows in the West were working; to a people of whom many carried loads on their backs—but no one carried loads on backs in the West. It was scandalous to talk of hard work to a people working so hard already.

Another suggestion here was that famine in India was sky-made, not man-made. But by refusing to prohibit ejection of farmers on the expulsion of the British from India, the Congress Party and Mr. Nehru allowed ten million acres of land to be left uncultivated, and this was responsible for depriving the Indian people of two million tons of food a year. This figure was from the book on the Five Year Plan, published with Mr. Nehru's approval. Secondly, by refusing to re-divide the land and encourage the formation of land volunteers for minor irrigation projects, the Congress Party and Mr. Nehru had further robbed the Indian people of at least four million tons of food grains a year. Thirdly, by not using the waste-lands, another 1.5 (one and a half) million tons of food were denied to the Indian people. Dr. Lohia made these three definite accusations against the Congress Party and Mr. Nehru, who he held, created the famine in this country.

Dr. Lohia would ask Mr. Nehru whether, if socialism was not to be brought about by legislation, it was to be brought about by acid-bulbs and bombs.

EXCESSIVE POVERTY

He would point out that South Asia was suffering from the same common disease, and the same kind of *mantram* was repeated by Mr. Nehru, Mr. Sockarno and Mr. Nahas Pasha. South Asia was the poorest region in the world, a region in which the greatest inequality prevailed. All social purposiveness was therefore, lost, and people went for individual interest rather than for the general interest, when social purpose was lost as the result of excessive poverty, inequality was natural

and inevitable. Nowhere else was that to be seen, not even in the 'grossly rich' country of the U. S. A.,

The Asok Chakra was said to be symbolic of Indian ideals, but, remarked Dr. Lohia, the 'Nehru Chakra', grinding people into a state of mind which was degenerated, appeared to be even more symbolic of India at the moment !

Dr. Lohia agreed that even a Socialist Government might require some 20 years to do away the poverty of India and achieve a decent standard for the people. But there was another part of their programme that would be immediately achieved.

A socialist Government in India, within six months of its formation, would impose a maximum limit on the lands that could be owned, of incomes that could be drawn, and would place restrictions and limits on the ownership of vital industries.

Legislation with a view to achieving attainable equality has been enacted, not in one country but in very many countries in the world.

INADEQUACY AND INCOMPLETENESS

The refusal to create a new society would result in India's ultimately capitulating to the Atlantic camp, said Dr. Lohia. In the immediate present, it would do alternate services to both the Soviet and Atlantic camps. Mr. Nehru has let it be known that he has accepted the principle of collective security, that he has accepted the division of the world into two. That was proof that India, on the break of a war, would be on the side of the Atlantic camp—or at any rate within six months of an outbreak.

Referring to Mr. Nehru's attempt to mediate in international affairs, Dr. Lohia said there was no place for him there as a mediator unless he had been a participant in the conflict.

Another defect of Mr. Nehru's policy added Dr. Lohia, is that he does not act—he merely reacts. Certain situations were created by Mr. Truman or Mr. Stalin and Mr. Nehru reacted by agreeing with the one or other. That was no use in politics. Inadequacy and incompleteness were the curse of Mr. Nehru's policy.

On the contrary, the Socialist Party had declared that it stood for the elimination of 'caste' among the nations; that it would do everything in its power to create a world parliament which it believed would be a solution to many of the ills of the world. He trusted that the Indian people would realise the inadequacy of Mr. Nehru's policy and dismiss him from power,

INDIA'S PRESTIGE

It has been claimed that Mr. Nehru's foreign policy had resulted in the enhancement of India's prestige abroad. That prestige arose from causes for which Mr. Nehru was not responsible.

Among them were the facts that India had an ancient culture, that the Indian army was an efficient fighting machine, that India had 350 million people,—and that India was Mahatma Gandhi's country ! With these four factors the most stupid of Indians gifted with loyalty to his country, could have achieved a policy at least as good as Mr. Nehru's and have maintained the prestige of India atleast as well. So the prestige claim was irrelevant.

Certain foreign observers, continued Dr. Lohia, had put a purely geographical interpretation on his postulate of a Third Force or Bloc in the modern world. Some Western newspapers had supposed that the Third Force was to be for the region of Himalayas or for South East Asia. Of course, South Asia was the particular region where there was need for such a policy. It was also true that the European parties, including the European Socialists, could not cut away from their past, their Karma. And with regard to creating a new human civilisation, Europe and America were at best going to play an assisting role.

It was Dr. Lohia's firm conviction that a Socialist India, with its non-alignment with either power camps, could influence South Asia and turn it in the Socialist direction and help it to be rid of hunger and war. He believed that Asian Socialism, particularly Indian Socialism, was-theoretically at any rate the greatest and the chief exponent of the new way of life. If it had so far been unable to fulfil its function, it was because of the weakness of mortals like himself.

KASHMIR PROBLEM

Answering questions Dr. Lohia said that the Kashmir problem admitted of the application of his Asian foreign policy of accepting existing frontiers and of agreeing to a "confederative" solution. A plebiscite should be preceded by complete cessation of all religious propaganda—that was the Socialist stand. Had not India and Pakistan suffered as the result of such propaganda before partition ?

As for Hindus in Pakistan, that problem would be solved by our solving the one of Muslims in India. India must become

worthy of a system in which the faith and caste of a person should not count. The next step would be the achievement of a common citizenship for India and Pakistan.

On the question of Brahmin-Non-brahmin relations, Dr. Lohia said the Brahmin-bania combination had done harm to the country particularly with regard to the maintenance of the caste system. He would say both Brahminism and Anti-Brahminism were equally bad : both must be eliminated.

Asked what he had to say in reply to Mr. Nehru's references to his and Dr. Ambedkar's being the two stars in the foreign policy firmament of the Socialist Party, Dr. Lohia said, "I may straightway say I am not used to formulating the policy of my party either with rising stars or with setting stars (Laughter). The Socialist Party's policies are formulated at the Annual conferences of the party where delegates from all over the country gather and debate, and arrive at their policies. The foreign policy of the Socialist Party is, and continues to be what it is until the annual conference of the elected delegates chooses to change it—and I hope that that will never happen.

"As to an unholy alliance in respect of the foreign policy and with reference to Dr. Ambedkar, our policy is not formulated in the streets of Bombay. Mr. Nehru probably formulated his policy with stars—rising or falling.

Dr. Lohia added, he had not even met Dr. Ambedkar; he liked him in some ways; Dr. Ambedkar was a learned man. Dr. Lohia could understand Mr. Nehru's pettiness. He hoped that this alliance between the Socialist Party and the party of Dr. Ambedkar which had been entered into, would result in the destruction of the twin evils of Brahminism and anti-Brahminism. One purpose of the alliance was that Indian society should rid itself of this perpetual sea-saw and achieve social equality.

"For three long years." Dr. Lohia remarked, "when Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Nehru worked as colleagues, the entire Congress Press held Dr. Ambedkar as an incarnation of Manu, but now that he has come to us, he is denounced as a Ravana ! This un-principled thing is what I denounced."

Dr. Lohia however emphasised that "Dr. Ambedkar has nothing to do with foreign policy; he may amuse himself with any kind of foreign policy. The Socialist party entirely repudiates the foreign policies alike of Dr. Ambedkar, of Mr. Nehru, of Dr. S. P. Mukherji, and of the Communist Party."

Answering a question on the Hindu Code Bill, Dr. Lohia said that a Socialist Code Bill would have been much more revolutionary; and it would not have been a Hindu Code Bill but a Code Bill for the Indian peoples as a whole.

Give Up Inferior Membership
OF
The British Common-Wealth

GIVE UP INFERIOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE BRITISH COMMON-WEALTH

THIS CONFERENCE of the Praja Socialist Party expresses its firm opposition to the international caste system which forms the basis of the United Nations Organisations and the consequent politics of spheres of influence, perpetual international tension and the various degrees of cold and shooting wars.

2. The Conference is alarmed at the vulgarisation of the world peace, which today means, as with the Russians, recognition of the new and extended frontiers of Communism and increased scope for their further extension; preservation of the precarious status quo in the case of weary and exhausted Britain; and the pushing back of the Russian sphere of influence according to the United States. The Conference holds that "peace-making" on such a basis can at best result in a re-drawing of the spheres of influence and a temporary adjustment between the rival blocs. In neither case will "peace" mean freedom for all peoples and nations and the creation of a world authority which alone can end the rule of the Five Big Powers over the world and bring about a planned and rational utilization of the world's resources for banishing poverty and degradation from the lives of the two-thirds of the human race.

DOMINATION OF BIG POWERS

3. The Conference regrets that India and other free nations of Asia have refused to strike out a new course and are inclined to equate the pursuit of peace with the doubtful objective of maintaining the existing unstable equilibrium. The Conference views with concern the tendency of the Asian states to acquiesce in the vicious basis of the U. N. Charter with its permanent

seats on the Security Council for the five Big Nations, the veto and the like, and the frequent echoes in Asian capitals of the demand for a Big Four and Big Five meeting to solve the problems of the world. The Conference fears that the domination of the international field by the Big Powers, arrogation by them of all initiative and even the right to decide the destiny of mankind is fraught with the gravest consequences and must ultimately lead to war.

GIVE UP BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

4. The Conference deplores the policy of the India Government which subscribes to the system of Big Powers and which rests on collaboration with Great Britain, unmindful of the fact that in spite of the liquidation of the British rule in large parts of Asia, Great Britain continues to be the major colonial power in the vast continent of Africa and even now, through defence treaties and arrangements with the free countries of South Asia and the net-work of Sterling bloc relationships, exercises effective control over the economic and military affairs of these states. This has resulted in spasmodic attempts by India at conciliation and peace-making with British support, verbal protest against French colonialism in Tunisia and Indo-China, continuance of the foreign pockets on the Indian soil and India's refusal even to speak strongly in matters where British interests are involved such as the deportation of the Chief of Buganda and the suspension of the constitution in British Guiana, and a general slackening of the Indian and Asian struggle against imperialism in Africa and other parts of the world. The only way to reverse this trend is for India to give up the inferior membership of the British Common-wealth and free itself from the economic and strategic apron strings of Great Britain.

5. The Conference regrets the failure of the Government of India, to protest against the new Soviet imperialism in East European States which has not only deprived these peoples of their national independence but is exploiting their economic resources in furtherance of its own interests. The Conference is of the view that India should champion the cause of the freedom of these peoples also.

6. The Conference is opposed to all treaties and arrangements which are likely to bring the cold war to the region extending from Egypt to Indonesia, as also the tendency of the Big Powers to establish air, military and naval bases outside their own borders, such as the American bases in Korea and

Japan, Russian naval base in Port Arthur and the British bases in Singapore and Colombo. While this Conference joins in the official protest against defence arrangements between Pakistan and the United States, it demands of the Government of India that it also voice vigorous protest against the existence of British forces in Suez, Jordan, Iraq, Singapore, Malaya and Ceylon, as also the attempt of the Sino-Russian bloc to transform North Korea, Manchuria, Sinkiang and Tibet into a strong air and military base thereby threatening the security of Asia and the world.

7. While taking this line in relation to foreign military bases in Asia, the Conference feels that India should make an effort to allay the fears and suspicions that its sheer physical bigness is bound to create in the minds of its neighbouring states by offering them no war and mutual aid pacts.

EQUALITY OF ALL NATIONS

8. The Conference draws attention to the monopolization of vast tracts of virgin soil by certain nations and hopes that the reorganised U. N. will be able to persuade these nations to open up these tracts for emigration from thickly populated areas of the world.

9. The Conference reaffirms its faith in the equality of all nations and peoples, in the international institutions and arrangements set up to help the economic development of the retarded people and in the establishment of a world government elected on the basis of adult franchise.

REMOVE GLARING DEFECTS

10. As a first step towards this goal, the Conference demands immediate admission of all independent states into United Nations so as to transform it into a universal organisation, and a suitable revision of the U. N. Charter designed to remove the glaring defects from which it suffers. The Conference hopes that the Socialists of the world and the Asian Socialists organised in the Asian Socialists Conference in particular will pursue these aims with determination and vigour and compel their governments to take concerted action for their realisation.

January 10, 1954

**Asian Governments Sign
'Nowar' Mutual Aid Pact'**

ASIAN GOVERNMENTS SIGN 'NO WAR, MUTUAL AID PACT'

THIS Conference of the Praja Socialist Party is gravely concerned over the U. S. Pakistan Military agreement and its inevitable repercussions on Asia and Indo-Pakistan relations.

2. The Conference fears that this development will jeopardise the attempts at developing a third force and will involve the Asian States in great power conflict and eventually in war.

IN BRITAIN'S FOOTSTEPS

3. During the long course of our struggle for freedom, the foreign power always sought to exploit the Hindu-Muslim differences in order to perpetuate its own rule. After the achievement of freedom the projection of foreign influence through this channel in the internal affairs of India came to an end. However, the great powers are following in the footsteps of Britain, endeavouring to exploit the Indo-Pakistan disagreements in order to push their expansionist politics in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and acquire bases for the fulfilment of their strategic aims.

4. The Conference warns against alarmist slogans that are being raised in certain quarters and urges upon the people to remember the lesson of our freedom movement, when through burning faith in the ideals of national unity and communal harmony we kept aloft the torch of freedom and ultimately brought about the deliverance of our country from foreign rule. It is not by anger and hate but only by utmost patience, restraint and faith that we can meet the threat which the new development holds out.

5. The Conference is of the opinion that the suggestion that has been made by a section of opinion that the danger inherent in U. S.-Pakistan Pact should be met by a similar pact by India with Russia is fraught with disaster and is self-defeating. It is not a measure of self-defence but invitation to conflict and war, and will play into the hands of foreign powers against whom all Asia laboured these many years.

APPEAL TO U. S. A. AND PAKISTAN.

6. The Conference appeals to organisations and people of Pakistan to impress upon their Government the serious and harmful consequences of this move not only for India but for Pakistan also. It also appeals to the democratic opinion in the United States to prevail upon their administration not to adopt a course that will sow seeds of discord among the Asian States and foul relations between the peoples of Asia and the United States.

7. The Conference finally urges upon the Government of India to invite a conference of Asian Governments for the purpose of arriving at "no war and mutual aid pact" among the free States of Asia.

January 10, 1954.

**Greetings to the People
OF
Africa**

GREETINGS TO THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA.

THIS CONFERENCE of the Praja Socialist Party extends its greetings to the people of Africa who are fighting for freedom and against exploitation from French, British, Portuguese and Belgian Imperialisms and racial maniacs like Dr. Malan.

The African continent has been ruthlessly exploited by white Imperialisms but it is a matter of gratification that the peoples of Africa are now consciously able to organise themselves with a view to shaking themselves free from white stranglehold.

The events in Central Africa, Kenya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Nigeria cannot but strengthen our inveterate hatred for Imperialism.

LEONINE REPRESSION

In Central Africa the federation has been imposed in the teeth of universal opposition from the African people and although in form the constitution may hypocritically claim to recognise equal rights, in substance it has deprived the African and non-white residents of any effective voice or participation in the government and Malanism has been extended to these regions by the British parliament.

In Kenya the suppression and deprivation of elementary human rights has led to a violent upheaval. White supremacy has been so entrenched that the British Government thinks that leonine repression is the only remedy and no attempt is being made to find a remedy which can only be by way of recognising the rights of the African People in their own country.

In Buganda also the same attitude is apparent and the demand for freedom led to the removal of the King.

In West Africa the policy is apparently less retrograde. In Gold Coast under the brave leadership of Nkrumah, the people are attempting to make up for decades of enforced repression and backwardness. We extend our greetings to the people of Gold Coast and wish them success.

In Nigeria the picture is more sombre. The British are trying to exploit the tribal rivalries and trying to undo what little has been conceded.

Furthermore in Gold Coast and Nigeria the British Government is following the traditonal policy of doing too little and too late.

MALANISM GONE BERSERK

In South Africa Malanism has gone berserk and is sowing the seeds of racial supression and racial hatred which can only lead to the gravest consequences. This policy has set to naught all the basic principles enunciated by the U. N. Charter and making it impossible to arrive at any International understanding and peace.

The French in North Africa have been following the policy of ruthless and savage supression which cannot but be condemned. The Praja Socialist Party declares its complete and unfailing solidarity with the brave peoples of Africa and will do everything in its power to extend to them all sympathy and help possible under the circumstances.

The Praja Socialist Party desires to make it clear that it is of view that it is the duty of the Indian residents of E. Africa to extend all help and sympathy to the aspiration of the African People and if they desire to live in these areas they can remain only as citizens with rights no higher than those of the African Peoples and that any temptation to secure higher rtghts by seeking any alliance with the Ruling Power would be fraught in the long run with the gravest consequences.

Janaury 10 1954.

Resolutions Passed at the Meeting
OF
The National Executive
OF
PSP Held
AT
Patna
ON
January 15, 16 and 17, 1954

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MEETING OF
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF PSP HELD AT
PATNA ON JANUARY 15, 16 AND 17, 1954

KASHMIR

MISHANDLING and foreign interference of more than one variety have conspired to make the naturally difficult situation in Kashmir well-nigh insoluble. Yet a fair and wise solution is imperative not only in the interest of the two countries, but of peace and goodwill among nations.

2. A lasting solution of any human conflict must be based on just principles and the long view. India and Pakistan, whatever their present differences, have to live together; and they cannot but live in friendship. Persistent conflict is sure to destroy them both.

3. The Praja Socialist Party stands for the freedom of all peoples and their right to decide their own future. The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party fully concedes this right to the people of Kashmir. However, in the present bedevilled situation it is doubtful whether the ends in view, namely Indo-Pakistan amity and the solution of the Kashmir problem would be achieved through plebiscite.

4. The National Executive strongly feels that it would be very much worthwhile for both the governments to sit together determined to find a satisfactory solution. Representatives of the two governments, no doubt, have met in the past, but they did so under the shadow of third parties and relying on finding a solution with their shadow and seeking a solution without the interposition of any outside agencies.

5. The National Executive urges the peoples of both India and Pakistan to exert pressure on their governments to adopt this manful and right course.

Jan 26, 1954.

Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY

(A Press Report: The Janata, January 31, 1954)

Asked at a students meeting in Baripada (Mayurbhanj) as to who, he held, was guilty for the U. S.-Pakistan Pact, Mr. Dulles, Mr. Ali or Mr. Nehru, Rammanohar Lohia replied "All three of them plus Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Mao-Tse-tung." Lohia said that all the present rulers of the world subscribed to and maintained actual and juridical inequalities in the world and thereby made offensive pacts possible. The United Nations, he said, suffered from three glaring weaknesses—limited membership, permanent seats on the Security Council and the Veto, but no government in the world have made a resolute demand for three positive principles of universalism, abolition of the veto and removal of permanent seats in order to destroy the international caste system.

NO MIND OF THEIR OWN

Soviet Russia had, indeed, made the demand for universalism, but had resisted the abolition of the Great Power system; while the United States had demanded the abolition of Veto but had resisted the other two demands. Asian statesmen had demonstrated that they had no mind of their own and had generally borrowed ideas from their white superiors.

Lohia related a conversation between a soldier of Hitler and a farmer of Stalin that took place during the last war. This German had studied with Lohia at the Berlin University and had served at the Russian Front and was now a lawyer at Coblenz. Stalin's farmer asked Hitler's soldier as to who he thought were the war criminals, and replied to his own question, "All five of them—Hitler, Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang-Kaishek." This answer, Lohia said, may not yet be effective

politics but it was a sentiment vaguely shared by tens of millions all over the world and would in course of time become the seed of the New World.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Denying that India or any other Asian country had pursued an independent foreign policy, Lohia said, "the acid test for an independent foreign policy is whether it leads to the creation of new agricultural, industrial and armed power in areas unattached to the Atlantic and Soviet camps and whether it detaches areas already belonging to the two camps. India's foreign policy has failed in this test completely, for the production alike of wheat and steel shows the same world ratios today as six years ago. I definitely state that Delhi is no slave either of the Atlantic or of the Soviet Camp, but it is certainly a servant who sometimes serves one and sometimes serves the other. Delhi is independent only in the choice of its temporary masters."

Referring to the proposed Asian Prime Minister's Conference at the public meeting at Baripada, Lohia said, "From my experience of Asian gatherings I can say that no Asian government and almost no Asian political party is prepared to take a definite stand on inter-Asian disputes such as the Indo-Pakistan dispute, for fear of displeasing one or the other contestant. This mentality must end before Asian conferences can produce concrete results. Furthermore, a beginning must be made towards some kind of an Asian Economic Plan which would more rapidly build up unattached Asia's productive capacity.

January 31, 1954

Mahatma Gandhi
AND
Atom Bomb-Two Novel
Phenomena
OF
20th Century

MAHATMA GANDHI AND ATOM BOMB-TWO NOVEL PHENOMENA OF 20TH CENTURY

[A Press Report; The Janta, April 18, 1954]

"The first half of the twentieth century produced two novel phenomena, atomic Bomb and Mahatma Gandhi, and the century's second half will struggle and suffer to make its choice between the two", said Dr. Rammanohar Lohia at a public meeting in Kanpur.

Lohia said that atom and hydrogen bombs seem to be a necessary accomplishment of prosperity. He compared these bombs to armed guards on houses of treasure and said that America and Russia as the two biggest masters of modern civilisation had also the largest stockpile of these bombs.

TWO GREAT MASTERS

"Both America and Russia are white, they are the largest international landlords of the world, one with twenty persons and the other with fifty persons to the square-mile. They are also the largest monopolists of the world's wealth, one with eleven crore tons and the other with three and a half crore tons of annual steel. They are both almighties on this planet," said Lohia and added that their power and wealth turned them into the two great monsters of the world. He said that modern civilisation had reached a blind-alley where conservation of one's own wealth was not possible without mass butchery of others.

Continuing, he said that Mahatma Gandhi had heralded a new era for mankind in which security lay in the sharing of wealth nationally as well as internationally. Mahatma Gandhi had taught man to use the weapon of civil disobedience for the internal sharing of wealth, but he died before he could demonstrate international use of this weapon.

He said that it was the particular duty of socialists amongst coloured peoples as well as white, to experiment with the weapon of international civil disobedience for world aims.

INTERNATIONAL LANDLORDISM

Lohia denied that the doctrines of Capitalism and Communism, as represented by the congress party and Communist Party, were capable of changing the world. Both these doctrines, said he, have not uttered a word of protest against the international caste-system which divides the world into big powers and small and against international landlordism, which gives some nations, like America and Russia, large chunks of the earth's surface.

Socialism alone, he said, has warned mankind of its destiny that the search of increasing standards of living within national frontiers will lead to hydrogen bombs and worse, while the search for a decent standard of living for all mankind may be expected to lead to peace of mind in the world.

He said that such a socialism of the third camp existed among the American and the Russian people. The Atlantic camp is trying to spread the fear of communism throughout the world, and even when a communist sneezes it it takes a note. The Soviet system is trying to spread hatred against the Atlantic camp throughout the world, and even when a capitalist sneezes it takes a note. The big din of the two camps is drowning the voice of the new world, but to those who wanted to listen, this voice, however feeble, comes from Russia. He related the story of a lawyer Finkelberg of Coblenz, who was at one time Hitler's soldier in Ukraine and had a conversation with a Russian farmer in 1942. Stalin's farmer asked Hitler's soldier as to which men bore the guilt of war and replied to his own question by naming all the five warleaders of that time. He said that the new world will arise out of this spirit to uproot existing foundations, both of Capitalism and Communism, and to build a united world on the foundations of Socialism. The growing strength of the Socialist Party of India, concluded Lohia, will be one reason among many for impelling the peoples of America and Russia to revolt against the capitalist and communist tyrannies.

April 18, 1954

Imperialism: Capitalist
AND
Communist

IMPERIALISM : CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST

[We are reproducing here an interesting debate between U-kyaw Nyein and Dr. Lohia. The occasion was the meeting of the ASC at Kalaw. The first speech of kyaw Nyein was in the form of introductory remarks as Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of the Anti-Colonial Bureau. Dr. Lohia made his observations in the course of the Conference. Kyaw Nyein's reply came at the end of the Bureau meeting.—Editor].

UKYAW NYEIN : Friends, I thank You very much for kindly electing me as the Chairman of the Committee. Before we proceed further, I may be permitted to make some introductory remarks in connection with the aims and objectives and the tasks of our Committee, even if it means some repetition.

At the first Asian Socialist Conference held in Rangoon over a year ago, we denounced, in no unmistakable terms, colonialism or imperialism in all its forms and brands. We did that for many many reasons. First, colonialism is the negation of all the basic and fundamental human rights and so long as there lurks colonialism in any form in any part of the world, so long as the vestige of colonialism remains in any part of the world, it is the most important task—the essential task—of democratic socialism to combat it and to wipe it out.

Democratic socialism cannot be expected to exist, cannot expect to survive, so long as colonialism is rampant. Secondly, we all agreed that colonialism was one of the main causes of the first world war, if not the main cause. Once again colonialism was one of the main causes that led to the last world war. Even to day, we find that colonialism constitutes a threat to world peace. We all remember that at the first meeting of our Asian Socialist Conference held in Rangoon, when we analysed the world conditions, when we passed a resolution on Asia and

World Peace, we found that three causes were responsible for the existing tensions in the world today. These three causes, we all remember, were or, rather are :

- (1) Colonialism,
- (2) Economic disequilibrium, and
- (3) The Bloc politics.

BOTH TYPES ARE DANGEROUS

On analysis, we found that these causes are responsible for the present existing tensions in the world and one of these important causes is, once again, colonialism. So it is common knowledge also that the Indo-China problem, which is a part of the colonial problem, has assumed a very important aspect and it constitutes an immediate and dangerous threat to world peace. We know what is happening : discussions are still continuing. The question of war or peace—the fate of the world hangs in the balance. I need not remind you also, friends, that when we analysed the origin and development of colonialism at our Rangoon Conference, we included in our definition of colonialism, not only that typical 19th century and 20th century colonialism or imperialism, which is the consequence of the growth of capitalism, but included also colonialism in any other form. We may call it neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism. I refer to the Soviet form of imperialism.

To my mind, both types of colonialism are dangerous. In fact the Soviet type of imperialism is, perhaps, even more degrading and even more dangerous, because it is more ruthless, more systematic and more blatantly justified in the name of world communist revolution. Friends, it is with these aims and objectives, with this task of combating colonialism and wiping it out till every shred, every vestige disappears, that we had decided to form an Anti-colonial Bureau six months ago at the Hyderabad session of the Asian Socialist Conference.

LIMITED RESOURCES

We are gathered here now to survey the activities and the tasks we set ourselves six months ago, to find out how far we have gone in implementing those tasks and at the same time to take upon our selves the future programme, the tasks ahead. We are all aware that the tasks we have taken upon ourselves are stupendous tasks whereas the resources we can have at our command are limited. We are not unaware of our limitations but at the same time, we are quite aware that with strong determination, with relentlessness that is born out of the faith

we have in democratic socialism, we should be able to cope with, we should be equal to, the occasion in implementing the tasks we have set ourselves.

Friends! Before I ask you to proceed with our deliberations, I would like to welcome, on your behalf and on our behalf, the presence of Comrades of the Vietnam Socialist Party and this is a very welcome and auspicious presence, especially since this will be very helpful in our discussions on the solution of the Indo-China problem.

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Dr. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA : Permit me, Sir, to agree with Comrade KYAW NYEIN that Soviet Imperialism is ruthless and blatant, but to differ from him when he draws a comparison between it and the capitalist or democratic imperialism to its disadvantage. The spirit behind his statement is indeed praise-worthy, for weighty Asian leaders have been lulling public opinion in Asia into an attitude of complacency towards Soviet imperialism. There is need therefore to expose Soviet imperialism for what it is and, if such exposure tends sometimes to work to the advantage of democratic imperialism, the provocation and guilt for it must be laid at the doors of these weighty Asian leaders.

LESSER EVIL

Freedom of expression should, of course, prevail within the Asian Socialist Conference. Persons may be free to compare the communist and the democratic imperialism to the disadvantage of either. But a warning must be sounded. Such comparisons often lead to a choice, also called the choice of the lesser evil. I would like to believe that Comrade Kyaw Nyein rejects such a choice of the lesser evil. There should be no such choice or preference, not at least by the Asian Socialists.

In point of fact, I do not see how anything can be more barbaric than the terror carried out by capitalist imperialisms in Indo-China or Kenya. In point of theory, socialism can win, certainly in Asia, only if it builds an attitude of mind that keeps away as sharply from the Atlantic camp as from the Soviet camp, from capitalism as well as communism. To prefer one is to weaken our capacity to combat the other and to build our own way. The battle for men's minds is as decisive as the battle for their bodies. In this battle, Asian Socialists must anchor their faith in equal rejection of all imperialisms and the creeds that give them birth. Socialists may also remember that only to the extent that they intensify their struggle against capitalism will it be possible for them to combat communism.

I want this statement to be read into the proceedings of this Bureau with such comments as Comrade Kyaw Nyein may be pleased to make.

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UKYAW NYEIN : I am glad to get an opportunity to clear a certain point which perhaps is not sufficiently clear to our comrades. Before I explain this point I should like to give a history of how this point in dispute arises for the benefit of our other comrades.

On the opening day of the Anti-Colonial Bureau Co-ordination Committee, as a Chairman, I made some introductory remarks. In those introductory remarks I mentioned, if I may be allowed to quote, one paragraph :—

“I need not remind you also, friends, that when we analysed the origin and development of colonialism at our Rangoon Conference we included in our definition of colonialism, not only that typical 19th and 20th century colonialism or imperialism, which is the consequence of the growth of capitalism, but also included colonialism in another form. We may call it neo-colonialism or new-imperialism. I refer to the Soviet form of imperialism. To my mind, both types of colonialism are dangerous. In fact the Soviet type of imperialism is, perhaps, even more degrading and even more dangerous, because it is more ruthless, more systematic and more blatantly justified in the name of world communist revolution.”

REJECT BOTH FORMS

So in connection with the last paragraph where I mentioned and brought to the notice of our friends the need not to forget about two types of imperialism, not to forget especially the Soviet type of imperialism, and also mentioned my personal view that perhaps the Soviet type was more dangerous. So in connection with this paragraph Comrade Lohia was a little disturbed in that to his mind my remarks might be interpreted to mean that of the two forms of imperialism we could choose perhaps the lesser form of evil. To this expression of doubt I replied that as far as I was concerned I thought that what I said was very clear. I never had in my mind to suggest to the Asian Socialist Conference that we should choose one of the two evils. I completely agree with Comrade Lohia that we should reject both forms of imperialism. We were completely agreed on this point. What I wanted to emphasise was the possible tendency among members to remember only the capitalist form of

colonialism and not the Soviet type of imperialism. It was a warning against this. I never had in mind to say that we should choose one or the other.

DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA

To us Socialists the one is a devil and the other a deep sea. We should not only reject them, we should combat them, we should try to escape from them, even though one is a big devil and the other a wide, wide sea. During our private talks we also agreed that we should thrash out these points with the permission of the Comrade Chairman at this meeting. Then there is another point, which I explained to Comrade Lohia and which I should like to repeat here. It was that I wanted to stop or rather to prevent any possible tendency—I repeat the word ‘possible’—amongst people to harp only on one type of imperialism and not on the new virile type.

The second reason was that I believe that as democratic Socialist leaders in Asia, not only in Asia but in the world, we should warn ourselves against any lapse into intellectual complacency that will lead to ideological apathy and mental decay and, if I may use high sounding words, a closed mind.

I do not like to be misunderstood by the comrades as to think that I am taking a little superior air. It is my genuine desire that since this is a forum where we come to exchange our views, we should not mince our words and instead speak very frankly. I thought that it was my duty to contribute to this chain-reaction of ideas and proposals by warning that we should stop ourselves, prevent our selves, from getting into intellectual complacency that might lead to ideological apathy, a closed mind and mental decay. I wish I could use more subtle words. Unfortunately, I have not sufficient command of words. We should prevent our selves from getting into intellectual apathy. The one claim which we democratic Socialists have made over Communist and other parties is that we bring with us the originality of mind. We bring with us that independence of mind, the type of mind which Comrade Lohia possesses.

IDEA OF THIRD FORCE

This is very necessary because it is due to this independent outlook and approach that we could develop this idea of Third Force, Neutral Force and also the idea of democratic Socialism. My only wish is that we should continue in that direction. Whether my view is right or wrong, that is the contribution I should like to make at this meeting.

I should like to elaborate my points, for example, capitalism and imperialism. Most of us Socialists started as Marxists, but matured by our experience and intellectual activities, we adopted Marxism to our own surroundings and circumstances. We developed it further. But what we find in our typical Marxist analysis of the society we have all along concentrated on is the typical 19th century society. We have studied how society develops. According to Marxist analysis, we had in the early days primitive society, which grew into feudal society and then again into industrial or capitalist society. As capitalism grows, at first it is young, healthy and progressive. However, as it grows old, it degenerates into Monopoly Capitalism which leads to Imperialism. This is a very typical analysis of the society, which we all know and we all believe too. But what we have not analysed is the other trend in the development of the Soviet society. It is like a doctor who has examined a patient suffering from a virulent disease and administered to him some medicine, which itself is the cause of a new disease. Unfortunately, that patient who is cured of the first disease starts developing new symptoms due to the very medicine he takes. If the doctor is complacent and triumphant because he has cured the first disease by giving a new medicine and if that doctor fails to recognise the development of new and unexpected symptoms in the patient, he would be a bad doctor and the patient also may die.

I am coming back to my point again.

THE NEW MONSTER

As socialists, we think, we know how this typical capitalist society degenerates. We have ideas of how of the first disease starts developing socialist society. Our line is clear. On the other hand, we have not studied how a great country like Russia took a very dangerous pill of communism. By taking the communist pill it is developing new symptoms of a very bad disease. Now this communist Russia, full of ideals, in trying to build up a new socialist society is actually developing a system which is equally imperialist and predatory and which is conquering the world gradually. This is the point which I feel I should mention as my humble personal contribution at this meeting. I feel that the Yugoslav Communist Party is the one and the only party, Left party, which has analysed this new disease and is trying to find out how this new monster is developing further. We all, of course, know how the Yugoslav party analyses it and finds out how the Stalinist group in Russia by applying beaucratic system develops Soviet Russia into a new type of imperialism. This is how it became expansionist. I want to

suggest to our friends as socialist leaders to keep always an open mind, a fresh mind, and like a doctor to watch how the new society develops.

FASCISM

Incidentally, I should like to mention the idea of fascism. I think up to the time when fascism appeared in Italy and Germany, no Socialist, nor Communist knew what the fascist type would be like. They did not know what the cause of it was. The German Communist Party thought that fascism was nothing. They thought that they could, after defeating the German Socialists, defeat the Fascist Party in Germany. So also did the German Socialists. Neither the German Socialist Party nor the Communist Party recognised at that time the features of the new disease, the new monster. They knew it only too late. If only the German Socialist and the Communist Parties, and for that matter the socialists of the world, were vigilant at that particular moment and realised the real nature of Fascism and had tried to combat it, the world would have taken a different turn. But they did not recognise the new features of the new monster in time. It is like the General Staff of the first world war making theories on military strategy. They thought that they knew everything about the war strategy. They had the tone of finality. But when the second war broke out, they found that they had made a mistake in their military strategy. Their rusty old military strategy was not adequate for the conditions of the second Great War.

COMBAT BOTH

What I should like to point out is that as Socialist Party leaders we should not do anything that would stifle freshness of mind, or new independent ideological approach. We should be watchful and vigilant against the outbreak of such intellectual apathy. Comrade Chairman, These are the two points. Firstly, I want our comrades to be equally aware of imperialism and, secondly, to watch carefully and make a comparison between these two types of virulent imperialism as they develop from stage to stage, like a doctor watching his patient, and to analyse the law of development of society, the law of development of these imperialisms.

With that view I make my concluding remarks. The comparison I made was not with a view to choosing one of the two devils, but with a view to combating both of them. I have tried to assure Comrade Lohia about his doubt on this point. If I succeed in that, I shall be very glad.

June 20, 1954,

Chau-Nehru Meet

CHAU-NEHRU MEET

(A Press Report; The Janata, July 11, 1954)

WHILE expressing his pleasure at the meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and China, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia said in a public meeting at Ballia, "these two are undoubtedly representative of over 1/3 of humanity, whether 800 million or a thousand million is a matter of little consequence. But it would be necessary to know their strength. When China's Prime Minister said that the two Prime Ministers represented 960 millions, he was, indeed, telling the truth, but only a half truth, for he should have stated how much steel or wheat the two countries produced. Representative of 960 millions indeed, but producers of less than 3 million tons of steel."

Dr. Lohia said he did not wish to minimise the importance of the meeting but he wanted to put it in its proper setting. The peoples of India and China and all other coloured peoples must realise how far they are behind in comparison to white peoples. Behind the coloured people of China stand the white people of Russia with 35 million tons of steel. And behind the coloured people of India stand the white people of England with its 20 million tons of steel, behind whom stands again the white people of America with its 110 million tons of steel.

Dr. Lohia did not want a blind imitation of European or American civilization. He accused the present Governments of India and China of wanting to produce Europe in their respective countries. He thought that was impossible and it was also undesirable.

The present crisis of human civilization, which is also the cause of crisis in foreign policy, can be overcome only if the coloured peoples of the world develop a new system of thought and action and also a new way to expand their agriculture and industry.

Dr. Lohia said the importance of this meeting would correspond to the extent to which it would help China gain its independence from Soviet commonwealth and India its independence from British commonwealth. To the extent which china and India acquire freedom of movement in foreign policy...and, therefore, increasing non-alignment from Soviet and British commonwealths, to that extent Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou will earn the gratitude of all the coloured people.

Dr. Lohia issued a strict warning against the easy acceptance of the theory of co-existence. "No matter how much Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou may shout", said Dr. Lohia, "two systems cannot co-exist peacefully except between certain intervals of peace." Throughout human history different systems have gone to wars. There is only one way to make two systems exist peacefully and that is through the achievement of a third system with power enough to force co-existence with the other two. To the achievement of this system and increase of its power, the two Governments of India and China have so far done nothing. He hoped that they would, in future, work towards such a policy.

July 11, 1954

Foreign Policy
NOT
Independent

FOREIGN POLICY NOT INDEPENDENT

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia described the Government of India's foreign policy as one which only pretended to be a policy of independence. "It was not in reality a policy of independence," he said, "It does not create any reservoirs of strength—ideological, economic or military—away from the Soviet Union and the Atlantic bloc."

Addressing a local study circle on international affairs, he remarked that the authors of India's foreign policy had said that each issue was to be judged on its merits. But, in the context of the world situation, while there was a wide disparity in productions, there could be no judgement on any issue on merits. "If the nations were to grow and if the world was to achieve peace and equality on the basis of productions in comparatively equal quantities, then something else would have to be done."

Dr. Lohia said that the hydrogen bomb and atom bomb crisis was brought about by the white or the non Asians and the Asian governments had to return a certain kind of answer of pragmatic solution. It was his confirmed belief that Asian statesmen and rulers had been so thoroughly brought up in the degraded concept of power politics that they could not think of a new world order. He would expect all the world to intervene in the internal affairs of all nations as far as peoples were concerned. There should be neither pro-sovietism nor Atlantism, nor the business of alternate services of one or the other camp but a policy of continued independence which would try to achieve co-existence with approximation. There could be no co-existence between Russia and America unless there was a third system with economic and ideological ideals which would compel them for co-existence. "Unless a new system of civilization, of economic practice and international relationship is evolved in mind as well as in practice, the crisis in foreign policy will continue."

12-9-1954

Resolution
ON
International Situation

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

[From "Nasik Report", March, 1948.]

Moving the resolution on the International Situation, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia traced the history of the idea of "third camp." He said : "Before World War II the world was divided into two camps-the Axis and the Allies. One could belong to either of the two. The nations of Europe had to pitch their tents in either of the two camps.

"The idea of the third camp was for the first time developed in India by the socialists. Without the consent of the Indian people, Britain had dragged India into the war. We could not tolerate this position. The congress challenged the profession of the Allies. It demanded of the Allies to declare their war aims. 'We are opposed to the Axis camp. We are prepared to help you in your fight against the Axis powers. But give us our freedom first. We will join your camp as a free people'. That was the Congress argument.

"India was not satisfied with the war aims of the Allies. It did not want to be a slave member of the Allies. There was also the general argument about non-violence.

"We, therefore, gave the call for a third camp. We therefore opposed the war and invited the freedom loving peoples of Asia and the world to join our camp—the oppressed peoples' camp.

"In 1939, we opposed the war because the war aims of the Allies did not hold forth any promise to the oppressed peoples of the world. The communists opposed it because it was a war between capitalist democracies and the Fascists. In 1942, India opened a third camp under the leadership of Mahatma

Gandhi and still opposed the war. The communists called it the peoples' war and enthusiastically supported the war effort of the Allies because the U.S.S.R. had joined the Allies.

"World war II ended in 1945. Three years have gone by since the hostilities ended. We find the world again divided into two camps—the Russian camp and the American camp. Both these camps are today preparing for yet another war. It is a threat to world peace.

"Now is the time to once more give a call for the third camp. India is a member of the UNO, since the last two years. Have we followed an independent international policy? We are sometimes in the Russian camp. At other times we go and sit in the American camp. I admit ours is a weak nation. We are a weak military power. But it is immaterial whether a nation is strong or weak militarily. It must yet have a foreign policy. Why must that be weak-kneed? why not improve it? Why not strengthen it? or does it depend upon the number of soldiers you arm?

"Political struggles are going on in many nations. Our Government has expressed views on all of them. In most cases it has failed to act on the basis of what it said. The Indian Unions' representatives stoutly opposed 'veto' at the UNO and yet they voted in favour of it. The Kashmir issue was taken to the UNO and when we failed to convince the UNO, panditji put the blame at the doors of other nations. We can't go on like this.

"There is a possibility of yet another war. In the event of a war, our present foreign policy will make us join one of the two camps. Our Government must declare itself in favour of world peace. Our foreign policy must be firm and definite.

"The need of today is a call for the third camp—the camp of world peace. Quite a number of Asiatic countries have come into their own. They want to safeguard their freedom. They are small nations. Our country should develop lasting friendship with them. We must help them to eradicate poverty from their lands. We should also try to help such peoples to whom freedom has not yet come. These should be our tasks—the tasks of our foreign policy.

"Sometimes I wonder how it is that the Communist parties manage to exist in spite of their condemnation by the people and governments. I have come to believe that the existence of an International gives them a renewed impetus

every time. why should we not develop such an International; a Socialist International, and call it the Third Force ? There are democratic socialist parties in several countries. In Burma, for example, the Socialists enjoy a strong position in the Government. We should make an effort to set up a strong federation of the Asiatic Socialist parties. Such a federation will no doubt wield a good influence on the various governments.

“Panditji’s foreign policy is vague and weak. Foreign policy has a considerable relation with the domestic policy of a country. What we do at home is reflected on the world stage. If we want the other nations and their peoples to help us to solve our difficulties (take, for example, the Kashmir issue at the UNO), it is essential that our Government proves to those peoples that it is earnestly working for the emancipation of the peasants and workers. Large measures of national reconstruction should be undertaken. There should be a number of economic plans. Free India Government is functioning since the last two years. Has it yet abolished zamindaris ? And look at Burma. the Burmese Government abolished zamindaris the day Burma became independent. It also limited the individual holdings to a maximum of 50 acres. Such a step, if taken, is bound to create tremendous goodwill among the peoples of other countries.

If we have bold and progressive domestic policies and we carry them out, I am sure we will soon have a number of friends in the world. We must make the peasants and workers of other countries feel that we are going in the right direction. If this is done and a full programme carried on to establish democratic socialism, I am sure that a country like Afghanistan I can’t say anything about Egypt will rather have friendship with us than with Pakistan.

Asia represents half the population of the world. And yet its representation on the U.N.O. is 1/10th. Why is it so ? most of the Asiatic countries are now free. There are two courses open before them. They may either indulge in communal politics and refuse to be a secular state and thus get completely lost in internal strifes. In Indonesia, for example, one party wants that the president of the republic should always be a Muslim. Or else, in the international sphere they may identify with either of the two camps.

“We must so evolve our foreign policy that the Asiatic countries avoid both these courses and answer our call for a third camp. Let us pitch our tents everywhere and strengthen

this Third Force. We must sign treaties of permanent friendship with Burma, Nepal, Ceylon and the other independent countries of South East Asia. Such treaties should lead us into a permanent federation. Once such a federation "comes into being to strengthen the third camp, the world can be made safe for democracy and permanent peace.

“It should also be our duty to see that each one of the Asiatic free countries gets representation on the U.N.O”.

March 1948.

7. International Situation

7. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

[From Nasik Report, March, 1948]

This Annual conference of the Socialist Party is alarmed at the rapidly worsening relations between the two power blocs and more particularly, at the absence of an effective combination of democratic socialism to achieve peace and world government. The hope that India would play a part in creating this combination is receding and her Government is being reduced to the role of negative policies and narrow pursuits.

The Socialist Party proclaims once again that a world government can be created only when the different peoples have achieved comparative equality of economic status. Such a status cannot be achieved by peoples and parties which think in terms of preserving and improving on the old. The existing civilisation with its division of nations and men into the possessors and the dispossessed, its intermittent wars, its atomic weapons, its veto powers and, above all, its inability to move on to new foundations of thought and living, is doomed. The world is anxiously waiting for a people and a government which will take the lead in building a new civilisation and in announcing the new message and are willing to concede to the world state a sovereign status.

The Socialist party makes a fervent appeal to the newly established States of Asian peoples to reconstruct with the greatest repaidity their economic and cultural living on the basis of democratic socialism. Such internal reconstruction alone will give them the right to initiate, intervene and arbitrate on behalf of the new civilisation in world councils. The Socialist Party must also emphasise the need to admit at once the Asian nations into the U.N.O.

However, the immediate task of the Socialist Party is to take the lead in the formation of a bloc of Asian countries and Egypt on the basis of a common defensive alliance, strong enough to resist the encroachments of both the power-blocs.

It is also imperative to remove the last vestige of imperialist domination in Asia, for the continued existence of this domination would inevitably lead to an attempt to involve the Asian countries in a war between the power-blocs.

Not only in the interests of their own peoples but also to save the world from the creeping danger of war, the Socialist Parties of Asia must strive urgently to achieve Socialist governments in their different countries.

An unstable peace of not yet three years and the world stands again on the threshold of war. Experience of India Government's pursuits of national and international ends in world councils has convinced the Socialist party that a people striving to build socialism and their government can alone pursue these ends. India must make her choice between being pulled down as at present into the depths of isolation and war or of building up the befriended strength of democratic socialism. The choice is urgent.

Socialist Approach
TO
Foreign Policy

SOCIALIST APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY

[From "Socialist Approach to Foreign policy"]

The Statement of policy adopted by the General Council of the Socialist Party at Nagpur last year outlined the basic policy of the party in the international field. A further elucidation and restatement of the position of the party in this respect has now become necessary. Accordingly, the Sub-Committee of the National Executive at its Mahabaleshwar meeting discussed this question thoroughly and arrived at certain conclusions which are embodied in this report.

BASIC AIMS

The Committee considered two questions :

1. What are the objectives of a Socialist foreign policy ?
and
2. What are the means best calculated to promote it ?

Economic power and weapons of war are commonly accepted as the most effective instruments of foreign policy. The Socialist party rejects this view. India is militarily weak and its economic resources are not fully developed. It does not produce enough steel and has not sufficiently vast war potential to make India a great power. If we look at the comparative figures of steel production, on which in the ultimate analysis depends the economic strength and war-potential of a country, we shall realise how backward we are in this respect. Whereas the United States can produce nearly 81 million tons of steel (1944) and whereas the Russian target for the same item in 1950 is 25. 5. million tons and that of U.K. 15 million in 1951,

India's highest has been less than 1.5. million, with no prospect of large-scale increase in the immediate future. But, though India is weak materially, it can find other means of projecting its foreign policy. An equally effective weapon is the psychological weapon and India can wield it with advantage. This necessitates the adoption of a positive foreign policy, which can be no other than a policy of peace. The positive policy of peace comprises four elements, (1) freedom of peoples particularly subject peoples, (2) democracy and social justice, (3) comparatively equal returns to human labour throughout the world and (4) active neutrality.

The first principle is clear enough. The party has always stood for the freedom of the colonial people. All Asia is astir today and many countries have regained their freedom. But vast areas of Africa and some countries of Asia are still under foreign domination. Therefore, the struggle for freedom has to continue until the last vestige of imperialist domination has been destroyed. The Socialist Party will support all these popular movements aimed at achieving this end.

EQUALITY OF NATIONS

The achievement of national independence is not enough. The people of these countries should strive to reconstruct their economies on a new basis. An attempt must be made to introduce economical planning so as to raise the standard of living of the people. Economic inequalities will have to go. There must be more freedom and fuller civil liberties. In short, the life of the people has to be reorganised on the basis of democratic socialism.

People today talk about international co-operation and world order. But it is impossible to realise this ideal without at the same time ending the colonial system and what is more important without removing the disparity between the productivity of human labour in advanced industrial countries and retarded economies of Asia and Africa. Today the return to human labour is extremely unequal. The ratio between the advanced countries and backward people will work out to be 20 to 1. This has to go. For this it is not necessary to depress the advanced countries. What is required is to introduce new technique in backward countries and raise their productivity. For increased output per man-hour of labour demands better and adequate tools and tolerable living conditions. In fact this effort to bring the productivity of the colonial people on a par with those of the advanced countries is the sheet-anchor of a progressive foreign policy.

“DEMOCRATIC” AND “SOCIALIST” BLOCS

The policy of neutrality, the Socialist Party stands for, is not a passive or negative policy. What that Party is advocating is a policy of active and positive neutrality. India must not withdraw into its own shell. It should seek to extend the sphere of this neutrality by bringing in other countries as well. Before discussing what forms this neutrality will assume, we shall have to understand the present international situation. The basic feature of the international situation today is the creation of two powerful blocs—the Anglo-American Bloc and the Russian Bloc and their struggle for world domination. The destruction of the Japanese and German empires during the second world war, created a vacuum over certain areas of the earth and this gave a new impetus to the rivalry of great powers. The antagonism between the Anglo-American bloc and the Russian bloc is an expression of their attempt to project their respective influence wherever such a vacuum existed. India's characterisation of these power-blocs would largely determine its relationship with them. The Socialist Party is unable to accept the popular characterisation of either of the dominant power-blocs. The Anglo-American bloc is commonly described as a political democracy and the Russian bloc as an economic democracy or a Socialist dictatorship. These are at best partial truths. Democracy and Socialism are interrelated terms and therefore it would be wrong to characterise the Anglo-American system as democratic and the Russian system as socialist. In the United States and western Europe they have indeed introduced a democratic method such as representative institutions and elections, but their democratic effort is far from adequate. Likewise Soviet Russia has abolished private ownership in the means of production and established planned economy but she has centralised economic power and the mass of the population is not only denied democratic freedom and civil liberties but also the full use of economic power. Thus there being neither political liberty nor economic democracy in Russia it would be wrong to call it a Socialist dictatorship.

EXPANSIONIST CHARACTER

The Russian economy is not adequately industrialised and she is at present engaged in a primitive accumulation of capital. In order to speed up the accumulation of the means of production Russia is trying to expand and distribute the burden of this accumulation over an ever-larger territory. The expansionist urge of the Anglo-American bloc stems from their economic system which is predominantly capitalist and in which the problem is to employ gainfully the accumulated

surplus. Politically, the expansionist urges of these power blocs take the form of an effort, as in the case of Russia, to incorporate as many States as possible within the Soviet political system and therein establish totalitarian rule of the Communist parties subservient to Moscow, and in the American sphere of influence, to bring pressure so as to retard social change and preserve the capitalist system. Thus there are distinctions and differences in the character of and the methods adopted by these power blocs but basically their approach is the same; both are expansionist. It is sometimes said that whereas the Russian bloc is rigid and homogeneous the Anglo-American bloc is heterogeneous. It is true that some countries in the Anglo-American bloc such as the United Kingdom are trying to socialise their internal economies but similarly fissures have lately appeared in the supposedly rigid Russian system too, as exemplified by the excommunication of Tito by the cominform.

An assessment of the relative strength of these power-blocs will be useful. While the superiority of the Anglo-American's in the matter of economic resources, population, technique is indubitable, Russia with her shorter and more compact lines of communication has an immediate strategic advantage. The psychological factor which under certain conditions may become the decisive factor in modern warfare is it is suggested, more likely to be in favour of Russia, considering that Russian propaganda and fifth column work in the shape of organised communist parties have been persistent and global since the end of the war. Though the declared membership of international communism is only 20 millions, i. e. 1% of the total population of the world, they can influence a far larger number of people through their network of auxiliary organisations and fellow-travellers. Communism thrives on economic discontent and holds out the promise of a better world. But it is quite possible that people under-estimate the psychological appeal of Anglo-Americans and be little the degree of satisfaction which many derive from their systems, even in terms of economic benefits, higher wages, social security, and other amenities.

THIRD CAMP OF PEACE

Communism in Russia has now openly adopted disruptive tactics. It has today become the party of civil war and as such, its hold upon the people is likely to weaken. Altogether, the Anglo-Americans are more powerful though the Russian ability to lengthen the duration of a conflict is indubitable. The victory of the Anglo-American bloc will make the American

system "almighty on this planet", whether they would allow the Socialist parties to exist or not is of secondary importance. For one thing is certain that they would not allow them to grow so as to constitute a challenge to the supremacy of capitalism. On the other hand, a Russian victory which is improbable, will put the Kremlin-controlled Communist Parties in power everywhere and destroy the democratic and socialist forces though it is doubtful that Moscow would be able to prevent other national Tirose from revolting against its authority. From this analysis it will be clear that though the consequences of the victory of these power-blocs will be slightly different, it does not indicate any preference. India should not therefore do anything that is likely to increase the influence of either of the blocs but **STRIVE TO CREATE A THIRD CAMP OF ACTIVE NEUTRALITY AND TRY TO EXPAND THE AREA OF THIS THIRD CAMP AS FAR AS POSSIBLE.** The policy of building up the Third camp has two aspects. It has to be carried out on two levels, Governmental and popular.

The Government of India should enter into non-aggression pacts and treaties of enduring friendship with as many countries as possible and also achieve a network of regional alliances including East Asian countries, the Arab League, our western neighbours and even further. On the popular level the Socialist party would try to strengthen the third force in Asia, Africa and South America also. It shall associate with the activities of the European Socialist parties and participate in their conference without compromising in any way its point of view. The organisation of regional co-operation between the Socialist parties in Asia will provide the basis for a wider and real international socialist movement.

COMMONWEALTH LINK—A FETTER

If India is to play its part in world affairs effectively, it will have to avoid all such associations and commitments as are likely to compromise this fundamental attitude. It is clear that India's membership of the British Commonwealth is inconsistent with this basic policy of active neutrality. It will mean that on every vital issue India shall have thrown in her weight on the side of Anglo-America. It will mean that there will be no independent foreign policy. The policy of peace as outlined above demands that India come out of the British Commonwealth which still maintains colonial domination and racial discrimination and which strategically, economically and politically is a part of the Anglo-American bloc.

POSITIVE LEAD ON WORLD ISSUES

In pursuance of this policy of peace India cannot but take active interest in the UNO. It is true that this organisation has fallen short of its stated objectives and that its achievements so far have not been such as to inspire hope in the people of Asia and Africa. In spite of this and in spite of the fact that it has adopted a curious attitude towards India and other Asian countries, India's membership of the UNO should be continued. India has so far not played a positive role in the UNO. It has failed to give a lead on issues of world significance. It has particularly failed to raise questions of social justice and world freedom on the platform of the UNO. A marvellous opportunity was there at the UNO for the Government of India to declare in ringing terms that distinctions between the victors and the vanquished should go and that every country in the world no matter whether it had lost a war, should have its own national government. It should have announced our decision not to accept any reparations from Germany and Japan. It should have demanded the withdrawal of foreign authority and armies of occupation whether in Germany, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya and territories of the African people and the reconstitution of national authority. Instead of acting on this high plane it referred the South African and Kashmir questions to the UNO. India was arraigned at the bar of world opinion by Pakistan for 'genocide' and 'aggression' against Hyderabad. Thus we have so far functioned either in furtherance of our national interests or in defence of our country against foreign attacks and calumnies. Even on the Indonesian question, India had earlier allowed the initiative to pass to Australia. It did, however, advocate the admission of our two neighbours, after persistent socialist criticism, like Burma and Ceylon into the UNO. But we could have demanded admission of other Asian countries also.

India should take a more positive stand on the question of Palestine too. The Socialist Party considers racial discrimination a crime against humanity and as such is opposed to antisemitism. It has every sympathy for the Jews who have suffered so much under Fascist rule. But emigration to Palestine and partition of that country could hardly be the solution of the problem. The Socialist Party is opposed to the policy of elevating a religious community to statehood and therefore to the partition of Palestine or any country for that matter, for this is bound to become a source of dissension and conflict and give foreigners an opportunity to intervene and acquire a foothold on the Asian

soil. India, therefore, should not only have advocated a united federal Government for the whole of Palestine and stoppage of further Jewish immigration, it should have resolutely fought for its acceptance.

SOCIAL CHANGE : INSTRUMENT OF POLICY

All this goes to prove that India has not wielded the psychological weapon effectively. Our failure in this respect, springs from our failure to initiate a policy of social justice in the internal sphere. A year has passed since the achievement of freedom, but very little has been done in the matter of bringing about radical social changes. We have not introduced economic planning to reduce inequalities of wealth and raise the standard of living of the people. The absence of this new emphasis in our internal efforts has robbed our foreign policy of that ideological core and emotional drive which alone can substitute military might and economic power as an instrument of foreign-policy.

ASIAN FORCE-STEP TO WORLD GOVERNMENT

Foreign policy is an extension and projection of internal policy in the international field. A foreign policy, of equality, freedom and peace must in the opinion of the Socialist party be linked up with the effort to achieve a new social order in our own country. In doing this it is better to rely on our own strength and resources. It is useless to look to and depend upon foreign aid. India should accept foreign aid only on the condition that no political strings are attached to it. But the emphasis should be on planned utilisation of our own resources and regional co-operation. National barriers must be broken; and we should henceforth think in terms of ever larger groupings of nations. An Asian force based on a common continental loyalty has to be created, not for aggressive purposes, but to resist expansionsim directed against Asia, not to depress Europe or any other part of the world but to elevate the retarded peoples of Asia, to enable them to achieve equality of status with others. This will be a stepping stone to World Government.

Peace Through Freedom
AND
Equality

PEACE THROUGH FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

[From "We Build For Socialism", July, 1951.]

The congress Government claims to follow an independent foreign policy. But it nevertheless keeps on vacillating from one power bloc to the other. At the same time, economic and social disorganisation has been creating within the country growing adherents of the rival blocs. Four years of frustration have led sections of our people, no matter how small, to look to Moscow or Washington for deliverance and development. Taking advantage of this position, both the blocs are trying to entrench themselves in the country.

Further, the failure of the Government of India to put forward a positive world policy as an alternative to the policies of the American and Russian blocs has robbed our so-called 'independent' foreign policy of all meaning, and belied the hopes that the emergence of free India had aroused among the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The foreign policy of a free but feudal-cum-capitalist India, with its extremes of poverty and wealth, its social injustices, its status-quoism, cannot rouse any enthusiasm or play any vital part. Only when at home India gives evidence of creative energy and proceeds to construct a new social order as described in this platform that India's voice will become a clarion call.

The Socialist party believes in a new world of equality, freedom and peace; a world in which there is no domination or exploitation of one nation by another, in which extreme poverty and backwardness do not lie side by side with dazzling wealth and technological progress, in which there are no race or other barriers, in which war has become obsolete.

Neither Russian leadership of the world nor American can ever create such a world. A Russian world would be a world ruled from Moscow, the dictates of which must determine the pattern of life all over the globe. An American world would have all the characteristics of a capitalist society in which a few exploit the many and inequality and injustice rule the lives of men. To the Russian and American world pictures, the Socialist party presents a third alternative. In order to realise this picture of a new world the Socialist party shall:

- (i) abstain from involvement in the disputes between the Russian and American Camps, at the same time assuring the United Nations that Socialist India would in no event assist an aggressor;
- (ii) strengthen the United Nations and its various agencies in all such efforts as might lead to a world of freedom, equality and peace;
- (iii) endeavour to work for the collective security of that region in the world as keeps out of alliances of the Atlantic and Soviet Camps, in particular the belt that stretches from Indonesia to Egypt;
- (iv) strive for friendly relations with all peoples and Governments;
- (v) support freedom movements of the yet unfree peoples, in particular those of Africa, and attempt to keep them away from alliances with either camps.
- (vi) seek to revise all treaties and agreements and charters as have set up an international caste-system of rich and powerful nations on the one hand, and of weak and poor nations on the other, and thus establish the principle of equality of all nations;
- (vii) assist in all efforts to join the human race together, politically in a world parliament and, economically through agencies such as a World Development Corporation and World Food Pool, so as to ensure that every human being, no matter what his country, is assured of a decent standard of living;
- (viii) extend its support to Socialist movements all the world over and to all other popular movements as are striving to combat hunger and war with the weapons of Socialism and democracy.

KASHMIR

The State of Kashmir had lawfully acceded to India and the accession was whole-heartedly endorsed by the Kashmir National Conference, the largest representative body of the people of Kashmir. The whole of Kashmir is thus legally a part of the Indian Republic. The aggression of Pakistan, however, created a dangerous situation, and, while India resisted the aggression with all its strength, because of its anxiety to avoid a war with Pakistan, it sought the intervention of the United Nations. Unfortunately, instead of deciding the simple issue of aggression, the United Nations, due to extraneous reasons, further complicated the situation. Thus a stage has now been reached where it is necessary for the people of Kashmir themselves to settle their fate. The Socialist Party therefore endorses India's rejection of United Nations arbitration and fully supports the step taken by the Kashmir National Conference to convene a Constituent Assembly elected by the adult population of Kashmir.

The Socialist party feels that the constituent Assembly should not only set up a representative Government, but also decide finally the issue of accession, which decision should be taken by India and the world as final. As to how the rest of the Kashmir territory should be recovered from the hands of the aggressor can only be decided after the verdict of the constituent Assembly. The Socialist party believes that after that stage the issue should be settled between India and Pakistan themselves without any outside intervention.

Resolution

ON

Asian Socialist Conference

RESOLUTION ON ASIAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

[From "Pachmarhi Report", May, 1952.]

Chairman :

The resolution on Asian Socialist Conference is being moved from the Chair.

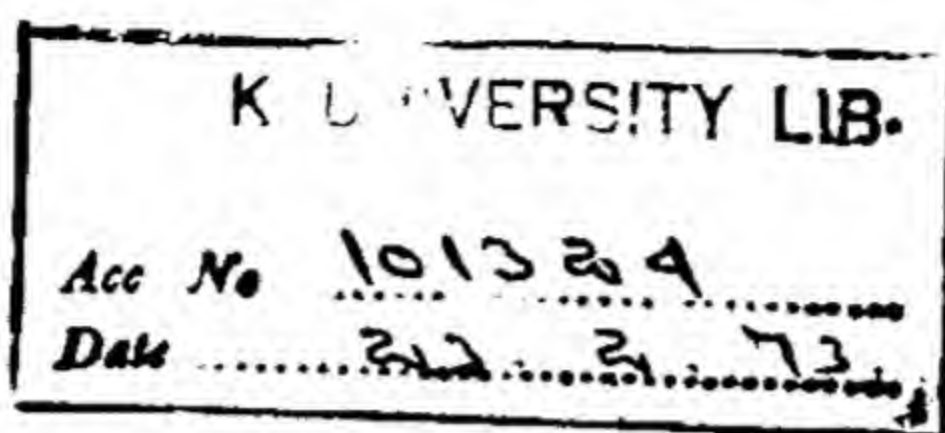
RESOLUTION

1. This Special Convention of the Socialist Party welcomes the decision to hold the first Preliminary Congress of the Asian Socialist Parties at Rangoon in November, 1952.

2. The Socialist Movement in Asia was born in the womb of struggle for freedom and against imperialism and it is this commonality of experience and suffering that bind the Asian Socialists with ties of friendship. It is therefore natural that with the advent of freedom the Socialists of Asia should look to one another for solving common problems and to achieve a communion of heart and mind. The Convention hopes that such a coming together would help to establish and strengthen bonds of friendship between Socialist Asia and Socialist West.

3. This Convention sends its greetings to the Socialists of Asia and hopes that this coming together of Asia on the popular level will usher in an era of united effort to build up a new civilisation of social and spiritual equality, democracy and freedom, and decentralised economic and political power, and will give an organised expression to the ideology and policy of the Third Force.

Resolution On Africa's Struggle
FOR
Freedom



RESOLUTION ON AFRICA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

[From "Pachmarhi Report", May, 1952.]

Chairman :

The resolution on Africa's struggle for freedom will be moved from the Chair.

RESOLUTION

1. This Convention of the Socialist Party sends its greetings to the people of Africa who are fighting valiantly for their freedom.
2. The Convention strongly condemns the reign of terror let loose by the French Government in order to perpetuate their rule in Africa. It also deplores the failure of the United Nations to take up this issue and implement its charter.
3. The Convention therefore appeals to the small nations in general and the newly freed countries of Asia in particular to back the African people and through U. N. and diplomatic pressure secure immediate amnesty for the freedom fighters and enable them to speedily achieve complete national independence. It further calls upon the Socialist and popular forces to extend sympathy and support to rebel Africa and help create an irresistible world opinion in favour of Africa's freedom.