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Prof. N. G. RANGA

Towards World Peace

Prof. N. G. RANGA

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
1.	International Outlook	1
2.	Bases of India's Foreign Policy	9
3.	Peace Front	21
4.	Redistribution of World's Wealth	29
5.	Fair deal for agricultural countries	50
6.	World Peasant problems	78
7.	Rival Imperialisms	94
8.	World Parliamentary democracy	102
9.	Achievements of World democracy	109
10.	Insurance against Totalitarianism	116
11.	India—bulwark of World democracy	135
12.	India to stand by colonial peoples	141
13.	National front in foreign policy	151
14.	Indians abroad	159
15.	India and Pakistan	167
16.	Democracy shall never die	176
17.	One World Ideal	184
18.	The Bogor Conference	189

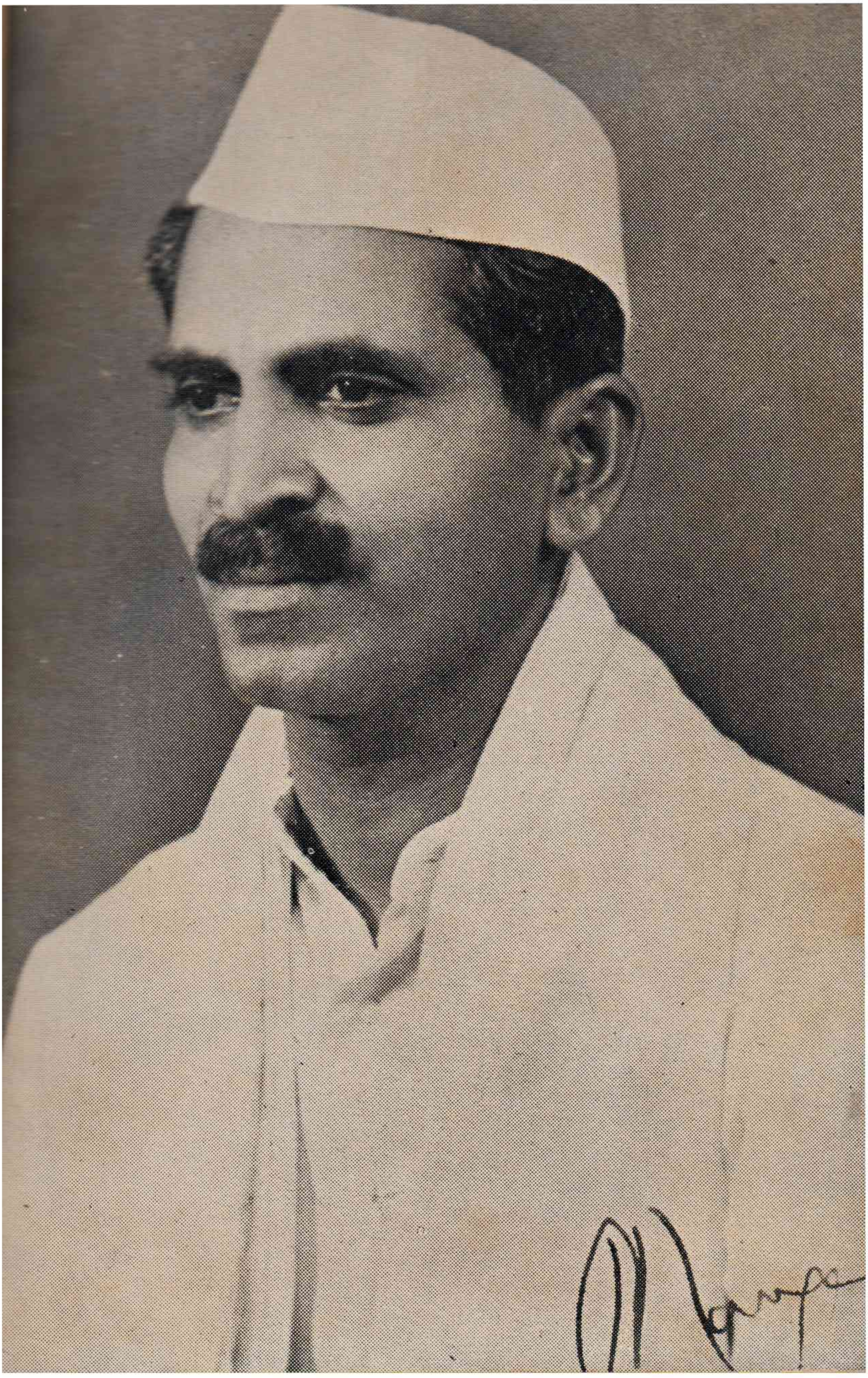
APPENDICES

1. Prof. Ranga's speeches in Parliament
2. Errata

International Conferences in which the Author has participated

	CONFERENCE	YEAR	PLACE
1.	Conference of I. F. A. P. *	1946 May	London
2.	Conference of Food & Agricultural Organisation	1946 Sept.	Copenhagen
3.	Pan - African Congress (Special Conference)	1946	Manchester
4.	Conference of I. F. A. P.	1947	Hague
5.	Conference of International Labour Organisation	1948	Sanfranscisco
6.	Conference of I. F. A. P	1949	Guelph (Canada)
7.	Indo-American Conference ‡	1950	New Delhi
8.	Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference	1952	Ottawa
9.	World Democratic Peace Congress	1953	New Delhi
10.	Fourth Congress of the International Peasant Union	1954 Oct.	New York
11.	Asian Congress for World Government	1954 Nov.	Tokyo
12.	Conference of International Rice Commission	1954 Nov.	Tokyo
13.	Asian Co-operative Conference	1954 Nov.	Tokyo

* International Federation of Agricultural producers. ‡ Organised by the Indian Council of World affairs.



International Out-look

The Indian National Movement attained by 1918–19 an international significance when Indian national leaders dared to appeal to President Wilson to intervene on behalf of India's freedom demand in his efforts to lay the foundations for world peace. As young people we admired the courage of the first Indian Chief Justice Subramania Aiyar in sending that appeal to President Wilson and in returning the Knighthood conferred on him by the British Emperor when his appeal was resented by the British Government. Indian Nationalists began to assert that India was not solely the British concern and India's cause was a part of the world cause. Thus Indian youths began to respond to the internationalism of the Peace Conference and hope for their national freedom through the League of Nations.

At the same time, we as youths were witness to an internal controversy among our national leaders; whether social reform should come first or National Freedom Movement should carry in its train social reconstruction endeavours. Mahatma Gandhi decided, after much struggle with both sections of leaders that the National Freedom Movement should have precedence but that its progress and strength would so largely depend upon social

reform and reconstruction. As youths, we accepted this solution.

It was with that intellectual background that hundreds of us went to England in 1920 for advanced studies. I was fortunate in having Sri P. C. Ray in my ship and in enjoying his paternal guidance during that long and frightful voyage. Through him I imbibed the spirit of scholarship, simplicity, social work, of which he was the embodiment.

During my first three years at Oxford my mind became the battle-field for a number of conflicting ideals and approaches. Till then I was a strong nationalist and thought that to become a nationalist, dismissing the rival claims of social reform, Non-Brahmin and self-respect movements was the biggest intellectual and social achievement. But the writings of H. G. Wells, who was then popularly accepted as the most progressive thinker of the West, and whose "Outlines of World History" and whose articles on the "Salvaging of the world" began to challenge my faith in the progressive and benevolent aspects of nationalism. To his efforts to create a horror of nationalism in all his powerful articles, almost every British intellectual began to lend strength.

Secondly Mahatma Gandhi initiated his nation-wide compaign for the resuscitation of our cottage industries, centred round the spinning wheel. But the economic and social history of England and of the rest of Industrial West appeared to be a testimony to the reactionary nature of such a movement.

All that I could read in their history and in their press went against Gandhiji's Movement. My love of Indian Freedom Movement of Mahatma Gandhi and my intimate knowledge of Indian villages and their economic needs would not permit me to accept the teachings of the West in these two respects. Nevertheless, the failure of President Wilson to create a powerful League of Nations and consequent wrangles between the small and big nations of Europe and the obviously rapid economic progress and prosperity of the western peoples because of their faith in large-scale industries have made me wonder whether after all Indian faith in nationalism and cottage industries might possibly be only a stage in our development towards greater social progress and a higher stage of comradeship among peoples of the world.

When I was in that stage of ideological development, I became a member of the Indian Majlis, which stood for our national freedom, Asiatic Club which advocated the regeneration and independence of Asian peoples and countries, Cosmopolitan Club which practised equality among all students of different nationalities, climes and colours and also of the University union where the students hailing from all parts of the world could meet in equal comradeship and discuss the day-to-day affairs of the world, as if it were no bigger than an enlarged country. That atmosphere of Oxford in whose streets, College halls, Clubs, at whose dinner tables and sport–meets students of different colours and countries meet every day on the most intimate

terms and think of themselves as of one comradeship was so conducive to the development of a feeling of unity, proximity and comsadeship as between different nations and countries in every student's mind.

Not being satisfied with what I had benefited from that Oxonian atmosphere, I began to make my own contribution to its development by organising International Labour Group and International Correspondence Group. My efforts received much response and encouragement from the students and scholars and also from some of the lecturers. Thus I became not only a confirmed internationalist but also one of the young missionaries of internationalism. So between 1923–26 I became a correspondent and representative of International Students Union and movement.

I did not however weaken in my faith in the Indian national movement and its advocacy of cottage industries. In fact, I joined the National Congress in 1923 on my first return to India and found economic justificatiou for the spinning wheel economy, advocated by Gandhijee. I could attempt ideological reconciliation between the Western faith in large-scale industries and Gandhi's faith in cottage industries and develop my full-fledged theoretical justification to the satisfaction of Gandhijee by 1926, when my theses on "The Economics of Khadder" and the "Economics of the Handloom" were published, on the approval of Oxford Dons of Economists.

What about my internationalism ? Between 1921–26. Lenin's teachings began to assail those of Wells. We began to realise that Internationalism and its off-spring, Cosmopolitanism, would become practical politics only when all nations are independent and all peoples are free. But so long as some nations and their peoples were kept in subjection, nationalism would be the first stage of progress and every national freedom movement would be a revolutionary movement. Through my contacts with students who hailed from African colonies, West-Indian Islands and also from Asian countries, I was able to understand even more clearly than from my voracious reading of books about their countries and the painful inferiority complex which imperialism was inflicting upon their peoples.

Therefore I became an enthusiast of Lenin's crusade for the liberation of all colonies and their peoples. I found later on that Mahatma Gandhi too stood for thesame ideal and that it was but natural for all subject peoples-from the Irish to the Chinese to sympathise with each other and aid their world-wide movement for national freedom. What was once the monopoly of the Comintern became the nor mal faith and policy of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world; that is, to struggle for freedom from imperialism, to carry on a crusade against imperialist exploitation of every kind and to reach upto equal, honourable and progressive comradeship in Internationalism and Cosmopolitanism. It was this faith which I came to embody in my thesis

"Colonial and coloured Peoples Freedom Front" published in 1946 with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi.

During these thirty years, I visited Europe a number of times, made friends with a large number of its prominent democrats, Socialists, Co-operators and advocates of the League of Nations and I learnt to fight and make my sacrifices in the cause of national freedom under Gandhijee's leadership. I have come to realise that it would not be necessary to be a communist to fight against Imperialism or Capitalism, and it would be the sacred duty of a sincere socialist, democrat, cosmopolitan or a humanist to struggle and suffer for the achievement of the liberation of all peoples from the evils of capitalism, and the clutches of Imperialism and to aim at the freedom and equality of all peoples of all climes and colours.

During this period, I did also try to persuade noble souls like the late Lord Robert Cecil and Prof. Gilbert Murray to work for the strengthening of the Trusteeship Council. But we did not succeed. So I took the initiative and co-operated with the late Dr. Moody, the West Indian Negro leader, in founding the League of coloured Peoples with its headquarters in London. When efforts were being made by many western intellectuals to develop conceptions of Supra-States, One world and a new World State in the light of the experiences of the League of Nations I took advantage of my six months freedom between two biennial periods of incarceration during the World War II to obtain Gandhijee's

blessings for an effort to start a "Colonial and Coloured peoples Freedom Front" in London with Miss A. G. Stock, M. A (Oxon) as its secretary. She developed valuable contacts with the Negro leaders from African colonies and West Indies and their collective confabulations resulted in the organisation of the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1946. That Congress demanded, as did my book on "Colonial and coloured peoples"* published in the same year, complete freedom for all African peoples and countries. Mahatma Gandhi extended his blessings to and authorised me to represent Indian National Congress on the "Peoples Congress" which was founded in Paris in 1948 with Mr. Fenner Brockway as its President. In this way I have grown to be an internationalist in a much fuller-sense than I could be in 1920—23 when at Oxford and my internationalism is irreconcilable to the existence of imperialism and colonialism. I have learnt to fight directly against imperialist exploitation in India and indirectly in all other colonial or semi-colonial countries through my contacts, comradeship, and writings. I believe in world citizenship and government but these ideals cannot be achieved so long as we are unable to liquidate imperialism of every type and such theories and practices as obtain in

* Pan African leaders Messers George Padmore, Peter Evans, Jomo Kenyatta, Mckonnon and their British friend and Socialist leader Mr. Fenner Brockway hailed that book as the most comprehensive and authoritative justification for the Pan-African Congress demand for complete independence of all the colonial and coloured peoples of the world.

South Africa. I have reached this faith by various stages of intellectual awareness and actual experiences and I realise now more than ever that no one can be a true and full-fledged democrat who does not believe in this and who cannot make his sincere contribution to it. I have also learnt through my apprenticeship under Gandhijee that only a democrat and one who believes in non-violent and peaceful methods can fight for the freedom of all peoples and a totalitarian, whether he be of the traditional type or of the post-war type cannot as truly stand for the genuine freedom of the peoples.

Bases of India's Foreign Policy

India made her debut into the arena of world politics, the moment that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru became her Foreign Minister and took charge of the External Affairs Department on the 2nd of September, 1946.

The 15th of August, 1947, had inaugurated Free India and given him complete freedom from any possible unwelcome advice or interference from British Government. But throughout the fifteen months, Pandit Nehru has pursued his foreign policy which has been free not only from the British interference, but also from any entanglements with either the Russian policies or with those of Anglo-Americans.

It is whispered by some in America and in Europe that India is secretly in sympathy with Russian foreign policies but is only outwardly independent. This is a wrong and unjustifiable reading of India's role. But why is India pursuing this independent role? Because India needs peace. She is wedded to peace, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. Indian politicians have come to develop a genuine passion for peace.

This chapter was published in the "Eastern Economist" of 2-1-48; printed as a background paper for the Indo-American conference, Delhi in 1949, and discussed in several American books on foreign policy.

India is also wedded to democracy which can really be appreciated fully only by those who believe in non-violence and have suffered from the evils of autocracy. And political-minded Indians have been nurtured since 1920 upon this conception and creed of democracy based upon non-violence. Therefore, India, wedded as she is to peace and democracy, cannot reconcile herself to any idea of alliance with either the Anglo-American bloc with its growing faith in the Atom Bomb or the Soviet bloc with its passion for totalitarian power and Atom Bomb's secrets.

India has long suffered under Imperialist domination. So she understands and sympathises with the sufferings of the other similarly placed colonial and coloured peoples. Her people are even today suffering from many disabilities and loss of ordinary privileges associated with citizenship in South Africa and other countries where the Whites enjoy political domination. So she is obliged to seek alliance with the other coloured peoples whose sufferings are even greater, if only to win for her people equal rights and privileges. Thus the championship of the colonial and coloured people's cause becomes her prominent function to be performed as much in her own interest as in those of her natural friends and allies, the other coloured peoples.

The economic progress of India's 300 million people had been arrested during the last 200 years. So much so, that her people are weaker, poorer, less well-clothed and housed and very much less

efficient and equipped with education and knowledge in the modern scientific ways of production, organization and development than so many other peoples. To raise their standards of living, education, effiiciency and industrial equipment and to liberate them from chronic famines, underfeeding, diseases and frequent epidemics, India needs a long period of peace and concentration of all her energies upon the development of her productive resources and industrial and commercial equipment of her people. Therefore, she has to explore all possibilities for avoiding wars.

How can she insure herself against any international entanglements which are likely to lead to war? Many students of international politics in India and abroad, are sincerely of the opinion that neither India nor China nor any other Asian country can possibly remain independent of both the Russian and Anglo-American power blocs, if ever they come into conflict with each other and rush into war. They seriously suggest that India should align herself either with the one or with the other, and that too as early as possible, so that she can get best possible terms and arm herself most effectively both on military and economic fronts. But Pandit Nehru's foreign policy is opposed to this defeatist conception of India's role and place in the modern world.

India can and must remain independent. There are many other countries which are also in the same position. For instance, Latin American countries, African and Asian countries which can-

not afford to go into war, and need a long period of peaceful and rapid development. They are so poor today and so much in need of progress, that they cannot afford to embroil themselves with another war. Therefore, they will make natural allies of India and the Gandhi-Nehru passion, preaching and practice of peace and democracy and planned development of the economic life of the people on Socialist lines. If all of them were to bind themselves together, they would be able to make a big enough front which can effectively either prevent the next war or postpone it for a long time or localise its whole sphere of evil influence.

But it might be said that in these days of armament rivalries, these countries which are comparatively unarmed have little chance of being able to influence effectively world politics. Such a view is fallacious. Because it does not take into account the power of democracy and world public opinion which is today being represented by the U.N.O. The rival power blocs will be held under control and be prevented from rushing at each other's throats through a formal or informal declaration of war, so long as they remain its members and agree to work or wrangle together within the orbits of its influnce. Therefore, India and her friends can continue to play an effective role in world affairs and continue to strengthen themselves as against these rival blocs and put off the evil day and go on strengthening their economic and defensive equipments.

India is specially fitted for the leadership of these countries, beceuse of the moral stature of her great leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and also because of her scrupulous and continuous championship of the principles of democracy and peace and freedom from Imperialist and Capitalist exploitation.

India has already won this leadershis through her championship of the American peoples over the South-West African issue, of the Indonesians in the Dutch-Indonesian disputes, of all the colonial peoples over the Trusteeship Council issue. She has also had the courage to stand up to Soviet Russia in her competition with Ukraine for a seat on the Security Council. Her friends have shown their appreciation of her independent stand, sticking to it through 9 ballots. Thus Nehru's foreign policy has demonstrated that India is capable of winning the leadership of these unattached States and thus creating the unofficial peace front—the biggest bulwark against the threat of the next world war.

We must remember that in this atomic age, it is as futile for all the countries which do not wish to become the satellites of either Russia or United States of America to build up adequate military strength either for self-defencc or for offensivs action as had been for so many European countries during the tank-age between the last two wars. First of all their poverty is their biggest limiting factor. It would be suicidal for them to waste their resources on the organization and maintenance of the defence forces when they are so badly in need of money for

the satisfaction of the most elementary civic needs of her people and for the development of their agriculture and industries. Secondly, however, much they may attempt. their defence forces can be smashed in no time by the giant powers which possess atomic power. Therefore, it is much better for them to concentrate on the development of their moral power and influence against the misuse of atom power and the suppression of smaller countries. It is in this sphere that India has to exert herself most, if she is to raise to her full stature among the nations of the world and win for her people peace and progress.

All these nations which are anxious to call their souls their own and which wish to remain independent and enjoy peace, must learn to work together in a comradely manner on the U.N.O. front and help it to become their biggest weapon for forging world peace. Hence India's growing interest in the U.N.O. and Pandit Nehru's special keenness to see that the most eminent of India's ambassadors leads India's delegation to U.N.O. If the U.N.O. fails, there is nothing else to prevent the next war.

To ensure the success of the U.N.O. the very primary thing to do is to get rid of the Veto power now entrusted to the great powers. Today it is being too freely used by Russia to block the discussion of any of the knotty problems. Tomorrow it may be the turn of either America or Britain. As long as this power rests with these great powers, all the efforts that may be made by India and other peace-loving nations, will be in vain. So long as this dic-

tatorship of the 'Big Three' is not broken, the world will be at the mercy of their internal rivalries and quarrels. Therefore, it is in the interests of India to fight for the revision of the constitution. It is in this direction that he Indian Delegation so far has not been able to pursue any clear-cut policy. India must decide to support those, which-ever side they may be, which are ready either to remove this power of Veto or to limit its use for a few specified purposes or to place this power, not only in the hands of the three powers, but also in all other States or groups of them. Then alone can we insure the world against the dictatorship or the obstructionist tactics of these great powers. It is India's special duty to take a lead in this matter and to liberate the smaller countries of the world from this unending impasse.

But is India economically so free to pursue such an independent role? Does not India need the assistance of foreign capital goods and techniaal skill and managerial services? It is true that India is independent in her poverty, But if she wants to grow rich and develop her resources, she will certainly need the assistance of many foreign nations.

If she seeks such foreign assistance, from which quarter can she get it in adequate proportion? The Marshall Plan may afford her some assistance; if it is extended to Asia. The World Monetory Bank may also help her. But will that help be free from political entanglements? If to such help political conditions are attached, India cannot afford to have it and, therefore, ought not to invite it.

I had some talks with some of the leaders of the American Delegation to Geneva International Trade Conference and I gathered impressions that they would only like their capitalists to get into business deals with our capitalists without the mediation of our Government. I could see the inherent political dangers of such methods and our statesmen also have realised this. Hence, the resolution of the Industries Conference of December 16th-18th that all such business arrangements should be negotiated only subject to the prior agreement of our Government.

But can India afford to refuse the assistance of American capital and technical skill? I think she can. There are still many countries like Sweeden, Czechoslovakia, Australia which must be capable of assisting us and co-operating with us in building up in our country some of the most and essential key industries without seeking any political power over our State. Indeed, if India takes the initiative in this direetion, she will be showing the way to many other countries which are equally not to be dragooned into the enclaves of the three Great Powers and towards political freedom.

The retention of political power is dependent upon the rapid growth, economic strength and strategic industries These two are inter-dependent. India is best situated to achieve these two essentials of independence if only she is willing to develop team work with other smaller nations and also to invoke the co-operation of all sections of our

peoples, their smaller and bigger savings and all their technical, managerial and patriotic services. Once America and England realize that India is determined to maintain such a policy of independence and develop her economic resources, they are sure to abandon any possible political ambitions of theirs and to offer the loans of their capital and skill along the Marshall Plan or through the World Bank if only to retain our goodwill and not to oblige us to seek the assistance of others.

Can we achieve such a strength on the economic front before the bugles of next war are sounded? I think we can. We have the requisite national leadership and also a brilliant group of industrial and commercial leaders who have weathered many a storm and surmounted, what used to appear to be insurmountable obstacles created by British imperialism during the last thirty-five years ahd who are too keen to go ahead, conscious of its social responsibilities, on the lines of enlightened and democratic capitalism as indicated in the Bombay Plan and the unanimous lead of the recent Industrial Conference, representing both capital and labour, primary producers and consumers. We have also patriotic labour equipped as it is, by the higher technical training received during the war and seasoned by its participation in the national struggle and willing to be led, increasingly by leaders who place in the forefront the needs of the country and peace and democracy. We have yet to achieve three most essential preliminary sources of strength. We have to devise

ways and means for inspiring the whole of the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes, to maximise their savings, even if it be at the cost of their conventional necessities and place them in the Co-operative Banks and other Co-operatives, lend them freely to Govərnment and thus free India from the need to borrow capital from abroad. I feel confident that we can do this, once we develop our national plan for agricultural and industrial development and we are making rapid strides towards the shaping of such a plan.

We have also to organise our Kisans into the Kisan Sammelan (Farmers Union) as we are trying to organise labour into the Indian National Trade Union Congress and assure them a sqare deal. It is one of the sources of our national weakness that so far our national leadership has failed to bring the great masses of peasantry to swell the stream of our national life. If our peasants have responded to the call of World Markets for commercial crops, it is because of their compelling needs for ready cash to pay taxes, interest and purchase industrial goods. And at every stage they have been forced to sell their produce at uneconomically low prices and thus part with all surplus value created by both the landed and landless sections of all our agriculturists. There is a great need to give them the same assurances as are given by the recent Industries Conference to industrial labour and infuse a new hope and strength into them by the offer from our national leadership of equality between the votaries of agriculture and industry, regarding incentives, remune-

ration, standard of living and social justice. We must also reassure them that the western devices of maintaining and further intensifying the disastrous inequalities between the incentives, wages and income of rural and urban agricultural and industrial classes for the disadvantage of the former for the suicidal object of attracting population to towns and industries and away from villages and agriculture, recently advocated by Mr. Colin Clark, would not at all be adopted by our national leadership. Thus we must do our best to ensure the whole-hearted, enlightened and passionate support of our peasant masses.

Such co-operation, if ensured, can strengthen our national front to a much greater extent than anything else. For, it will free us from the present degrading and dangerous need for food imports. It will strengthen our export position. It will help our industries to become increasingly self-sufficing in regard to the supplies of their primary commodities. It will assure them of an expanding and almost limitless market for their manufactured goods. In short, India can then become self-sufficient and economically independent of the Great Powers and their commercial and exchange controls.

We have to build the basic industries, which are so badly needed to win and retain our industrial independence. Australia and Canada have nearly achieved this, of-course with the assistance of the United States. We can and must also do this. But how, if the United States do not co-operate with us? Let us remember that the U. S. S. R. has done the trick, despite the Anglo-American obstruction over

20 years. Let us also remember that this post-war era is much less dependent upon the Anglo-Ameriean predominent position in the industrial world than during the inter-war period. Moreover, is it not wholly wrong for us to assume, so readily that the Anglo-American diplomacy is sure to oppose, obstruct or dwarf the growth of our industrial self-sufficiency Let us work in hope. Surely, we can rapidly grow to be as necessary for the stability of their national economy as they have grown to be to ours.

The main factor is time. It will be good if we get ten-year period of rapid progress on our agricultural and industrial fronts. We have to complete our multi-purposes projects and flood our country with electric power and let it put life and strength into the dried bones of our people and their social organization.

Can we win this much-needed time? We have to give it the top-most priority. This is what Nehru's foreign policy tends to achieve. Our biggest opportunity to achieve this Breathing Time lies in making the U.N.O. live and grow strong and prevent the Great Powers from rushing into war and thus assure peace for the peoples of the world. The best way to achieve this is to strengthen the non-Big powers, free them from their almost nervous prostration at the very sight of these Big Powers, and organize them on the Peace Front by providing consistent, bold and dynamic leadership with unbounded faith in peace, democracy and people. Such a leadership is being provided by India. India has to provide it if she must live and love the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi.

Peace Front

Six years ago I studied the foundations for India's foreign policy. I came to the conclusion, then, that India's effective role in the world of foreign affairs would directly depend upon the economic strength, actual and potential, in addition to her moral influence arising out of her adherence to Gandhijee's ideals. I then warned that India needed atleast ten years of peace for intensive economic development, before she could be in a position to think of playing any important role among the democratic nations of the world.

During this period India's achievements in the economic sphere have not been so satisfactory. India is emerging only now out of the economic crisis created by the wartime and post-war food deficits and wide-spread famines. Although we have aehieved self-sufficiency in textile and sugar production, we have to go far before we can be independent of imports of essential machinery for achieving complete self-sufficiency in the industrial production of our most essential consumers goods. All that we can show, after all these years is the conclusion of an agreement with foreign firms for the construction of an Iron and steel factory with the potential capacity of producing 250 thousand tons of steel as against our immediate need for one

and half million more tons. We have also negotiated agreements for the construction of two Oil Refineries. We have stepped up our ship-building capacity from two dry-docks to three and eventually four dry-docks. We are adding one more ship-building yard with much less capacity. We have launched the first Jet plane from our sole Air-Craft factory. We are even now obliged to ship away vast quantities of our valuable iron ore and scrap iron. Our production of rubber is so meagre. We are dependent upon export markets for the utilisation of our invaluable manganese, mica and other minerals of great industrial and chemical use. We have not even established a first-rate factory for producing chemical-dyes. The Chittaranjan locomotive factory, the Sindri Fertiliser factory, the Telephone Instruments factory, the Text-Mac and Cycle factories, the Newsprint factory etc. can only hope to supply a portion of our needs in their respective directions. Thus, as yet, India has a long way to go before hoping to be able to stand on her own feet and feel independent of the co-operative industrial economy of the rest of the world.

Our Five Year Plan can only hope to make our administrations and people plan-minded but cannot be expected to achieve any appreciable results by way of gaining economic independence. At best, a number of multi-purpose projects, which had already been planned or even initiated would have progressed upto or a little beyond the first stage of their development. We need two more Five Year Plans, with many times greater financial, 'Know-

How' and man-power resources before we can feel that we are achieving a planned economy. It is as well to remember that our administrative set up needs radical re-planning and reorganisation before any such plan can come to have a reasonable chance of success. We have already passed three years of the First Five Year period and we know we have not yet begun to achieve such a reorganisation. We have also to count with such painful developments as the 1953 crisis of middle-class and industrial unemployment, the 1952–54 misfortunes of agricultural distress caused by fall in exports due in part to the wrong policy of export duties and by the effects of drastic disinflationary measures and by the seasonal misfortunes. As if these are not enough, the uncertain Indo-Pakistan relations threaten to queer our financial arrangements and land us in many and unexpected uneconomic ventures and expenditures.

All the while, the ideas of our masses of what they need to maintain themselves on the minimum standard of living are undergoing rapid changes. So our governments and society are obliged to spare even more and more of our total available resources in men and money for providing only a portion of the absolute minimum public equipment needed by our masses to visualise the possibility of reaching that minimum standard of living. The result is that our capacity to save from out of our current national income for the development of our industrial and commercial investments and equipment is not increasing to any apprciable degree. So if

India were to march in keeping with the speed of world's progress, she needs have to depend upon foreign investments or strain all her moral resources to gain fifteen years of peace and persuade her people to make much greater sacrifices than they are inclined to do at present.

Prime Minister Nehru knows all this. He has therefore been warning Parliament and Country that our Government could not and should not attempt to play a big part in the present-day-world politics. He often complains that India is being rushed into the vortex of world politics by virtue of her membershlp of the U.N.O. and by the logic of centemporary World Politics. Therefore he is obliged to follow the present policy of not involving India too deeply in the growing tension and rivalry between the two great blocks of nations.

But have we succeed in pursuing such a non-involvement policy? Have we given any satisfaction either to the U.S.A. and her associates or to U.S.S.R. and her associates? By the very nature of the present confluence and conflict of contemporary world forces, we cannot please either or both. Actually neither of them is pleased with us. We need not feel sorry about it. Prime Minister is justified in claiming that they are all satisfied that bye and large India has demonstrated her determination not to favour unduly eitheir of the forces and not to get involved beyond the minimum degree in their political wrangles.

It is however pertinent to ask ourselves as to what have been our gains and losses. Sri Nehru

pointed to the election of Mrs. Pandit as the president of the U.N. General Assembly and the choice of India by both sides for the chieftainship of the Korean Truce Commission as being great tributes to India's non-involvement policy. But we have to set against it India's former failure to get elected to the security Council and the recent successful U.S. opposition to Inpia's membership of the Korean political conference. We have lost certain strategic advantages on the Gilgit and Tibetan Fronts and we are not yet out of the woods on the North-Eastern boarders, where also, "Three Frontiers meet". The Commonwealth, whose membership we have to choose because of our inability to cut the navel string has not helped us in South Africa or headed our strong feelings about the inhumanity of Kenya repression, the central African Federation.

It is true that we have at last concluded trade pacts with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Soviet Russia. We have as yet to devise ways and means, including the formation of a State Trading Corporation to prevent our exporters being forced to cut down the prices of our exports through their cut-throat competition and India being worsted in her dealings with the State monopoly trading of these totalitarian countries.· We are yet to achieve satisfactory multi-lateral trade agreements with the countries in the Sterling and Dollar areas in order to develop our international trade with U.S.A. and other countries, without running the risk of exhausting our sterling securities, all too soon. And after all for how long can we go on depending for the

supply of the most fundamental requisites for our industrial life upon these international agreements, when there is this risk of the tenuous thread of world peace snapping any moment.

Therefore the need for exploring other avenues for strengthening our policy of non-involvement and winning longer and longer period of world peace becomes so insistent. Have we done enough in this direction? For too long a time, Prime Minister Nehru was unwilling to openly come out, as some of us have been urging him to do * in favour of building a "Third Front of Peace" for fear that some of the nations whose interests lie in joining such a "Third Front of Peace" might be smitten with jealousy and so might therefore come to oppose or obstruct its development. There was some justification for us to make such a demand for India taking the initiative and for feeling that Sri Nehru was unnecessarily nervous, because of our experience of the success of the Asian Conference convened by India to strengthen the Indonesian freedom struggle, whatever might have been the objections to India taking such a bold lead. India has now no other choice under the new situation created by the decision of U.S.A to split up these nations which have so far remained more or less non-involved and to build up one of them as one of her bastions against the U.S.S.R block. It is necessary for us to realise that the U.S.A has given up all hopes of gaining any foot-hold in India for her campaigns and moves in this world wide rivalry with the U.S.S.R block.

* Vide appendix I.

U.S.A is determined to win Pakistan, and if possible, some other nations also definitely for her side. Is India to remain a silent or helpless spectator, while one after the other, her neighbours are being weared away either by U. S. S. R. or by U. S. A. to range themselves on the side of the great rivals? How can we be sure that India thus eventually isolated, will be able to withstand the terrific pulls of either power-blocks, and continue to remain non-involved and maintain her peaceful progress? Let us not forget the unfortunate experiences of Iran, Afghanistan in Asia and the Low countries of Europe. It behoves us to take a warning from the war-time fate of Norway in the west and Thailand in the east. Therefore it is the path of wisdom to do our best to spread the area of non-involvement or protect more and more of it. To this end, Sri Nehru must be prepared to run the risks of upsetting the pride of some nations and make direct and comradely approaches to such countries as Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Phillippines and China too on the East and Afghanistan, Iran, Arab Nations, Egypt, Ethiopia and the Gold Coast on the West and prepare the ground for a conference either informal or formal at an early date of all such nations as are willing to join such a "Concordat of Non-Involvement" and concert measures for ensuring their capacity to remain noninvolved.

Fortunately Sri Nehru has succeeded in developing cordial and co-operative relations with Burma and Indonesia. I think we are on very good terms with Ceylon. We have maintained co-

operative relations with Afghanistan and Iran. We ought to be able to win the comradeship of Egypt and Ethiopia and some, if not, all of the Arab nations. Surely there are good enough prospects for such a move. It is high time that Sri Nehru makes such an effort. There is no time to lose and no risk is therefore now too great.

This "Concordat of Non-Involvement" need not bid fair to become a rival to the existing rival blocks. It only seeks to immunise as large an area, as great a portion of humanity as possible from the possibility of the disastrous world-wide conflagration that may result from any violent clash between the powerful rival blocks. To the extent that the U.N.O. makes it possible for them to function in a co-operative manner with all the other nations now ranged on the side of these rival blocks, these "Concordant Nations" will do their best to play their role in a co-operative and comradely manner. They are to be free to continue their present friendly relations with the groups of nations ranged on the side of U.S.A and U.S.S.R and they may even improve those relations. They have to help each other, by remaining on the same consultative basis, as are the nations within the Commonwealth, in various ways, not excluding economic and defensive arrangements.

Any how India has no other choice. Prime Minister Nehru ought to bend his enorgies without losing again this valuable time and opportunity to fashioning some such defensive insurance against world-war as this proposed "concordat of Non-Involvement"

Redistribution of world's wealth

There was only one-way traffic for about two centuries in the movements of World's wealth. That is, eversince World markets have begun to gain a hold over World Trade, its channels, and its means of communications, the European Powers and peoples have come to imposeunfavourable and discriminatory terms of trade upon the African, Asian and Latin American countries and peoples, with the result that the latters' wealth has been drained continuously and regularly to swell the accumulations of wealth of European peoples and their emigrant nations of U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. During the first world war the European powers imposed heavy burdens upon their colonial peoples with the result that the latters' public debts rose to new heights and their normal economic development got dwarfed. Whenever world economic depressions afflicted world trade and industry, their incidence upon the colonial peoples was much greater and indeed the Europeon powers were benefited specially at the cost of the colonial peoples. Since then the prices of agricultural products fell to a much greater degree than those of industrial goods and commercial and other services. And the great economic depression of 1930-34 further accentuated the disparity between the industrial and agricultural part of the world and impoverished the colonial peo-

ples. During the whole of that inter-war period, the economists or statesmen of the west were blissfully indifferent to the responsibilities of the advanced countries of the industrial west towards the rest of the world. Neither the League of Nations nor the I.L.O realised the need for any other world-order than that of capitalist exploitation.

The Communist Russia was threatening the very foundations of the World's capitalist system. But neither Lenin nor the Comintern could indicate a practical means for minimising the disparities in the wealth of different countries and their peoples. The Fascist powers began to threaten the Imperialist powers with their demands for a share in the imperialist spoils. The champions of the colonial people too were content to demand national freedom but did not advance any demand for a legitimate share in the annual accretions of wealth that the Industrial nations were winning and appropriating for themselves.

One of the great achievements of the Second World war is the demonstration to all the awakened peoples of the Anti-Fascist countries of the interdependence of all their peoples, whether free or dependent, industrial or agricultural and advanced or backward, in their life and death struggle against the avalanche of Fascism. They realised then that if only the Colonial peoples, who were also condemned to be agricultural and backward by their imperialist powers had not been so poor, under-developed and unprepared to face the challenge of the

mechanised and total warfare imposed on them all by the Fascist Powers they could have offered greater and more effective resistance and their imperialist masters need not have lost so heavily and rapidly all their invesments and war-equipment in these colonial countries, besides losing their political control. The industrially developed countries found themselves hopelessly incapacitated to carry on their war-effort because of the dislocation of the world chain of communications, the non-availability of the tropical products of war-effectiveness, such as tin, rubber, sugar, tea, coffee, manganese, mica, oil-seeds, cotton. Secondly the mechanism of World markets and the world trade that was channelled through the markets failed miserably, with the result that the industrial countries found it impossible even to breathe freely in their economic activities. Therefore the inter-war period's fancy for Antarky became discredited and discarded.

Thirdly the disastrous Bengal Famine and the extreme scarcity of food products that prevailed in many an European country and the post-pearl-harbour threat of wide-spread famine in various parts of the world have all opened the eyes of the Western world to the need for a world-wide plan for the production and distribution of food.

Fourthly the industrial potential of the West has gone up by leaps and bounds during the war, under the war-infused mechanisation of their industrial activities and their businessmen and economists began to explore the possibilities for greater consumption of their industrial products by the

non-industrial countries and their under-developed economies. They then feared that if the economic backwardness of the agricultural peoples continued to be as serious as before the war and if their capacity to consume industrial goods as poor, then their own nations would have to face a more disastrous economic depression than that of 1930-34.

Fifthly the actual realisation by all the peoples of the Allies that modern wars can only be total wars and world-wide wars and that there can be no escape from the inter-dependability of all peoples and nations in their resistance against Enemy and that their power of resistance and defence and their hopes of ultimate success would depend so inescapably upon the weakest links in their chain of allies has made them accept the Windel Wilkies slogan of "One World". That realisation has made the savants and statesmen of the World, especially of the West, to think in terms of reorganising the World's socio-economic order on co-operative, as distinguished from the former competitive basis.

Even while these truths were being realised by the Western Statesmen under the stress of the total war that was imposed upon their peoples, a number of us of the dependent part of the world were seeking an ideological way-out of the strangle hold of capitalist cum imperialist economy on one side and the Soviet totalitarianism on the other. I found it possible through my participation in the National Freedom struggle of India and my contribution to the work of the League of coloured peoples (London)

and my participation in the fight for greater powers for the *trusteeship committee* of the League of Nations over the Colonial Powers to realise that the only way for the colonial people to gain freedom was not to be content to ask for constitutional reforms and further instalments of freedom but to demand their immediate national independence.

Even as I was preparing my thesis during those darkest days of the second world war, 1941-42, on this demand of all colonial peoples of the world for unequivocal declaration by the world powers of their national freedom I was realising the utter untenability and inadequacy of the Marxist and Socialist theories on World economy and the need for a more comprehensive and satisfactory explanation for the division of the world into industrial and agricultural sections; the former being more developed and wealthier, the latter being less developed and poorer, the former being the exploiter and the latter being the exploited and last but not the hast, the former being the master and the latter being the dependent. It was during that painful search for a solution for the wrongs perpetrated upon the dependent, under developed and agrarian countries and peoples of the world that I realised the true explanation for their helplessness.

The Imperialist nations have exploited their colonial peoples, so did the industrial nations, When the same nation happened to be both imperialist and industrial, then its exploitation of the colonial people became doubly cruel and effective. That exploitation was carried on by the two means

of the World Markets and unfavourable terms of trade. The World Markets came to be controlled by the imperialist and capitalist countries through their mastery of worlds' shipping, banking, railways, processing apparatus, warehousing and other limbs of trade organisation. Their mastery of the terms of trade were utilised to transfer the agricultural wealth of tbe dependent or under-developed countries to the developed countries and peoples at lower prices, while the manufactured goods and commercial services of the industrial countries and peoplos were being priced ioo high and the wealth of tbe former was being drained almost unnoticenbley into the coffers of the latter group of nations-

Once we realise this, it is not diffieult to reach the next solution; that to prevent this disastrous drain of the wealth of the great majority of World's masses into the pockets of the more fortunate and more developed minority, the most important thing to do is to reverse the terms of trade and insist upon the proper and just pricing of the services and goods, especially agricultural products contributed by the masses of the under-developed countries of the world.

How could this be done? By liberating the colonial people from the thraldom of Imperialism by helping the agricultural producers of the world to realise that their services are as valuable and essential for the peace and prosperity of the world as those of the industrial, commercial nnd professional peoples all over the world by insisting that

just as every human being has the right to live work and enjoy happiness so also his services must be valued justly, irrespective of the profession or work in which he is obliged to work, within the available economic and social structure of his country and contemparaneous world. By declaring that every present or artisan has as much right for just and humane desserts andshare in World's Wealth as any professional technician or industrialist or engineer and as such the present world's dispensation in which agriculturists and artisans are paid low wages for their services must be ended without any delay or compunction.

I realised that the greatest injustice that needed world's first attention is the exploitation of the agricultural and artisan classes and countries by the industrially and comercially developed peoples and countries. Therefore priority must be given to the development of various methods and social institutions to function on a national and international scale which can be expected to eradicate this evil and remove this continuous and wasting process of unequal distribution of world's wealth. Therefore I came to the conclusion that the agricultural masses and countries in which they predominate should be organised on a world scale in order to end this unjust dispensation in the present world order and to achieve a just distribution of world's goods, services and other forms of wealth as between industrial and agricultural masses. How could this be done?

Not necessarily through a violent revolution; especially as such a means has worsened the plight of agricultural masses of Soviet Russia. Quite possibly through a democratic means of redistribution of World's wealth as it had been sought to be achieved in U.S.A. with some succcss, through the Roosevelian 'New Deal'. I was struck with the democratic progress achieved by the Rooseveltian mechanism of paying parity prices for agricultural products, so that the services of agriculturists could be remunerated more or less equally with those of industrial and professional classes, through such means as paying 'support prices' for principal agricultural products supplying cheap and adequate credits and stabilising agricultural prices and thus raising the level of agricultural incomes by 25% at one stage. What is more, the fundamental Socialist and Gandhian faith that all can be benifited by removing inequalities and injustices has been successfully tested by the success of this New Deal in setting in motion the otherwise rusting wheels of industrial machine and infusing a new faith and a spirit of success into the modern industrial system that had come almost to a dead end during the 1930–35 great depression through pumping 25% more income into the hitherto exploited and neglected agricultural masses. Therefore I felt convinced that a redistribution of World's wealth can be achieved, the world's agritulturists can be saved from exploitation and parity between agricultural and industrial classes can be achieved through peaceful and democratic revolution, if only the agricultural masses can come to be organised and the

public conscience awakened to demand a "Fair Deal" to the producers of primary commodities and to the peoples of the under-developed and agrarian countries.

One of the ways in which this revolution can be set in motion is by "pump-priming" the agricultural part of the world by the far-sighted initiative and leadership to be exercised by the advanced countries, as a part of the price to be paid by them for the democratic fraternization in the growing struggle of free peoples to regain their national liberty and developing their human rights and civil liberties in parliamentary democracy.

I reached these convictions in 1942–44 as much by my intuitive faith in Gandhian philosophy as by my researches into the contemparary political experiments that both democratic and totalitarian countries have been making. I presented them to Bapu in my historic talks with him in November-January 1945 and he appreciated my approach, approved my conclusions and blessed my plans for achieving justice for the agricultural masses of the world. Hence my initiative in founding the colonial and coloured peoples Freedom Front (London) in 1946 and Peoples Congress (Paris) in 1948 and my support for the Pan African Congress (1946) and for the "Pan Africa" magazine (1947–48). Hence also my demand made on the Western nations for transferring as much of their spare wealth as possible for the "pump priming" of our agricultural nations.

It was in this perspective and with this outlook, I approached the new World Institutions and endeavours that have emerged out of the "One-World" consciousness of the Second World War.

The Bretton Woods Conference of the Allied Powers yielded the idea of the World Food and Agriculture organisation. The Philadelphia conference of Allied World Labour Leaders and Governments decided to regenerate the I.L O. The Paris Conference gave birth to the U.N.E.S.C O. The San Franscisco Conference of the Allied powers gave birth to the U.N.O. Thus, one after the other, the World Monetary Fund and World Bank, the World Trade Organisation, World Health Organisation and the European Economic Aid Organisation and the ECAFE emerged during the first four years of the postwar period.

What is the main momentum of all these great world institutions? To knit together in as many directions as possible the various countries of the world as are keen on mutual co-operation and maximisation of their effort towards minimising the painful and glaring inequalities and injustices prevailing in the present social order. To ensure the possibility of world peace and to minimise the conflicts and crises in the mutual relations of nations. To provide democratic means for the transference of "know how", and material wealth and equipment and resources between the developed and undeveloped nations.

At the same time, the Allied Nations could not liberate themselves entirely from their traditions of viewing most issues from the Consumers" and exploiters" end. Thus, when they founded the F.A.O they desired to ensure themselves of cheaper and more plentiful supplies of Agricultural products. When they organised the World Trade Conferences and the GATT, they wanted to ensure multilateral trade and the removal of national barriers so that the postwar flood of American goods could reach every country easily. When again they organised the UNRRA to offer succour to the war-ravaged countries, they could not think of rushing aid to the famine-stricken India, forgetting that the Bengal Famine was the direct result of the wartime exploitation of India by the British.

I raised my voice both in the Indian Parliament and in the sessions of the F.A O, I.L.O, W.T.O and I F.A.P against these discriminations and pressed for more just and wiser approach to the Socio-Economic responsibilities of all the democratic nations and peoples and their world organisations.

I was glad however to find in all these great efforts of the Democratic peoples, their genuine anxiety to discharge their co operative duties towards the under-developed countries, under-privileged peoples and the otherwise exploited sections of all nations of the world. I found this to be a welcome development and so I desired to strengthen it in every way.

When therefore General Marshall, the then secretary of State of U.S.A outlined his plan in 1946 of placing a goodly portion of U.S spare wealth at the disposal of the suffering, war-ravaged nations of Europe in order to salvage them and thus strengthen their will to remain democratic, I hastened to welcome it and pleaded for its extension to Asian nations too. The delegates from Austria, Hungary, Burma to the Hague Conference of the I. F. A. P. agreed with me and we prepared a memorandum suggesting to the U.S.A to extend that Marshall Aid to all the under-developed nations, both in Europe and Asia. But some of the Indian statesmen and the Communists all over Europe would not appreciate that plan and so they did their utmost to discredit its supporters.

Why did I hail it? Not because I cared to see my people beg from America but because of my conviction that the developed nations like U. S. A. owed it as a duty to initiate and execute such a plan for aiding the undeveloped nations, as a means of lessening the inequalities of wealth and uneven distribution of World's wealth. I could understand the opposition of the U.S.S.R to it because she did not want the democratic nations to regain confidence in democratic institutions and to withstand the trials of post-war sufferings. It was impossible to understand the ill-placed and ill-timed pride of so many of our leaders because we would only be obtaining a portion of all that fund of wealth that has been drained away from us by the industrial nations through the imposition upon us of un-

favourable terms of trade. But they did not take long to revise their attitudes and when the first session of the ECAFE met at Ooty in 1947, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had himself demanded the extension of such aid not of course as a part of the U.S. plan but of a world plan to develop the under-developed countries. The leader of the delegation of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan Sri Naidu boldly voiced the demand of Indian Kisans for the extension of World's Aid, whether it be through U.S.A, U K or through any of the World organisations, to India and such other under-developed countries as a part of the world's duty towards the under privileged and long-exploited agricultural peoples of all nations. In pursuance of the same faith and ideology, I joined other members of Parliament in 1951 to exhort our fellow legislators of U. S. A. to support the American Legislative Bill to make a gift of two million tons of food-grains to help the famine-stricken people of India, because I was convinced that our people have as much right as, if not greater than, the people of U.S.A to ask for such gifts, when they are all people of "One world" and when for long, they have been paid much less than their due for all their exports of agricultural products to the industrial west.

Yet, we had to weather the storm of ill-tempered criticism from many quarters, just because they have not been able to understand the ideological basis for our conception of "One world"

The "Point Four" programme of President Truman was announced in 1948 November and I plead-

ed that the T.C.A under the programme of Economic Aid, similar to what was extended to Europe should be extended to India in an enthusiastic manner. I argued with President Truman and his collagues in my 1949 tour of the States that when the U.S Government found it necessary to strengthen world democracy to extend as much as ten billion dollars worth of economic aid to the Western European countries, there was much greater need to extend much bigger aid to the peoples of Asia, especially to the people of India who are indeed more numerous. I found the heads of the Federal Reserve Bank, Export and Import Bank, T.C.A and point Four Programme and other concerned Organisations very keen on persuading the U.S. senate and the House of Representatives to come to the aid of India as a part of the discharge of their democratic duties to the postwar world.

But the Indian Government was too hesitant and tardy in appreciating either the urgency of our need for such aid or our right to demand it, in virtue of our being in the democratic part of the world and our economy being predominantly agrarian. So we let go the years of 1948-51 without drawing upon world's resources to redress our financial and industrial disabilities. It was during that crucial period of four years that our Government had to abandon its former policy of going full steam for the development of multi-purpose projects and many plans for industrial development and settle down to a much humbler programme. It was under the stress of the food shortage and

the ever expanding famine zones that our Government swallowed its false prestige, agreed to accept as a loan, what would have been offered as a gift, the two million tons of foodgrains from the United States and thus initiated its new programme of accepting economic, technical aid from U.S.A. My regret is that our Government had not pressed for such aid five years earlier and had failed to obtain for India what was her due, that is, many billion dollars worth of economic, technical aid not only from the United States but also from other Western nations.

In fact the Indian Government came to realise, what so many of us have been advocating for the previous five years, that we cannot afford to execute any plan for large-scale development of our social economy without considerable financial and industrial assistance from abroad. The National Planning Commission, which was brought into existence by the labours of the National Economic Planning committee, of which I happened to be a member, estimated that we had to borrow from abroad at least Rs. 3500 crores to execute the Five Year Plan. This is exactly what some of us had been warning our Govornment about and exhorting our Statesmen to have the foresight to negotiate foreign loans either directly with the Governments of Western nations or through the International Bank. At long last, our Government agreed to put the Commonwealth Economic Conference and then to obtain some aid through that Conference from the other commonwealth nations, namely

Canada, Australia, United Kingdom. How one wishes that our Government had had the vision and courage to go in in full faith into this sphere of international co-operation. It could then have obtained much more economic aid from abroad. It is true that at every stage everyone of us who has had bitter experience of how the imperialist powers have exploited the participation of countries like India in these International Conferences and Organisations had to scrutinise carefully, with much suspicion of the intentions of the Great powers, the aims and objects of these International ventures. But when we found that we stood to gain by our participation in such institutions as the I.M.F, International Bank and the GAAT, we recommended to our Government to join them and draw maximum possible aid and support from them. Our regret is that our Government has been awkward in its dealings with the western nations and thus missed the chance of helping our nation in time and to the fullest capacity.

All this does not mean that the Western nations, especially U.S.A were so fully conscious of their world responsibilities towards under-developed countries that they were placing all their spare resources at the disposal of the latter's developmental projects. Indeed the U.S.A Government was too slow to realise the urgency of the democratic world's need for the support of the agricultural nations The American people and Congress were even slower; with the result that they showed their partiality towards their white peoples and espe-

cially European nations so obviously that they rated so low their duties towards the more needy Asian and African nations. Whenever so many of us of the Indian Foreign Relations Association brought these glaring failures to the notice of their Ambassadors, Statesmen, Professors and the American non-official delegates to the Indo-American Conference held in Delhi in 1950, we were being told that first the European front, next the Korean front were being considered the most vulnerable and hence the priority given to them. Even in regard to the T.C.A and Point Four Programme, the American Congress took two years after Truman's enunciation of it before giving somewhat affective attention and adequate funds for them. Our repeated reminders to the British statesmen, about the need for their offering some retribution to their long tradition of colonial exploitation did eventually contribute their share to the formulation of the Colombo Plan but the British were even slower than the Americans in marching ahead in this progressive direction. In fact both the American and Western peoples took too long a time to realise, the inevitability of Asian nations having to initiate planned economy if they were to march rapidly towards economic independence. Even when every one of us, Indian delegates to the Indo-American Conference, tried to impress upon the American delegates the absolute necessity of planned economy for India, the U.S Congress took two years thereafter to comprehend its inevitability for us. But we have this satisfaction at least that some of us, the forward-looking Asians, dared all the risks of

being misunderstood by our own official statesmen and political parties and advocated here and abroad, repeatedly and sincerely the urgent need for developing the underprivileged peoples, through the willing sacrifices and contributions, to be made by the advanced nations, if only for the reason of creating a faith in all peoples of the world, in the possibility of social justice being accepted as the immediate and practical article of faith by world democracy. It was my good fortune that the American and British statesmen on the Farm and Labour Fronts and also those in the British and French Labour movements have backed my efforts so sincerely and persistently that they adopted our demands as a part of their programmes and used all their influence with their Governments and people. With all modesty I may mention here that my efforts in these directions came to be appreciated by the Indian Embassies and the Western statesmen as those of an "unofficial Ambassador-at-large", representing Asia.

It must be said that on the whole, the new post-war approach that the Western nations have come to make is helpful and progressive. It is certainly democratic. It is conducive to the lessening of the exploitation of the agricultural peoples by the industrial and commercial nations.

Much of it is no doubt due to the growing tension between the democratic and totalitarian powers and the consequent anxiety of the former to retain or obtain the goodwill of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. The great post-war shortage

of the food supplies as well as the raw materials needed for industrial production have also minimised the rigours of the pre-war unequal terms of trade and have turned these terms of trade favourable to the agrarian peoples.

It will however be wrong to cherish the hope that the Western nations can be trusted to give up their old habit of exploiting the weaker agrarian nations. That is why I have been so keen on strengthening the International Federation of Agricultural producers and the Governmental F.A.O to buttress the claims of our agriculturists for a Fair Deal. We are not yet free from the incubus of Imperialism. Hence our fight for the freedom of the African peoples from European economic exploitation, such as the discredited British Pea Nut Campaign and from political domination and intrigues such as the Central African Federation. We are still in need of protection from the evils of the world Markets and hence our careful and critical examination of the plans of the GATT and W.T.O and our espousal of the plan for a world Food Board to protect our peasants. We have to think in terms of parity in agricultural and industrial prices between the developed and the under-developed countries of the world but not confine ourselves to the idea of parity in one's own country. Thus we are in the midst of great and progressive developments of world significance. The democratic world is undergoing a powerful and interesting transition. If the peasants and workers of the world come to be well organised and statesmanlike and if the statesmen of the under-developed coun-

tries are determined to demand and obtain maximum possible contributions from the industrially advanced countries, as their democratic dues and if the freedom-loving peoples all over the world insist upon the elimination of the explcitation of the weaker nations by the stronger nations, there is yet a chance for the world cause of democracy to succeed in doing justice to the agrarian and artisan masses and their under-developed countries. It is in this faith and for its fulfilment that I have been persevering during the last ten years in my mission on the national and inter-national plans to obtain justice for our agriculturists. In my single-minded purusit of this mission, I had not to count any costs. I came to be misunderstood and obstructed in the initial stages by many of our own national leaders. I was abused and mocked at by so many of lesser vision. Political parties interested in the U.S S.R attributed many motives and made false charges. But at long last, both our Government and statesmen have come to realise at what financial sacrifice and with what faith and honesty of national purpose I have advocated my policies and programmes in India and abroad and with what benefit to our social economy. My trouble has always been to visualise, advocate and pursue a policy or programme so often so many years earlier than our statesmen in charge of Government and thus to run the risk of being misunderstood. But I have played my role only in pursuance of the ideal of K.M.P Raj and the ideology of social justice as conceived on a world scale.

But is the world as yet ready to allow democratic forces to achieve such social justice? Indeed is the world safe for Gandhian democracy? Are the Industrial countries willing to render justice to agrarian countries? The answer is an effective and loud "No". But these new ideals have at last come to be accepted by the moral and political leaders of the democratic world, although they have not yet the power to practice them. Even this is a step towards progress. It is now the duty of all of us and our organisations to create such sanctions as to force and enable the Governments of all our countries and the world organisations which depend upon the Governments for their inspiration, powers and funds to see that social justice is achieved in all relations as between different peoples and countries. How can we be sure of success in this direction, when the clash between the two great and mammoth power-blocks seems to be so imminent? Is it not then vain to hope for such a democratic revolution? Such were also the challenges that used to trouble my mind in 1940–44 when I was in jails, conceiving the ideal of K. M. P. Raj and yet, I persisted in my hopes of spreading that ideal to the world and I have achieved by now some success in that great effort. Similarly let us live in hope and work for the spread and furtherence of this noble ideal of social justice through Gandhian means.

Fair deal for agricultural countries

We are today witnessing a global contest between the protogonists of all-round democracy. Some wish to achieve it through the means of dictatorship and violence while the others, are bent upon achieving it through democratic and Gandhian means.

The economists and other savants who believe in democracy and non-violence can succeed in their contest with the totalitarian approach only if they are able to persuade their peoples to put an end to the various kinds of class, national, colour and continental inequalities and unjust institutions and practices which today continue to poison their social life and prevent their people from achieving social and economic justice and equality. For instance, vast areas of fertile vergin land are found in South America, Canada, Australia, hungering for settlers while Asian countries are groaning under the weight of their huge populations with the consequence that while the peoples of the former group of countries are enjoying the highest standard of living because of the largest acerage available for each farmer and greatest mineral and industrial potential available for each industrialist

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Prof. Ranga is as prominent an economist in India as a political leader. He was invited to inaugurate the All India Economic conference held at Waltair on the 26th Dec. 1949. in recognition of his distinction as an economist. His inaugural address is reproduced here.

and worker, the populations of over-crowded East are obliged to struggle hard for a mere subsistence because of their weary and uneconomic holding and very low industrial potential.

There is also the great disparity in earnings and opportunities made available for the white and coloured peoples of the American and African continent. The agricultural peoples of the world have been forced to live on a very low standard of living while the industrial and professional classes have been blessed with a higher and an ever-rising standard of living because their respective services to society have been priced at too low and too high rates by the ruling non-agricultural classes with the consequence that too small a portion of world's wealth goes to the former while a disproportionately larger portion is obtained by the less numerous but more powerful industrial and professional classes. The world is yet to abolish colonialism. Even within any one nation, we find land being unequally distributed resulting in a small section of agriculturists occupying too large a portion of areable land while the land hunger of crores of farmers and peasants is unappeased.

Among non-agriculturists, there is so much of inequalities of incomes and large masses of toilers are obliged to live a life of insecurity, low incomes and standard of living.

I am confident that we do not wish to be helpless witnesses to what is happenning in the present-day world in which country after country in Asia

and Europe is going the way of dictatorship because of its loss of faith in the statesmanship of democrats.

Surely there cannot be full-fledged world democracy unless democratic ways are found to put an end to these inequalities. It is the duty of economists, statesmen and savants all over the world who are wedded to the democratic way of solving the problems of world to so reorientate the theories of economics and political science and help in reorganising the economic and political institutions of democracy as to lead the world towards the actual realisation of cooperative Commonwealth. Then alone it would be possible for the masses to fully realise and hail the ideal of 'one world-indivisible in its prosperity and poverty'. Thus we will have to make it possible for the toiling masses to achieve and control full-fledged democracy in the Gandhian way in all their countries and over the whole world.

It is in this context, we have to examine the post-war world's new ideals and principles for the mutual cooperation and service as between the peoples of different countries in answer to their growing needs arising from their greater interdependence as well as their resolution to fight totalitarianism from both the Left and the Right and to strengthen their mutual bonds of freedom and democracy and eliminate inequalities on a global scale. That no country can enjoy for long any insular unlimited prosperity like U.S.A and Canada while large portions of the world and their

peoples are condemned to unutterable poverty like the Middle and East Asian and Latin American and African countries without running the risk of totalitarianism either of the Right or of the Left, emerging from out of their desperate efforts to escape from poverty, has come to be recognised not only by economists and statesmen but also by politicians and parliaments. That it is possible for these discrepancies to persist for a long time without much apparent injury to the more prosperous portions of the world is also an admitted fact. But that the time-lag during which the prosperous nations could go on enjoying their disproportionate wealth is being rapidly shortened by the geometrical velocity with which totalitarian ideas and popularity of the idea of violent overthrow of established institutions and States is also coming to be recognised. This is strengthened by the rapidity of events in the pre-war history of Germany and post-war China.

It is on this realisation that the world statesmen have brought into existence the UNO and a number of international institutions such as the FAO, ECAFE, WHO. World Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the UNESCO in addition to the continuation of ILO founded by the old League of Nations.

The principle that it is the duty of prosperous nations of the world to come to the aid of less fortunate nations and give them additional opportunities to make up for lost time and gain in prosperity by rapid strides has also come to be accep-

ted by all. Therefore the inter-war vain attempt by economists and politicians to treat all countries as equals in their bargaining capacity and economic and political strength and their consequent failure to eliminate or minimise the inequalities that subsisted between different countries and their peoples has been fortunately abandoned.

This has naturally obliged the economists of the world to recast their pre-1914 theories of international trade and develop the ITO Charter (Havana) taking into cognisance the limitations upon free and unfettered multi-lateral trade which became necessary in the light of the inter-war experiences of economic depression and Hitlarian autocracy and the successful Soviet totalitarianism as well as nation-wide economic planning.

Realising the dangers inherent in the concentration of most of the world's gold as well as purchasing capacity in a few nations and the consequent defficulties experienced in the inter-war period in maintaining the minimum flow of international trade, economists led by J. M. Keynes have popularised the idea of the World Monetary Fund based upon the earlier Sterling Exchange Standard that India and some European countries used to maintain in London with a view to arrange for multi.lateral exchange as between the currencies of different countries and also the other idea of World Bank through which rich nations could be expected to make their funds available to the poorer countries without the pre-war evils of economic imperialism. Hence the foundation and func-

tioning in these post-war years of World Monetary Fund and International Bank.

It has also come to be recognised that if the world as a whole is to make rapid progress towards social and economic democracy, it could be achieved only through planned economy; a conclusion drawn from the achievements of Russian Planned Economy and the American New Deal. But if such a world-planned economy were to become possible, each nation should also come to have its own planned economy. If the richer countries were to place their funds, technical 'Know How', capital goods etc, at the disposal of poorer countries, it could best be done if the latter were to have their own plans as well as realiable statistics, projects and schemes for productive investment and development to prepare these countries to attain the agricultural and industrial equipment for receiving and fully utilising whatever assistance the richer countries could afford them. To prepare the undeveloped countries to have such an equipment, the ECAFE as well as the regional office of FAO have been brought into existance.

The American and West European statesmen realised however, on the occasion of the closure of the UNRRA that all the above mentioned international means and financial assistance could not be adequate to afford immediate relief to the war-devastated countries of Europe and the time-lag that would be necessary before American funds, men and materials, could be canalised in a regulated manner as per the limitations imposed by the

constitutions of the World Monetary Fund, International Bank, FAO and WHO would be so long that in the meanwhile there was a danger of all the Western European peoples going the way of Eastern Europen peoples and falling under the sway of totalitarianism. Other American statesmen realised the need for a more direct and more adequate economic assistance to them without any conditions and hope of a quid-pro-quo return from the beneficiaries. And the natural result of this realisation is the Marshall Plan.

While the International Bank is empowered to lend to all the poor nations of the world only to the maximum extent of 4 million dollars, the ERP was intended to offer American aid to West European Nations alone upto 8 billion dollars. This was not intended to be charity. This was an offer made by the rich democracy of America to the poor democracy of Western Europe in order to protect it from the imminent threat of totalitarianism spreading from Soviet Russia. Indeed it was the price that American Democracy was prepared to pay to protect itself from the world onslaught of totalitarianism.

I appeal to our Indian economists to discern the necessary principles and develop programmes which would be useful to the people and countries of Asia in the light of this new world set-up of economic principles and programmes.

We used to think that if we were to borrow funds from other countries we might run the risk

of becoming economically enslaved. Will there be any such danger if we were to borrow from the International Bank and the World Monetary Fund in which almost all the countries of the world, including ourselves are members, and over which not even U.S.A. has the predominent control? If so, what further steps are we to take in order to enjoy our economic freedom while gaining assistance from these institutions?

Before the war, we were not so keen upon imports unless the importers were prepared to agree to train our workers and technicians. And we could afford to refuse to import the consumers' goods which formed 75 per cent of our imports. But we are obliged now to feel grateful if any of the nations is willing to sell us capital goods and set them up in our factories especially because we have become more keen on imports of capital goods. Therefore it is doubtful if we can afford to stipulate any conditions as to training etc.

We used to enjoy an enormous export surplus before the war. We are now faced with an adverse balance of trade and are obliged to borrrow from the World Monetary Fund in order to balance our international trade, thanks to the creation of Pakistan, the loss of our jute export and our greater need to import food, cotton, jute and our failure to export oil seeds. Can we therefore, adopt the necessary economic measures to stimulate our exports and to discourage imports consistently with our membership of ITO and our acceptance of the Havana Charter? If so by what means and

to what extent? England and ourselves have devalued our currency – of course with the consent of America – in relation to dollar exchange and have thus gained a temporary advantage of 33-1/3 per cent in pushing our exports to the hard currency areas. But this would not be enough to help us balance our international trade.

We did not like the idea of our having to devalue the rupee just because England had devalued her sterling unilaterally and in her own interests. But we had no choice as we belonged to the sterling area. Supposing we cut ourselves adrift from the sterling too, would our position be improved? We are not rich enough to join the hard currency area. If we do not attach ourselves atleast to the sterling area, would not our position be further weakened? I am afraid our democratic ways do not permit us to follow the Soviet ways of achieving selfsufficiency, if need be, in utter poverty and becoming independent of both the sterling and hard currency areas,

Mahatma Gandhi used to warn us that if we did not develep concentric circles of self-sufficient economy from village upto the national spheres, we would be faced with some such predicament as is before us. Many of us were then inclined to be sceptical about the advantages of adopting his idea. But now Swadeshism and 'self-sufficiency' economy again appear to be the main solutions to our national economic predicament. Cottage industries, when viewed from this angle, assume a new importance. How far are we to go in this direction?

While in the pre-war days it was the buyers' market, now-a-days, it is very much the sellers' market especially in capital goods and we have no choice whether to purchase or not any of the goods we want to import. In earlier times we were only keen on importing consumers' goods. We can even now avoid importing consumer goods. Can we do the same thing with capital goods? If so will it not take a much longer time for us even to develop our basic industries and thus become self-sufficient in manufactured goods? Is there no definite minimum limit beyond which we dare not prevent imports in the next one or two decades? On the other hand, I am convinced that within the next 10 or 20 years, we will be obliged to import larger quantities of capital goods, technical 'Know How' in order to develop our irrigation, flood control, hydro-electric schemes and the associated cement manufacture, communications, iron and steel and machine tool factories and automobile and tractor and locomotive manufactures. If we are therefore obliged to go on importing capital goods and even if our adverse balance of trade were to be reduced to 150 crores per annum by stopping all food imports and importation of most of the consumers' goods, how are we going to meet it? Would it not be necessary for us to borrow larger and larger sums from the International Bank? Would the International Bank itself be able to lend us all that we want? Would it not become inevitable that we might have to raise Government to Government loans in Canada, America and Australia? If we are not prepared to borrow heavily in order to finance our

Hydro-electric, irrigation, flood control and iron and steel and machine tool, automobile and locomotive projects, how can we hope to raise the productive capacity of our masses, kindle and sustain their hopes and thus retain their loyalty to our democracy?

Indeed would we not be obliged to encourage the investment of foreign capital and thus allow private enterprise also to grow in strength in the development of our manufactures? When the British held sway, we used to stipulate extreme conditions for allowing foreign capital to be invested in India and for any industrial ventures to be started by foreign entrepreneurs. Are we to stipulate the same stringent conditions? But we have now to take into account the equally extreme and untenable conditions laid down by American capitalists because they know that their capital, enterprise and 'Know How' are very much in demand. They are specially unwilling to lend through the International Bank. Hence President Truman's Point Four which offers to guarantee the safety of their capital, interest and profits thereon i.e, investment climate, as against any threats of nationalisation, confiscation etc. Under these circumstances, is there much chance of American capital flowing into the veins of our industry? Should we not, therefore, revise our conditions for allowing or inviting foreign capital to be invested in India and if so, how should we change our front?

If however we do not wish to allow foreign private enterprise to gain any more foothold in our

country and we are not even prepared to allow Government to Government loans to be floated for developmental purposes, would we not be running the risk of delaying the development of our economy? Could we run such a risk of allowing our continued poverty to weaken the faith of our people in our national leadership and breed totalitarianism? I am sure that all are agreed, however, that our State should maintain an overall and effective control over the manner in which foreign capital with or without alliance with Indian capital flows into our industries etc.

World's statesmen have come to realise that in the postwar context, we have to go beyond national planning for food production and develop an overall world planning and re-arrange our national plans in relation to it. The inadequacy of pre-war international commercial relations in food products resulting, as it did in the tragedy of various countries restricting the production of food grains, destroying portions of their crops and selling the balances at uneconomically low prices has come to be recognised. It is in the light of that experience that production for use and more and more production of foodgrains have now come to be accepted as slogans of all the consumers and peasants and farmers and the FAO has been brought into existence in order to ensure adequate supplies of food products needed to raise the nutritional levels of more than a billion underfed peoples of the world and assure the producers an economic return for their crops and a decent standard of living for all those engaged in agriculture.

But how are the ideals of FAO to be implemented? As long as the under-nourished peoples, found mostly in Asian, African and Latin American countries, are unable to pay for the additional food that they need so badly, how are the surplus foodgrains produced in America, Canada, Australia and Argentina to be made available to them? At the same time how are the farmers of the surplus producing countries to be insured against a sudden collapse of the international market for their wheat and maize and against the repetition of the interwar slump in prices for their surplus foodgrains? On the other hand, how are they to be encouraged to go on expanding their production and placing all their surpluses at the disposal of the hungry millions of the world? Now that the UNRRA method of purchasing those surpluses on behalf of all the countries of the world and then distributing them freely or at specially low prices among the hungry peoples has come to be abandoned, it is necessary for the world's economists to devise another equally efficient method of canalising the flow of surplus food from the fortunate West to the hungry peoples of the East. In the meanwhile, would it not be best for them to insist that the Marshall Plan should be extended to the East with a view to purchase all the food surpluses from the West and to distribute them among the peoples of the East.

Various plans have been prepared by some of the economists of FAO from the World Food Board to the latest World Food Clearance Scheme and

Consultative Machinery with a view to protect the surplus producers from the fear of a slump in the prices for their foodgrains and to sell the surpluses at prices which should be within the reach of poorer peoples and to expect the two groups of surplus countries and the deficit countries and also the whole of the world to bear the burden of difference in prices paid to producers and obtained from ultimate consumers. The schemes aim at the avoidance of the inter-war methods of restriction of production on one side and the continued under feeding of masses on the other, the penalisation of both agricultural producers for producing more and more of food products and the consumers for their inability to pay for the badly needed food and the attempts of surplus countries to dump their surplus foodgrains in deficit-producing countries which in their turn were obliged to raise suicidal tariff walls in their short-sighted attempt to protect their domestic food producers. The economists of the world as well as statesmen have to devise and adopt some plans to make it possible for producers to adopt the latest more productive methods of production and to go on producing more and more sufficient to feed all the peoples of the world to the minimum required nutritional levels and to provide in addition, protective foods also and at the same time place them within the reach of all the toiling millions of consumers and distributing the costs equitably among all the peoples of the world in accordance with their ability to pay.

It may take a long time before such plans come to be devised and implemented. In the mean while efforts have to be made to prevent black-marketing in the international trade for food grains. So far the FAO has been helpless to prevent this. India has had to complain bitterly against such blackmarketing by certain nations.

India has also occasion to protest against the Western nations' preference of the needs of the pigs and poultry, cattle and other live-stock for wheat and maize to the food needs of the people of the East and also against their partiality for non-vegetarian food which consumes six times as many calories as vegetarian food. while a billion people are being underfed even on vegetarian diets. There can be no real and effective world democracy so long as the economists and statesmen of the world are not able to prevent such essential raw materials from being put to such callous misuse.

Most countries in the East do not possess the technical 'Know How' nor do they possess the required technological training centres. So, to aid such countries, the Point Four programme has been worked out by the FAO, ILO, WHO and UNESCO under the inspiration of the Truman administration. It is therefore possible to hope that within a few years, even the undeveloped countries may be able to deserve loans from International Bank and be able to utilise them effectively.

Even in the meanwhile, international action is called for to help these countries and especially

their primary producers. For instance, there has been profiteering and exploitation in the supply and sale of fertilisers, seed, agricultural machinery and cattle-feed. It is necessary that an International Plan should be worked out for developing regional self-sufficiency in the supply of these commodities so badly needed by agriculture.

Secondly it is impossible, as at present, for agriculture of the undeveloped countries and their governments to adequately finance their agricultural operations at rates of interest which would be comparable to the international rates of interest and which would leave an adequate return to agricultural producers. The ECAFE report on Master Plan has made it clear how the Governments of the East Asian countries are unable to tackle agricultural indebtedness and advance credit at reasonably low rates of interest. It is therefore necessary for the economists of the world to suggest through what existing international authority the funds required to supplement the finances needed by agriculture of under-developed countries can be made available and to contribute the total amount of the capital thus needed for this purpose.

Apart from the liquidation of old debts of agriculture and financing of the current agricultural activities capital is needed to enable the governments of under-developed countries to undertake the irrigation, flood control, hydro-electric projects which are urgently needed to be developed within the next 10 or 15 years in order to insure agriculture from vicissitudes of season and ensure a certain

amount of stability to tropical agriculture. As it is, neither the International Bank nor Point Four programmes are capable of undertaking this responsibility unless their scope and funds are very much expanded.

But these thoughts bring us face to face with the practical difficulty of the unwillingness of most of the nations to reorganise their own social economy, control their own crop-planning, consumption methods and production and utilisation levels of the basic raw materials such as foodgrains and fabrics and the reorganisation of their national finances. It is one thing to talk of the oneness of the world and its indivisibility in prosperity and poverty. It is another thing to prepare the social matrix and public opinion of the world to accept all its consequences and to reorganise the social economy of all the countries of the world. Just as it has become possible for long periods for the richer and poorer classes; for the betterfed and underfed peoples to live side by side and work together within the same country without the realisation on their part of the utter immoral nature of such a state of things, so also it might be thought that it would be possible for a long time to come for the richer countries and their more prosperous people to continue to enjoy their special favours without being submerged by the less fortunate countries and their more numerous people. Farsighted statesmen like Bapu, Roosevelt, Truman and Nehru have already realised the untenability of such a hope. It should be the duty of economists, politicians and parliamentarians of all de-

mocratic countries to bring home to their peoples the danger of any such complacence and to persuade them to adopt such plans, develop such institutions and practices on a world scale which would prevent totalitarianism taking the place of their national sovereignty and destroying their free institutions and thus put an end to their national and class inequalities.

The Marshall Plan can only be a palliative to serve the needs of the underdeveloped countries in the short run, until those countries are able to raise their productive capacity upto the maximum level and become credit-worthy enough for the International Bank to aid them.

Should we or should we not ask for the extension of Marshall Aid to the Asian peoples? The nationalism of the interwar type would not encourage us to ask for it. But could we afford to cling to it under the present enveloping and rapidly spreading challenge of totalitarianism? It might be said that the ERP has resulted in the European nations subordinating their sovereignty under the overall and growing power of U.S.A. But should we not also remember that the resulting influence of U.S A has been used only towards political consolidation of Western Europe, the formation of European Parliament, the emergence of an overall European governance and a freer international commercial intercourse between them all and has not in any way militated against Socialist Government of England, Belgium, Denmark. Sweden? Therefore I feel that we need not be unnecessarily fearful of any Ameri-

can interference in the development of our Indian democracy and our achievement of Gandhian Socialism even if we were to succeed in getting Marshall Plan extended to India. But would this plan be extended to India at all and other Asian countries? It would not be becoming for the Asian people to beg for it. It would however be the duty of economists in the Asian countries as well as in America to demonstrate how it would be in the interests of America herself to extend this Plan to Asia and thus insure American democracy and encourage Asian democracies. It is admitted on all sides that even in order to implement the Master Plan prepared by the ECAFE. the necessary minimum equipment by way of economic planning, statistics, social organisation and the functioning of efficient engineering and other technical 'Know How' organisation are not available in most of the countries. Even in India, so far as our agricultural sector is concerned, the necessary equipment needed for the absorption and canalisation and utilisation of any foreign aid is not yet adequate. The World Bank stipulated such stiff conditions for the issue and repayment of its loans, for the preparation and execution of productivity of developmental projects to be financed, that the Asian countries are incapable of drawing much assistance from the Point Four programmes even if financed fully. This cannot prepare these countries to obtain minimum technical equipment within the next 10 years. And it will have to be supplemented by large scale investments for providing these countries with the minimum development. Therefore if Asian coun-

tries have to be developed effectively and their nascent democracies are to be sustained and their peoples are to be given some hope for progress through free democracies and cherish the Four Freedoms for which President Roosevelt and America had stood, then the richer countries of the world have to make haste in discharging their duties towards these peoples. Because of my realisation of this, I pressed George Marshall, the then Secretary of State of America and President Truman to adopt the policy of extending Marshall Plan to Asia also. The results of America's failure to extend this plan to Asia during the last 3 years are writ large in the new developments in China, Indo-China, and Burma and the evil portents to be seen on the political horizon of Indonesia, Tibet and East Pakistan.

Therefore it is our duty, if we believe in world democracy and free institutions and Four Freedoms, to mobilise the world's economists in favour of the extension of multi-national Marshall Plan to Asia in the first instance and to Africa later on.

It is surely not wise for any nation like India to wait upon the convenience of rich West for the development of her social economy. It is certainly not farsighted to allow too many concessions to the foreign capitalists and too much hold to the Governments of the West, over our industries and indirectly over our economic life because in that way economic imperialism may gain sway over us. Even Government to Government loans may not be forthcoming within next 10 years to such an

extent as to enable the Eastern countries to speedily develop their mother industries. The International Bank may not be aided by foreign capitalists in order to let it lend atleast upto its maximum capacity of 4 billion dollars. The F.A.O too might fail to place the world's food surpluses within the reach of our masses. In short, world democracy may fail to live upto its professions and duties. And who knows when the next war will be hurled on us!

The present world and especially Asian countries seems to be swinging between hope and despondency and between high principles and ideals and the inability of peoples of democratic countries to surmount their national, capitalist, communal, colour and class prejudices. The economists and *statesmen have nevertheless to prepare their series* of short-term plans and projects, warnings and exhortations which are bound to have their cumulative effect in guiding our progress towards an egalitarian and just democratic society.

Supposing we do not want to run the risk of becoming dependent on foreign private capital and their capitalist Governments and are therefore keen on developing our economic resources through our own available means; but in a planned fashion, we would have to face upto the consequences of 'self-sufficiency' economy. We have to achieve Crop Planning from the national to the provincial plane and come down to the District and zonal planes and reorganise our own agricultural economy in such a manner that we would be able to double or treble

our agricultural productivity, raise the level of efficiency of agricultural workers and peasants, minimise the evils of fragmentation and sub-division, increase the percentage of land under irrigation through the sinking of more wells, tube-wells, digging of tanks and constructing a very large number of minor and major irrigation and flood-control projects for which we need not have to import too much of capital goods from abroad and utilise all labour which at present is unemployed during the slack agricultural seasons and increase the production and availability of organic and artificial manure and compost. But we need immense capital to finance all these operations at reasonably low rates of interest. If we cannot obtain this capital from outside, our progress in these directions is sure to be seriously limited. We have yet to bridge the gap between the peasants and agricultural researchers by forming Regional Agricultural Councils and by encouraging the Kisan Sammelan and thus developing the Kisan leadership. A huge nationwide adult education campaign for raising the peasants' better and greater 'production consciousness' and potential has to be organised. The financial aspects of these campaigns have also to be worked out.

We might be able to become self sufficient in our needs of foodgrains, cotton, jute, oil-seeds and sugarcane by making a Herculian effort. How soon could we do this? Could we achieve all this without a democratic dictatorship and political and economic truce to avoid all strikes, lockouts, and political strife and struggles?

All this reorganisation of our agricultural economy and crop planning can be achieved only if our agriculturists can be assured such a price exchange economy as will leave them enough to maintain a decent standard of living, to feed their cattle, keep their lands in good condition. Agricultural workers have to be assured not only a minimum level of wages but also a standard of living which would be above the subsistence level.

This agrarian reconstruction would again raise a number of questions such as the balancing of advantages and disadvantages of producing different crops and equalising the economic returns between the growers of different crops.

Do we have today statistics regarding the costs of cultivation of different crops? Have we yet begun to collect statistics about the standard of living of agricultural workers and peasants in order to enable us to build up cost of living indices for the rural masses? Our Government has just now begun to make sample enquires into agricultural prices and costs of cultivation of a few commodities and of agricultural wages. How long would it take us before we could have sufficient data for the acerages under different crops, their productivity, total marketable production of different crops, costs of cultivation, wages and distribution of agricultural wealth as between different groups of agriculture in order to enable us to have an efficient and progressive crop planning and thus ensure the success of our 'self-sufficiency' economy?

The development of such a 'self-sufficiency' economy on the agrarian front will become possible only when the non-agricultural sectors of our society become reconciled to the payment of economic returns to agriculturists. That is, the present unequal exchange rates to the disadvantage of agriculture, will have to be abandoned. In the pre-war days, the terms of trade between agriculture and non-agriculture used to be very unfavourable to the former. The war and post-war economy in which sellers' market had come to prevail for agricultural products has corrected much of this disequilibrium. But our large and powerful middle and upper classes have been clamouring more and more for a drastic reduction in agricultural prices. So many of our economists who are being consulted by Government are strengthening this demand. The present price fixation policy of Government is based upon the policy indicated by our economists and by our middle and upper classes. And it is so artificial that the blackmarket in agricultural produce has become more or less the rule of our economic life. Can we develop 'self-sufficiency' economy in the face of such a conflict between the consumers and producers? Can it be resolved only by the sacrifice of either interests? How can we allow our Governments to continually ignore the interests of agriculturists and expect peasants at the same time, to become consumers of more and more highly priced products of our industries to be fosterd under the protection of Swadeshism, protective duties and bounties? How are we to resolve the inevitable and inherent conflict of interests in such

a position? There is the American New Deal's precedent according to which an attempt is made to achieve some parity between the price levels of agricultural and manufactured goods. The evil consequences of the Soviet Scissor's system of prices, which practically ruined the Russian peasants is a warning to us against pursuing an anti-peasant policy. Unless our Government and Society are prepared to work out a system of priorities of production and enforce them over a set period, it will not be possible for us to develop a harmonious and progressive 'self-sufficiency economy'.

On the industrial front, it is even more difficult to become self-sufficient because, we need basic heavy machinery and tools for the development of mother industries. It may or may not be possible to attract foreign technicians and scientists with their formulei for the development of mother industries. Just as Russia has done it, it may be possible for us also to achieve it ultimately. But can we afford to wait for all the time that it will take us to build ourselves up without a more direct International assistance? We may have to promote our achievement of self-sufficiency by the utilisation of Point Four programmes and International Bank.

Self-sufficiency programme, if it is to be implemented within a reasonable time-say 10 or 20 years-will necessitate a greater control of our social economy *through cooperative societies, public corporations*, semi-governmental national cooperative corporations and government-managed concerns.

It would mean a tremendous lot of nation-wide planning, controls and organisation, with all their disadvantages too, and the whole-hearted democratic and conscious cooperation from the masses and coordinated effort on the part of the people, their organisations and the State. It is quite possible to develop our social economy with the active help of international authorities and other countries on much less State regulation and planned effort. But it is impossible to achieve self-sufficiency economy without a considerable degree of regulation, controls and guidance from both the cooperatives and State.

Is our democracy strong enough to accept such a controlled cooperative and State economy? Whether we go in for a 'self-sufficiency' economy with or without the aid of world's democracy, it is clear that if we are to achieve any rapid and all-round progress in the development of our agriculture, industries and commerce and in the standard of education and technical efficiency of our peoples and assure them an effective voice in the management of our industries and agriculture and thus progress towards the achievement of economic democracy, we will need more and more officials, technicians, administrators, business organisers, financiers and propagandists to man the multifarious institutions which will be needed to maintain our new economic equipment. These intellegentsia need careful handling, sympathetic treatment and an effective share in the political and economic governance of the country. At the same time it will also be necessary for our Society to devise various checks

and balances such as Advisory Councils of the concerned interests to be associated with all such officers or groups of officers holding key positions weilding large powers affecting the lives of large groups of peasants or workers or the public, and regional agricultural or industrial councils in order to adequately control and prevent them from gaining too much power and thus once again drive the masses into economic enslavement. That it is not going to be an easy task is a warning that Soviet Russia and post-1940 India indicate to us.

Moreover to train this growing body of intelligentsia in democratic ways in the management of large agricultural and industrial concerns and thus to become efficient, useful and public-spirited servants of society, becomes most necessary task if modern society is to achieve not only tolerable efficiency and rapid progress but also an honest and democratic administration of its economic, social and political institutions. To control them and yet to honour them, to advise them and yet to use them, the general public must also develop the requisite functional consciousness and organisation, education, political experience, and discipline.

Whether or not we go in for 'self-sufficiency' economy or national development with the aid of international agency, we will have to arm ourselves with a growing equipment of cooperatives to regulate both production and distribution. The problem of finding and training human element to man the cooperatives, to serve the cooperators and protect them from the beauracracy of State

managed or controlled sectors of life will become a great national responsibility. The sense of discipline and public-mindedness will have to be inculcalted in the masses if the cooperatives are to achieve successful democracy.

Whatever may be the degree of our cooperation with or dependence upon the Western nations and the International institutions which are very much under their control, the peoples of the East have to develop economic, political and cultural cooperation and institutions for mutual assistance. They have all very much to learn from each other. Their economies can be made to supplement each other to some extent. They may come to protect themselves through understandings regarding currencies, tariffs and exchange of 'Know How' and even credit and trade. There is much scope for investigation for possibilities of such coordination and cooperation between them.

All these cannot be achieved one after the other; but have to be attained simultaneously and stage by stage. Therefore planning becomes inevitable. Are we to have such a planning in a democratic or a dictatorial way, in a centralised or a decentralised manner, in a conscious or a semi-conscious fashion? Such are the issues that are facing our economists, public leaders, and youths.

The nation is seeking enlightenment, research, and inspiration in these and such other directions from our economists and other savants who believe in democracy and peace.

World Peasant Problems

The first conference of Agricultural Producers of the world met in May 1946 in Londen and founded the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. This is certainly not the first attempt in modern history at organising peasants on an international scale. In the inter-war period, the peasant parties and unions of South-East European countries brought into existence the "Green International", since the farmer's creative contribution to life is indicated by the 'green colour and tempo' of life of peasants and their environment. But that "Green International" was confined to the few Balkan countries and its existence was practically unknown outside S. E. Europe. The London Conference of I.F.A.P. (1946) was, therefore, the first world platform on which peasants and farmers of all continents were represented. The Hague conference (1947) has drawn even greater strength and demonstrated the conscious sympathies of peasants of practically all countries.

There is one significant feature of these Conferences of I F.A.P. Soviet Russia is absent from both of them. The reason is not far to seek. There are no peasant unions in Russia. In fact such unions cannot be organised there within the law.

How is it that peasants and farmers have been so slow in developing their internationale

though the first Internationale of Proletariat was organised more than a hundred years ago? European Socialists set the standard for mass organisation throughout the nineteenth century and they derived their inspiration and objective experience from England and her rapidly rising industrialisation. So, they accepted Marx's thesis that the world's toilers were soon coming to be completely proletarianised, that all peasants would be liquidated or turned into landless proletariat and that there could be only two classes, one opposed to the other, the capitalists on one side and the proletariat on the other. Hence their passion to organise only the proletariat into their internationale. They did not think of organising peasants nor did they wish to do so because they were under the influence of the Marxian notion that peasants could only be counter-revolutionaries and could never take any lead in the gathering social revolution.

It is only during this century that a number of revolutionaries began to turn their attention to the peasantry of some countries of Europe and Asia and that too, after the Russian revolution had established the heartening precedent of one of the classes of toilers coming into, and retaining power. The Russian revolutionary achievements opened the eyes of the peasant workers of South-Eastern European countries and of peasants in the East to the possibility of, and need for, peasants trying to gain political power. And as proletarian dictatorship raises the danger of the political subordination of the peasants, peasants have to

realise the extreme urgency of the need to organise themselves for safeguarding their interests against the dictatorship of any one of the classes. But all our efforts since 1923 at organising peasants did not transcend our national limits except for the Green International of the tiny Balkan countries.

The second world war and the tragic memories of the peasants' sufferings during the inter-war period, especially during the great economic depression, has however made us all think about the bitter prospects in store for world peasants, unless they take care to organise themselves and fight for a fair deal. Such immediate peasant problems of world importance as the total production of different crops and proper crop-planning in relation to the post-war price levels for agricultural and industrial commodities and the elimination of the growing inequalities of incomes of peasants, proletariat and professionals although they all put in equal quantum of work of equal intensity and quality have been crying for immediate thought and action. There is, again, the pressing challenge of our times whether peasants and farmers are to aim at expanding economy, with its risk of over-production and consequent slump in prices, pressure from banks and bankruptcy or a restricted economy with its easy assurance of economic prices for peasants but with aweful consequences such as growing unemployment, strikes etc.

The London Conference tried with much success to come to grips with these problems and was anxious that the I.F.A P. should be entrusted with the

responsibility at least in part of advising the United Nations Food and Agricultural Conference as to how stabilisation of agricultural prices should be achieved. It also decided in favour of expanding economy, thus definitely setting the peasants of the world on the road to social revolution. Expanding economy will, it is felt, yield the largest crops, greatest efficiency in cultivation and plenteous food for all. It also raises the hope that there will be an end to the present wide-spread underfeeding and under-clothing of the world masses.

Thus the world peasantry have demonstrated their progressive proclivities, the moment they had an opportunity to get together and take counsel. In fact they could not have taken any other decision consistently with their long tradition of producing many times more than what they sow and taking pride and pleasure, almost for its own sake, in producing more and more. For, is it not a fact that whereas while those employed in all other avocations were actively restricting their production at the first sign of economic depression, peasants were working even harder and producing larger crops and increasing the supplies to the world markets? Thus the very first world conference of peasants has given the lie direct to the prejudices against peasants.

It is in the wake of the highly successful conference in London that the International Federation of Agricultural Producers has been organised. The Indian Kisan Sammelan has become one of its founder members and Indian Kisans have won a

place on its Executive. There cannot be One World unless the world peasatry also are organised at least as well as the proletariat and the professionals.

*We the peasants and farmers of the World meet here for the second time. The Internationale of the Peasants and Farmers is being brought into existence. Such an Internationale is long overdue. Every other interest has had its Internationale to enable it to develop and pursue world outlook, and plan for its co-ordinated development on an International scale. Hence the present day strength and rapid progress made by the industrial and commercial interests and the proletariat. Thanks to the capitalistic system, the industrial and commercial magnates have had the upper hand for well over two centuries and therefore they could comprehend and be the first to tackle their international responsibilities and needs. In their wake, the proletariat have come to be formed into a class of their own to keep going the industrial section of modern capitalism. Thanks to Karl Marx and Engels the first Internationale of the workers was founded nearly a hundred years ago.

But little did anyone realise the greater need of the peasants and farmers to have their own Internationale, possibly because the traditional feudal leaders of theirs were hard put to it to withstand

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* The following is the speech of Prof. Ranga who led the Indian Delegation to the Second Annual Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers held at the Hague (Holland) in June 1947. Rangajee headed the Indian delegations to conferences held in London (1946), and in Canada (1949.)

the offensive of industrialism, and their own peasant leaders were hardly able to cope with the bewildering multiplicity of technical problems that were being created by the growing encroachments of industrialism and its world markets into the selfsufficiency economy of agriculture.

The first world war brought the much needed respite for farmers from that aweful struggle against the new forces of exploitation let loose by capitalism. That made them all realise their dependence on agriculture, that under the new dispensation, a greater portion of world's wealth could be offered as remuneration for their services, if only the nations are made to realise by some such crisis. The world economic depression of 1929-35 ruined millions of peasants and farmers, and resulted in their loss of holdings, stocks, barns, houses and traditional and independent occupation on land. Naturally every section of them began to think of the need for protection against such calamities. The peasants of South Eastern Europe could feel the pinch sufficiently and react with alacrity to what the proletariat were doing in their neighbourly Soviet Russia, and form their own Green Internationale. Even American farmers whose reliance upon capitalistic dispensation for their continued prosperity were shaken up by the depression and they forced their Government to extend the New Deal to Agriculture.

It was during that regime of the New Deal that the great principle of maintaining the parity between industrial and agricultural prices and the standard of living of both industrial and agricul-

tural peoples, so as to maintain stabilised economic conditions in all spheres of life, came to be accepted as a matter of State policy. With its adoption by the United States Government has began the New Era of awakening of the world peasantry and has arisen the new hope in their hearts.

The second world war has at last emancipated the world peasantry from their gnawing fear of markets and made them realise how great a boon it would be to achieve such stability in prices and agricultural incomes and such freedom to produce bumper crops and thus have the satisfaction of feeding the masses. But how could they do it unless the world's economy would be geared to produce for use and not for the profit of the middlemen? Production for the feeding, clothing and housing of the masses and not for the enrichment of the towns and their West Ends. How can there be bumper crops and plenteous food and clothing, unless their producers - the vast majority of the toilers of the soil - are assured of as good and fair a deal as is accorded to all other classes of toilers, that is the proletariat, professionals, intellectuals and managerial staffs?

It was in answer to these questions that the F.A.O. was born. The peasants and farmers too have begun to think of their future prospects. If they would only content themselves with more and more production as of old, there would be no guarantee against a precipitate fall in prices and consequent liquidation of their farms. If they would cut down their operations and pursue restricted economy and

lower production in the vain hope of maintaining price levels, they would only be betraying their sacred mission of extracting more and more production from Mother Earth and harming the ultimate interests of the masses, of whom they themselves form the majority. But how could they produce bumper crops and free the world's masses from their evils of underfeeding and underclothing without at the same time ruining themselves in further depressing their social standards and impoverishing their cattle and soil? And fortunately they have all come, almost simultaneously, to the conclusion that they must organise themselves and their farm-economy on the basis of expanding production on more efficient lines. They also realised that unless they took early steps to prevent the mischief of world markets, to pit one against the other and force down prices again to their pre-war uneconomic levels, they as well as the consumers would be held to ransom by the merchants and their Stock Exchanges. Therefore when the National Farmers Union of England took the initiative in calling the First conference of the world agricultural producers, the farmers, and peasants of as many as 30 nations had hastened to attend the Conference and take the first steps to inaugurate this Internationale of peasants and farmers of the world. When future history comes to be written, that London Conference and the establishment of the Peasants and Farmers International will be considered as the greatest historic event of 1946.

Now that we have at least this I.F.A P which I wish to call the Internationale of the Pea-

sants and farmers, what shall be its objectives for the future?

Let us take a pilot's view of the politico-economic set-up of the modern world. First of all we find that everywhere the standards of living of agricultural masses are much lower than those of the urban masses, capitalists, and landlord classes, the proletarian, professional and intellectual classes; this despite the fact that while the latter manage only to transform materials given to them into goods of equal or smaller quantities, the peasants and farmers produce twenty to forty times the seed given to them. Is this not unnatural and unjust?

Surely it cannot be, because our agriculturists are less efficient or hardworking or less interested in their work. It is because they do not have the reigns of power in this capitalist set-up to settle the terms on which their goods and services should be exchanged for those of others, then share in their national and world's wealth settled vis-a-vis that of others Just as it is wrong to claim that peasants should be allowed to enjoy all the unearned incomes made possible by bounteous and helpful mother earth, it is also unjust for manufacturing interests to claim to monopylise all the unearned income yielded by their plentiful use of machino-facture, made possible by modern social economy. But as things are, only those are allowed to enjoy the maximum incomes and highest standards of living as are privileged to work on or with the aid of modern machinery and other urban equipment, whereas all those broad masses, working on land and condemned to do the

most laborious work without the aid of machinery and other urban equipment, are forced to live below subsistence level and suffer indescribable poverty and squalor. Should we not put an end to this inequity? Australian and American farmers have said "yes" through their achievement of the New Deal. The I.F.A.P cannot stand for anything less than this principle. That is, equal social and economic standards, in any nation, and as far as possible over the whole regions of the world between agriultural and other classes, so that their social and economic standards can be more or less equalised with each other.

So far we have heard only of the need for equal distribution of wealth as between employers and employees and capitalists and industrialists and their proletariat. But that touches only that fraction of world masses who are interested in working on materials. crops, etc, after they are placed with in reach of industries. Our principle affects the vast majority of the toiling masses of the world, who have been beyond the ken of Western Marxist Socialists and Communists but who, however, produce all the crops and other rawm aterials which are the basis for modern manufacture and commerce. Therefore the I.F.A.P will be standing for a more fundamental principle of equality of payment and standard of living than any socialist or communist Internationale had ever espoused. Let us brace ourselves to this noble task of achieving more equitable distribution of world's wealth and equality of status as between the agriculturist and the other.

But how can we achieve this end? So far. farmers of many countries of the West have depended on pressure politics to persuade or oblige their governments to do them the barest justice. We of the East have had to resort to petitioning our governments not to injure us by their taxes and laws protecting the landlords and money-lenders. But can we be content with such anti-deluvian means? How long can we continue to leave the socio-politico-economic leadership of our peoples to be monopolised either by the capitalist liberals, feudal conservatives or the proletarian socialists or Communists? I think it is high time that our peasants and farmers realise the danger to their very existence implicit in their present failure to develop their own politico-economic programme and policy. In the absence of such a line of action, proletarian socialists and communists are today able to split their ranks, and ignore their basic interests and even intrigue against their very existence as a separate class, as distinct from the proletarian and professional classes

What is to be our politico-economic line? It has to be entirely dependent upon their national conditions, and characteristics. But even then one can see certain general pitfalls which have to be avoided. Peasants can and ought never neglect their responsibilities to their nations and its needs. They have to avoid being mixed with the feudal interests. They cannot join hands with the capitalist interests. At the same time they ought not to play second fiddle either to the proletariat

or to the professional. They have to oppose the dictatorship of either the capitalists or the proletariat.

One can also be positive about a few universal needs of theirs. For instance re-organisation of agriculture on cooperative lines, starting from banking or marketing and rising upto cooperative cultivation and embracing cooperative processing and machine-owning and utilisation and even cooperative multi-purpose societies, operating cooperative stores, has to be developed everywhere. The peasants and farmers by nature are democrats and by tradition used to cooperative and collective discharge of their parish responsibilities and so they can easily champion democratic principles and institutions in the governance and organisation of their people. As they have been the worst victims of the present monopoly of modern communications, mechanism of exchange and banking and markets, they have to demand in their own interests, the socialisation under democratic control, of all such key-services. Thus they are the most natural and effective socialists of modern democratic society. Their socialism cannot be opposed to any toiling class as that of the proletarian socialists. It is not antithetic to democracy as that of the Communists. Theirs is the democracy of all classes of toilers.

Whether some farmers of some countries like to call themselues socialists or not, the modern world peasantry are committed to expansionist and planned production on a large scale under the most efficient and cooperative auspices and to the elimination of all wasteful middlemen in their business

through the development of their own cooperatives. And that is the quintescence of democratic socialism. But as long as our peasants fight shy of consciously accepting the practical politico-economic implications of their policies and programmes which are made inevitable by historical forces, they will only be making it easier for the proletarian and urban socialists and communists to confuse their ranks, impregnate the mind of their own youth with anti-peasant bias and achieve political power to the exclusion of the agriculturists and to the detriment of fundamental interests. Therefore I wish to plead from this platform for the initiation of a conscious politico-economic programme and policy of world peasantry which will lead to democratic socialism of the world peasants and farmers to be worked out in their own way by their respective organisations in their own countries.

But immediately our agriculturists have to get ready to face upto the extremely difficult problem of the impendiag economic depression which force their prices down more precipitately than industrial prices and to see that we are not forced to produce more and more and vainly battle with the rising burdens of debts. We find that our Governments are as yet not ready to come to any progressive or sensible agreements among themselves either over the prices of wheat and rice or over the establishment of the World Food Board.

Are we then simply to do nothing to save the world from the consequences of this disastrous failure of the Governments. Surely our peasants

must assert themselves in their respective countries to see that once again international rivalries are not let loose to the detriment of world peace and to the undermining of our social standards. How one wishes that our peasants have already developed their own politico-economic line and forged their own political parties and sanctions so that they can make themselves felt effectively!

Peasants all over the world want peace, because they suffer most during wars. The best way to insure against war is to eliminate economic warfare on the agrarian front, especially on the Food and Cloth front. What better method is there for this than the early establishment of the World Food Board, as suggested by the F.AO?

Let it not be understood that I want the I.F.A.P to adopt here and now, a purely political platform. But I certainly desire that it would indicate in general terms such politico-economic lines of policy and programme, which naturally flow from its adoption of the twin principles of expansionist economy so as to eliminate under feeding and under clothing and the equality of returns for both agricultural and non-agricultural classes of the world so as to eliminate the present inequitous distribution of world's wealth between rural and urban peoples. It should then give complete freedom to member organisations to pursue such a political programme and economic line of activity and social policy as are best calculated to achieve for them the maximum power and participation in all institutions of their respective states and society.

Let it not be said that even 100 years after the proletariat hàve organised their Internationale, the peasants of the world have met twice only to think of their immediate agricultural price policies and have failed to indicate any clear politico-economic line that can bid fair to assure full employment and social security for all engaged in agriculture and to show the way for the achievement of effective political and economic power in their respective social set-up. Let us also realise that those days are gone by when peasants, highly individualistic, used to live a hopelessly isolated and insular life and that these are days of co-operative organisation of peasants to maximise the efficiency of every agricultural activity. Therefore it is high time that we give the lie direct to the belief of proletarian socialists that we are the last of the capitalist class and assert our right and determination to fight for a co-operative social democracy.

Let me venture to indicate a few points for the inclusion in our peasant and farmers programme:

(i) Democracy and national freedom. (ii) Democratic partnership and co-operation with all other toilers that is the proletariat, intellectuals and professionals, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj as we put it in India, as opposed to the dictatorship of the capitalist or the proletariat. (iii) Expansionist economy and maximum production of food and fibres for providing adequate food and clothing for the masses and full employment and social securities for agricultural masses.

(iv) Crop, fibre, cattle and health insurance schemes. (v) Stabilisation of agricultural prices

and wages and assurance of an adequate standard of living for agriculturists. (vi) The maximum cooperatisation of various processes and services for agriculture and consequent elimination of all middlemen. (vii) Raising the cultural and technical standards of peasantry, introduction of such improved machinery as will save peasantry from bone-breaking toil. (viii) Such remuneration and cultural opportunities for agriculturists as are obtained and available by non-agriculturists. (ix) Socialisation of all key and basic industries and commercial services as are essential for the protection of the peasantry. (x) Multilateral and world-wide commodity exchange agreements flowing from the establishment of World Food Board and its subsidiary organisations or pools for rice, wheat, oil-seeds, fibres, fruit, diary-produce, in order to harmonise maximum production with the maximum stabilisation of agricultural incomes on an adequate scale. (xi) International cooperation between peasants and farmers of different countries for the movement of farm populations without distinction of colour or creed to colonise the undeveloped areas, to maximise the supply of cheap credit, manures etc. (xii) Development of all processing of agricultural products through peasants' cooperative enterprises (xiii) Utilisation of the World Monetary Bank for the development of irrigation, drainage, and land reclamation and improvement projects of different countries. (xiv) Reconstruction of village social life so as to make it a distinctive but up-to-date centre of varied peasants' social and cultural life.

Rival Imperialisms

The first World War and the inter-war period have exposed the failure of European Liberalism to live up to its professions of democracy. The awakened peoples of India, Egypt, Turkey and China were able to see how the Western Liberal Statesmen and Thinkers found it possible to live in two worlds of thought and social life, that is, the world of Western democracy and freedom and the colonial world of imperialist domination. It was as a challenge to their statesmanship that some of us of Asia and Africa desired to seek their assistance in improving the lot of the colonial and coloured peoples through the aegis of the League of Nations by which Western Liberalism swore at that time. Hence the formation by some of us of the League of coloured people (L.C.P.) and its demand for greater powers for the League of Nations to control the imperialist powers. The L.C.P proved to be the contact-unit for so many of us but it did not succeed in awakening the social conscience of the West or in quickening reforms in the colonies, so strong was the imperialist faith of the West. The L.C.P's failure to make Western Liberals realise the oneness and unity of the world and the hypocrasy of believing that the West could live only in liberalism while the East could subsist in imperialist domination, has made me convinced that there could no

longer be any intermediary stages between colonialism and complete independence and that Western Liberalism could not be trusted to deal justly by the colonial and coloured peoples. The result of that realisation was my thesis on the "Colonial and coloured peoples' Freedom Front". Similarly my colleagues on the L.C.P Jomo Kenyatta and George Padmore combined to form the Pan African Congress in 1946 and the former has later on come to place himself at the head of the dynamic Kenya national movement, with the heroic Kikiyus in its vangaurd.

The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms were the upshots of the Second World War and the conception of "One World, indivisible in peace or war, prosperity or poverty" is the new contribution of Western Liberalism as well as Socialism. It is more than 10 years since this advance in Western thought and approach to world problems has been heralded. What have been its results?

It is true that India, Ceylon and Burma have come to be liberated from imperialist domination, thanks to the strength of their own national movements and British Socialist statesmanship. It is equally true that the problems of national independence of Indonesia and Egypt and Sudan have atlast reached a satisfactory solution but not solely because of the statesmanship of Western Liberalism or the U.N. but also because of the emergence of the power of the earstwhile colonial peoples or semi-colonial small powers who have begun to assert themselves. The Asian Conference organised by India to mobilise Asian nations on the question of

Indonesian Freedom was also largely responsible to strengthen the will of the U. N. to deal justice to Indonesia. Some of us who were in favour of the independence of both Egypt and Sudan did strengthen the Umma and other progressive parties in Sudan which desired the freedom of Sudan from the domination of both Egypt and England, because we were convinced that there could bo no difference between the British and Egyptian Imperialism.

But when the question of the freedom of those colonial and coloured peoples of the countries of Asia and Africa, whose freedom movements have not yet grown strong and whose national leaders have not achieved any international reputation and significance, was brought up before the San-Francisco Peace Conference and later before the United Nations, the Western Powers, whether their political faith was Liberalism or Socialism fell far short of our expectations and fought shy of their faith in 'One World'. None of the imperialist nations came forward to place its colonies under the authority of the Trusteeship Council which came to replace the earlier Mandatory Commission. The Asian nations were led by India, Egypt and Iran in their fight for greater powers for the U.N. Trusteeship Council but all was in vain. Their only achievement was the formation of the U.N. Committee on non-self governing countries, with the nominal power of receiving an annual report from the Imperialist powers. Need one wonder if the people of awakened Asia and Africa have come to be disillusioned about the professions of Western statesmen?

As if these shocks were not enough, Soviet Russia began writing her essay in Neo-imperialism by torpedoeing the democratic regimes of the South East European countries, especially of the peasant democracies of Poland and Hungary and the Liberal democracy of Czechoslovakia and super-imposing communist-propelled and dominated "peoples democracies". Her abortive attempt to split up Iran and separate the northern province in the name of self–determination of every province brought home to the Asian peoples what would be in store for them in this new dispensation. Turkey's national solidarity too came to be threatened by Soviet Power. The failure of Chinese Nationalist Govern ment to provide efficient, honest and progressive leadership and the final triumph of the Communists as the ruling power is a warning to the nascent Asian and African nationalism

These post-war years have come to witness the growing rivalry between the Western Liberalism cum Socialism and the Soviet Communist totalitarianism. More and more, World's politics have come to be polarised on either side and instead of "One World" of Wilkie's conception taking practical and political shape, two domineering Worlds have come to face the peoples of all nations

One of the ugly results of this polarisation is the unfortunate plight of the peoples of Indo-China and Malaya. Their national freedom movements have come to be mixed up with the Communists' move to gain ascendency in those countries and therefore, the Western Powers have found it to be

an excellent excuse for denying these peoples of their legitimate national independence. The Korean debacle and its aweful effects upon the peoples of Korea herself are another terrible consequence of this raging rivalry between the great powers, i e. the Western Liberals cum Socialists and the Soviet dominated Communists.

The recent events in Tibet are another reminder as to how the Soviet Powers are as ready as the Western Powers to exploit the old pre-war imperialist political privileges of the ruling powers. The New Chinese Communist Government took advantage of its old imperialist soveriegnty over Tibet, which had not been in use for more than a century and marched its troops into that peace-loving country and brought the peaceful Tibetians under its effective Communist sway. Apart from the fact of this development being a special threat to India's independence on her northern borders, this shows how Sovietism is as keen on extending the area and people under its control as Western Christianity used to be and their Communism on one side and Christianity and its extensions–Liberalism and Socialism–are their ideological weapons for self-justification and to confuse their victims.

After attaining Independence India has had to steer its course clear of these competing ideologies and their protagonists. Through her 50 years of struggle against one kind of imperialism, she has come to develop the habit of understanding the sufferings and feelings of similarly placed non-self-governing countries and their peoples and also

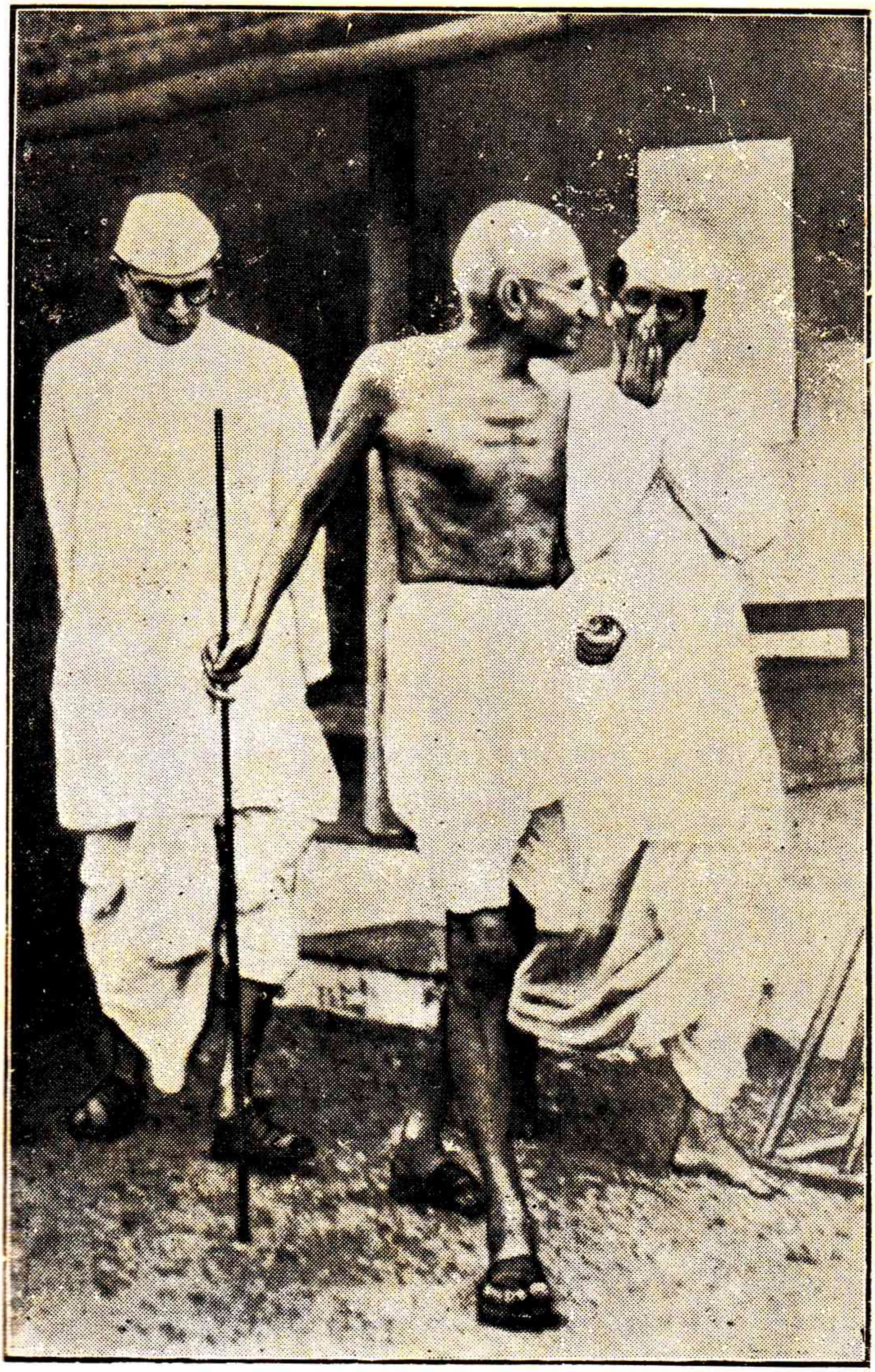
of offering whatever support she could muster. India's career as a member of the United Nations has been devoted mostly for championing this cause. Indonesia and Egypt, Arab Nations and Iran, Southern Rhodesia and Tunisia evoked her support. She raised her voice in favour of Iran in her struggle over oil-nationalisation, of Egypt in her demand for the control of the Suez Canal area and of Tunisia and Algiers for their national independence. She refused to recognise the Bao Dai regime over Indo-China, because the French kept the vital powers over defence, foreign affairs etc. in their own hands and the Bao Dai regime did not appear to have gained popular support. She has raised the demand that the Western powers should learn to respect the Asian peoples. She has recently sounded a note of warning that unless the African peoples are treated properly and their national freedom recognized without delay, India's international policies and attitudes might undergo radical changes.

But when it came to the struggle between the British and the Communist-dominated movement of Malaya, Indian nationalism became nonplussed and refused to take sides. Such is the impasse created by the rivalry between these two types of Imperialism.

It was in this international phase of post-war politics that I took the opportunity to found the Foreign Relations Society in 1947 (latterly Foreign Affairs Association) Foreign Affairs Association to enable Indian Parliamentarians to study world events and trends and to help in developing a foreign

policy and attitude which will be helpful to the peoples of India and of other similarly placed countries to come together and save themselves from being dominated by the rival imperialist powers. During the first two of my speeches made in the provisional Parliament of India during the debates on foreign policy, I pleaded for an effort to be made by India to bring together all those nations which would be interested in remaining free from the domination of these imperialist powers and in developing a 'Peace Front'. Later on the Socialist Party called for the organisation of a Third Bloc. Latterly our Prime Minister Nehru has been mooting the idea of a loose consultative combination of nations which are interested to co-operate with each other in ensuring their independence in international politics.

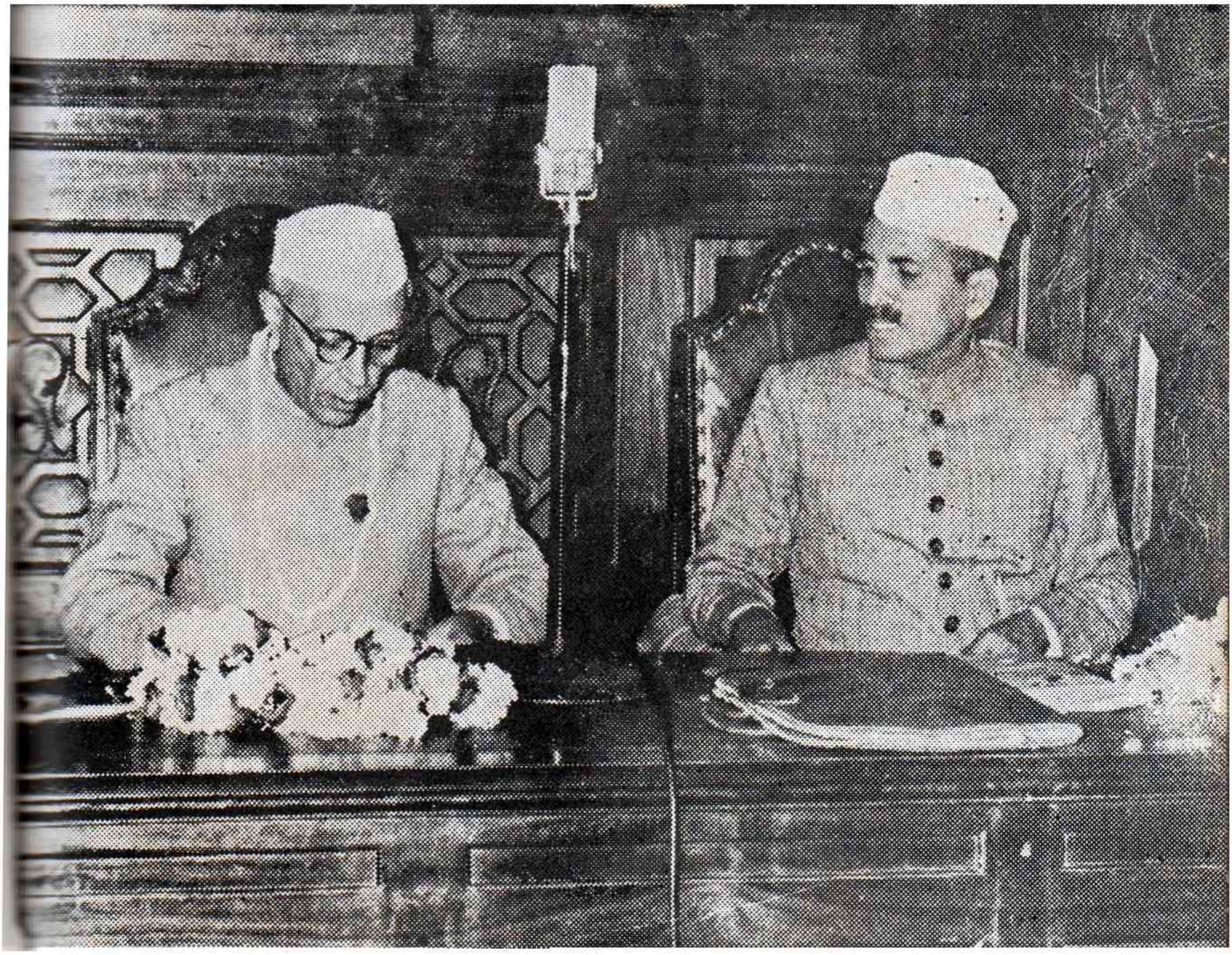
I know that several of the Western Liberal Statesmen, so many of whom are my dear friends, strongly resent our proneness to place their nations on a par with the Soviet nations and treating them altogether as Imperialists. But so do the Communist statesmen dislike our classifying them as Imperialists. The facts of their treatment meted out to the colonial and coloured peoples, smaller nations and dependant countries are our justification. How else could the British Socialist statesmen introduce their pea-nut development scheme in their African Colonies, side-track the freedom movements of Kenya, Uganda, Nyanzaland or introduce the discredited experiment of diarchy on the Gold Coast and west Indies, without even recognising their African peoples as independent, or fight with fire



Prof. Ranga (right) with Mahatma Gandhi



Fourth Congress of the International Peasant Union (New York, October 1, 1954)
Prof. Ranga is fifth from left.



NEHRU - RANGA

Prof. Ranga with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru at the conference of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan (All India Farmers' Union) held in New Delhi, in 1951.



below :—

Reception to Prof. & Mrs. Ranga when they visited Burma in 1937



FIRST WORLD CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURISTS

Prof. Ranga expounding the ideal of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj (Govt. of Peasants, Workers, Artisans and intellectuals) at the first Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers held in London in May, 1946.

Right :—

RECEPTION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. N.

Prof. Ranga addressing the annual meeting of the Foriegn Affairs Association held on September 12, 1954 at New Delhi under the Presidentship of Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit. Next to her is Mr. Ghaznafar Ali khan, High Commissioner for Pakistan.





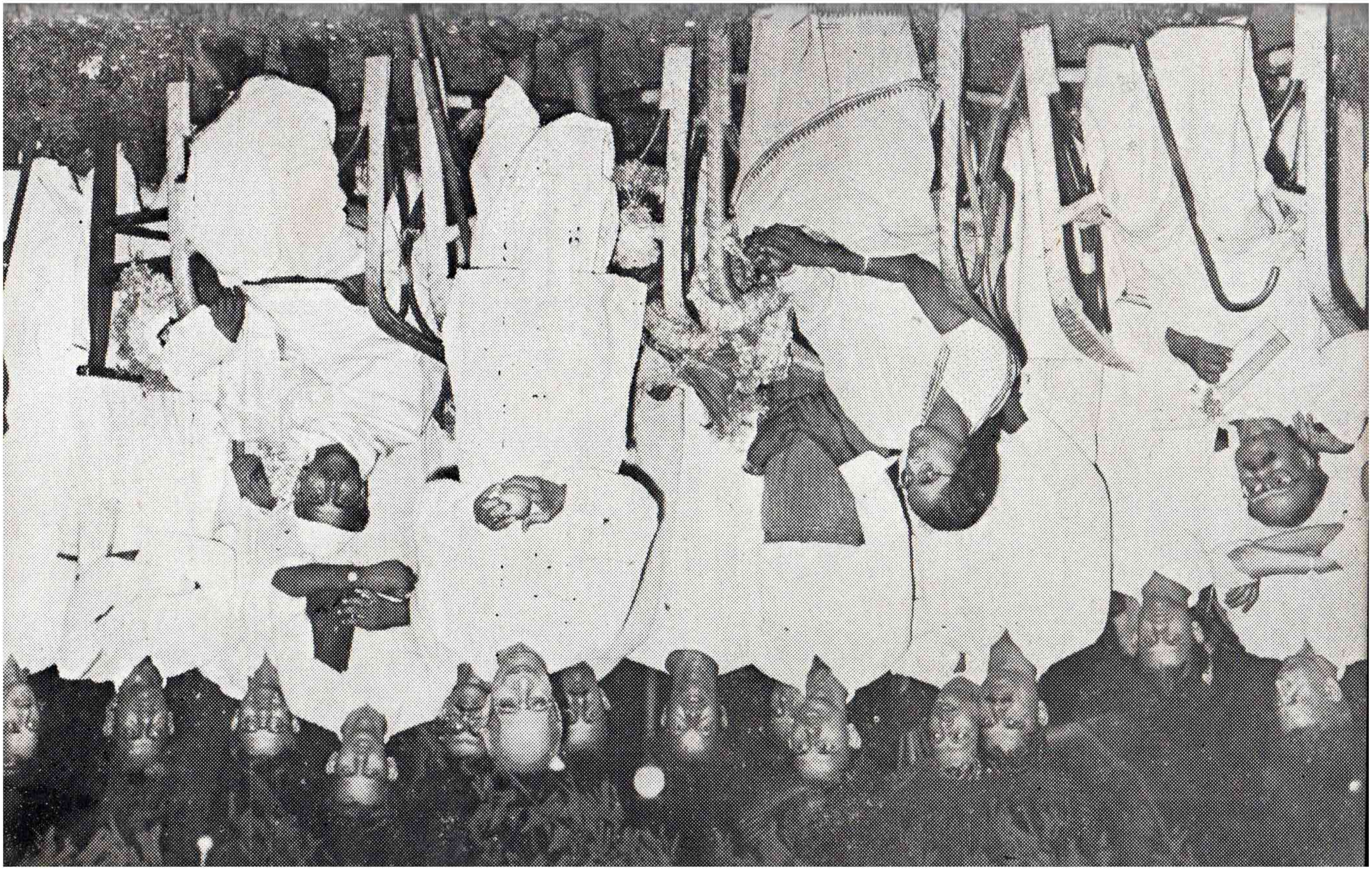
FIFTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY FUNCTION - TOKYO

The organisation committee of the World Government Conference held in Tokyo on November 1, 1954 felicitated Prof. Ranga M. P. (3rd from left) on his 55th Birthday (Nov. 7)

Right :—

FIFTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY FUNCTION - MADRAS

Sri C. Rajagopalachari felicitating Prof. Ranga on his 53rd Birthday. Next to Mrs. Ranga is Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai Speaker, Madras State Assembly. Standing from Right : G. Umamaheswara Rao (Editor, Vahini) G. Latchanna (Leader, Legislature Lok Party) V. V. Ramana, M. P ; B. S. R. Krishna etc.,





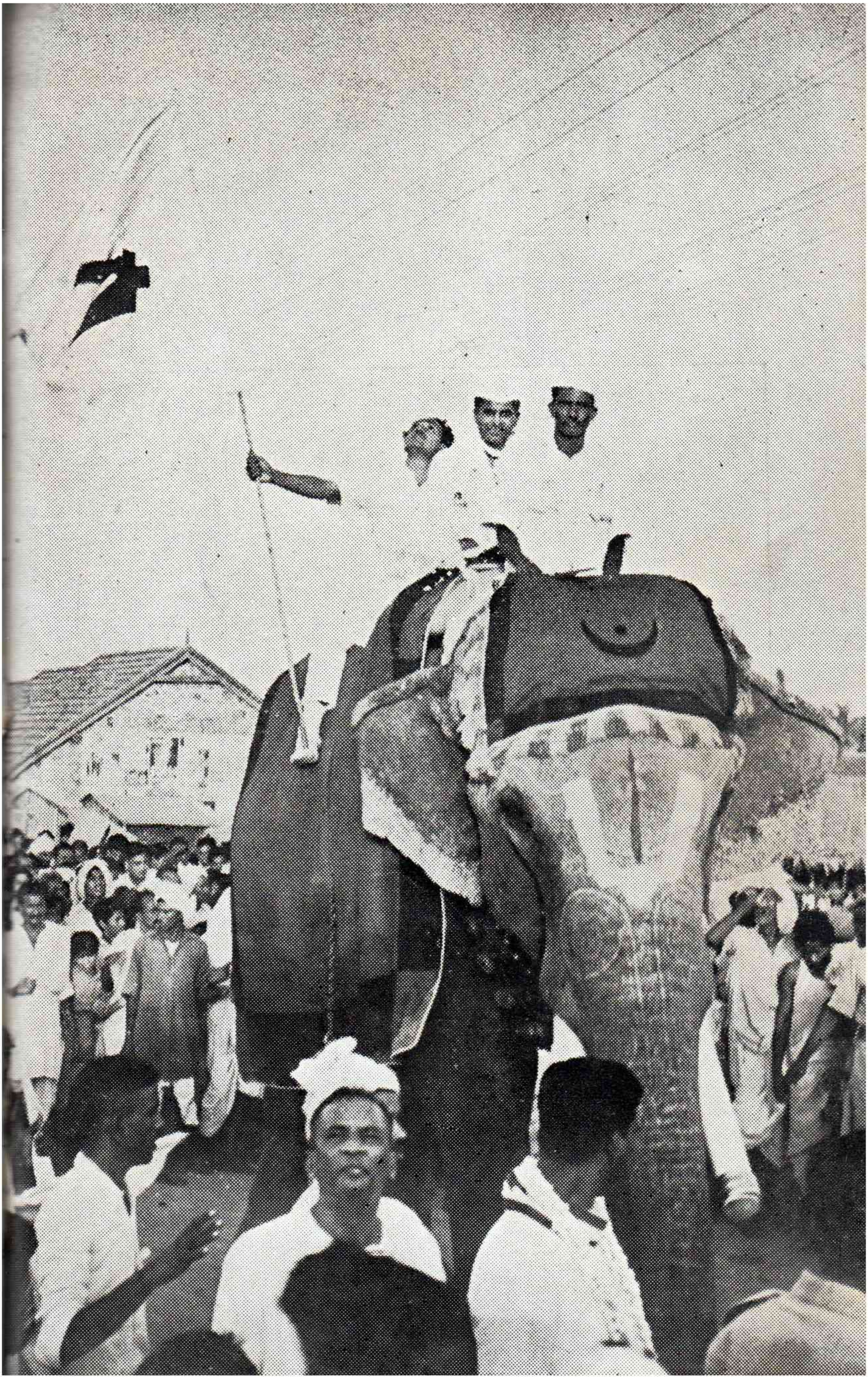
CCMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

Ottawa, September, 1952. From Right: Sri Chattopadhyaya, Leader of the Opposition in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly; Prof. Ranga M. P ; Sri G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the House of the People ; Mrs. Mavlankar ; Mrs. Anasuyabaikale, M. P ; and Sri Kunte, Speaker of the Bombay State Assembly.

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K. L. P. POLITICAL CONFERENCE

Prof. Ranga being taken in procession at the Krishkar L
Party Conference, held at Tenali on May 7, 1954.





Prof. Ranga with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
during his visit to U. S. A. in 1952

and barbed-wire the Malayan or New Guinea movements, even while they were in the Ministry? How else could the British Liberalism which is imprisoned in the present British conservative ideology continue to reconcile itself to the maintenance of that Empire and to her imperialist interests elsewhere.

Americans can claim to have no empire of their own. But the shadow of their mailed fist over the Latin American Republics is ill-disguised. Their impatience with those peoples who make experiments in social justice which are radically different from theirs is not becoming of a leader of the "One World" movement. Their support to the European Imperialist powers in their suppression of the national movements of their colonial peoples weakens their practice of the conception of "One World" and condemns their internationalism as being imperialistic, however indirectly. This is why their professions of Liberalism and Socialism and of 'One World' fail to sound as inspiring and soul-stirring as can be expected. Hence the gradual spread, in the South East of Gibralter, of disillusionment about the West and the Soviets and the emergence of Gandhism, as an amalgam of our faith in non-exploitation of one country by another, of one people by another, in a non-violent and full-fledged democracy, in decentralisation of power within any one country and in that One World of Gandhi and Tagore where there would be Four-Freedoms, Social Justice and rule of law and where there will be no such conflict as we see between these two combinations of powers.

World Parliamentary Democracy

I have long wondered why, if democracy is a worthwhile social movement–and I believe that it is very much so–democrats have not been active in propagating it. I used to be surprised during the Inter-War period that while Fascist and Communist creeds of totalitarianism were making such a headway and even more peoples are being captured by them, democrats were confessing their inability to compete with the efficiency and dynamism of totalitarianism. Even after the cataclysmal defeat of Fascism and the demonstration made by democratic peoples through the successful defence of their civil liberties and democratic institutions during the Second World War, the intellectuals and political leaders of democracies have somehow failed to vigorously develop missionary zeal of democracy but have on the otherhand been busy throwing up weak defences and offering apologies for their growing social problem as contrasted with dynamic and aggressive campaign that Soviet totalitarianism has launched upon soon after the War. I therefore hailed the idea of world parliamentarians organising themselves into the World Parliamentary Association, and also into the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Prof. Ranga took active part in the Commonwealth Parliamentary conference held at Ottawa in 1952, as a member of the Indian delegation.

It has become the fashion even for those who believe in and practise totalitarianism to call themselves and their institutions democratic. To avoid such confusion as between those who are totalitarian and those who are not, but who are yet democratic in the historical sense and in the true liberal tradition, it is good that the latter have come to call themselves as parliamentarians, because, the conception of parliament has always meant the existence of more than one political party and the freedom of peoples to organize themselves into different, rival political parties and powerful and competing social institutions and the progress of people through the sea-saw of debate, criticism, rivalry and voluntary co-operation and ultimately willing submission to the rule of majority.

But none of us, who were both democratic and rationalistic was willing to join the former Empire Parliamentary Association since we were convinced that real parliamentary democracy and imperialism were mutually contradictory.

It was possibly because most of the Western Parliamentary democratic peoples were maintaining and nursing their empires that they did not have the zeal to advance democracy as a dynamic and missionary creed in opposition to totalitarianism. But we have not had to suffer from any such inhibition or mental reservations. We have learnt to fight, throughout our career of nationalist resistance against imperialism, for unadulterated and full-fledged democracy in the hope of achieving through it the welfare state or Ram Rajya or the

Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj conception. So, when we became free, we hailed this idea of World Parliamentarians coming together and organizing themselves for the purpose of learning from each other's experiences, even better means and methods of achieving social progress and civic liberties and privileges of our peoples through the mechanism of parliamentary democracy and the movement of democratic liberties and freedoms. It was in this spirit and hope of contributing our mite to this noble movement that our Indian Parliamentary Union accepted the invitation of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to send a delegation to its Ottawa Session. When the Speaker invited me to join our delegation I welcomed it in that spirit.

During my stay in England, on my way to Canada, I met Dr. Arnold Toybee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and discussed with him the ways and means of propagating the objectives, plans and achievements of the democratic peoples of the world He agreed that there is great need for doing reserch, collecting information and publicising adequately the progress of the cause of democracy He said that his institute has recognised the inadequacy of the former plan of its survey of international affairs and therefore has added a few chapters to its latest publication, dealing with the economic trends and developments in the international world. He offered to co-operate with other Research Institutes and Policy-making conferences in organising research and propaganda for the advancement of democracy and its ideals.

As we were being taken, in Canada, from province to province, we were surprised at the phenomenal achievements made by the Canadian people since the end of the war, almost in every field of social activity, and wondered how we had been ignorant of all such progress.

So when the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference met at Ottawa and proceeded to consider its contributions to the cause of parliamentary democracy through the library, research and publications organised by its Association, I had the honour of suggesting, on behalf of our delegation, that the Association and Conference should shoulder the responsibility of bringing to the notice of the whole world, the actual achievements of the democratic peoples of different countries within the Commonwealth and if possible, of others also and prove how, step by step, these peoples are advancing towards the establishment of a Welfare State, social securities, promotion of the liberty, enterprise and initiative of all citizen and widening the area for the growth of citizenship and parliamentary responsibility and institutions.

I welcomed the publications of the C.P.A. * on the activities of parliaments and on international affairs and suggested that such surveys of parliamentary activities should be provided also for all those non-member provinces of countries which may or may not have become members of the C.P.A.

Fortunately these suggestions found favour with the Conference and the Chairman Hon. Mr. Holt

*Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

of Australia and Mr. Arthur Henderson of United Kingdom have made appreciative reference to our suggestions and commended them to the Conference. It is hoped that the Council of the C.P.A. will try to give practical shape to these suggestions in the near future.

I was invited on the 11th September by the Canadian Council of International Affairs at Toranto to expound my views regarding the propagation of the world movement for democracy and when I told them how it would be of interest and inspiration to the Canadians to know in what a heroic manner Indian democracy has tackled the biggest post-independence rehabilitation problem that any country has had to face and how India is getting ready to achieve her Five-Year plan and to obtain external aid for financing it without accepting or yeilding to any political strings, they were convinced that democracy of each country has quite an inspiring story of progress to send round the world for their mutual benefit and growing faith in peaceful, parlimentary means.

In the United States I met a large number of scholars, administrators and farm and labour leaders, besides such personages of international repute as Mrs. Eleanor Roosewelt, Trigve Lie, Hembridge, Stansley Andrews, James Patton, Garden Mathews, Kurt Evoch, Drs. Tolly, Pasolovickly. I am glad to say that all of them expressed their appreciation of the work of the World Parliamentary Union and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and their awareness of the need

for publicising the progressive achievements and trends within the democratic countries and offered to co-operate in our effort to educate the democratic peoples about the social trends, activities, trials and tribulations and net achievements in each of their countries and about their growing needs for mutual co-operation and understanding. Mrs. Roosevelt and Kurt Evoch were specially glad that the initiative in this regard is being taken up by India.

In England I discussed this matter with the Socialist, Labour leaders and also the secretary general of the C.P.A. and the secretaries of the international department of the Labour Party and Socialist International. I was fortunate to meet Messrs Clement Attlee, Grittiths, and Saul Rose, Fenner Brockway and also George Padmore, Peter Abrahams, Koinange, Sewakula Mulumba, the leaders of the Pan-African Congress. They have all offered to co-operate in taking the world democracy another step further its onward march and helping the world's peoples to favour it, in preference to totalitarianism.

At Paris I met the high officials of the U.N.E.S.C.O. Messrs Trigvie Lie and Estesdal of the U.N.O. and Mrs. Roosevelt were keen on my interesting the U.N.E.S C.O. too in the educational and cultural aspects of our Indian proposal I was happy to have long and interesting discussion with many key-men. They all desired that I should give them a paper, expounding my plan.* I sent it, on my

* Please see next chapter.

return to all of them. I have since submitted it to our Education Ministry for its consideration.

In one very important respect did I find Western Democracy still failing, that is, in aweful conditions of under-payment of their school teachers. The extra-ordinary thing is that the very people who have to teach and train the children of democracy and fit them for their later and ever-complex responsibilities are the least cared for and have been allotted so small a place in the social economy of all these countries. In all the special supplements of the daily papers of Canada and U.S.A. –and this is a special feature which our press will do well to emulate–I found the same complaint that there is a shortage of teachers, that the academic qualifications of people who offer themselves for teaching profession are not high and good enough, that the salaries and amoluments are most inadequate and that there is too great a tendency for teachers to try to leave the profession and seek another, once there is an opening to it. Is it not tragic that it should be so? It is even more so in our country, which is losing its excellent traditions of holding the teachers in great esteem and which is grudging to pay even the most meagre salaries.

I talked to the principal of a teachers training college in Frankington and he confirmed my observations and said that unless modern democracy learnt how to treat the teachers honourably and help them to feel optimistic about life, students cannot be trained to develop robust optimism and faith in democracy. I agree with him.

Achievements of World Democracy

The democratic peoples know that they are achieving progress and their social and economic conditions are steadily, if slowly, improving. Yet their freedoms give them such opportunities not only to think of and yearn for better conditions and quicker progress but they seem to concentrate on what is yet to be done, why it is not being achieved and the obstacles that are encountered and how they are to be removed rather than pause even for a while to take a comparative view of their social and economic stature vis-a-vis the peoples under the totalitarian regimes. While it is dangerous to grow complacent with what is being achieved, it is even more dangerous to ignore the present achievements and lose oneself so much in the contemplation of the causes and justification for discontent as to run the risk of strengthening the forces which are constantly striving to destroy the whole foundations of democracy and its achievements in moral and material well-being of masses.

Secondly, there is so little knowledge made available to the masses of different countries of the democratic world about the conditions in their respective areas, progress that is being achieved, plans made and being executed towards progress

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A project drawn up by Prof. Ranga for popularising and co-ordinating the achievements of World Democracy.

and the attempts being made by all parties, political and social, to remove the social evils and improve social conditions and overcome obstacles that constantly arise to bar rapid uplift of their classes.

Thirdly, there has been made, as yet, so little effort to co-ordinate and share together in the results of researches, musings and learning of the intellectuals, leaders of cultural activities and of the mass organisations of the democratic societies with the result, that while there is so much of awareness among totalitarians as to their part of the achievements and thoughts of the world, our democratic peoples have been living, as it were, in isolated cells of intellectuals and book-worlds.

Fourthly, the book-publishing activities of our countries have been so much monopolised by capitalist enterprises that the publicity for democracy has become too costly and books cost so much that the masses are unable to get proper and inspiring books to read and keep. Indeed there is a dearth of books, dealing with all the efforts being made through and also outside the State by various sections of our masses to improve their political and social status and achieve not only material progress but also to gain control over the organs of the State and make parliamentary democracy more and more progressive.

Hence, the need for the pooling together of all the results of researches, musings and yearning of our peoples in a brain-trust or trusts of the democratic people and also for the development of an annual or biennial report on the progress

achieved and plans made for further achievements in all the democratic countries, and also for devising ways and means to make available to our masses the results of the researches made and literature being produced by the savants, poets and other thinkers all over the democratic world.

It is to achieve these and other objectives that the following plan is outlined, for the consideration of all those interested in serving the cause of parliamentary democracy and the Fundamental Rights of all citizens for which World Democracy and U.N.O. and its specialised agencies stand.

A National Council of Democratic Cause shall be constituted with the representatives of (a) associations formed for studying foreign relations, democratic ideals and institutions (b) farmers and labour, women, youth organisations etc., (c) organisations of newspaper editors, working journalists, publishers and book distributors (d) representatives of the educational, cultural and other allied departments of State (e) organisations of parliamentarians (f) political parties (g) such social service organisations as may be interested (h) organisations of universities and teachers.

Such Institutions as the Royal Institute of International Affairs of England, the Foreign Policy Association of America, Canadian Council of International Affairs, Indian Council of World Affairs, the Indian Foreign Affairs Association, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and its branches, World Parliamentary Union may take the initiative in convening National Conferences which are to

decide upon the constitution, objectives and activities of the proposed National Councils of Democratic Cause. It would be best if the UNESCO or the U.N.O takes the initiative in convening a World Conference to give shape to the overall World Council.

The functions of the National Council will be (i) To screen the publications in the country in a period of six or twelve months and prepare a list of fifty or hundred or any such number of books on various aspects of democracy as it presents itself to the local intellectuals and massses and to communicate it to all the National Councils all over the world. (ii) To make agreements with various publishers so as to (a) supply either freely or at concession prices some copies of such of their books as are desired by the Councils (b) to enable Councils to issue cheaper editions in their respective regions and when needed, to publish translations and also adaptations of such books. (iii) To arrange for exchange or loan of the results of researches carried on by various research institutes, either independent or associated with universities or Governments (iv) To prepare an annual report upon the progress made by their peoples through the governmental, parliamentary and private institutions and community projects in various aspects of national life and also upon the plans, ideals, ideology, proposals of their Government and political parties and send it to the World Council and any regional international councils such as the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

These National Councils are to derive funds for their office management, publications and libraries from the following sources, among others:— (a) Contributions made by the affiliated organisations (b) Donations from individuals, research institutions and other Public Foundations (c) Subsidies by Governments, if necessary.

The World Council is to have a Federal organisational structure, with National Councils as its primary units plus any such research, educational, journalistic, press and pulicity organisations as desire to cooperate with it and similar organisations of such countries as have not developed their National Councils. Its functions will be (i) To propagate the aims and achievements of U.N.O. and its allied organisations (ii) To spread the fundamental democratic ideals and aims. (iii) To encourage peoples to overcome discrimination of all sorts, arising out of colour, creed, country, economic or social disabilities. (iv) To promote the ideal and cause of political, economic and social equality and justice and to spread the thoughts and plans of all great or good democrats of all climes among the masses of the world. (v) To create an urge among all peoples for accurate, full and truthful information and knowledge about the everyday life of the toiling masses, their aims and ideals, their trials and triumphs, their plans and programmes to achieve the all-round progress and promote the happiness of all human beings in a democratic, peaceful and humane manner. (vi) To promote the creation, production and dissemination of truthful,

full and frank information and knowledge about the conditions of everyday life of different peoples, the ways and means adopted by them to attain their present status and to improve their conditions and the plans being made and pursued by them to raise the social status and political privileges and stature of their masses, especially of the under-privileged sections and underdeveloped regions.

To start with, the World Council will have to undertake only a few activities such as the production and publication, more or less, simultaneously in all languages within the first quarter of the year or the two-year period that has just been passed, of a report on "The World Democracy in 1952"-etc.

This report is to contain (i) A properly edited collection of all the reports received from the National Councils or comparable organisations of countries which have not organised National Councils (ii) Two or three chapters indicating the main achievements of the peoples of the democratic world, comparing them to their conditions in 1945–46; i.e., the end of the war or any comparable base-year, summarising the plans annual or biennial or 5 years and aims of their Governments and also of the opposition parliamentary parties. (iii) It may also attempt to give a comparative picture of the democratic world vis-a-vis the totalitarian world. (iv) It is to indicate how the principal pooling sections such as the agriculturists, proletariat, professional and managerial peoples are progressing in different directions and what plans are being made

or are in the process of execution to improve their social level of living.

It is hoped that such a report, when published will help the peoples of the world—the democratic section at least—to be hopeful of the capacity of democratic institutions and liberties and their democratic governments to raise the standard of living of the toilers in particular and all peoples in general and to promote their cultural, spiritual advancement and indeed, their happiness.

The above is the picture of an ambitious project. In case any friend or organisation interested in promoting the cause of democracy and broadening the scope of democratic educational opportunities of the masses, wishes to make a less ambitious effort, even while our attempts to develop the bigger project are under way, action can be taken on any one of the following lines to help the cause of democracy: (i) To negotiate with publishers in different countries for permission either freely or at nominal royalty fees, to issue cheaper editions or to publish translations of such of their books as are recommended by their National Councils or such associations and also for the supply of their books at concessional rates; (ii) to arrange with publishers for the issue of cheaper editions of their own books in all countries; (iii) to prepare schemes for the collection of a "Fifty or Hundred Books Library" from each of the countries once a year or two years and popularise them in all other countries and help the libraries, institutions etc. in all countries to obtain them at specially low prices.

Insurance against Totalitarianism

The movement of Adult Education has assumed a special importance and urgency in the whole of the democratic world since the people of all democratic countries are obliged to think, comprehend and decide for themselves and by themselves why and how they are to safeguard their civic liberties and fundamental human rights and achieve social justice and thus face the challenge of dictators and votaries of dictatorship to impose their will on them all. From one end more and more intellectuals and social leaders are declaring that it is only through totalitarian methods and leadership that social progress can be achieved and social justice attained and also that capitalist exploitation and social injustice can never be ended through Parliamentary democracy and non-violent means. To reinforce their arguments and to mesmerise the masses into accepting their lack of faith in the capacity of the people at large to decide for themselves upon various methods and stages of social progress through peaceful means, political parties are growing everywhere. If the masses of all the democratic countries are to be able to withstand such hypnotism and overcome their own usual

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Prof. Ranga's Presidential address at the South Indian Adult Education Conference held at Tirupati in January 1954.

intellectual lethargy and proneness to leave such complicated problems to the tender mercies of the enemies of democracy and peaceful progrees, then they must be insured against such socially erosive and disruptive influences. The best insurance can only be Adult Education, as without it, the cause of world democracy and indeed the future of the masses will be in imminent danger. To neglet Adult Education and to trust the so-called common-sense of the untutored masses is to invite the tota-litarian forces to destroy whatever civil liberties and fundamental rights the world's masses have come to attain and enjoy through the painful labours of millions of martyrs and heroes of human freedom.

It is the duty of the leaders of the Adult Edu-cation Movement to present the pros and cons of most of the ideas and ideals, problems and possibili-ties that are implied in the various contemporary issues that come up before the world's masses for their decisions.

If this movement is to succeed in this great and growing function, it has to ensure the literacy of the people among which it is to function. It need not suspend or neglect all its other aspects pending the spread of literacy, but it has to devote the major portion of its resources for the develop-ment of literacy. The special importance of this has been brought to the fore in India in view of our aweful experience of the first General Elections in 1952 on the basis of adult franchise with only the aid of symbols for candidates. Tens of millions

of our masses got confused, complained of having voted wrongly and otherwise made an unsatisfactory use of their votes because of their inability to read and therefore, their vain efforts to depend upon the confusing array of the symbols.

The Adult Education movement can play its role more esily where or once there is adult literacy and so to achieve universal literacy is only its basic and preparatory function. This Adult Education movement is of fundamental importance even where and after universal literacy comes to be an accomplished fact. Hence its prevalence and progress in all the European and American countries.

In the contemporary world, there is a continuous conflict beeween the rival ideas of parliamentary democracy and totalitarianism, between the primacy of political freedom and that of equality of economic opportunities, between the right of the people to choose their leaders and that of the leaders to choose for the masses, between the claim of the masses for fundamental social rights and the claim of the social philoscphers and parties for forcing the masses to go through a phase of tutelage and compulsory militarisation in the hope of achieving social progress and freedom at a later stage. Our masses who have the privilege of choosing their political and social leaders through the periodical general elections have to understand the pros and cons of these conflicting ideas, these ideological challenges and then make their choice. That they are not yet ready in most countries to make a proper or tolerable choice and that they cannot be

expected to avoid making suicidal choices has been proved more than once during the last 100 years by the way in which the plebiscites had placed dictators in the saddle, as in 1860 in France, in 1924–1926 in Italy, in 1934 in Germany, to mention only a few instances. The experience of Latin American conutries has been even more pitiable. If such is the case with the Western peoples who have enjoyed universal literacy for more than five decades, what can be the prospects for our masses with their colossal illiteracy?

But the Adult Education movement is not and cannot be partisan as between different and rival political parties. Each of the political parties can, of course, make its contributions to it, in its own way, attending to the adult educational needs of their supporters but the champions of this movement, as such, have to take scrupulous care to place before the public the pros and cons of the ideas and ideals of all political and social parties and groups.

This movement is a world wide one and has to concern itself with the world currents of thoughts, ideas and ideals. For instance, it is our duty, so long as we have faith in this movement, to explain to our masses, the ideas which have influenced the founders of the U.N.R.R.A, the U N.O. and all its associate world organisations such as the UNESCO, I.L.O., F.A O., W.H.O., W T.O., ECAFE, and the aims and ideals for which they stand.

It is now universally accepted that there is great need for achieving social justice among all

nations and peoples; that its achievement will ensure world peace, that the whole world is one and indivisible, in peace or war, prosperity or poverty, in progress or degradation and that no one hemisphere, country or people or class of people can live long in peace and prosperity, if the other portion is condemned to war or penury. Yet we know that for long periods, nay centuries, it has so happended that a number of spheres almost self-contained or insulated—enjoying diametrically opposite conditions of life—have been in existence for centuries. Oftentimes, these different spheres of influence and economic and political existence have functioned in rivalry with each other and some have prospered at the cost of the others and there has been continuous conflict—whether apparent or not—as between them. International trade has been imposed by some powerful States over the less powerful States even at the point of the bayonet as had happened in Japan and China and many a State had had to resort to the device of national tariffs to foster the local industries as against the competition of the world markets. So one may wonder why it is that the United States of America which was unwilling to take part in the 1933 World Economic Conference and favoured national self-sufficiency has now become the champion of multi-lateral world trade and which refused to join the League of Nations. in 1921 has become the champion of the United Nations. We are told that the advent of the Atomic Age has created a revolution not only in the politico-economic spheres of life but also in men's minds and also in the light of the total war-

world-wide in its scope and effects and the Atomic Age which has become *fait accompli.* Thanks to the bitter experiences of the Second World War, it is only commonsense for political and social leaders of the world to shed the prejudices and faiths of the first half of this twentieth century and think in terms of the basic facts and principles of this port-war period and second half of this century.

It is however common knowledge that even the advanced sections of the Western nations have not yet begun to behave in conformity with these changed physical and normal conditions of the world and the concepts of its moral being. Their Governments are still rooted in their old traditions and ideas of exploitation of the colonial peoples, and less advanced nations.

Why is this so? It is mostly due to the fact that their peoples, though possessing literacy and a smattering of modern knowledge, are as yet half-educated and are incapable of arguing out things in a sensible and progressive manner. It is so, also bacause most of their leaders are as yet not free from the thraldom of their moorings of imperialist and exploitative socio-economy. There is this unpreparedness of the masses and their leadership to grapple with the fast-moving panorama of world conditions which prevents modern humanity to march in keeping with its times, not to speak of marching ahead of the contemporary necessities. All this is the consequence of the neglect of adult education by our past generations.

What is worse, there has been wrong kind of Adult Education, imparted from the pulpits, platforms and press and also by educational and social institutions. The effects of Goebel's propaganda and 'Mien Kempf' thesis have become notorious. The Kiplingism from one end and the propaganda of Comintern from the other have played their own part in monopolising the minds of millions all over the world.

The Puranic teaching of the superiority of certain sects and sections of people, the cults of Shintoism, the Mandarin's, Pasha's and Tribal chief's superior rights, the Hegelian-Hitlerian dogma of State supremacy, the modern religious and political teachings of the infalliability of the 'Book' as given by some teachers and annotated by the established Churches, whether religious or political, have all done their mischief on the minds of the contemporary masses and are doing their worst even now against the beautiful and young minds of our students all over the world. The present day ideals of Parliamentary democracy, peaceful and all-round revolution, of One World indivisible in its humanity, equality of all human beings before their respective national laws and before the world Charter of Human Rights find it so hard to gain a good enough footing in the minds of our masses, not to speak of gaining a predominant place. Why? Because the old teachings have created their protective shells in the world's mind in the garb of castes, class, national, continental and religious prejudices, predilections, traditions and habits—both physical

and intellectual. Therefore the post-war ideals have to war for their very propagation against so much of this debris of the past. This sacred and inevitable war can be carried on only by the Adult Education movement.

The enlightened of this post-war world have realised this insistent need. So they have established the UNESCO for the purpose of propagating the new ideals of universal brotherhood and unity of all humanity. To be able to do this, it has to clear the debris of the past from out of the minds of humanity. It can aim to achieve this terrific task by seeking to re-educate the present-day teachers, by revolutionising or humanising the teaching methods, by transforming the text books, by multiplying literature and libraries which breathe and house the new *Avatar of Saraswati* with her life-giving teachings and by creating suitable social and intellectual atmosphere all over the world, all round the adults and students, in which they can be helped to imbibe the new spirit of Brotherhood of Man, indvisibility of this world and hamanity and the inviolability of the personality of every human being.

The UNESCO has done considerable work in these directions through its valuable researches, in fundamental aspects of education, in the social matrix of peoples suffering from colour and racial prejudices and atmospheres of conflicts due to the confluence of races and colours and in publishing new literature and in organising public libraries. The pity is that the attention given to its work in

the years before 1950 is not being maintained and the last Secretary General has had to resign in protest against the unwillingness of the member Governments to contribute adequate funds to expand its functions and increase its usefulness to the world.

One of the greatest moves made under the influence of the U.N.O. ideals is to get the nations of the world to agree on an 'Universal Charter of Human Rights' to be accepted and respected and implemented by the constitutions and socio-political institutions of all countries and their Governments. Much progress was made in drafting the Charter. allotting the priorities to the various rights and suggesting the ways and means for respecting those rights and enabling citizens to enjoy and enforcing them. But the Soviet nations have so for failed to recognise these draft proposals. It is futile to attempt to apportion the blame as between the democratic and Soviet nations, because they approach this matter from two diametrically opposite conceptions of democracy and human rights. But what is necessary is for the democratic nations to finalise their conception of this Charter and seek to implement it through their constitutions and Governmental, educational and other social institutions.

But who is to see that these Governments accept this Charter? Only their peoples. When can they do this? Only when they can comprehend the need for this Charter, and utilise their political power and social influence with their Governments

and Parliaments. Even this becomes possible only when they are educated about the fundamental needs of humanity for Human Rights, basic enlightenment, uncontaminated by the influences inimical to the U.N. ideals. Hence the need for the Adult Education movement.

The second World War yielded the F.A.O. and W.H O., while the first World War produced the I.L O. and both have made the civilised world realise its responsibilities towards the undeveloped, much exploited non-self-governing peoples of various continents The ideas and ideals which permeate these new endeavours towards social justice on a world-scale are the very breath for the survival of the modern world. How can there be social progress if more than half of the world's humanity is condemned to sub-human standards of food and nutrition? But how can they be all fed well and fully if the peasantry who form 70 per cent of world's population are forced to live and struggle under uneconomic conditions of work and suffer from long periods of unemployment and under employment? Surely it must be possible to end such evil and inhuman practices of burning down the Brazilian coffee, the sinking in sea of American agricultural surpluses, the uprooting of peasant masses in Soviet Russia because of their refusal to accept uneconomic prices and the compulsory draining away of rural wealth into towns, as is being attempted by the one-sided enforcement of war-time price controls.

The F.A.O. seeks to find a solution for these and such other evil forces by encouraging the agricultural producers to aim at maximum production through the adoption of the most efficient methods of production, use of land and human resources and by persuading the consumers all over the world to agree to pay remunerative prices so as to enable peasants to maintain themselves on decent standards of life. It attempts to raise the nutrition levels, salvage humanity from its present sub-human standards of food and nutrition. It seeks to get over the transitional difficulties of over production in the mechanised areas and sub-human conditions of existence in the under-developed and poverty-ridden parts of the world by the mechanism of placing such surpluses at specially lower price-levels at the disposal of the under-privileged sections of the under-developed nations and especially of their children and by making up the losses by levying a special charge on the resources of the whole world, through a suitable mechanism of graduating the burden of such a levy.

Some of us have had the honour of working in co-operation with Boyd Orr and Norris Dodd in working out a draft programme for such a rehabilitation of both the producers and consumers of the food products of the world. But so far the member Governments have not found it possible to give a trial for such a scheme, because they are too much enslaved to the pre-war concepts of conflicts of interests between producers and consumers, tricks of world trade and the momentum of their national

antarky. How can we hope to make rapid enough progress in this essential field of raising the nutritional standards of humanity and building up healthy and well-fed citizens until and unless we banish international competition and conflicts which have so far condemned most people of the world to sub-human nutritional levels and the consequent diseases and vulnerability to all other diseases? Is it not a fact that the W.H.O. can perform its functions and fullfil its excellent aims fully and satisfactorily only if the F.A.O. is made to function successfully?

The I.L.O. has done a tremendous lot of useful and humane work during the last 30 years in protecting industrial labour and ensuring decent, humane and minimum standards of employment, working conditions, wages, allowances, protection from accidents, unemployment, incidence of sickness and industrial diseases, and exploitation by middlemen and employers. The movement for the world charter of Human Rights has gained its present momentum because of this spade work carried on by the I.L.O. By universalising the noble concepts of the Right to live and the Right to work, the Right to read and write, and the Right to organise Trade Unions, the I.L.O. has paved the way to the contemporary progressive world's attitudes towards labour and dignity of manual labour. The tripartite nature of its constitution—that is, to give representation on its General Assembly and Governing Body to the respective Governments and equal representation to both employees and employers, has raised

industrial labour from being the unprivileged and unrecognised industrial element into that of an honourable partner in industry equal to the industrialists themselves. If only the same status had beeen vouchsafed to world's peasantry on the F.A O. the future of the world would have become brighter and more assured.

The I.L.O. has yet to achieve many basic improvements and assure protection to world's labour. Millions of Africans and Asians are even to-day forced to work under sub-human conditions of life, at nominal or no wages and on works which are intended only to tighten their politico-economic chains. Forced labour is one of the greatest engines of organised exploitation practised by the governing class or caste or people in different parts of the world and even in this second half of this twentieth century. In India, some of us took up this matter, under the leadership of the I.L O. and succeeded in getting it abolished to a great extent. Yet it persists in our tribal areas, and over our hills. The I.L.O. has appointed an authoritative Commission on Forced Labour. The Commission has unearthed the prevalence, magnitude and incidence of this terrible crime on the dignity of humanity in many parts and in all continents of the world. The Soviets protested against the Commission's refusal to accept as normal State function the Soviet condemnation of millions of its criminals for political or economic offences to work in concentration camps and labour corps; so did the European powers protest at the castigation of

their treatment meted out to the African tribes on their industrial and urban centres in African colonies. Nevertheless the I.L.O. and the Forced Labour Commission have bravely insisted that this blot on humanity must be removed and the dignity of a human being, as such, must be recognised and respected. By such courageous campaigns, has the I.L.O. striven since 1919 for the progress of toilers.

The ECAFE has been organised to give effect to the post-war conception that the advanced and developed nations of the world have a special duty to transfer a portion of their accumulated wealth, especially of their annual accretions of wealth to the under-developed nations and parts of the world in order to minimise the disparities in and unequal distribution of the world's goods and technical skills and equipment and thus raise the general levels of all sections of humanity. The U.N. Charter, based upon the war-time enunciation by the Allied Powers of the Four Freedoms, has set before the world the ideal of providing minimum standards of life and equipment and education of the people of all nations and in pursuance of that ideal, the ECAFE, the Marshall Aid Plan, the Colombo Plan, the T.C.A. and Point Four Programme of the U.S.A. have come to be launched.

Yet the progress that has so far been achieved is so insignificant, because the practical contribution that the developed nations are willing to make is so inadequate and grudging. Why? Because the peoples of the developed nations have not come to recognise the vital necessity of making their contri-

butions in these directions as a means of insuring themselves from world war, because the peoples of the undeveloped countries have not realised the need to press their claims on the developed portion of the world for adequate assistance. To visualise noble ideals, progressive aims and to establish great institutions are in themselves good achievements but to see that they gain sufficient momentum. politico-social drive and significance and achieve rapid human progress, enlightened public opinion is most essential. To achieve such a basic pre-requisite, the Adult Education movement is needed.

The cause of world peace is specially dear to us in India because our National Father has lived and died for the peaceful solution of all conflicts and peaceful attainment of human happiness. It is also most precious to us because we need peaceful conditions in and around India to achieve the progress and happiness of our people who are one of the poorest and most under-nourished and under-developed sections of the world's masses.

At long last we have launched upon the Five Year Plan and we need have to implement two such Five Year Plans with three to four times the resources, before we can hope to reach the minimum standards of human welfare, attained so long ago by so many of the Western nations.

We have therefore realised the need for world peace as a condition precedent for our progress; hence our determination not to be involved in the international rivalries of this Atomic Age.

We have enshrined in our Constitution the directive principles in the hope that as a people and as a society we will march ahead, through the aid of our Welfare State, towards their fulfilment. We have placed before ourselves the ideals of social justice and human progress to be attained through creating social conditions conducive to make it possible for our masses to achieve and enjoy their fundamental rights. How can we achieve success in these directions unless the educationists also play their role? How can our Adult Education movement play this role unless it realises and preaches what has been so aptly said by the Secretary General of the U.N.O. that "our work for peace must begin within the private world of each one of us"? To build a world of justice, we must be just. And how can we fight for liberty if we are not free in our own minds? Let us also ask ourselves the question, how can our people be free in their minds unless they are enlightened by the Adult Education Movement to the realisation of the significance of our ideals of Welfare State, our directive principles, our standards of Fundamental Rights of human beings and our conception and need for world peace and social justice? It is to pursue such a high ideal with all its poignant urgency that our movement calls for volunteers and enthusiasts from every cadre of educated youths.

Such is the noble and vast perspective for our movement. It is the basic foundation and accompaniment of all progressive movements, and of all dynamic moves that can be made by all parties

and countries. Let there be no misconception that to attempt to spread these great ideals and progressive concepts is to lend any special support to any one political party or class or caste or nation. These are ideals and concepts of the U.N.O. and its Associate World Organisations, established by all the Governments, as being the greatest measure of agreement as between themselves and in the light of the public opinion that took shape under the stress and in the wake of the second world war.

I am convinced that the Adult Education Movement has to shoulder its responsibility to popularise these ideals and concepts and prepare world's humanity to comprehend, embrace and implement these basic faiths of this century and thus ensure the progress, and peace and unity of all peoples and hemispheric nations. It is this great and noble task that we, who are devoted to this movement, whatever may be our other responsibilities and activities, have to fulfil through our endeavours. Let everyone who is working in a rural library in howsoever a remote village, or who is conducting a literacy campaign among the adults of a hill or a valley, or who is publishing a small pamphlet spreading any of these ideals or any of its facts or who is organising a Radio Forum or a debate or symposium or a study circle or a workers' or peasants' or artisans' summer or winter or week-end study classes remember that by his labours, this great world movement of enlightenment and peace and progress of humanity at large is being promoted. It is in this consciousness that I feel

proud of and grateful to every one of our fellow workers in the Adult Education movement in this and all other countries for their indelible and everlasting service to the great cause of human progress.

It is necessary for us in this age of adult franchise, democratic rights and organised efforts in every sphere of life and large-scale circulation of Daily Press, to make institutional propagation of this Adult Education movement. It is the duty of the Governments to promote this movement and they can and ought to give financial and other assistance. This movement can also be promoted through the Radio by instituting adult education radio-forums and publishing scripts for such radio-discussions and popularising the various campaigns for the spread of the social ideals embodied in our Constitution and the U.N. charter.

In a sense, this conception of Adult Education movement is spiritual in its inspiration. That is why the Adult Education Society of England was started a century ago by religious-minded enthusiasts. Dr. Mansfield organised the Workers Educational Association more then forty years ago because he realised the spiritual character of this movement. I was brought into its vortex in 1922 since I realised, while studying at Oxford, that English democracy could not achieve the desired progress because their workers were not properly educated and enlightened about the value of their Parliamentary rights and responsibilities.

It was because of my appreciation of the services rendered by the Andhra Publications under the editorship of Sri G. Harisarvothama Rao, the doyen of the South Indian Adult Education Association, I have undertaken to write and publish a number of popular brochures from 1923 onwards on the social movements and ideals and experiments that were then influencing the Western Nations. The Indian Peasant Institute was started in April 1934 and Ramaneedu Adult Education Institute was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi at Nidubrolu in December 1933. From that time onwards I have been devoting six to ten weeks every year specially for the propagation of this adult education movement by training batches of youths most of whom hailed from peasant, Harijan and other rural homes, spreading the basic principles of welfare economics and social democracy.

It was in 1937 that some of us gathered in Delhi in the first All India Adult Education Conference and founded the Indian Adult Education Society. It is interesting to note that Sri B. Shiva Rao, who has come to play such a great role in the Trusteeship Council, Mr. Richardson, of the British Adult Education Society, Sri Chet Singh, an Oxonian, and Dr. Basu, the present Director of Indian Institute of Education were also my colleagues on its executive. I am grateful to the South Indian Adult Education Association for having expressed its appreciation of my services to this cause in its very first Conference held in 1938 under the presidentship of Sri Roche Victoria.

India—bulwark of world democracy

I am afraid that there has been a good deal of misconception prevalent in some countries with regard to India's foreign policy. It is interesting to note that in a democratic way the spokesman for the United Kingdom and the spokesman for India come not from the Government parties but from the Oppostion parties. This is an object lesson for Russia and her satellite Governments as in those countries Opposition parties are not allowed to function freely. Here in our democracies, it is not only the Government parties, but also the Opposition parties, in many cases, who are all united in this conference and elsewhere, as was evidenced by our friends from the United States of America and the United Kingdom in defending democratic ideals. I therefore welcome this opportunity given to me by my delegates to put before you the facts regarding India's foreign policy.

India stands for non-involvement in the struggle which we all fear may happen. India does not want to get involved in any such struggle because, as others have said, we must consider our ability to fend for ourselves. India has to look after her own and on that basis determine what position she will adopt.

Prof. Ranga's speech in the Commonwealth Parliamentary conference held at Ottawa in Sept. 1952.

But that does not mean that we are not going to stand by world democracy. When our Prime Minister was in the United States two years ago he said that if at any time we found that the democratic peoples and the democracies of the world were threatened so terribly, then certainly India would be ready to take her place because India knows her friends and would stand by democracy. That is the stand India takes.

India is a nation of 360 million people. More than one hundred million of them went to the polls the other day. These people, who have enjoyed the aroma and tasted the fruit of democracy will not give up democracy so easily. I told Mr. Truman when I met him in 1949 that India is the biggest bulwark of world democracy.

We have been able to achieve our freedom in India under the leadership of the National Congress, but of late some of us felt that we should break away from the National Congress and form separate political parties. I represent the Krishkar Lok Party (Farm-Folk Party). However all of us are ready to co-operate with our Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in his foreign policy of non-involvement.

Before India became independent it was not possible for us freely to associate ourselves with many of these international organisations which had been brought into existence after the war, in order to develop international good-will and co-operation and thus build up our democratic strength. I bear testimony to the fact that on

several occasions when this matter was discussed in our Assembly as to whether we should join the United Nations, the World Monetary Fund and the International Bank, many of us found it necessary to oppose membership because we were not then free and we did not like our masters at that time to take up membership in these organisations in our name. After attaining Independence we have accepted membership in many organisations of international scope and we are ready to play our role in a cooperative manner in these International organisations. I do not think any of you can take exception to the role we have played—it has been constructive and progressive.

But when it comes to defence we have to consider our position. A defence force is simply a reflection of the economic strength of a country. What is our economic strength? Our spokesman yesterday stated that millions of our people are very poor and yet 50 per cent of our national revenue is being used for defence purposes. We are building up our defence. We had only one shipyard when the British went away, and there was only one dry dock. We are constructing three additional dry docks and we are going to have another shipyard. We are building up our air force which was quite poor before. One thing they did was to leave us with an excellent army and we are strengthening that. We are building up our territorial forces and home-guard so that if the enemy ever does come we will fight him from our villages, from our mountains and from every corner of our

land. One of my friends visited one of the dictators at one time, and the question that was posed to him was how many warships we had. We have purchased only a few from the British after the end of the war but I do not think they are first-class. We have to go on building up our strength.

During our struggle for freedom we had the sympathies of our friends in Eire and we are grateful to them and to their leader Mr. De Valera. Naturally our sympathies today are with them. We are also anxious that people similarly situated as we were, on the continent of Africa, should become free. Now that we have won our freedom we naturally feel for those people in their struggles for freedom. We want to stand by them and we have been standing by them. We would like to see the differences between Egypt and other countries of the Near East and the United Kingdom are settled in a constructive and co-operative manner to the satisfaction of the democratic countries, but at the same time the bigger nations should not be permitted to bully smaller nations. Naturally at a time like this our sympathies go to the smaller nations. Our foreign policy has been developing along these lines. During the past five years we have been called upon to express our opinions at the United Nations and we have always been consistent in our support of under-privileged peoples in any nation or in any group of countries.

The northern borders of our country are supposed to be defended by the Himalayan mountains, but the fact is that today they are not

impregnable. An aeroplane from the Soviet Union could cross those mountains and be in India in an hour or an hour and a half. Some Communists are operating in territory close to our eastern borders, between Burma and our own country. Whether these people to the north are Soviet Communists or Chinese Reds we do not want to pick a quarrel with them. Take our relations with China, for example. Chiang Kaishek was in power in China, but he lost control of that country and the communists were able to move in and estsblish their domain. I have come to the conclusion that Pandit Nehru was not wrong in the stand he took, in the conclusions he arrived at. In fact, his stand is vindicated by the fact that today India serves the good purpose of being a window into Red China, with which the other democratic governments are not yet ready to deal directly.

Then there is the situation that exists in Malaya and Indo-China, and the Communists operating throughout those countries. We would like to see our Malayan friends gain power in their own country. But they are in a minority. There are large numbers of Indians and Chinese in that country who are not Communists and there must be some way of dealing with that situation. We suggest that the United Nations should be brought in as trustees so that we can be free from the usual complications which arise out of Imperialism. I would like to suggest the same solution for the Indo-China problem.

The question of our relations with Pakistan is much different from the stand taken by our friends

from Eire towards North Ireland. We do not question the right of Pakistan to exist. Pakistan is a state because of our agreement and we accept Pakistan as a separate nation. We respect them, we want them to prosper. We want them to be our good neighbours, friendly neighbours. Just as the United States and Canada in their earlier days had many misuuderstandings and difficulties but have now reached the point where without any written agreement they are able to set up a Joint Defence Board, I hope that the time will come when India and Pakistan will have a similar Joint Defence Board and also that trade will move freely across our borders without any trouble at all.

I also contemplate the time when the growth of our defence force will be regarded by them as additional strength and the growth of their defence force will be regarded by us as additional strength so that it wlll thus become possible for both of us to become stronger elements within this Commonwealth and within the United Nations, so that we may become the bulwarks of the democracies in the East.

We want time in which we can prepare ourselves to defend democracy, and the democratic principles. Therefore such efforts as the N.A.T.O. and the Pacific Pact and the U.N.O's endeavours which tend off the evil day, if not completely eliminate the risk of world war are welcome in that we find time to execute our Nation-building Plans.

India to stand by colonial peoples

I have been more or less in agreement with the general line of foreign policy that has been followed by our country ever since we became free and that foreign policy has been consistent with the foreign policy that was being evolved by the Indian National Congress for the previous 20 to 25 years. It is indeed a matter for congratulation for us as Indians that we have the fortune of having today as our Prime Minister and also as our Foreign Minister a gentleman who was the author, the principal author, of the foreign policy of the Indian National Congress We have been striving, to help and sympathise with all the struggles of all colonial peoples all over the world during the past 30 years and it was in the fitness of things that when we became free we should expect our Government and our Prime Minister to do their best to help this struggle of the colonial peoples in different parts of the world.

When for instance the African people began to rise against their imperialist shackles and imperialist masters from country to country, we wanted the Government to give them every possible assistance. One of the very first things that we did

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Prof. Ranga's speech in the Council of States on 27-8-1954.

was to make it known to the world that the Indian settlers in those various African countries would not be expected to demand any special rights which could not be enjoyed by the nationals of those countries and we wanted those Indian settlers to consider themselves only as the nationals of those countries.

The second coutribution we made was to invite an ever increasing number of their youngmen to our own Universities and give them every possible facility on this side, to help them gain the know-how to the extent that India is capable of giving to them. In this way, we have shown or rather set an example to other free countries of the world as to how they should deal with these struggles of the colonial people in different parts of the world. If America, England and other so-called free countries of the world had only cared to watch this experiment that India was making, to support it and to strengthen it and also, by their example and precept, helped these colonial people to become free, things would certainly have been very much different than from what they are to-day.

In Indo-China when Dr. Ho Chi-Minh and others started the struggle, France came to a provisional agreement with them. Then this great leader went over to Paris, waited there on the convenience of the French leaders and the French Cabinet for months. He was given only the cold-shoulder and the result is what has happened today. Who is to be thanked for this? The French have to thank themselves for this, so have the Americans and the

British who were trying to help and to sympathise with the French rather than with those people who were struggling for freedom. Next, came the struggle in Malaya. We were expected not to be impatient because the British told us quietly, diplomatically, that they were also interested in conferring self-government upon the people of Malaya. Later on, they trotted out difficulty after difficulty and the result is that today Malaya is as far away from self-government as she had been before the War.

Then there is the third example of Kenya. Our hearts go out to all those people of the Kikuyu Tribe and their noble leader Kenyatta who is now in the British jail. How do the British people expect us to react to this kind of a policy of suppression that they have been carrying on? They cannot very well say that they form part and parcel of the democratic parts of the world and also one of the great leaders of the democratic world at the same time asking us to keep mum, be patient, when this kind of repressive policy is being carried on by them.

It was because of all these things and of our awareness of their imperialistic reactions that from the very beginning, ever since we became free—although we were willing to be associated with the Commonwealth—we were not prepared to align ourselves with the Anglo-American Block known as the free world. On the other hand, there was the Soviet Block also. For obvious reasons, because we believe in Parliamentary democracy, because we believe in free speech and other civil liberties

and as our way of living is different from theirs, we did not wish to align with them either. Therefore, we wanted to remain not neutral but independent. Our Prime Minister had rightly resented this word, 'neutrality'. We wanted to evolve a policy of our own. Why do we want to follow this independent policy? It is true that we want to follow this policy in the interests of the world but it is even more true to say that we want to pursue this policy because we want to keep India's interest foremost before ourselves. Is it not necessary that we should have peace whether it is for a long period or for a short period? Is it not necessary that we should have peace in order that we may be able to build ourselves? Every one knows that we are backward. We need a tremendous lot of development; we have got to make great strides in order to become half as well advanced as the Western countries. industrially and economically. But then how can we do it unless we have peace? How can we have peace if, over this huge Himalayan range, over a distance of two thousand miles, we do not take steps to see that we have a peaceful neighbour, a neighbour who would be interested in maintaining peace on his side and in not disturbing our peace, a neighbour who will give his word of honour, to the extent that in international affairs these words of honour may count for anything at all, that he would not disturb our peace in our own country so that we would not have to turn to our back at every moment when we think of the Himalayan borders. It was because of that, so many of us hailed the emergence of that joint statement issued by these

two Prime Ministers. Those five principles are nothing new; they were incorporated in the Indo-Tibetan Treaty; there also they were not mentioned for the first time. When the brother-in-law of our Prime Minister, Mr. Huthee Singh, interviewed Mr. Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung in China four years ago, these very same principles were enunciated by the Chinese statesmen. But that is no reason why we should not accept them if we find ourselves in agreement with them. Co-existence is supposed to be a bug-bear by some of our friends. Was not co-existence a bug-bear during the last war and yet did not U. K. and U.S.A. find it necessary to have co-existence with Soviet Russia then? If it was not a sin then how does it become a sin merely because India finds it necessary to establish this co-existence relationship with her nearest neighbour and the most powerful neighbour in Asia?

It is from this view-point that we have begun to re-think about our own foreign affairs in the recent past.

I wish to congratulate our Government in having played the noble part that they did in the recent Geneva Conference over Indo-China. Somebody said that Indo-China is being split up. Historical facts deny that fact; Indo-China has never been one nation or one country. It has had several rulers and several States. It is a combination of a number of countries, two, three or four. We have not been a party to the creation of a split

where there was no split, a division where there was no division. It was also hinted that we might have contributed also to the division of Korea. Korea came to be divided by the U. N. decision, not by us. We only went in there to help, first through our Red Cross and later on through our own Peace Mission. Therefore, we are not, in any way, contributing to the division of the world or to the division of any of those countries.

Surely we want peace for our country but not at any cost. It was because of that that we have taken the initiative in regard to peace, not America, not England. We offered peace even to our own neighbour Pakistan. And who have been egging Pakistan not to give the proper response when we said that between Pakistan and India there should not be any war at all, that we should settle all our disputes only by peaceful means and not by war? Who else excepting these people who call themselves free nations, who today pride themselves as the champions of the free world? Who has created this gap in the whole of the South East Asian countries? What is it that America thought that she was going to gain for the whole of the world by coming into that military alliance with Pakistan in spite of the repeated and loud protests from our Prime Minister as well as from the whole of our country? Was it a contribution towards world peace? I would call it the other way. It was a contribution for the beginning of the disturbance of world peace if ever there could have been any world peace at all. They

were very glad when we supported them in declaring through the U. N. that North Korea was the aggressor but they did not have the decency to realise who was the aggressor in Kashmir.

Kashmir continues to be the burning spot between these two countries. It is all very well to say that all the Asiatics should be united among themselves when it has not been possible for all the Europeans to be united among themselves. I do not think there is going to be any chance of all the Asiatics being united so long as the Americans and the British people and their statesmen try to prop up one country against another in Asian politics. That is what exactly has happened as a result of this military pact between U.S.A. and Pakistan.

We are offering once again our good offices in regard to this SEATO also, that they should not have SEATO first of all. My Hon. friend Dr. Ramaswami Mudaliar had eloquently stated yesterday how indecent it was for any group of countries to have rushed into this kind of a scheme no sooner that peace treaty was signed in Geneva. And yet they call themselves the greatest possible diplomats and the most experienced diplomats! If diplomacy is of this type, then, it is best that our Prime Minister does not consider himself to be that kind of a diplomat. Two reasons have been given for our non-participation in the SEATO conference. One is the question of impartiality regarding Indo-China dispute and therefore we should not go to SEATO. The other is our

unwillingness to get into mutual defence pact. The third one is this. Not so long ago all those people used to call that peril as 'yellow peril'. They did not want Australia and New Zealand ever to be open to the colonization of these yellow hordes of people who are roaming on the continent of Asia. To-day they no longer call it 'yellow peril'; they call it 'communist peril'; but nevertheless these two great sub-continents or continents are to be kept there as preserves of white peoples for adding to the misery of the world.

Is it wrong on our part to think or to fear that the SEATO might have that ulterior motive too behind it? Would it be possible for peoples of the world to establish and maintain eternal peace as long as these inequalities persist, inequalities between populations, between the pressure of populations in different countries, between different countries and different communities? And as long as these inequalities are not put an end to, it is not possible to have eternal peace. That is no reason why we should not go on fighting for the freedom of the subjugated people even while these inequalities are being removed. I am one with our Prime Minister in his fight for freedom and for peace. However much we want this peace and if a third world war were to come upon us, even if we were to remain unattached, uninvolved, even then, it is going to be a miserable life for us as we can judge from our bitter experience of it even during the last two wars. We have to become self-sufficient in as many industries as possible, in

as many departments of our economic life as possible before the third world war breaks out, if ever it should come. It is quite possible - my Hon. friend the Prime Minister may be ambitious - that himself and his colleagues in the world arena would be able to prevent this world war ever coming at all. He may excuse some of us if we are not so very hopeful but nevertheless, even if that third world war were to come, we should, before it comes, have built ourselves so well in our own country that it would be possible for us not only to remain uninvolved but also not to be too much affected by the fangs and fumes of that third war.

Regarding the question of Goa, I am in favour of the policy that the Prime Minister is pursuing not because in every detail it is necessary for me to agree. Indeed my view is like this. In regard to foreign policy there must be a national policy. There must be a sense of national unity. That does not mean that we should not have different views. I myself claim the privilege of having different views and also airing them, but when it comes to action we should not do anything, according to me, which would embarrass the policy which the Prime Minister would be following. One of the facts given by one Hon. member was that as soon as the British note came, the Indian Government's attitude changed. That may be a fact, I am not going to find fault with him. It is the duty of the Prime Minister to set matters right if there is anything wrong. If we are to live in a co-operative manner

in the world, if we are to do so, consistent with our own national interests we may react in a favourable manner to any note that may be coming from any of our own friendly nations or other nations with whom we are for the time being at least on the best terms. At the same time I would like to express this wish that because we are free and because of that we happen to be a member of the United Nations and therefore so many obligations have been cast upon us, we should not allow the other nations and especially these colonial nations to turn this into such a disqualification, such a disability on our part that we would not be able at the right moment to go to the rescue of our own Goan friends to help them in their freedom struggle. I would like the Prime Minister to agree to this and I am sure that he would be keeping this view in his mind. I am confident that he must be as anxions as every one of us to see that the Goanese people should become free at the earliest possible moment.

National Front in Foreign Policy

One honourable member has made two bold suggestions today in regard to our foreign policy. That India should leave the commonwealth as a warning to the Anglo-Americans against their anti-Indian policies especially in regard to Medo-Pak-U.S. pacts and alliances and that India should negotiate for a defence alliance with Soviet Russia and Red China.

I am inclined to make an experiment with one of those two suggestions and suggest to our Government that it might not be a bad thing if they begin to consider seriously the advisability of giving notice to the Commonwealth of our intention to leave it. I am not prepared to go with him in his other suggestion that we should straightaway begin to negotiate for a defence alliance with Soviet Russia and Red China.

I do not know what will happen in the future. But for the time being, I am extremely anxious that the present policy of the Government of India should come to be accepted by all as a national policy, a policy of non-involvement as between these two competing power blocs. I do not wish the House or the Government to be

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Extracts from Prof. Ranga's speech in the Council of States on 17-2-54 on the President's Address to Parliament.

satisfied with that alone. I have a grievance against the foreign policy of our Government and the leaders thereof that they have not done all that ought to be done to strengthen this policy of non-involvement. I do not mean to say that they have not been doing something—possibly not so very publicly—in that direction but they have not done all that ought to be done to explore the possibility of building up what has been suggested, or rather what has been styled by our P. S. P. friends as the Third Front, and by so many of us here as the Peace Front even much earlier, of building up an area of all the peoples, a combination of all the peoples who would be determined on this policy of non-involvement. It is absolutely necessary that we should consider active measures in this direction, especially in the present context. It would be wrong to assume that if we remain in "non-involvement" our national independence would not be endangered, in the event of war breaking out. What happened with Iran in the last war? It did not take more than two days, I think, for Soviet Russia and Britain to simply walk into these areas and take them over, ostensibly for the purpose of the war and for the war period and when Rizah Shah was not willing to co-operate with them, they sent him away, afterwards for him to die in exile. The same thing would have happened to Turkey if only the two protagonists had agreed upon it. And where is the guarantee that next time, when a war takes place, these two great protagonists may not compete one with the other as rivals and between

them or one of them might not jump over us or might not agree at a particular stage in that war, because of the exigencies of that war itself, to cut us up as Poland was cut up or take us over completely? After all, all these and many other possibilities will have to be taken into consideration by our experts in the Foreign Office as well as by the Prime Minister who is also the Foreign Minister. Keeping these things in view, it would be best, I think, if the Ministry took active steps to explore the possibilities of getting as many peoples as possible, to agree upon a kind of combination, informally or formally, on the policy of non-involvement, a combination of the peoples of the countries who would be able to co-operate with one another and in that way build up another commonwealth, a more peaceful, a more democratic and a real commonwealth, of peoples who put their faith in peace, so that these would all be strong enough to remain in "non-involvement" and none of the great blocs would dare threaten their freedom, Again and again several of us have been telling them in private and in public also, that we ought to try to build up this kind of a front but no ostensibly effective step seems to have been taken so far. I welcomed the move recently made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon and endorsed by our own Prime Minister here, of calling a conference of the Prime Ministers of all the countries as are willing to come into such a front. I want our Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take active steps in this regard. In this connection I want the start to be made somewhere near Morocco and come all the way, via the Suez Canal, Aden

and then come right up to the Philippines. I do not know if the Philippins will be willing to come with us–possibly not–but there is no harm in trying and asking them whether they will be willing to come or not. There are other countries also. We have already, fortunately for us, built up good relations with our neighbour, Burma and we are improving our relations with Ceylon, another neighbour of ours. We have also been fortunate enough to develop good relations with Afghanistan and I think it ought not to be impossible for us to develop such relations with Iran in spite of the fact that Iran seems to have gone too far in the other direction. Egypt is friendly with us. Ethiopia and some of the Arab States may also be willing to co-operate in this. We should organise contacts with Morocco, Tunisia, Algiers and other nations of that area which are trying ro achieve their national freedom. It ought to be possibe for us to contact these peoples and their organisations. Is that such an extraneous consideration? Before we became free, were we not expecting the American people and the American Government to support us in our fight for liberation and to develop friendly relations with us? Did we not expect Chiang Kai Shek and his party to develop friendly relations with us and our Congress organisation?

Similarly, is it, under the present circumstances, such a wrong thing or such a hopelessly undiplomatic thing to recognise some of their non-official organisations which are fighting for their own freedom and in that way develop our own

front? I am very glad indeed that our Government has to its credit one definite achievement, that is their assurance given to the colonial people in different countries that whenever it would be possible for our Prime Minister as well as for the Foreign Ministry to express our sympathy in support of their own struggles for freedom we would be ready to support them and we would have the courage to say so and do whatever we can.

It is an achievement, as I have said, but we have got to build much more on that basis and along those lines and when it becomes necessay to offer more substantial assistance apart from what we can do through our Government, then the National United Front, which I am proposing for implementing a national foreign policy can be utilised by all parties, including the Congress for canalising our national support for these colonial and coloured people.

I agree with the communist spokesman in regard to what he said about the freedom struggles in the foreign pockets. It is not right to simply dismiss the suggestion merely because it comes from a quarter with which we are not generally in agreement. He has told us that there are certain villages, certain small pockets which are imbedden in our own area as apart from the bigger areas that would be there like Pondichery or Goa or any of those places. Would it not be possible for us, not necessarily for the Congress Party or for the P.S.P. or for the K.L.P. but for all these non-governmental organisations to come together

at some stage, on some platform, that is, the National Front on Foreign Policy and devise some kind of a programme and plan and then execute it in such a way that people of those areas could be strengthened effectively? In that way, it may not be impossible for us to help them to achieve their own freedom. Long before we attained our own freedom, I think it was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who went over to Goa and so many of us had supported him. We were all in the Congress then and the Congress did not oppose him. But unfortunately we were then unable to succeed. What is there preventing all of us in our country to make a common cause in regard to this matter and to see to it that these foreign pockets are liquidated long before the American and the British people establish their own bases in those areas?

I do not want the foreign policy of India to be looked at in a partisan manner and that is exactly where I agree with Mr. Mathur who criticised the President of the Indian National Congress who also happens to be the Prime Minister of India, in dealing with the U. S.-Pak alliance as a party issue and organising a protest day on behalf of the Congress Party only instead of seeking the co-operation of all other parties and organising that protest day on behalf of the whole nation. At the same time, let me congratulate Pt. Nehru because although he happens to be the Prime Minister also, he found it necessary to allow that campaign that the Congress Party was taking up. I am not prepared to condemn his half-measures

but I would have wished, that he did not pursue that one-party policy but, on the other hand, pursued the other line of National Front.

In regard to this U.S.-Pakistan pact, it is not such a surprising thing. America had been thinking of some such arrangement for a very long time. They wanted bases either in India or in Pakistan or in Indonesia, or Ceylon or in any of these places. They wanted cannon-fodder, they wanted man-power, the one thing which they lack and which is in surplus in all these places. When they could not find India in a suitable mood or very pliable, necessarily they felt, they had to go to Pakistan. I am not prepared to quarrel with America as she knows her own interests best. Dr. Raghu Vira had traced very nicely the manner in which we have offended them and upset them and annoyed them. We were pursuing that particular line in our national interest but was it not the duty of our Foreign Ministry to have taken sufficient care also to build up our own strength? That is exactly where we made a mistake. Moreover, Mr. Deshmukh was saying that there was no need to be panicky. It has become fashionable to say, "No, no, we are not panicky". It is all very well to say thousands of Stalins, thousands of Russians and their Hydrogen bombs are not going to destroy us. Let us not be merely heroic; let us be realistic.

I think, it is right that we call a national conference of all leaders, and then consider measures. Let us discuss Kashmir frankly between ourselves without trying to draw any sort of

partisan advantage or disadvantage one against the other. Let us also examime in that conference whether the policy we have been pursuing in regard to Kashmir is all to the good of India. We do not know what is happening in Kashmir. Did the Prime Minister know? Did the Government know fully what was happening until Sheikh Abdullah began to create trouble? Did Sheikh Abdullah take the idea into his head all of a sudden? Why has it become necessary for them to put this bosom-friend of our Prime minister in jail for all these months? How much money are we spending and how much more? All that accounting has to be made in this matter. Therefore, I want this question to be placed before the conference along with the question of our relations with America, with the English, with the Commonwealth and with other countries, and the question about the supplies of armaments that we require.

I very much deplore, the decision to give up the former Parliamentary Advisory Committee that they used to have for foreign affairs. I wish they had reinstated them again. At least now they should take time by the forelock and consult others, concert measures on a national scale and think in terms not of one party unity but in terms of multi-party unity and coalition not necessarily in Government but coalition on a national plane in order to achieve a national foreign policy to be implemented by us in the interests of peace and in the interests of India and in the interests of developing the non-involvement area in the world.

Indians Abroad

Independent India has decided not to have a separate Ministry for Commonwealth relations. This decision was due to a fundamental change in our attitude towards Indians in the Commonwealth and the British colonies. In the pre-independence era, Indians abroad were led to look to the British Government to look after their interests, vis-avis the local governments and their peoples; hence the Commonwealth Relations Ministry in India to be in constant touch with its counterpart in Great Britain. Whenever anything went against Indians in Ceylon, Malaya, South Africa, Kenya, Gold Coast, West Indies etc, we expected the British Government to provide the necessary protection to them.

In all the British-controlled countries, barring the exception of South Africa, the local peoples did not come to enjoy self-government. Indians as well as Europeans used to be the favoured minorities and there was constant complaint from Indian nationals that the Europeans were allowed far greater privileges and safeguards and much greater representation in the local Assemblies, Executive Councils and administration. All the while, resentment against these special rights and privileges which were then being enjoyed by these minorities

was brewing in the hearts of the local inhabitants. Somehow, most of our statesmen in India and the leaders of Indians abroad did not realise fully the utter untenability of our claims for special privileges in those colonies, as distinguished from the disabilities of the local masses.

Most of our Indians abroad formed the bulk of the middle-classes of the countries to which they had gone. They found their living by working in the local administration, carrying on import and export business, maintaining shops and otherwise providing commercial and industrial services as are needed by the local people as well as Europeans. Generally it was the Europeans who monopolised the big business and Indians had to provide the auxiliary services needed by the former. Thus, though they were complementing each other in providing the twentieth-century equipment needed by world-trade, it was the Indians who could come into direct contact with the local people at so many points of their life and through whom, therefore, the European businessmen could extract the wealth and surplus value produced by the local masses. No wonder, Indians appeared to them to be their primary exploiters and gradually the local nationalists began to centre on Indians most of their hatred of the foreign exploiters. Moreover, our Indian nationals found it bad business to show any active interest and support to the nationalist movements of the local nationals because much of their business depended upon the goodwill of the ruling Europeans. This unwillingness of theirs to

make common cause with the local peoples has also fanned the discontent of the nationalists against Indian nationals. This was the heritage Independent India received from the British Imperialism as it withdrew from the Indian soil.

The Union Government and Parliament did not take much time to enunciate their policy towards this problem. We have made it clear that we would no longer think in terms of propping up the special privileges that our Indians abroad might have come to enjoy or might be demanding, that our contrymen abroad must make up their minds as to whether they would like to remain as Indian nationals or as the citizen of their adopted countries and that we would hold ourselves responsible for the protection of the interests of only the former and that neither the Indian nationals nor the Indians who wish to accept the citizenship of their adopted countries could expect India to help them to gain any rights or privileges which are not enjoyed by the local people under the local laws and administration. This clear-cut enunciation of India's policy has won the approbation of the Pan-African Congress (London) the Peoples Congress (Paris) and all anti-Imperialists all over the world. It has, by one stroke of pen, weakened the world pest of imperialism and its edifice of special privileges by which it has sought, for more than a century to create sectors of foreign exploiters in all colonies to buttress the imperialist exploitation. This new policy became possible because of the association of so many of

us, who were fortunate enough to formulate it during the first five years after independence, with the Anti-Imperialist League and the League of Coloured peoples of the inter-war period and the Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front and the Pan-African Congress of the post-war years and the continued interest displayed by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru in its development.

At the same time,our Indians abroad found themselves unprepared for this revolutionary change in India's policy. For instance, the Indians in Ceylon discovered that they were placed at considerable disadvantage in pursuing their previous policies and programmes. Ceylon which also became an independent country within the Commonwealth began to reconsider her attitude towards the considerable Indian element in her population, not from the impartial socio-economic viewpoint of Indians' contribution to her national economy but from the standpoint of her internal party policies as to which party was likely to be favoured by most of the Indian immigrant labour etc.

The new legislation undertaken by Ceylonese Government regarding the citizenship rights of Indians did considerable damage to a large section of Indian inmigrants who wanted to settle down in Ceylon and gain citizenship because it prescribed impossible terms and the administration was so much prejudiced against any large section of Indians succeding to gain the local citizenship. The leadership of Ceylonese Indians too found it hard to reorientate their demands in harmony

with the changed policies of both Ceylon and India, the former keen on encouraging or forcing more and more Indians to leave Ceylon and the latter, determined not to interfere with the soverignty of Ceylon's Independent Government. The protracted negotiations between the two governments have not helped to ease the tension between the Ceylonese Government and local Indians.

Similarly the Indians in Kenya, Uganda, Nyazaland and Gold Coast have been opposed to the formation of central African and East African Federations, while the European settlers have been demanding them. This conflict is the result of their differing approaches. The European settlers want the federation in order to strengthen their demand for the same kind of self-government, with themselves placed in the saddle, as obtains in South Africa, so that they can then prevent the British Commonwealth Relations Ministry from performing its duties of trusteeship towards the local African peoples who form the great majority of the total populations, on the plea that theirs is an independent and self-governing area. The Indian settlers see in it the same dangerous and disastrous future for them and the local masses as have come to be experienced in South Africa. But the present Conservative Government of Great Britain seems to favour the European settlers' machinations. With all this, the Government of India can only express in the strongest terms its opposition to this reactionary plan of federation but it cannot go further than this

because, the governance of these African colonies is supposed to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain. For the same reason, we are unable even to raise this question in the U.N.O.

India is obliged to suffer bitterly from frustration on the Kenya front too. There our Indian settlers have been losing their ground very fast both with the European settlers because they are suspected of sympathies for the Kenya peoples and also, with the Kenya peoples because they are unable to openly associate themselves with their freedom-struggles. The British Imperialists are doing their worst through Governmental repression and the local European settlers' campaign of vendetta, against the brave Kikuyu tribe who have chosen to stake their all in their bid for national freedom. The Government of India is obliged to be content with administering public warning and voicing protests from the President to the Prime Minister against such campaigns of repression and such constitutional machinations to deny the local people their right for national freedom.

In Gold Coast and West Indies, our Indian nationals have been fortunate enough to join hands with the champions of the local people and therefore, their co-operation in the local industrial and trade activities is not being resented. In the West-Indies, some of our Indians have won the love of the local people through their services to the local causes and have therefore achieved a place in the affections of the masses. In Malaya, the

place of Indians has beome very difficult. Because of their Indian traditions of fighting for freedom in India, they have been ready to join hands with the local movements for the achievement of self-government for Malaya. But because of the confusion created by the Commnist insurgents and their violent struggle, under the predominant leadership of the local Chinese, they have found it impossible to go the whole-hog with the national struggle. The result is that the great majority of Indians in Malaya do not know what exactly they are to do in that bloody struggle that has been going on between the British masters and the Communist-led armed revolt. The Indian Government has naturally been obliged to mark time in the hope of some settlement being reached there and some form of self-government being inaugurated.

South African policy of racial segregation has come to be a challenge not only to India but also to the whole of the world. That aparthied policy and programme have shocked the conscince of the world and it can be defeated only when the African peoples develop and display sufficient moral strength and material stamina to defeat the mistaken and arrogant Whites or when a third world-wide halocaust destroys the apostles of such doctrines of racial or caste or creed supremacy all over the world. The only silver lining in this wretched situation is the decision of the South African Indians to accept the advice of the Government of India and Indian statesmen to

make common cause with the African peoples and put up a united front against the offensive of the Whites, who are now in power in that unfortunate country. Let us hope that our Indian nationals in all other African and Pacific countries will learn to make common cause with the local nationals and achieve comradeship with them.

What is to be the future relationship between our Indians who choose to become the citizens of other countries and India herself? It can only be cultural. Such a cultural communion between India and such people can contribute much to the development of world comradeship. They can play their role as the messengers of India's great thoughts and noble souls like Buddha, Ashoka, Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi. We have realised this mission of India. So, with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, we have initiated the policy of inviting every year a good number of students and intellectuals, belonging to communities of Indians abroad and other coloured peoples to study in Indian Universities. Nehru's Government has drawn up a programme for issuing fellowships and scholarships for these youths to go to Indian centres and develop comradely relations with Indian youths and savants. In conclusion India's post-independnce policy towards Indians abroad and their relations with the local nationals is highly progressive and in harmony with the U. N. ideals. India deserves congratulations from all the non-self-governing peoples and anti-imperialists.

India and Pakistan

It was most unfortunate that the division of India and the attainment of national freedom and the consequent birth of the two states, India and Pakistan had to take place simultaneously and in such a great hurry. It was even more tragic that all that had to happen, even while the fate of the Princely India was hanging in the balance. To make matters worse, the Punjab peoples rushed at each other's throats as their beloved province was being forcibly torn asunder and left no opportunity for the statesmen of either India or Pakistan to think out carefully as to how they were to settle their outstanding political problems.

It was at such an awful juncture that Pakistan thought of allowing the tribal hordes to flow into Kashmir equipped with Pakistan arms and guided by Pakistan military leaders and rape that beautiful state. The Pakistan rulers now complain that what they did was no more heinous an act than what India did towards Junagadh. But at the time of that Junagadh incident, they could not raise any valid objection to the revolt of the people of that state against the arbitrary activities of its Nawab.

The Pakistan spokesmen and their American and British friends now argue that it was not justi-

fiable for Indian Government to have accepted accession from Kashmir at the hands of the irresponsible Maharajah and to have rushed into Kashmir to grab it for India. But they ignore such important and salutary facts as that the Maharajah sought accession with India only after his state was invaded by the Pakistani tribals with the active support of the Pakistan Government and India accepted that accession subject to the condition that the future status of the state should be decided only by her people in a plebiscite and also that the Indian Government had the assurance that Kashmir's National Conference and its leaders who enjoyed the confidence of the Kashmir masses were also keen on such accession.

Anyhow Kashmir has come to be the biggest, if not the sole, bone of contention between these two new States and both the countries have bled hard in their struggle in Kashmir. This Indo-Pakistan quarrel over Kashmir reminds one of the fate of Franco-German nations since 1870 because of their quarrel over the Rhine Valley.

The most terrible blow to India's faith in the U. N. was struck when Prime Minister Nehru decided to appeal to it with the plea that Pakistan should be made not to aid the Tribal invasion of Kashmir. He got the approval of Mahatma Gandhi but the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was most unhappy about that unnecessary appeal to the U.N. Security Council which was itself the centre of world's political intrigues. Instead of exhorting

Pakistan to desist from its assistance to the invasion of Kashmir by its own nationals, as guided and led by its militarists, the U.N. turned the tables on India and began to treat alike both the aggressor and the defendant. This has shocked the conscience of India and broke her faith in the U.N.O.

Why did the U.N fail in such a miserable manner? Not only because of the bye-play of the political intrigues that have come to be the very breath of U.N activity; not only because of the unwillingness of the rival powers, namely the U.S.S.R and U.S.A and U K to deal with India in a fair-minded manner. It was also because, they swallowed Jinnah's propaganda for the theocratic basis, on which the pre-independence India was supposed to have been split up into India and Pakistan and therefore they argued in such a naive manner that when more than 75% of Kashmir's population was Muslim in religion, it would be only natural to expect these people to favour accession with Pakistan and it would be wrong for India to claim Kashmir merely because the Hindu Maharajah wanted such an accession. It is this facile attitude which has stood so much in the way of the western nations considering this matter on its own merits and finding a satisfactory solution.

The U.N. Commissioner came to Kashmir, studied all the progress of that terrible invasion and came to the conclusion that Pakistan was the aggressor, all that Pakistan's astute Foreign Minister said to the contrary at the U.N. sessions was an untruth and that India was perfectly within her

rights in going to the rescue of Kashmir. But what is the good? Prejudices, though formed recently, die hard. Prime Minister Nehru's unwillingness to align India to either side in the growing world-wide rivalry between U.S.S.R and U.S.A has unfortunately deepened those prejudices. The U.N.O has gone on insisting upon preparing the ground for taking the plebiscite, as if India had ever burked it and forgetting that India was the first to offer to take it, all on her own initiative. The Commonwealth nations went to the extent of suggesting that the plebiscite should be held under their auspices. All this has only worsened India's wounded feelings.

One can understand the American standpoint, though we cannot agree with it; that after all India and Pakistan are both democratic nations, unwilling to go the way of the totalitarian states and remaining in the Commonwealth and India is such a big country that she cannot be losing much to the puny Pakistan by letting the Kashmir portion of the State go to Pakistan. This is how a few American statesmen, several American editors and columnists and some high-placed officials of the State Department tried to argue with us.

But is the Kashmir problem so simple as all this? How are we sure that the Moslem and other peoples of Kashmir, even if we keep out Jammu, will favour accession with Pakistan, forgetting their comradeship with other Indians in the struggle against British Imperialists and the Maharajahs? Is it safe for world democracy to have in the hands of weak Pakistan the strategic Himalayan ranges,

the valleys and mountains, at such close proximity to the Communist State? How can India be expected to bend before the dictates of Pakistan's, violence, even while the U.N refused to accept North Korean dictation? The Anglo-American critics of India's attitude towards Kashmir fail to appreciate that India feels herself fortified in her abhorrence of Pakistani aggression on Kashmir by America's moral indignation against North Korean aggression.

Anyhow India is bleeding white in order to maintain her military establishments in and around Kashmir-Jammu State and to help that State to stand on its own feet. The recent unseemly debacle over Shaik Abdullah's pro-American and pro-Pakistan attitudes and his consequent incarceration and the installation in power of his own right-hand man Bakshi Ghullam Mohammad has made us all wonder whether this Kashmir tangle is going to end, as long as the present world tension continues and the Anglo-American statesmen are interested in baiting India and making it so difficult for India and Pakistan or the people of Kashmir to decide this matter in any amicable manner. Some of us have begun to fear that both the rival blocs may be interested in keeping the fires of hatred burning as between these sister states, in order to weaken both of them and also to further their power-politics in East Asia.

The recent scarcely disguised negotiations between Pakistan and U.S.A and their upshot, the decision of the American Government to supply large

quantities of latest armaments to Pakistan lend colour to our fears. In the light of these developments, it is difficult for us not to fear that the recent political upsets in Pakistan, the sudden rise to the highest place of political power of Mr. Mohammad Ali, his ebullient but short-lived affection for Prime Minister Nehru and his latest confidence expressed in the wake of Pak-American deal over the supplies of armaments that Kashmir issue is much nearer solution have been American-inspired, in order to force the hands of India.

One thing is daily becoming clear; that this is the wrong way for America to go, if she is sincerely anxious to help these two neighbouring countries to solve this Kashmir question in an amicable manner and to become good neighbours. Another thing is that the world's cause of democracy of which America wishes to be a sincere champion is bound to grow weaker and may even come to be endangered by thus upsetting the political and strategic balance between India and Pakistan, by making India waste so much of her resources, which are so badly needed for social reconstruction, upon the inevitable arms-rivalry with Pakistan and by diverting the attention of both countries from their social problems to their mutual rivalries.

Whatever might have been Indian statesmen's ideas regarding the Anglo-American–inspired plans for partitioning the Kashmir-Jammu State or Stalin's thirty-year-old ideas regarding the splitting up of India into a large number of independent states, now that Anglo-American statesmen

have blundered into this disastrous policy of propping up Pakistan against India and building her up as their biggest bastion east of Gibraltar and Suez, Indian nationalism is bound to become self-conscious, and India is sure to grow military-minded. As I have conveyed my warning to America through her Ambassador on December 13, 1953 presiding over the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Association after Mr. Allen, the Ambassador, addressed it, this unfortunate orientation of American policy is likely to strengthen the Indian parties and groups who are keen on India aligning herself with the U.S.S.R and Red China and it is sure to weaken India's policy of non-involvement.

Anyhow, how are the people of Kashmir likely to vote when the plebiscite takes place? We do not know. Pakistan has the Muslim League to champion her case. India has no such party. The National Conference has its own politics and is not bound to stand by India. After Shaik Saheb's volta-face, it is impossible to forecast how the National Conference will act. Therefore, it is a gamble for India. She has no other choice but to stand by and conduct the plebiscite impartially and accept the consequences. It is wrong on the part of Anglo-American statesmen to think that India does not want to hasten the plebiscite. In fact the sooner it comes and the issue is settled, the better it is for the people of India. My fear is that the latest turn of events is likely to queer the pitch and land India in continued drain of her resources for attending to this running sore.

If we keep in mind the successful way in which India and Pakistan have settled the dispute that arose in 1950–51 over East Bengal, we can realise the unwisdom of the present American policy. The Pakistan Government, headed by the late Liaquat Ali Khan, was on war-path against India, when the latter protested against the unjust and fascistic repressive policy pursued by the East Bengal Government towards the Hindu minority. The Indian Government threatened to take drastic measures including, if need be forcible intervention, to prevent that wretched persecution of the afflicted Hindus of East Bengal. It looked as if war was inevitable. The forces of both countries were about to be mobilised on their frontiers. Dramatically Prime Minister Nehru took time by its forelock, invited Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan for a conference and the latter accepted it with alacrity, knowing full well the logic of the balance of forces. At that fateful conference, both the Prime Ministers reached the famous Liaquat-Nehru agreement which finally resolved that tension and ensured peace between these two countries for these four years.

But because Mr. Mohammad Ali, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan has assured himself, possibly even before he left America, to take charge of this position of America's ultimate support, including military assistance, he has been blowing hot and cold, suggesting the partition of Kashmir or taking the plebiscite by zones and evincing much

ill-humoured interest in the internal affairs of both Kashmir and the rest of India.

To say that Pakistan is consistently democratic and an enthusiastic partner in the democratic bloc is to forget the threat held out by the late Liaquat Ali Khan that he would negotiate a treaty of mutual friendship with Soviet Russia, if the Anglo-American powers did not show special favour to Pakistan. Let the Anglo-American statesmen realise the dangers of encouraging such opportunism and upsetting the balance of forces in this part of the world.

Democracy Shall Never Die

Indeed it is a privilege for any human being to find himself at once in the company of such a large number of true and brave champions of the great cause, the cause of democracy. That is why I rejoice today to have this opportunity of speaking a few friendly words to you because we are all conscious of the fact that every one of you is a champion of democracy, not only by your faith but also, and what is more important, by the sacrifices you have made, the risks you have run, and the triumph you have so far achieved. As the Chairman of the Free Europe Committee has already warned you, the peoples of your countries, the Eastern Central European countries, are looking to you to give them a lead as to how democracy, when it is returned to those countries, is going to deal with them, how it is going to make itself felt for them and through them. We all know how the leaders of the Communist parties are going around in your countries saying, as they do in our country, that those of us who claim to stand for democracy are not real democrats but are, on the contrary, champions of social reaction, the upholders of colonialism and

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Address of Prof. Ranga at the dinner closing the Fourth Congress of the International Peasant Union held in New York on October 3, 1954.

imperialism and capitalist exploitation, people who are merely for dark reaction and for the return of by-gone days. It is this propaganda that we have to counteract.

Some time ago, in 1944 or 1945, and even when the last war was going on, some of our friends met in London to prepare, with the help of a number of experts in agricultural economics and agricultural co-operation, a programme for the reorganization of rural economy in Central and Eastern European countries. In a similar fashion it is most necessary to prepare our own programme for the social and economic reconstruction of the Eastern Central European countries and then present that charter to our own peoples. Today, through your Congress, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and various other channels that are open to you to reach your own people, you can tell them that this Communist propaganda is not at all the truth and has no basis whatsoever. And, on the other hand, tell them that the people who are in exile, like you who are in the International Peasant Union, are themselves progressives, revolutionaries and real, true and full-fledged democrats who believe in social regeneration and the establishment of social justice, not only in your own countries but also all over the world. If you confront them like this, if you will challenge the Communist onslaught and propaganda then I am sure it will be possible not only for your own peoples, but also for the peoples in the rest of the world who are facing the Communist challenge, to know and realize that they have real and true and

progressive champions for their future progress in the International Peasant Union.

It is true, as was stated by one of our friends from the United States of America, that freedom is indivisible. I want that to be underlined especially, because it is not only friends like yourselves who have lost freedom. There are many other people of many different colours who cannot claim any kind of racial kinship with the United States or with the Western nations, who are yearning for freedom, who are struggling for freedom and who are finding it very difficult indeed to breathe the air of freedom. There are those peoples in Africa, and there are those many peoples in Asia who today are engaged in their own terrible, trying struggle to achieve their national freedom—human freedom. What are we going to do about those people? I am glad that in one of the messages that is going to be put forward for the peoples of Africa and Asia, the International Peasant Union is on guard and that it is opposed to every kind of imperialism and colonialism. I wish to congratulate you on this. This is exactly the stand that we in India have been taking for the last thirty years. As long ago as 1944, Mahatma Gandhi sent a message through me—and it is incorporated in the book that has come to be a sort of a classic for the fighters for freedom in Africa, "Colonial and Coloured peoples" that Mahatma Gandhi and all of us who are fighting against British imperialism are going to place ourselves behind the peoples of Africa and the other peoples of Asia in their struggle for freedom.

There is the struggle going on today in Kenya, there is another in South Africa, the third in Rhodesia, the fourth in Nyasaland, the fifth in Uganda. We are trying our best to give them every possible moral and material support, but unfortunately, as you know, India and the Indians and their domain too, are extremely poor. All these people have been looking towards America.

But there is a Number One thing. The enemies of democracy behind the Iron Curtain are going about searching for weak spots in the domain of America. And these very weak spots they are exploiting, because they can say, "Here is the America that is behind these peoples and here is the America that is not championing the cause of these peoples." Therefore it is the duty of America as much as it is our own duty to see to it that merely because of temporary diplomatic necessities she does not stand by European and other imperialist systems in their exploitation of their colonial peoples in various places. I am sure that if only America had stood behind the Indonesian peoples in their struggle against the Dutch, and behind the Indo-Chinese in their struggle against the French, and behind the African peoples in their struggle against the British, years ago—not now, now it is almost too late—surely America would have endeared herself to all those peoples and we would have on our side 60 million of those people in the Indonesian Islands. We would have on our side all the people of Indo-China who today are gone, or almost gone. We are hoping, at least,

that we can regain some of them for the cause of freedom. India achieved freedom long before the Communists were able to achieve any control of India. Otherwise the 350 million Indians would have also passed into the Iron Curtain. Is it not a great loss to us—not only for the people of Central Eastern European countries but also for the whole world's cause of democracy—that 400 million Chinese have gone over to the Communist side and not to our side?

I do not know when these victims of communism are going to liberate themselves but there should be an organization to help these people of Asia to liberate themselves from the Communist hold. It is time that Americans as well as ourselves come to realize, come to prize, the life of every individual inside the Iron Curtain, even much more than we prize our own lives, because every life, every human being inside the Iron Curtain is a challenge to our statesmanship, is a challenge to our own faith. Therefore, I want to send a warning from this platform–a warning that I have been sounding for the last five or six years almost in vain—to the President of the United States down to the officers in the State Department that, for God's sake, do not think in terms of compartments: "First we will save the Europeans; next we will save the Asians; third, we will save the Africans." No, you have to take up this challenge as one, an indivisble one, a world–wide challenge and face this situation in a world-wide manner. The situation today demands, just as the Communists are displaying it, a world–conception of things.

You take any Communist in Paraguay or Uraguay or Mexico or Brazil on this side, or on our own side in India—even on our own hills, our Himalayan hills, in our valleys—take any Communist anywhere; scratch him, you find the same stuff in him. It must become possible that if you scratch any democrat anywhere in the democratic world, it should not be that he is an American or an Indian. He is an American as well as a world citizen of democracy. He is an Indian as well as a world citizen of democracy. It is in this fashion that we have got to save ourselves, make ourselves champions of democracy. In every being, from top to toe, we must be resounding and exuding the spirit of democracy. Then only will it be possible for world democracy to be saved; otherwise, it is going to be difficult.

At the same time, one friend was telling me, a little disappointedly, that two years ago the Congress was very much more enthusiastic, but now, at this time it is not so, and I asked him why. He said things seem to be a little darker. We expected the triumph to come to us rather soon. Now it looks as if it is going to be a long, drawn-out struggle. I sympathized with that point of view. But at the same time I wish to remind you that this is still not all. One lady friend, one of our comrades, was telling me her story this afternoon. She left her little baby, five months old, behind in Poland, came away, herself and her husband. They went to England, then to Canada and then here. They are now beginning to think of a life as a husband

and wife. All these years they have been worse than fugitives. Why did they leave the baby there, why did they come over here? There are two of them that have come, and they have the capacity to create any number of citizens. That little boy will be looked after by others. Nevertheless, they are the mother and the father, and it is very hard. But they have the faith that the baby is living; there will be many more babies, and everyone of these new babies will be producing some other babies—and everyone of them is going to be a champion of freedom, of democracy, of progress, of civil liberties and human rights. And it is in this spirit I greet you, and I hope that not one of you would ever be able to say, would ever say "die". No, we are die-hards. We are not going to die; we are not going to die for the benefit of totalitarians. We are going to live. There may be birth-control for all other peoples, but I do not want birth-control for the champions of freedom. I want to help the growth and progress of democracy and freedom and what is more, the liberation of our people behind the Iron Curtain.

Therefore it is in this spirit—mighty aggressive spirit, revolutionary progressive spirit, a spirit which is undying, a spirit which knows no death that we should go ahead. The Americans remember their own revolution. Every one of you has also fought in a revolution. It is not a new thing. In the days of Kossuth and in the days of other people who rose to the fame of our own Stamboliiski, our people have been fighting. First

against the Turks, then against the local lords and princes, and latest, against the Communists. All along there has been a continuous revolutionary struggle; such has been your history, such has been our history too.

For thirty years I have been devoted to the cause of freedom. And we have gone to jails–men and women. Let me tell you, there are families of us, including my own, where father, mother, wife and children, sisters and brothers have gone to jail. And it was in those jails, in the darkest days of Hitlerism and Mussolinism or Fascism, that we dreamt of the freedom of all the colonial peoples. We dreamt of the freedom and upraising of our own peasants and it is in that spirit—not in the spirit of defeatism, not in the spirit of defense, but in the spirit of offense—that we have been thinking of our peasants as the biggest champions, as the biggest bastions of freedom and democracy. And it is in this manner that I am extremely glad to associate myself today—and along with me to associate all those freedom-loving masses of India and other countries of the East—with you in your glorious struggle, in your noble struggle, and help the sacrificing, if yet vagrant, struggle for freedom, democracy, human rights and peasant democracy.

One World Ideal

It is in the fitness of things that Japan, the land of the Rising Sun should have given rise to this Congress. The sun however goes on rising every morning and similarly this noble ideal of one world and world-government has been inspiring many a soul ever since human civilisation began to dream of ideal social organisation. Lord Buddha taught us all, so many centuries before Christ, the beauty and nobility of love of all living beings and the gospel of non-violence. The Indians and Buddhists all over the world have ever since believed and repeated and tried to practice the invocation of *Sarve Jana Sukhinobhavantu* that is may all the world be happy. Later on, Dante the poet-philosopher of the West wrote about his dream of the world-unity and State. For centuries the Christian world came to be organised as a world authority in spiritual and temporal matters in the Western Continent. Unfortunately reaction to that theocratic world domination took the evil shape of western conception and practice of nationalism with all its chauvinism and extreme degree of sovereignity. That new phenomenon has yielded the

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Prof. Ranga's speech made in reply to the Tokyo Citizens' welcome to the delegates to the Asian Congress for World Government held on November 1, 1954 in Tokyo.

modern menace of exclusive national state and its military challenge to the peace of peoples. Poet Rabindranath Tagore went round the world campaigning against this conception of modern national state and warned the leaders of Japan against imitating the West and building up their state into a military combine.

But the power-mad politicians, lovers of war and short-sighted statesmen did not hear his advice. Mahatma Gandhi repeated the gospel of Buddha and exhorted the nations of the world to lay more stress on love than on hatred and war; and on duties than on rights. But industrially-intoxicated world did not pause in its mad race in armaments but plunged the world in two world-wars with all the unprecedented horrors which most of us witnessed during this century.

Therefore we have met here again, to-day, in this Congress to ask the world and its leaders "Has not the time come to put an end to this suicidal cult of chauvinism and national state and create a World State and government and assure the peoples of all nations, climes and races peace, prosperity and happiness under the regime of social justice?"

Some are inclined to be pessimistic about the prospects for the projected World State and government. But I say, there is no need for such pessimism. After all every new development, especially in human relations and institutions, takes a long time to fructify. Many dreamers and bold thinkers

and dynamic leaders have had to struggle hard against great odds, not the least of which is the hot stream of ridicule from the ignorant and the short-sighted politicians and writers before their dreams and plans took practical shape and came to be adopted by society. Let us not forget that it took a long time for the theocratic state to be replaced by the secular state and the process of change in this limited field has not yet come to an end. Yet the change has taken place, though in the process, many a noble soul had to sacrifice his all and much time had to be lost. Similarly the modern state with its touch-me-not, exclusive sovereignty has to make way before the advent of World State and government. It is all a matter of time. The World State and government are the greatest and most insistent need of the hour; all humanity is clamouring for it. It is now for the statesmen of the various nations and people of the world to decide how soon. Peacefully and tactfully they would make it possible for this great human development to take place. We have assembled here to pave the way for these statesmen to girdle their loins, and discharge their duty to the suffering humanity.

We are confident of success, because we must succeed and the whole civilised world must succeed in this endeavour to survive the horrors of another world war. We must strive hard in this campaign and persuade more and more youths and students, men and women to make this a crusade and thus prevent the repitition of the indiscribable suffer-

ings and woes about which so many of our mothers and sisters of Hiroshima had told us, this afternoon. Let us remember that every such noble movement, which had arisen in answer to the genuine and progressive need of humanity and which has been placed on the almost self-acting, moving high-way of history has succeeded in history and ours too will succeed, sooner, rather than later because the civilised world has a right to live, humanity has a right to progress towards happiness and merciful culture. It is in this confidence and hope so many of us who are disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, Christ and Buddha are living and working. I invite you all to join our ranks and let us all walk hand-in-hand in this holy crusade of peace, social justice and happiness for all.

I wish to congratulate the Japanese Committe on World Federal Government on the preparation of a fairly detailed and statesmanlike blue-print prepared by Mr. Inagaki, for the proposed World Government. We agree with you in your conception that in such a World Government every individual should be directly responsible not only to his national state but also to the World State, so that there would be no scope for a Hitler of Mussolini, a Tojo or a Stalin to scheme and intrigue and work for the destruction of democracy and the establishment of totalitarianism. It is worng to think that we can have a World State and social justice on any basis other than democracy, which alone seeks to assure full civil liberties and social securities and freedom of the individual. Therefore we want

to base our World Government on the solid rock of full-fledged democracy.

We want such a World State to save us from any social struggle between one country and another or exploitation of one country by another; of one class by another. In such a World State, it will not be possible for U.S.A. Government to prevent Asians or Africans from insisting that full cirtizenship rights should be accorded to the local coloured peoples. In it, it will be impossible for South Africa to continue her inhuman and insufferable treatment of the coloured people. Under the aegis of the World State, a ceiling has to be placed on the total land area that the peoples of such countries as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Brazil and Argentina can hold, just as we are placing a ceiling on the holdings of peasants in our respective countries. Relations between countries in trade and commerce will have to be based on cannons of social justice and protection of underdeveloped peoples.

It is such a World State that we are hoping and planning for. Surely this is a noble enough ideal, for the achievement of which we can consecrate our services. I appeal once again to the youths and students and peoples of all countries of the world to devote themselves for the realisation of this dream and the fulfilment of our objectives.

The Bogor Conference

The Bogor conference has laid the foundations for what promises to be the biggest creative development in world movement for peace and democracy. Asia and Africa with their dominating areas and populations in the modern Geo-politics of the world are atlast to come to the fore with their own contributions to the world peace and democracy. The Asian conferences of 1947 and 1949, the Pan-African Congress, the Peoples Congress of the colonial peoples and the League of Coloured peoples and the Colombo conference have all cotributed to the decision of the Bogor conference to hold an Asian-African powers conference in 1955. Its special significance lies in that, for the first time in modern times, the leaders of these two great land areas and population masses are gathering together, independently of the Western nations and Soviet powers and specially for the purpose of exploring ways and means of remaining independent of the rival power blocs of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. and making their constructive contribution to the peace, freedom and progress of the peoples of the world.

Till the end of the second world war, the whole of the modern economy of the countries of Asia and Africa has been geared to that of the Western nations. Their agricultural and industrial raw materials could find a market mostly in Europe and America. Their commercial contacts with each other and with other parts of the world were at the mercy of the modern means of communications, world markets and financing apparatus and exchange relations built up and dominated by Western nations. No wonder that, whenever international conferences were held both before and after the second world war, the principal role was played on behalf of these Asian and African countries, not by their own Governments and peoples but by the leaders and Governments of the Western nations.

Japan alone, among all these Eastern countries made a powerful effort, especially during inter-war period, to group these nations around herself for as many industrial and commercial purposes as possible. She was bidding fair to replace the Western industrial domination by her own leadership. Hence her ambitious slogan of "Co-Prosperity" for Asia with herself in the centre of things. With the end of the war and the attainment of freedom by India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia and the fall of Japan and the uncertain political fate of China, the Western nations were obliged to reorientate the new world ideals and United Nati-

ons plans for a saner and progressive reorganisation of world economy and hence the foundation of the ECAFE at Bankok.

This new organ of the United nations is intended to develop into the "Brain trust" of the Democratic world to help the Asian countries and peoples to improve their relations with each other and with the Western nations on a footing of equality and social justice. India has been attempting to build up commercial relations with a number of Asian and African countries but there are obvious limitations to such a development. In fact none of the Asian or African countries is in a position to fill up the void created by the failure of Japan and the rapid liquidation of western imperialist hold over Asia. Their ship-building and air-craft industries are as yet in their infancy. Their money markets are not of much importance. Their basic industries are in the making; their industrial and commercial structures are so largely dependent upon the brain-trust or "Know-How" and the financial, mechanical, metallurgical resources of the West. Consequently the domination of the West over world markets is still working to the prejudice of these countries.

In fact barring India, Ceylon and Pakistan most of these countries do not even possess the technological training centres and the Know-How resources. Their inland communications and

modern equipments of ports and harbours are so poor, their capacity to exploit for industrial purposes, their hydel resources, iron ores and non-ferrous metals and other industrial raw materials is so badly limited. Even in the direction of cottage industries in which many of these countries have had such abundant talent and experience, progress is so slow because of their weak organisation and lack of capital. Their economy is so largely agricultural and so hopelessly dependent upon world markets dominated by Western nations that they are highly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of world markets and vagaries of Western capitalism. Moreover the inter-Asian and African trade is not yet important. The terms of trade between the Western and these Eastern nations are so largely unfavourable to the latter. The two centuries-old drain of wealth from the East into the West is as heavy as ever. Therefore the Asian and African countries have to go a long way before they can even plan for a regional scheme of self-sufficiency in industrial and commercial spheres.

The ECAFE, as at present constituted can only help them to know their limitations and future possibilities. It has certainly done much in making them plan for their development. But it cannot enable them to get over their disabilities as it has no funds at its disposal. Under these circumstances the leaders of industry and com-

merce of these countries have been exploring the possibilities of obtaining assistance from the more prosperous and better equipped Western nations. Unfortunately the Western democracies have taken too long a time to wake themselves up to their opportunities and responsibilities in this direction. When countries like Afghanistan do not possess even one fully-equipped Engineering college, when the under-developed India is about the highest developed country in these continents, one can realise the magnitude of the bankruptcy of statesmanship of Western democracies. The year 1954 has witnessed the readiness of both the democratic and totalitarian powers to offer their assistance to these under-developed Asian and Afri-can nations. China has purchased Indian tobacco which was rejected by the West and USSR has offered to build an Iron and steel plant in India when the West failed to make necessary response. Anyhow this new development is not so unwel-come as this rivalry may quicken the flow of western "Know How", capital and machinery into the Asian and African countries.

With the best of co-operation from the West and highest drive and dynamic effort, these Asian and African countries will need atleast fifteen years of peaceful development to provide them-selves with atleast the minimum equipment for economic self-reliance on a continental African-Asian basis, not to speak of national self-suffici-

ency. It is this realisation which impels these nations and their Governments to avoid involvement in this world-wide rivalry between the two great power-blocs. Hence their persistent and sincere moves, on every relevant occasion to promote the cause of world peace and to insulate as large an area and as large masses of populations as possible from this dreadful atmosphere of nuclear weapons.

At one time India was obliged to play a lone role on behalf of all these nations and plead and work for non-involvement. As Prime Minister Nehru has had to complain so repeatedly, India's role was misunderstood for years by both U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. Fortunately India's bold, consistent and convinced stand of non-involvement has begun to impress not only the leaders of the two great protoganists of worldwide-bloc politics but also more and more of the less powerful nations of the East. So many of us who have been in touch with the leaders of the Asian and African peoples have been striving hard to win them over to the Nehru line of non-involvement. Our efforts were ably aided by the delegates sent by Indian Government to the various bodies of the United Nations through their presistent and unselfish championship of the non-self-governing peoples, and the colonial peoples' freedom struggles. The Asian conference held in Delhi aided Indonesia to become free. The Colombo conference of Asian

Nations helped Indo-China to free herself from the stranglehold of war as between her own peoples, abetted as they were by the two International blocs. The long drawn-out struggles between Britain and Egypt over Sudan and Suez Canal have been ended through the pacific role played so sincerely by India, Pakistan and other Asian nations. These successive happy expreiences and contributions have atlast emboldened these nations to explore the possibilities for taking further steps towards the building up of the peace front through the expansion of the area of non-involvement.

The hurried formation of the SEATO has brought things to a head in the East. Japan which was willing to become unarmed and to associate herself with the democratic West has begun to wonder about the wisdom of her decision. Pakistan which desired to get some special strength from the SEATO for the solution of Kashmir tangle has become disappointed over its abortive upshot. Egypt which saw the limitations of the Arab League to protect her interests vis-a-vis the West is in a mood to welcome the development of this peace front in order to avoid too much dependence upon the West. Iran which experienced so much trouble in gaining an effective voice in the management of her oil-wells finds some insurance in this projected peacific front. In fact, this Bogor initiative has proved to be very timely.

At the same time let us keep in mind the limitations set by the platform of the Bogor conference. It will not embrace all those peoples of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and the many other African colonies of the Western nations which are all striving so hard and for so long for their national independence. No doubt, by keeping the membership limited to the completely independent and semi-independent nations, it gains immediately a high international status in the eyes of the United nations. Just as a few independent nations, gathering together into the Colombo concord have been able to play a vital role in helping Indo-China so also the Bogor platform may succeed in lending powerful moral support to the freedom struggles of African and Asian peoples and persuade European colonial powers to shed their imperialism in a graceful manner. It may put all its moral strength behind the Trusteeship Council and Non-Self Governoring Countries Committee of the United nations and make them grow into vital instruments for forging the freedom of colonial peoples at an early date. It may indeed strengthen the diplomatic pressure that U.S.A. and U.K. are inclined to bring to bear on the European powers to liberate their colonial peoples. It can also reinforce the plea of the E. C. A. F. E. for the formation of a special Economic and Social Development Fund by the United Nations for the financing of the development of Asian and African nations

at a quicker and higher tempo; it can also provide assurance to these nations that even if some or all of them are obliged to lean on the rival powers for their needs in "Know How", machinery finances and international trade, they need not be caught into the enmeshes of their power-bloc politics. It can also strengthen the forces which are trying to make Western aid flow through U.N. agencies and weaken the efforts of U.S.A. and U. K. to line up the nations which receive their Economic aid with their strategic plans. Thus it may prove an effective aid to the United Nations. That is, countries like Pakistan, Thailand, Afghanistan, Iran, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, which are obliged to work too closely with U.S.A. for the purposes of their socio-economic development and therefore agree to sign collective security pacts, can yet gain some effective resistance and bargaining power to safeguard their national interests and to prevent U. S. A. to succumb to the easy temptation of taking unilateral decisions and to rush into struggle before exhausting all possible opportunities of reaching peaceful solutions. Thus this Bogor platform can be expected to act as an insulator, a delayer of international conflicts and a protective armour for all these Asian and African nations and peoples. I am glad therefore to hail this platform as the biggest constructive achievement of the Asian and African peoples in the second half of this century.

At the same time, its very limitations make it necessary that the Pan-African congress, Peoples Congress, League of Colonial peoples and the various National liberation forces should be encouraged and strengthened. Their activities and sacrifices are essential if this Bogor platform is to fulfil atleast a part of our expectations and hopes. We are living in this age of phenomenally rapid changes. A careful study of the Post-War developments and their review, as presented in this detailed study will indicate how these world movements are conditioned so largely by the uneven socio-economic developments of our countries and continents. The U. S. S. R's impatience to envelope the whole world in its communist embraces and U.S. A's passion to spread the cult of free-enterprise all over the world are being checked by the unreadiness and utter incapacity of most parts of the world to march in step with them. We realise that there is no guarantee, inspite of these disabilities of under-developed countries and peoples, that world war may not be brought about by the rivalries of the great powers The only way such a calamity can possibly be avoided or atleast delayed is by such a conscious effort as this Bogor platform, made by the Asian and African nations themselves.

APPENDIX I

Prof. Ranga's plea for Peace Front during the debate in Parliament on March 8, 1948.

I wish to state at the very beginning that there is a very great amount of uncertainty over our relations with the British Commonwealth. In the country there is a good lot of nervousness among certain sections of our people as to the attitude of our Government in regard to the British Commonwealth — whether we are going to remain in it or whether we are going to come out of it. I wish to state quite categorically that we are extremely anxious that Government should state their position as clearly as possible at an early date that we are determined to go out of the British Commonwealth and remain an independent country and become an entirely inbependent Republic, of course willing to be on the best possible relations with the British Commonwealth as we would be continuing to remain on the best of terms with all other countries of the world. I learn that some treaty talks have been going on either formally or informally between our Government and the British Government.

Hon. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, may I intervene to say that there is no question of any formal or informal or any other kind of treaty talks of any kind going on?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Sir, I stand corrected and also reassured. The next point is this. From every part of the world warnings seem to be pouring in that the world is getting ready or getting willy-nilly into the next world-war. The only assurance that we have so far received from the statesmen of these big countries is from Soviet Russia, and I think it was Mr. Molotov who told the

world the other day that there is no fear or danger of there being another world war within the next five years. It is not very reassuring; it only means "Well, you can all go to sleep or rest assured that there is not going to be another world war in the next five years, but thereafter what is going to happen we ourselves do not know". So far as we are concerned, we are not prepared to give any assurance or guarantee to the rest of the world that there is not going to be another world war very soon, and we all know that so far as relations between Soviet Russia and America are concerned they are very strained indeed and they are getting ready to face all emergencies. In America there is a frenzy and fever pervading the whole of the nation for fear that Soviet Russia might be herself ready in a short time to declare war against America and her allies. In these circumstances I think it is necessary that the House should be taken into confidence by Government as to the various steps that they are taking in order to prepare India against such a contingency and in order to prepare India also to prevent the emergence or early advent of such an emergency or in regard to defence forces and in regard to the various diplomatic relations or good feelings that we are building up with various other countries. In our own country, or rather within the India that we have known, there have come to be two dominions. There is Pakistan on one side and ourselves on the other. How the diplomatic relations between these two States are going to be developed in order that they might not lead us into another war is a very important matter, and on this point also we want some enlightenment.

There is an Anglo-American group in the formation and there is another group forming round Soviet Russia and all the time there is a great competition between these two groups to win more and more satellites to themselves. We have seen in the recent past what happened in South Eastern Europe and also in China and Korea. Things are not very assuring. Only the other day Czechoslovakia is supposed to have gone through a storm in a tea cup and a

party revolution. Communists are said to be gaining not only permanent but the sole interests in the whole of that country, nudging away all other parties with the result that President Benes is supposed to be ill. What sort of illness, we do not know. Hungary is through a similar revolution and a revolution forced by the Communist party and through the machinations of either Soviet Russia or America or both. Under the circumstances, some of our public men in this country have begun to wonder whether the policy pursued by our External Affairs Department and Pandit Nehru—the policy of not joining these two big groups—is really correct and right. I have held the view, and I expressed it, last time when I moved the cut motion, that the House would be morally advised to agree with the Prime Minister of not aligning our country with either of these two groups.

There is another kind of grouping. That is the Christian nations on one side and the Muslim nations on the other. It is our duty under the present circumstances not to align ourselves on either side at all. But then we are being asked whether this particular attitude of ours has done us any good. If it has not done any good, there must be many reasons. One of them is that our External Affairs Department has not been quick and strong enough to build up Ambassadorial relations and diplomatic relations with all the countries of the world and with those which we find to be anxious for world peace. Have any efforts been made in this direction?

I think the time has come when somebody or other should take active steps to build up what may be known as **Peace Front**. Although the U.N.O. has been brought into existence to ensure world peace, we know even on the testimony of the Secretary General of U.N.O Mr. Trygve Lie, that very many nations have not been able to play their part by the organisation. Under these circumstances it is upto India, with her moral stature, the stature built up in this country by Bapuji, and that is being built up by Prime Minister Nehru; to take a lead in this matter, and

build up not a group, nor a power bloc, but to get together round a table all those nations, small or big, which are determined upon not becoming satellites of these blocs of nations, but which are bent on doing everything possible both on the United Nations Front and outside in order to ensure the continuity of world peace and to postpone the advent of these wretched clouds of another world war.

That is why I wish to make one or two suggestions. We should hasten to build up our Embassies in Latin America. We should send our good-will missions to as many of these nations as we can in South East Asia and the Middle Eastern countries and I think it would be well indeed if some of our public men are encouraged, if not by the Government, atleast by this House and Political parties in this country, to go and contact all these people who are suffering under various imperialist systems—the Negroes of Africa and the Asiatic peoples in Asia and various other places—and give them encouragement and extend to them our hand of friendship and also our help.

Prof. Ranga's speech in Parliament on 8 –3—'49.

I am glad to say that most of the members in this House are very much in agreement with the general line of foreign policy that our Prime Minister has been pursuing and the line that he has taken also in the statement he has made to us this morning. But unfortunately our nationals abroad do not seem to be pursuing such a policy in their own relations with the local nationals. Except for Kenya and may be in one or two other places in West Indies etc., our nationals seem to have got into certain privileged positions and are unwilling to take into partnership the local nationals.

Coming to what Pandit Nehru has said this morning I have felt that he was not quite as seriously conscious of the actual existence of a cold war, of an ideological war of an economic war, that is today going on in different parts of the world, that is being waged by two great nations and two great powers backed as they are by their own

satellite countries - United States on the one side and the U.S.S.R. on the other. If you go to Yugoslavia you find that Marshal Tito is complaining of economic non-cooperation from Stalin. If you go to Czechoslovakia, you find a similar complaint being made against U.S.A. If you go to the Scandinavian countries, similar complaint is being made against Russia. Coming to the Asian continent we find that in a number of countries including Indo-China and Burma, Russia has been playing a role which is not very honourable to herself or useful to the world-cause of Peace. It is true that the hand of either the United States or the U.S.S.R. is not so easily discernable in what is happening in all these countries, but nevertheless their agencies are at work in order to queer the pitch and to create confusion and economic unsettlement. In between these two great Powers comes Great Britain together with her friends in Western Europe. They are still interested in imperialism! They are still anxious to retain not only their Asiatic possessions, but also to develop their interests in African possessions and are bent upon carrying on a policy of exploitation.

What is happening in Malaya is something which should upset many minds. It is true that in Malaya the Communist party has been playing a role which is really destructive. It has taken to violent means and violent ways and necessarily its guerilla warfare has to be put down by legitimate means including the use of armed forces. But if such steps had been taken by a National Government of Malaya it would have been possible for the rest of the world to appreciate. But when British Empire has had to take this step, necessarily the position of people like us who have been so closely associated with the Commonwealth, becomes very difficult to justify. Even in Africa, not to speak of South Africa, the role that the British Government has been playing is not very honourable and in regard to Indonesia, the attitude taken up by Great Britain is certainly objectionable. It is under these circumstances that we have to make up our minds whether we can agree not only to be friendly with Great Britain

but also to be one of the partners in the Commonwealth. Our position in the Commonwealth will certainly become stronger and more useful in advancing the cause of the world-peace, if Great Britain were to make up her mind to shed imperialism and give freedom to all these people and help them to establish strong, powerful and stable national governments. Until that happy day dawns, I am afraid the position that India will be taking up in the Commonwealth is likely to be the butt of criticism, as well as talks on the part of the various other countries. That is where the softest or the weakest point lies so far as our foreign policy is concerned.

The United States of America has been asking the rest of the world to believe in her democratic professions. But is she fully democratic? That is where doubts arise. Has she been pursuing a policy of democracy, looking at the whole world as one unit, treating every country as equal to every other country and treating every people as equal to every other people, deserving of equal consideration, help, assistance and camaraderie? The answer is in the negative. She has been trying to help only the Western European nations.

If the peoples of the world are to be saved from totalitarianism, they have got to be quite clear what they mean by totalitarianism. Communism is one brand, Sovietism is another, capitalism and imperialism are a third. We do not want to have anytning to do with these three. But nevertheless if these people are to be saved and helped to stand on their own feet, some help is needed.

We are told that the world is one in prosperity as well as in poverty. But what do we see? There is the prosperous country of America and there are the poorest people on the continents of Africa and Asia. Is it possible for these two parts of the world to feel in one and the same way towards all problems when they are placed in opposite extremes so far as their economic condition is concerned?

Naturally it is not possible. It is the duty of the statesmen of the world to see that the world is made one. But if it is to be made so—this is what Truman has told us—did his Foreign Secretary Marshall offer to place their wealth at the disposal of other countries, not as loans or gifts but as their offering towards the promotion of this conception of the unity of the world? Did they use their resources in men and money and expert-aid and materials to raise the economic level of other countries?

What is it that America has done so far as Asia is concerned? Nothing. And what is more we have asked America to help these countries in the same way as she has been helping Western European countries. Until today she has not made up her mind to come to the rescue of Burma, Indonesia, Indo-china or China. If the economic conditions of the masses in these countries had been raised to at least the minimum necessary level of decency, would it have been possible for those people to become a prey to the destructive agencies and elements that are now gaining more and more sway there? We have been told by the American Government and by Western countries that Western Europe was saved from the clutches of the communist party because that territory was flooded with American capital goods and that with these they salvaged those people. Why is it that they did not think of doing the same so far as Asia is concerned?

I want our Foreign Department to concern itself with this aspect of the matter and then tell America and the rest of the world; 'Look here, if you are keen on championing the democratic cause and developing democracy all the world over as against the expanding and advancing world totalitarian front, then come to the rescue of people of this part of the world in regard to food, clothing, capital goods and other essential basic industrial equipment that this country needs. We want assistance. There is only one country which can provide that assistance and that country is America. But America is playing the game.

On the other side there is Soviet Russia. She has also been trying to help her own friends of the South East European countries. They have been helped economically by Soviet Russia and in the East also, Russia is trying to help those countries friendly to her. Because of our policy of not aligning ourselves with Russia or America, we have not been able to get any assistance from either of these political blocs. Therefore what shall we do? Even at the risk of having to hug our own poverty, as our Prime Minister declared, we should not definitely align ourselves with this or that group. Then what are we to do? Are we to be neutrals? I have said before that it is not becoming of this country that we should be taunted as neutrals. We should take a positive line. I am glad that our Prime Minister has been pursuing such a positive line and he has taken the initiative in calling an Asian Conference here in regard to the Indonesian problems. He is going to call another Conference and I am happy to see in the World Press the lead he has given, has come to be appreciated very much except in the Soviet Press. I cannot understand why the Russians are so very keen in criticising the initiative taken by Pandit Nehru. Do they want the Britishers to take the initiative? Or do they want the Americans to take the initiative? If India had not taken the initiative it would have helped the Imperialist cause and not the cause of Peace. India has no interest in Imperialism or Power Politics.

We cannot rest on our oars and that is where our Foreign Ministry has got to take sufficient steps in order to build up a Peace Front. It is necessary that we should come out into the world definitely and positively and say that we are not in favour of either capitalist totalitarianism or idealistic totalitarianism or even economic totalitarianism. But on the other hand we are out for the establishment of a true and full-fledged democracy and in order to build up that democratic front, we wish to pursue our own foreign policy not only in our relations with individual countries but also in our activities in the U.N.O.

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
2	27	Compaign	Campaign
13	8	leadershis	leadership
13	26	offensivs	offensive
15	5	that he	that the
15	7	technial	technical
15	28	Monetory	Monetary
16	18	most and essential	most essential
20	14	multi-purposes	multi-purpose
21	21	cousumers goods	cousumer-goods
24	14	centemporay	contemporary
24	18	succeed	succeeded
25	15	headed	heeded
25	17	reperssion the	repression and the
28	29	enorgies	energies
29	9	latters'	latter's
33	21	hast	least
34	12	peoplos	peoples
34	14	noticenbley	noticeably
35	17	comrecially	commercially
49	9	practice	practise
55	15	realiable	reliable
56	14	4 million	4 billion
58	23	develep	develop
71	31	dictatorship	united front
72	24	acerages	acreages,
74	18	formulei	formulae
84	5	began	begun
86	25	monopylise	monopolise
90	22	force	forces
95	29	earstwhile	erstwhile
100	29	Nyanzaland	Nyazaland
102	2	belive	believe
102	5	Fascit	Fascist
107	16	Grittiths	Griffiths

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NEW DELHI

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