

Quintessence of Non-Aligned Movement

Half a Century of India's Contribution

Prof. N.G. Ranga, M.P



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To

INDIRA GANDHI

Chairman of the Seventh Summit
of the Non-Aligned Movement who
champions the causes of World Peace,
New International Economic Order,
and Social Justice

Publishers' Note

Professor N.G. Ranga is the doyen of Indian Parliamentarians, indeed of World Parliamentarians. Born on 7 November 1900 in a peasant family in Andhra Pradesh, he is happily amongst us, ever active with his parliamentary activities. Last year his grateful colleagues in Parliament felicitated him, under the chairmanship of the Speaker, on his completion of fifty years of parliamentary career.

Recording Rangaji's contribution to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences, Robin Vanderfell writes as follows in the 12 August 1982 issue of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association *Bulletin*.

"Over a period of thirteen years between 1952 and 1965 at Commonwealth conferences in Ottawa, New Delhi and Wellington memorable speeches were made on

"International affairs and defence"

"The problem of the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth"

and "Economic growth in the Commonwealth"

—this last a lead speech—by one and the same man, Professor N.G. RANGA.

"On 28 April the Indian Parliament saluted the Professor for 50 years selfless service to India's Parliament and people.

"The Association joins in the tribute to a great democrat."

There are many significant aspects in Rangaji's life, which are, however, not so well known beyond the circle of his close friends and associates.

The most important among them is his family. The late Bharati Devi Ranga (d. 1972) was the most ideal wife in the fullest sense of the expression. She literally followed Rangaji wherever he went, joined hands with him in all his political and constructive work. She sailed with him to the U.K. when he

went there to study at Oxford. She led kisan marches, courted imprisonment as a disciplined Satyagrahi whenever Mahatma Gandhi gave a call, and was a legislator at the state level. She was so affectionate towards Rangaji's junior associates that they used to address her as "Ma" so much so that Rangaji and Bharati Deviji had not merely "Gobhumi" as residence in Nidubrolu but an extended home all over Andhra through their "adopted children". She was always a great source of strength and inspiration to Rangaji.

Another facet is his prolific writings. Rangaji has authored more than thirty titles. But, since his associates, friends, and colleagues in many countries have always a prior claim on him for complimentary copies of his works, very few, if any, copies could make their way into trade channels for the benefit of interested readers.

Yet another aspect is his formation of fronts and organisations to fight for the causes dear to him for social justice for peasants, rural workers and women, besides colonial peoples. In this context it comes to our mind what George Padmore, the well-known Negro writer and ideologist, has recorded in his book *Pan-Africanism or Communism* (London : 1955). While discussing about launching of the Non-European Unity Movement under the auspices of the All-African Convention, he says: "Such a United Front had long been advocated by Professor Ranga, a prominent member of the Congress Party and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, and later expounded in his book *The Colonial and Coloured Peoples Front*" (p. 358).

Then we come to Rangaji's crusades against world imperialism and fight for the cause of colonial and coloured peoples. Ever since two of his fellow and elderly villagers narrated to him in 1918, on their repatriation after the close of their career of indentured labour, how Gandhiji led coloured peoples against colour and social discrimination and suppression imposed upon them by the South African whites, Rangaji had made it one of his life's missions to fight against such social injustice in India and abroad.

We see him sitting and working and praying in 1944 by the side of Mahatma Gandhi in Sevagram. Both of them have been conferring over the fate of the colonial and coloured peoples in the post-war world. Gandhiji agrees with Rangaji that India's stru-

ggle for freedom has always been considered by the Indian National Congress, Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru as the vanguard in the struggle of all the colonial and coloured peoples against world forces of imperialism.

Gandhiji agrees to strengthen the Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front (CCPFF) which is being built up ever since 1942 by Rangaji and his colleagues Fenner Brockway, Prof. Dinah Stock of Oxford Labour Club, George Padmore and Jomo Kenyatta.

Gandhiji offers his blessings to CCPFF. He appreciates Rangaji's offer to dedicate his book *Colonial and Coloured Peoples Front* and its demand that whatever shape the post-war world organisation might take, it should declare all the colonial and coloured peoples as deserving complete national independence.

We see Rangaji proposing in successive debates in 1947 and 1948 in Parliament that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru should initiate moves for the formation of a "peace front" with all the newly emergent countries and organisations of other countries. He works against the re-emergence of imperialist expansionism. He wants India not to join either the so-called democratic bloc or the communist bloc but to protect the national freedom of all the colonial peoples and world peace.

Rangaji appreciates Pandit Nehru's moves to contact the leaders of Sri Lanka, Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Indo-China and China and to enlist the support of Marshal Tito in response to the earlier debates for the creation of a peace front.

We see him again introducing a number of leaders of the colonial peoples of the Pacific to Jawaharlal Nehru as delegates to the Asian Relations Conference convened by the latter in 1947 in Delhi.

Pandit Nehru's triumph in convening and leading the Bandung Conference and the emergence of "Panch Sheel" as the challenge of the newly emergent free nations of Asia and Africa to the Western imperialists who manoeuvre to come back into their earlier positions was hailed by Rangaji, Jayaprakash Narain, Krishna Menon and Ram Manohar Lohia. Rangaji's friends of the C.C.P. Freedom Front and Pan-African Congress of Manchester, Peoples Congress of Paris congratulated him and hailed "Panch Sheel as the fulfilment of their common objectives".

We see Rangaji once again pleading in the Delhi session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference for the release of Jomo Kenyatta from his semi-desert prison. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru endorses Rangaji's plea in his talks with British delegates including Gaitskell and Gordon Walker.

Professor Stock conveys Rangaji's congratulations to President Kenyatta while attending as a special guest at the inauguration of independence of Kenya.

We see him appealing from the podium of U.N. General Assembly in 1980 for the release of Nelson Mandela and other prisoners and removal of apartheid by South Africa.

Having gracefully declined repeated invitations to join the Union Cabinet, Rangaji has however had the satisfaction of seeing the fulfilment of his great objectives, namely, achievement of independence of all colonial peoples, the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement and also the projection of the demand for just terms of trade based on social justice between the South and the North and a "New World Economic Order". Thus he has been happy to work in close comradeship with three successive leaders of world renown for the fulfilment of his mission, now endorsed by the Brandt Commission and the Havana Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations.

He now wishes, as Member of the Indian Delegation to the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit, success to Indira Gandhi, the Chairman of the Summit, and the leaders assembled in this historic Summit in their efforts to strengthen the cause of world peace and social justice between the North and the South.

As the senior member of the Free India's Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs ever since 1946, he joins the distinguished leaders assembled in this great Conference in their prayer for immobilisation of nuclear arms and world peace and social justice.

Rangaji has written quite a few books on the problems of the coloured and colonial peoples, of which the important ones are *World Role of National Revolution* (1945), *Colonial and Colour-ed Peoples: A Programme for their Freedom and Progress* (1946) and *Towards World Peace* (1955). We reproduce in the pages that follow excerpts of some chapters from the last two books because of their direct relevance to the present-day Non-Aligned Movement.

Rangaji writes in 1946: “If all of them [Latin American, African and Asian countries] 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,” (see page 41). How prophetic!

It is said that Rangaji is ahead of times in his writings and programmes. The excerpts that we reproduce in this slim volume should certainly testify to this. They bear eloquent testimony to India’s passionate espousal of and struggle over half a century for the freedom and social justice for all coloured and subject peoples of all continents. It embodies the quintessence of the present-day Non-Aligned Movement.

His suggestions for the reconstruction of the social economy of the coloured peoples and for the redistribution of world’s wealth on a juster basis are relevant even today. His warnings against colour and caste discriminations and old and new imperialisms can be neglected by the present-day world only at its peril.

Prologue

The Indian freedom movement has stood, from the commencement of the Gandhian era, for the freedom of peoples of all colours, creeds, and countries. Gandhiji not only witnessed but also suffered from the colour bar and apartheid oppression imposed in South Africa by the imperialist white rulers. Naturally he developed a life-long passion for the cause of liberation of peoples from all such inhuman discriminations and indignities. Hence his consistent and missionary championship of Harijans (who had been condemned to untouchability for ages) for equal constitutional and civil rights and social justice and special protection.

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the participants, along with socialists, in the Anti-Imperialist Conference, held in Brussels in 1927, and continued to be a life-long anti-imperialist and champion of the colonial peoples. So many of us, including Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, our seniors, studying in English Universities were aghast at the refusal of the imperialist victors in the First World War to pay any attention to the (Woodrow) Wilsonian call for self-determination of all peoples and their passion to annex the colonies of the defeated German Empire. So we acclaimed Mahatma Gandhi's castigation of the British Empire the greatest—as Satanic. We agreed with the analysis made by Lenin, Hobson, Brailsford Hyndman, and other Western socialists of the evils of imperialism and felt fortified in our fight against it.

It was at that stage, in that atmosphere, I took the lead in Oxford to organise International Coloured Labour Group in 1922-23. I continued to champion the cause of all coloured peoples, thanks to my acceptance of Gandhiji's leadership, and founded with the cooperation of Dinah Stock the League of Coloured Peoples in London in 1931. We both founded, soon after the Second World War, in 1945-46 the Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front (C.C.P. Freedom Front), with the blessings

of Gandhiji and the support of Jomo Kenyatta and author George Padmore and poet Peter Abraham. Sedulous efforts were being made by the Dutch, the French, the Belgian and other imperialists stage a return to their former colonies, on the defeat of the Japanese and the nazi and fascist empires. Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, responded in his very first year of office to the call of the Indian freedom fighters to resist that unholy move of imperialists and called the first Asian Relations Conference in this City of Delhi in 1947 with the blessings of Gandhiji. Delegates and Observers came from Korea to Algeria, and sounded their united warning to all imperialists and the United Nations against any re-imposition of imperialist sway on Indonesia, Malaysia, Indo-China. Fortunately the statesmen of the U.S.A. persuaded the Dutch to concede freedom to Indonesia and recognise the regime headed by Soekarno as the free and independent government of that ancient country. That set the pace of freedom for many a colonial country in Asia. The African countries, such as Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria had to go through many a blood bath in their march towards freedom and India stood by them.

The success of the Asian Relations Conference of 1947 encouraged Prime Minister Nehru to try to win adequate strength to convene the Bandung Conference. The Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lie, also took part in it. Together, they laid the foundation for the Non-Aligned platform, with its charter of mutual guarantee of national freedom and sovereignty, known as Panch Sheel, as the sheet-anchor against the return of imperialism and the growing tentacles of spheres of neo-imperialism.

What was not even viewed as an honourable international poseur for newly emergent, under-developed countries, that is, *Non-involvement* in the rivalry between the then two super-power blocs, was raised by me in Ottawa in 1952 in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. It has by now come to be the basic international policy of all the former colonies; that is, the world would not be safer from imperialist depredations and peace could not be won and enjoyed for long until and unless some moral and material force such as the Non-Aligned Movement suggested by the Bandung (1955) and the Belgrade (1961) Conferences was developed or could be conjured up, under and outside the auspices of the United Nations. The super powers

and their respective friends began ranging themselves into two blocs, wrangling over the atomic weapons. Would not their spheres of influence and control be the post-war edition of the earlier imperialism?

The Indian Parliament pleaded with Prime Minister Jawaharlal through two annual debates initiated by me in 1947 and 1948 to take steps to persuade at least the newly emergent free peoples of the earstwhile colonies to gather together into a "Peace Front". The preliminary platform for the non-aligned nations took shape by 1955 in Bandung on the initiative of Nehru and assumed the concrete shape as the Non-Aligned Movement by 1961 in Belgrade. As more and more peoples emerged as independent nations, they hastened to join this honourable combine of nations to seek protection from the spreading but vicious tentacles of neo-imperialism and maintain their freedom from the trammels of spheres of influence of atomic super powers. The United Nations has come to accord recognition to this new and growing source of strength for world peace from among its own members as the Group of Seventy-Seven. Today this group embraces more than 120 members and more nations are hoping to join it. I hail this as the fulfilment of one of the dreams that we dared to dream in the hallowed comradeship of freedom fighters of Asia and Africa led by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Du Bois, Padmore, Kenyatta and others.

Unfortunately, it was not so easy for the rank and file of European socialists to accept the call to the United Nations (the then Nations of the Atlantic Charter) from the Indian National Congress, Pan-African Congress and the C.C.P. Freedom Front blessed by Gandhiji, to recognise the independence of colonial peoples and proceed to devise steps to help them function as independent nations, freed from all taints and restraints imposed by imperialism. It was only a few far-sighted socialists such as Parliamentarian Fenner Brockway, Barrister Pritt, Prof. Dinah Stock, Agatha Harrison and C.F. Andrews of the Friends, who hailed the demand advanced by the C.C.P. Freedom Front.

It took all the propaganda against imperialism that the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China had carried on over the years, and the persistent campaign of India and her delegates, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Krishna Menon and

Shiva Rao in all the forums of the United Nations and the violent and non-violent struggles waged by the African and all other coloured peoples in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, West Coast, and other African countries to make Prime Minister Macmillan and President De Gaulle to recognise the need to respond to the "winds of change" and accept the right of the colonial peoples to national independence. Thus, all Africa, except Rhodesia, and all Pacific Islands became free from the shackles of imperialism. India is happy that the leaders of all these liberated nations are assembling in Delhi in March 1983, in this great Non-Aligned concourse.

The British imperialists were trying to split the ranks of the coloured peoples by taking the Indian immigrants in their African and Pacific colonies into privileged partnership, though inferior to that of the whites, by providing some special privileges—economic and political—and thus gaining them as their allies. But the leaders of the Indian freedom movement continued to warn the Indian immigrants against such traps and exhort them to make common cause with the great majority of the African coloured masses. So soon as India became free, Jawaharlal Nehru responded to my Parliamentary appeal and declared that India expected the Indian immigrants in all colonies of all empires to join the ranks of the local coloured peoples in their struggles for freedom and to accept the responsibilities of their new citizenship. He however assured them that India would champion their cause as the rightful and dutiful citizens of their new countries.

It was natural for India to have adopted that honourable policy of equal comradeship with all coloured and colonial peoples because Indians have had to go through bitter and prolonged sufferings from the biting and inhuman imperialist discriminations and exploitation.

The formulation of Panch Sheel of Bandung and Belgrade covers only a part of the vista of freedom for the colonial and coloured peoples that the Freedom Front had tried to concretise into its international charter, needed for protection by the erstwhile colonial peoples and their countries. It formed the first part of our thesis, known as "Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front" formulated in 1942-45 and published in India and England in 1946-47.

There is yet another part of our challenge to the conscience of the post-war world, namely, the socio-economic facet of freedom of these peoples.

Our Freedom Front realised how hopelessly depressed and under-developed have been the colonies and their Peoples, thanks to imperialist machinations. The Allied Powers wanted to assure for themselves untrammelled freedom to exploit the untapped mineral resources and harness the low-paid labour of the coloured peoples for the expansion of their own industries and commerce and thus further enrich themselves. As if their under-developed condition did not arouse their conscience, the Atlantic Powers which declared their total opposition to the fascist and nazi system of exploitation of their subject peoples wanted complete freedom to reach and exploit the resources in minerals under the earth and the seas of all the countries in all continents, that is, the colonial countries, knowing as they did so well, how unprepared and utterly incompetent were the colonial peoples and countries financially and technologically.

The C.C.P. Freedom Front joined issue with the imperialists of the Atlantic Charter and their successors and allies in the United Nations and maintained that the peoples, and countries, within the former colonies should not and would not abandon their sovereign rights over whatever natural resources they might find in their areas and would and should insist upon their utilisation, in the best possible manner, in times most advantageous to the development of their national economy, with or without the cooperation of other countries, solely in accordance with their freely decided national will. It is just because of the determination of the oil-producing countries to insist upon this inalienable right and the strength of public opinion that has come to buttress it, they have been able to raise the oil prices to economic levels. It is equally gratifying that the Non-Aligned Movement affirmed in its Havana session in 1979 the "inalienable right to their natural resources".

Similarly, the C.C.P. Freedom Front has raised the just claim of the former colonial peoples to revising the price levels of agricultural produce and minerals as well as services of colonial peoples to such high levels as to attain parity with the minerals, manufactured goods and commercial services of the developed countries, especially of the former imperialist countries. The

Freedom Front maintained that there had been prevalent, for several decades, if not a century, unfair and unequal terms of trade between the imperialist and the dependent countries. That resulted in the transference of the wealth of colonial peoples and their undeveloped pre-industrial economy in visible and invisible manner to the industrially and commercially developed imperialist powers. Therefore those unfair and unequal exchanges must be stopped.

It is in pursuance of these demands for parity in fixing prices between agricultural and industrial goods and remuneration for the services of agricultural peoples and industrial nations that the Freedom Front outlined its programme for the development of colonial peoples. I am glad that what our Freedom Front had indicated and demanded in its programme, long before the United Nations came to take definite shape, has now come to be styled as the demand put forward by the Non-Aligned Conference at Havana as the call for a "New International Economic Order". And so, in all fairness, there would have to be restitution, in part or in full, of the ill-gotten wealth from the imperialist countries to their former colonies. There should be realignment and reform in the exchange relations in international commerce and industrial cooperation, so that the new price and exchange mechanism in all conscience would yield higher prices for agricultural products and services of the peoples of the under-developed agricultural countries most of which are in the former colonies. Also, the industrially and commercially developed nations would have to make their generous contributions to promote the development of the under-developed and agriculturally-based nations in order to maintain harmonious development of all countries and their peoples. The C.C.P. Freedom Front also pleaded for the adoption of the Gandhian principle that the haves should help the have-nots, and also the socialist approach to social justice.

The I.L.O.'s demand for the rights of workers, the Eleanor Roosevelt Commission's Charter of Human Rights and the U.N.'s call for an annual contribution of at least one per cent of the G.N.P. of all developed nations for the uplift of the developing nations and under-developed peoples are all indicated, in their embryonic form, by the C.C.P. Freedom Front.

The Willy Brandt Commission has rightly asked for a New

World Economic Order based on social justice. The failure of the powerful nations in the Northern Hemisphere during the past two decades of so-called development is a warning to the less developed countries, seething with their agricultural populations living in abject poverty, ill-health and squalor, i.e. the Non-Aligned Movement nations, that they have to go on developing world public opinion and political pressure for a New World Order for Social Justice. Would it gain sufficient momentum soon enough? We can only live in hope as our Freedom Front lived in the thirties and the forties. Therefore I rest my hopes on this Delhi Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries to develop enough moral atmosphere and passion among themselves for giving the highest priority to the development of their social economy and to minimise their expenditure on armaments, to avoid military conflicts and thus make up for lost time and opportunities in filling the gap between the North and the South.

The developed nations of the North have had no qualms of conscience in selling on a liberal scale armaments to so many of the under-developed countries and thus indirectly encouraging them to indulge in destructive and suicidal regional wars and piling up of costly arms and conflicts bordering on wars. These evil portents were dimly visualised by the C.C.P. Freedom Front and so it laid special stress on the need of former colonial peoples to develop their social economy and build their industrial and agro-based industries. Unfortunately, neither the developed countries nor the non-aligned nations have been able to reverse the retrograde trend among the under-developed peoples.

The industrial and developed countries, which included almost all the former imperialists excluding Japan, are found in the Northern Hemisphere and they would not be content with their affluent societies. They have continued to pile up their armaments—not only conventional but also nuclear arms—and begun to plead their inability to make any effective and satisfactory contribution, for the development of the South as per the appeals from the U.N. and UNCTAD. As if that is not enough, they have failed to respond to the so-called Kennedy Round demands for not raising their tariff walls against the import of semi-manufactured goods and even handicrafts and fairly priced agricultural commodities from the South.

There did not appear to be any prospects for an early advent of even "Home Rule" for most of the colonies within the ambit of their respective empires, when the plans were being outlined by our Freedom Front and when our books and theses were being published. However, the world forces moved so inexorably in the direction of peoples' freedom and social justice that within these four decades even the formidable chiefs of the British and French Empires were obliged to bow before the "winds of change".

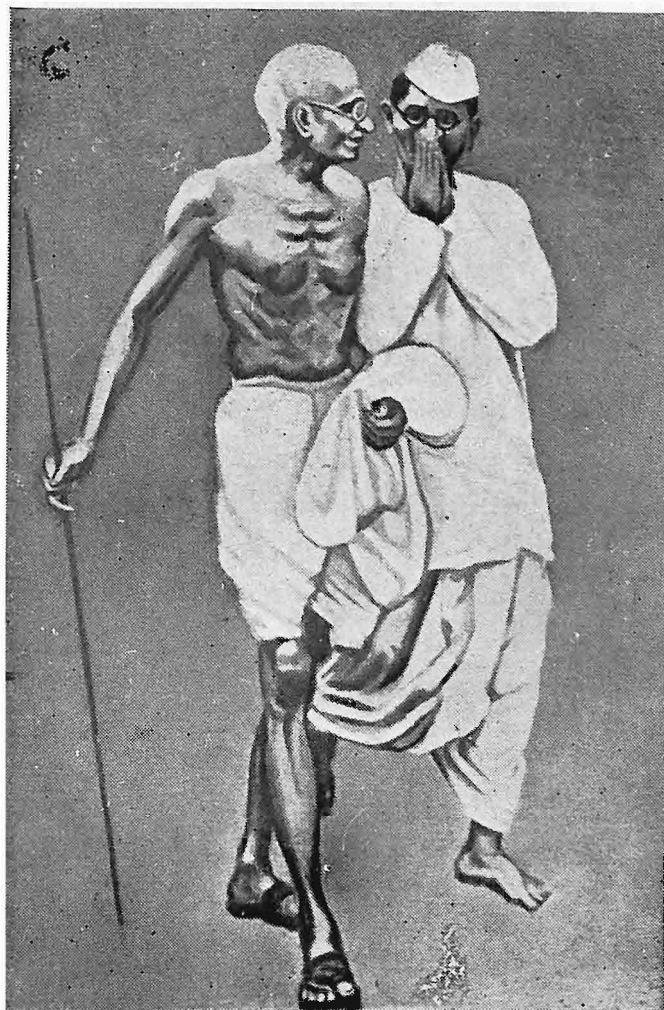
The Western economists looked askance when our Freedom Front called for a radical move towards parity in international commerce between the North and the South. Today such a new economic outlook has become the order of the day. Similarly, the American statesmen ridiculed the Non-Aligned Movement in its first ten years. Now they hasten to welcome it as a constructive contribution to the phalanx of the forces working for world peace. We live, therefore, in the hope that this Delhi Summit would give an effective lead towards the New World Economic Order that our Freedom Front has outlined in order to save the world from the explosion of combustible forces triggering the nuclear holocaust.

It is as an earnest of my abundant faith in the forces fermenting in the South and also in the awakening social conscience and spirit of self-preservation among progressive peoples of the North that I have welcomed the proposal of the Publishers to present this slim volume which contains a few chapters of my books, the epitome of my dreams on this historic occasion.

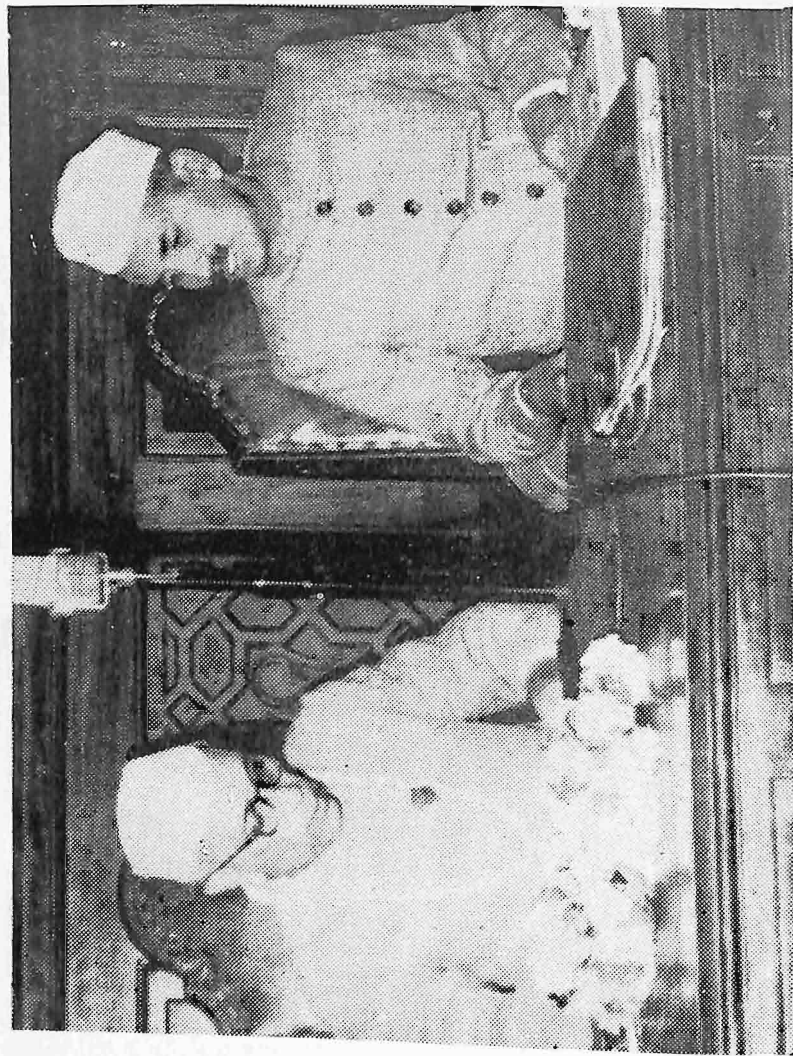
It is my privilege to have been the author of *Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front* and *Towards World Peace*. The books indicate the moral approach and faith and programmes visualised by us in the forties and the fifties. It gives me high satisfaction to dedicate this book to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Chairman of this great Non-Aligned Conference being held in the very place where the Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front was blessed by Mahatma Gandhi in 1946 and where the very first moves were made for this Non-Aligned Movement in 1947.

Indian Peasant Institute
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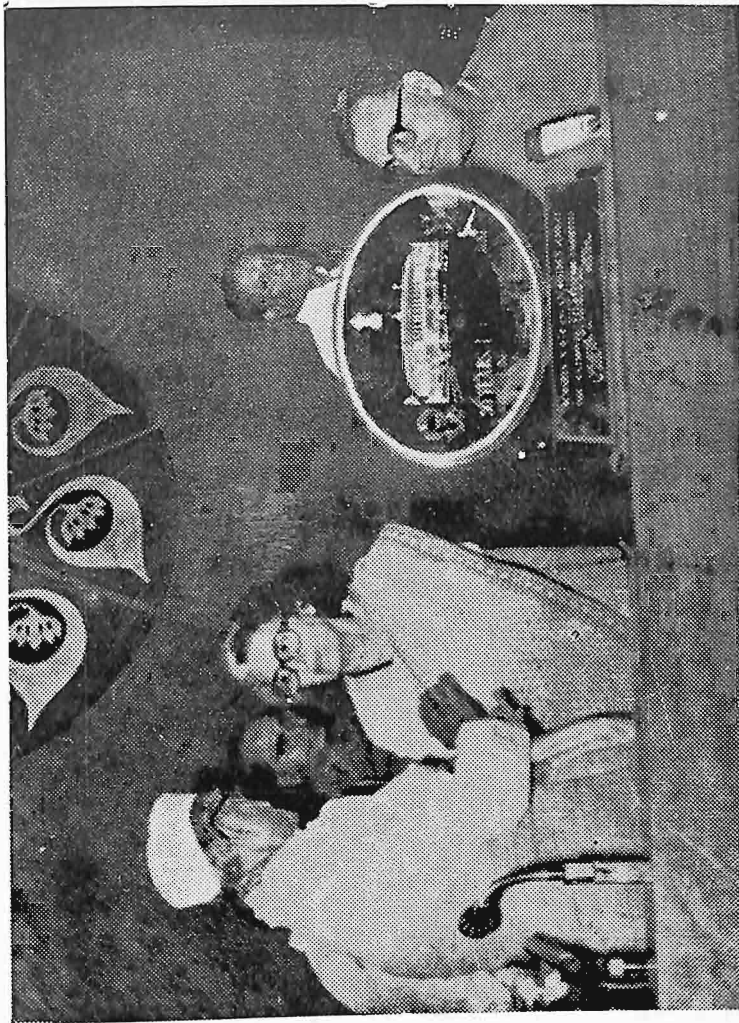
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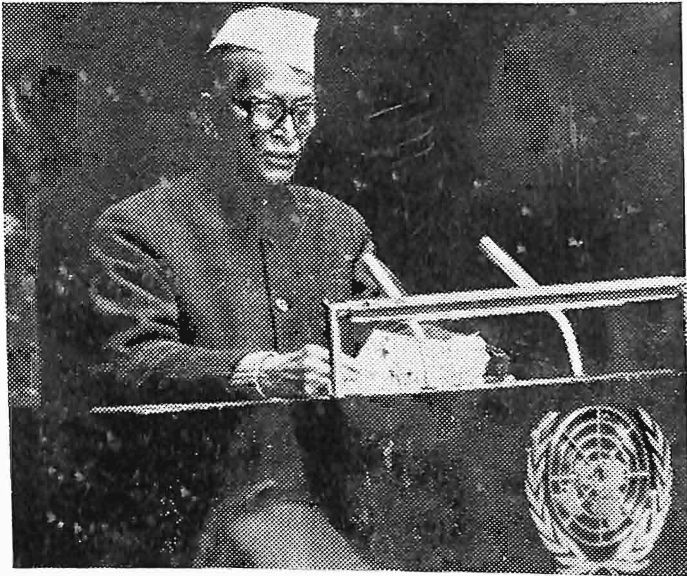
Ranga with Mahatma Gandhi in Sevagram, 1942



Jawaharlal Nehru and Ranga at All India Kisan (Peasant) Conference, New Delhi, 1957



Prof. Ranga, D. Litt., being felicitated by Parliamentarians and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi presenting him with plaque reflecting Parliament House and Speaker Balram Jakhar presiding, on completion of 50 years of Parliamentary Service, 1982



Ranga proposing Resolution condemning South Africa's apartheid policy in the United Nation's General Assembly, 1980

Mahatma Gandhi's Message to Oppressed Races

Prof. Ranga was released from jail on 9-10-1944 after two years of his second detention. He met Gandhiji on 28-10-1944 and obtained the following message from him for the Coloured and Colonial masses:

- Ranga:** Do you recognize the need for all the colonial peoples to try to come nearer to each other, learn from each other's experiences in their fight for freedom and help each other?
- Gandhiji:** Yes. But 'Colonial Peoples' is a badly chosen expression. 'Oppressed races of the earth' expresses the idea better. 'Colonial' in the English language means whites who have emigrated to the colonies.
- Ranga:** Are we right in thinking that your stand against world imperialism is intended to benefit as much the Africans, Chinese, Red Indians and other non-white masses as of 400 millions of Indians?
- Gandhiji:** My correspondence with Government [published in May 1944] while under detention [1942-4] shows that most clearly.
- Ranga:** May we have your blessings for our attempts to build up the 'Colonial Peoples Freedom Front' [which will hereafter be known as Oppressed Races Freedom Front] and thus develop a research, propaganda and ideological platform with merely advisory and informative functions? Several of your friends have already been working for the emancipation of the Colonial and Coloured Peoples.

Gandhiji: I want to say yes. I want to understand its full implications.

Ranga: The greatest social problem of the modern world is the exploitation of the vast masses of agricultural peoples by the industrial peoples and countries through the unequal exchanges imposed upon the former by the latter through their control over the world markets and finance and imperialist machinery. Are we right in thinking that you stand for the abolition of this process of exploitation of the producers of primary commodities and of the agricultural masses of the world?

Gandhiji: Root and branch.

Ranga: Are we right in thinking that ours is only a part of the general struggle of colonial peoples against world capitalism and imperialism and that India is the vanguard in world movement of colonial and agricultural masses for freedom, economic and political?

Gandhiji: I hope so.

Ye Imperialisms, Quit the Colonies !

A Case for Recognition of the Independence of Colonial Peoples

We have so far reviewed the thought and achievements of Western imperialists, radicals and socialists. We have come to the conclusion that they are not prepared to realize the need for immediately demanding the recognition, by their imperial governments, of the independence of the Colonial Nations and for accepting Gandhiji's call to world imperialism to 'Quit the Colonies and Coloured Peoples'.

We maintain that it is high time that the colonial and coloured peoples demanded the recognition of their national independence by all the other nations of the world and asked their respective imperial powers to 'Quit' their countries.

Such a demand would have sounded a little too extreme and impractical before 1939. But it has become inevitable after the Second World War. It alone expresses the inner urge which has incited the colonial and coloured peoples of the world into unity and singleness of purpose; their ripening political experience sees no protection for themselves, nay, for the whole human race, from the ravages of another World War with its atomic bombs and worse weapons of destruction, except in a complete separation of the Western imperialist-cum-capitalist world from the curses of their cupidity and rivalry for the colonial and the coloured peoples' lands which are at once their strength and their weakness.

It was because these peoples remained in their colonial status, were content with asking for reforms and would not venture upon a revolutionary programme that they failed to take the

Excerpts reproduced from *Colonial and Coloured Peoples : A Programme for their Freedom and Progress* (1946).

fullest advantage of the Second World War and inertly they went from one imperial master to another. The British, the Dutch and the French dangled before them promises of political reforms and economic concessions and sections of their intelligentsia were won over, to pursue the imperialists' own ends—to the detriment of the nationalist movements in those lands. So when the Japanese invaders triumphed over their former imperial masters, there was no competent, alert, and revolutionary leadership to guide and lead them and to demand on their behalf the recognition of their national freedom. If they had had a leader like Mahatma Gandhi, a revolutionary organization like the Indian National Congress, and a revolutionary weapon like the Satyagraha, it would have been possible for them to demand the shedding of their imperialist interests by the retreating masters, and a recognition of their own national independence. This would have effectively re-inforced their national resistance against the Japanese invaders. We do realize that demanding is not achieving. We know how Mahatma Gandhi had made his 'Quit India' demand and how cruelly the British Government had dealt with him and the Indian national revolutionary leadership. But the retreating imperialists would not have dared to deal with the national leadership of Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Indo-China, and Burma just as brutally as they did with the Indian Congress. If they had dared to do so, the political consciousness of their masses would have shot up even higher and the Japanese when they came would have found, instead of a cold passivity, all things too hot for them; and they would have had no choice except recognizing their national independence.

It is true that the Burmese nationalist movement was so strong that the Japanese had perforce to recognize Burma's independence and accept her leadership as their Government, and that in spite of all this the conquering British Government is today not willing to shed its imperialist domination over Burma. Yet, the Burmese are the better and stronger for all their three years of nominal independence and national Government and as the London *Times* confessed in August 1945, the British cannot afford to treat the Burmese as of old nor can they hope to prolong their imperialist regime indefinitely.

What actually happened in the case of other colonies is a

warning against our accepting any lower demand than the 'Quit the Colonies' slogan. Even the Japanese would not, until a few months before their eventual surrender to the Allies, treat the Indonesians as free peoples nor would they set up independent national governments, puppets though they would have been. Thus the Javanese, Annamese, and such others were denied the exhilarating, though brief, experience of feeling and considering themselves to be nationally free. In the absence of a revolutionary slogan like this, they had to hitch their demand before the Japanese on a low key, the highest being a demand for responsible government. Never again shall they be caught napping and dreaming dreams of bettering their conditions under the aegis of imperialism. Hence our plea that all colonial and coloured peoples must hasten to accept Gandhiji's lead and with cries of 'Quit the Colonies' launch upon their revolutionary career of achieving their national independence.

Such a revolutionary demand, if made now, is sure to make the imperial masters very furious. Certainly the 1942 August 'Quit India' demand drove the British mad. Yet India has stuck to that demand, has paid a terrible but inspiring price for it and is today reiterating that demand with redoubled vigour and determination. The other colonial and coloured peoples have to make the same kind of demand and launch upon a similar revolutionary career. Joyce Cary has rightly said that "freedom, power in the people, is a nuisance to rulers; it is insolent, enterprising, vulgar, inconstant, ungrateful. But you cannot do without it because it is life itself." Mahatma Gandhi warned all the unprivileged peoples that since "to be free is the birth-right of every human being, he who does not desire and fight for freedom is less than a beast". Are our colonial masses to stop demanding freedom and thus condemn themselves to the status of beasts, for fear of upsetting the temper of their imperial masters?

Moreover, this 'Quit the Colonies' slogan is not such an impossible and *chimerical* thing for the coloured masses. They have risen high and grown rapidly in political consciousness and status during this eye-opening War. They have now seen through the boasted 'superiority' of the whites to the coloured peoples of the world, and caught a glimpse of the unnamable things at the other end. Morally they have found the whites lacking in the elementary decencies, physically much less sturdy than them-

selves intellectually on the level of criminally inclined children. And in every sphere of War and Peace activity the coloured peoples have competed ably and successfully with these men whose arrogance alone has led them to think they were God's own people. More than anything else, they saw the whites fleeing before their enemies, going down in defeat, losing countries, led in large numbers as War prisoners. They saw the whites frantically in need of their own assistance, protection and friendship. All these exhilarating experiences must have shattered their accumulated inferiority complex and planted in their hearts a healthy sense of equality, a feeling of freedom from their thralldom. That the peoples of Malaysian islands are actuated by an inspiring sense of national freedom is being recognized by their imperial masters themselves. It is, therefore, not a difficult thing for such peoples to realize the significance and utter indispensability of the Gandhian slogan of 'Quit the Colonies'.

Indeed, even before the outbreak of the Second World War, the nationalist leaders of Java were demanding full responsible government; so did the Burmese leaders. The Malayan and Indo-Chinese leaders were a bit slower in making the same demand. And during the War they all seemed to have shot up in their political growth, thanks to the inspiring leadership provided by the Burmese National Government and Subhas Chandra Bose, for they began to press the Japanese Government to recognize their national freedom. And in the end, the Japanese Government had to recognize the independence of Dutch East Indies and also of Indo-China. Therefore, this demand represents, so far as the Japanese-occupied countries were concerned, what the local nationals had learnt to demand, and come to achieve and enjoy—even if it be for such a short time and in such a shadowy or nominal manner!

Coming to the African colonies, we have to note that several lakhs of Negroes had gone to the various War fronts in both Europe and Asia, gained much experience and returned to their reserves, all with new inspiring thoughts and surging ambitions. Even those who had stayed at home were reacting so passionately against the imperialist exploitation of their resources in the interest of the War that several thousands of them had to be imprisoned, and their organizations banned, and newspapers suppressed by their imperial masters. The cry for freedom has grown

in their reserves, their political consciousness and agitation have grown apace and their national ambitions have been kindled as never before. And the great Indian revolutionary effort of 1942-4 must have thrilled the thousands of Negroes who were serving in India at the time, who must have, on their return, conveyed their reactions to their own peoples in different tribes and reserves. Even in the pre-War days there were pretty strong and widespread movements for the redress of local grievances. Though they were only risings against petty local tyrannies, still they had in them the seeds of political revolution. The rising of Chagga's women, especially, against the oppressions of planters and the unjust victimization of their cooperative societies was an indication how they were developing new ideas and demands, new revolutionary movements and struggles. Those days are gone when the Negroes were sunk in despair, when impotent discontent was expressed by exclamations like 'Flog me now . . . Kill me . . . that is what I want . . . Yes . . . I want it!' The riots of Johnston Abba of 1930, the Chagga revolt, the innumerable uprisings of young men against imperialist authority as represented by the local Tribal Chiefs are a pointer which imperialists are not very slow to recognize. The British imperialists for instance are trying to meet the rising tide of discontent and revolution by offering to introduce elected members into their legislatures, and to expand their social services and thus to absorb as many of the educated unemployed as possible. That this will prove as vain as their previous similar efforts in India and elsewhere, is a by-gone conclusion. Once the passion for freedom is known, the very sense of human dignity gives a momentum to political struggle; nothing on earth can stop them till growth in geometrical proportions is achieved.

After all, it is not so long ago since the Negroes of Africa lost their national freedom and most of them are still enjoying their tribal self-government—for whatever it is worth. Much more readily do they yearn and fight for freedom than do the West Indian Negroes, for instance. But even the West Indian Negroes began to demand Dominion Status as long as ten years ago. If the descendants of slaves who had been kidnapped from Africa centuries ago could rise to such a political demand, how can the Negroes who lost their freedom only some seventy years ago fail to respond to the call of the times? We have also

seen how nearly 150 years ago, the Negro slaves rose against their masters in Haiti, shook off their slavery, organized an army, and achieved their national independence from French imperialism—all under the inspiration of the French Revolution. Is it then too much to expect the Negroes of today to hail our slogan of 'Quit the Colonies'?

I have shown in my book *World Role of National Revolution* how this demand is the absolute minimum that the colonial and coloured peoples can make at this juncture. Every concession that their imperialist masters may make hereafter has to be measured, and accepted or rejected, with the help of this measuring rod. It may take, it will take some time before this demand is fulfilled. But it is only in the light of this demand, for the sake of this demand, that every move henceforth of the colonial people must be made.

Let us remember that the imperialist powers are already obliged to pay lip homage to the 'Paramountcy of native interests'. It is the task of the colonial revolutionaries to take the fullest advantage of this and demand that their 'Quit the Colonies' slogan flows from out of it, as naturally as day follows night. Let us also realize the full possibilities of the commitments made by the United Nations—that the imperial powers are to govern their colonies in such a way as to lead them to self-government, ultimately to enable and allow them to demand and achieve national independence. Thus what we are asking imperialists to do is nothing beyond what they themselves are solemnly committed to. Only we demand of them to do it immediately. They want to 'train and lead' the coloured and colonial masses towards independence and we demand that we must be recognized as nationally independent people here and now; that they shed their imperial powers, and then range themselves along with all other friendly people to enable us to select from amongst them our helpers who are to guide us in our endeavours, to march with us in the spirit, activities, and achievements of modern times.

Thus, it is clear that the Gandhian slogan is not unnatural. It is on the contrary the only one that any self-respecting people can make. It is within the comprehension and capacity of all the coloured and colonial peoples. Furthermore, if we do not make this demand now and achieve it at the earliest moment, there is the danger of the present disruptive and demoralizing methods

and influences set in motion by the imperialist forces gaining greater strength and doing much greater mischief. There is also the possibility of the United Nations allowing these white peoples and their governments to continue their 'divide and rule' tactics, destroying or disrupting the local cultures, languages, traditions, and social and economic foundations. There is, moreover, no guarantee that the intentions of the I.L.O., the real spirit of the Philadelphia Charter, and the declarations of the San Francisco Conference will be sincerely adhered to and fully implemented. So far the Christian missionaries alone were depended upon to provide some educational facilities and to bring the cultural heritage of the West to the sons of the Negro and Red Indian masses. But Mr. Jomo Kenyatta has shown in his book *Kenya* how great a mischief is caused because of their prejudices against the cultural heritage and social institutions of the coloured masses and also because of their failure to realize the harm done to the colonial peoples by injecting into them the Western poisons of individualism, competition and the personal profit motive. Unless the coloured people insist upon the immediate liquidation of imperialism, the white capitalist interests will continue their present attempt to gain more and more vested interests in these colonies, in the name of the 'open door' policy as advocated by so many whites and as adumbrated by the Atlantic Charter. They may even take into alliance the local Indian, Chinese, Arab capitalists and thus gain greater political power. The imperial powers may hasten with their notorious policy of confining the natives to their reserves, in strengthening the white landlords by creating many more 'Kenya Highlands reservations' for the whites alone, by extending the South African anti-native policy to other areas, by allowing South Africa to gain greater concessions or powers, by increasing the quota of representation allowed to the whites in the colonial legislatures, by reducing their tax burdens, by increasing the State's expenditure on social services that benefit mostly the whites and starve the social services that are intended for the coloured masses, by continuing to impart wrong education which implants inferiority complex and suppresses the intellectual growth of the coloured masses. Last but not least, there is the danger of the continuation of the present imperialist policy of suppressing every political movement and agitation and of stunting the peo-

ples' political growth. There is the extreme danger of these Western powers attempting to create communal, tribal and other sectional divisions in order to prevent the growth of the national revolutionary forces. In fact, Mr. J.S. Furnivak has frankly admitted in his book *The Tropical Far East* (Oxford Pamphlets) that 'Western political institutions fostered division rather than unity', and India, Palestine and Burma have had a bitter experience of such imperialist machinations. So at least to prevent the growth of this mischief and to foster unity it is necessary that the colonial peoples be declared free.

If the national independence of the colonial and coloured peoples is recognized, then whoever may be sent to them by the World Federation to help and guide them will have to serve them according to the decisions made by their legislators and the needs felt and hopes expressed by them. Everything which these foreign helpers and guides propose to do has then to be tested on the touchstone of the paramountcy of native interests. Every vested interest, whether foreign or local, has to be judged only from this standpoint—as interpreted for instance by Mahatma Gandhi to the Second Round Table Conference. Thus there will be some assurance that the administration of the colonial areas, and the utilization of their resources in men and materials is carried on for the benefit of the toiling masses of the countries concerned.

In fact, even the demand for national freedom, nay, even the declaration by the coloured peoples of their determination to achieve complete independence, will put their present imperial masters on their trial and will act as a healthy restraint upon their predatory instincts. Hence the need for the colonial peoples to raise at once this demand of 'Quit the Colonies'.

There are equally strong reasons for the Western socialists and the Eastern national revolutionaries to hail this demand of the colonial peoples and strengthen it. As Lenin had warned them nearly 25 years ago, the social revolution of the Western peoples cannot achieve an early triumph as long as imperialism continues to reinforce our immediate enemy, World Capitalism, by bribing the Western proletariat—with its continuous streams of colonial super-profits or surplus value—into acquiescence to the present capitalist dispensation.

If really the European and American socialists are keen on

liquidating this world menace of capitalism, then they must hasten to strengthen the struggle of the coloured and colonial masses to liquidate the world force of imperialism which is the projection of capitalism. But as long as the San Francisco dispensation lasts and no date is fixed for the recognition of the national independence of the colonial peoples, there cannot be much chance for the Western toilers to achieve their social revolution, and establish their Socialist Society. On the contrary, the continued exploitation of colonies by their capitalist masters will be making their own struggle more and more difficult, postponing, if not making impossible, their ultimate success. If, however, our 'Quit the Colonies' demand is strengthened by the Western socialists also, then their capitalists and their imperialists will not be able to exploit the colonies as freely as at present—will, in fact, be obliged to restrict expansion of their capitalist interests in the colonies and may have to return to the colonies a large part of the capitalists' surplus that the peasants and workers have helped to produce, in the shape of social services offered to colonial peoples. To the extent, in short, that Western socialists join hands with the colonial and coloured peoples of the world, will they be weakening their enemy, world capitalism, and strengthening their own social revolution.

Hence the need for them to re-inforce our endeavours to have the demand of 'Quit the Colonies' accepted. Similarly it is in the interests of the national revolutionaries of countries like China and India to strengthen that same demand. For so long as imperialism is able to exploit the colonies and their peoples, it will continue to be strong enough to continue to thwart their struggles for complete political and economic independence. The more sincerely and passionately they champion the freedom cause of other colonial and coloured masses and thus continue to harass imperialism, the greater is their chance to weaken and ultimately to defeat imperialism on their own national fronts. The Indian National Congress has realized this truth and has, therefore, made India's freedom struggle embrace not only India's demand for national freedom but also that of all other colonies and coloured peoples. Hence Mahatma Gandhi's insistence that India's freedom struggle is part and parcel of the challenge of the whole of Asia and Africa to world imperialism. Hence also Maulana Azad's (the Congress President) demand

made to Lord Wavell and accepted by him, that the National Government of India then contemplated was to be entitled to raise the question of freedom of all other colonial masses and press for the immediate recognition of their national independence, and particularly of the Asiatic countries that were to be liberated from the Japanese.

In this connexion we have to note that whereas the Indian National Congress has had the foresight not only to formulate the 'Quit' slogan but also to accept the counter-challenge of British imperialism and its ally's (U.S.A.) the 'Manifest Destiny' ideology; not only to refuse to withdraw the slogan despite terrible repression, threat of war, and diplomatic machinations, but also to reiterate its faith in it, declare that it is the very breath of its existence. Even three years after all this, the socialists of the West have not even visualized yet the world's utmost need of that slogan.

It is true that the Soviet school of writers also offers to support the right of colonial peoples for independence. But they do not demand its immediate advent, nor do they support the colonial peoples' demand for its immediate recognition. The Indian National Congress does not wish to dictate to any colonial country. It only seeks to help by its advice and assistance. It even goes to the length of reinforcing the colonies' struggles by inducing the local Indian residents to help the local anti-imperialist movements. The Indian National Congress wishes to encourage them to develop their anti-imperialist and freedom fronts, through the example of its own struggles for freedom.

The Indian National Congress and its leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, have not made this demand on behalf of all the other colonial peoples in a rhetorical sense; not in order to strengthen the cause of India but to hearken the declaration of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican Negro. Though he died before anything tangible was achieved, he left his breath of freedom, as a splendid heritage for his fellow-sufferers:

"Nowhere in the world with few exceptions are black men accorded equal treatment with white men but are discriminated against for no other reason than their race and colour.

"Against such inhuman and unchristian and uncivilized treatment we protest and invoke the condemnation of all mankind.

"We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people

of the world; we demand Africa for the Africans.”

This declaration was made nearly 30 years ago. And it is only now that we are venturing to make it again, to justify his faith in mankind.

Those who think that even now our demand is too extreme and *chimerical* had better remember the terrible influence that three years of Japanese radio propaganda must have had on the coloured peoples of the world and their resultant dislike, distrust and disregard of the white nations; their disabilities, their unhappiness at the fall of the only one coloured great power and their smouldering fires of colour consciousness.

Let them also take heed of the warning sounded by Joyce Cary:

“If Africa, poor and ignorant, as it now is, does not encourage a nationalist movement, it does threaten with ever-increasing urgency, a Social War of black against white, poor against rich. The opposition of race is fortified by the difference of colour: the contrast between rich and poor is great.”

Freedom Front of the Coloured and Colonial Peoples : The Immediate Tasks

The most urgent things for the Colonial and Coloured Peoples' Freedom Front to do are the establishment of the World University for the coloured peoples, the convening of the World Conference of Coloured Peoples, and the formulation of general principles that are to govern their relations with the rest of the world.

One of the greatest reasons for the political backwardness of so many colonial peoples and their pathetically slow pace of entry into the great stream of colonial national revolution is the paucity of local leaders who are revolutionary-minded. So far no systematic effort has been made by national revolutionaries of most of the colonies to study the progress and fortunes, principles and technique of national revolutionary movements of different colonies and to help work out the most suitable and expeditious revolutionary approach, technique, and methods; and to pursue them. Dr. Sun Yat-sen in China and Gandhiji in India have had the foresight to analyse the impact of imperialism on their countries, to think out their methods of fight against it and to start colleges or Ashrams wherein to train a number of youths in their ideology and methods and to pursue their revolutionary careers in a scientific and open-eyed manner. It is now too late to expect the leaders of every one of the colonies separately to grope their way towards their programmes of struggle against imperialism. Therefore, the best thing to do is to form a World University of Colonial and Coloured Peoples, preferably in India or in China, as these countries happen to be most sympathetic to freedom's cause and also as they have had the most experience of an anti-imperialist struggle. It will invite professors from most of the colonies to teach and do research in it in

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various social subjects and also welcome colonial youths, boys and girls, to come and undergo a study course of at least two years.

Such a study course has to comprise both theoretical and practical training. The students have to be helped to understand both through the study of existing literature on capitalism, imperialism, socialism and nationalism and through personal observation of the practical results of imperialist exploitation and the actual anti-imperialist struggles waged, organizations built up, methods pursued, and ideologies worked out, by the national revolutionaries of India or China or any other neighbouring country that they can conveniently reach.

This course of study cannot be complete unless and until the students are enabled to see how the Indian as well as the Chinese national movements have made use of their control of the local self-government and provincial governments and legislatures to advance their revolutionary movements; how they have developed constructive programmes to strengthen their hold upon different cadres of the masses and also to evolve the most suitable programmes and policies to be later on pursued on a much larger scale when larger political power is achieved; how they have organized their own national revolutionary parties. The study of the significance and achievements of their economic boycotts of imperialist and capitalistic imports, social boycotts of all official functions, titles and imperialistic institutions and the political boycotts seeking to train the masses towards a general strike against imperialism also forms part of such a course of study.

As and when a sufficiently large number of local leaders undergo this training and gain some practical experience of agitation, organization and leadership in their respective countries, they can be expected and helped to organize their own national colleges for training a much larger number of local youths, and thus gain increasing cadres of recruits to their national revolutionary movements.

Pilot Sketch for Future Development

New Pleas for Continued Exploitation

The colonial and coloured peoples are today so poor, unorganized and backward in their race with the more advanced industrial countries and their peoples that they cannot take part in the present world economic struggle without special aids and protection. They need protective tariff walls and even subsidies in order to protect their existing handicrafts and other industries and to build up new industries. They have to take special protective measures in order to gain freedom from the present stranglehold of foreign commerce, and its merchants and bankers, foreign shipping and insurance enterprises, etc. In short, most of the colonies have to withdraw themselves to the maximum possible degree from the world's commercial and industrial arena. This may appear to be condemning these backward areas to further backwardness. But actually only through such means can they be helped to emancipate themselves from their existing backwardness and poverty and grow strong enough to join once again the world market, its commerce and industry, with full confidence of making their fitting contribution to the world, without being seriously damaged and impoverished as they at present are, on account of their weak bargaining power.

No vested interests can be allowed to be gained by the whites or browns or yellow people who are foreigners to the concerned colonial people and who are better able to look after themselves and also to exploit the natives. Especially is such a precaution necessary to be taken when the natives do not know or do not like these foreigners' commercial or industrial or social ways of life. For instance, the Negroes or the Red Indians do not know the intricacies of modern urban life or the complexities of inter-

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national industry and commerce. They are equally ignorant of the possibilities of plantation or commercial agriculture for producing cash crops for world markets. As things stand, only foreigners, who are better versed in these new social mechanisms, can ply their economic activities and prosper, can compulsorily inflict these economic or social activities upon the colonial countries; then they impose upon the colonials foreign classes of people who alone can prosper under such economic dispensation. The consequent exploitation and degradation imposed upon the natives is one of the cruellest things that modern imperialism has practised. The colonial people have to upset this heinous dispensation.

It is possible that the natural resources of a colony, the special aptitudes of its natives, and the special products of its industry form an important key need of the world and the more advanced peoples, and their countries have got to have these products. To start with, there are very few such 'key needs' which must be placed at the disposal of the world, irrespective of the special needs of the natives concerned for protection. Even if there be such a key product, uranium, for instance, it is far better for the rest of the world to suffer a certain amount of inconvenience or additional cost by not imposing its one-sided demand on the colonial people than that the colonial people should be forced to suffer the deprivation of their 'key products' long before they are enabled to make as good use of them as others, also in the interests of world's humanity. It is from this viewpoint that I maintain that the rights of the colonial people to be eventually able to exploit their own natural and other resources to the fullest extent must have precedence over the rights of the so-called world civilization and culture.

Let us not forget the fact that as yet there is no such thing as 'world civilization and culture' and that Western civilization has been one-sided and Western culture has been nurtured on the bleeding souls of the coloured masses of the world. Through their unashamed imperialistic exploitation of the world during and after the two world wars, the Western powers have exposed the utter disregard of their responsibilities towards the fallen peoples, undeveloped nations and especially the coloured masses. I do not see, therefore, any reason why the natural resources of the coloured peoples and their countries should be placed

at the disposal of the industrial and capitalist countries and their predatory peoples. Hence my claim of first priority for the subject peoples and their nations for the use of all their known and unknown natural and other resources.

Moreover, how can we forget the fact that the great unexplored, under-exploited, unexploited, or virgin lands of Canada, Australia, New Zealand are made the special preserves of their tiny populations of the whites and they do not wish to allow over-populated Asia or Africa to send their coloured peoples to populate their expansive commons or wastes. Our coloured peoples have a much more insistent and just right to populate those countries, exploit their lands and develop their resources—yet they are kept off. With what face then can the white nations demand or justify their forcible exploitation of our resources? It is true, they are today stronger than us: they have the argument of the atom bomb. But that is about all the argument they have in justification of their present one-sided exploitation of the world and especially our colonial areas and peoples. But when we have decided to challenge their might by our weapon of non-violence, to contest their argument of might by our national revolution, we naturally cannot accept their one-sided and unjust claims for priority on the use of our resources. What priority claims can there be for an atom bomb civilization except the threat of our prior destruction?

Our Standpoint

My skeleton suggestions for the development of agriculture, industry and commerce of the colonial countries are given later on in this chapter. I wish to state here the standpoint from which these suggestions are made. I have no faith in the profit motive, nor do the Negro or Red Indian or Malayan or Javanese masses have. I am not wedded to commercialized peasant proprietorship as the best means of exploiting land, nor are these coloured masses. I have no faith in the humanity or uplifting character of capitalism, nor have these peoples. I believe in the socialistic way of production and distribution and I think the family and tribal standards of economic life are advanced landmarks in the coloured peoples' spontaneous and traditional march towards socialism. I am convinced that the violent and unholy attempts

made during the past century and more by the Western nations to impose their disruptive ideas of private enterprise, their weapons of profit motive and inequalities of incomes, world markets and their attendant scourges of world economic crises and wars have all brought untold miseries to the coloured masses, disrupted their tribal socialistic economies, destroyed their village and tribal economic self-sufficiency and their cottage industries. Therefore the very first thing to do is to put a stop to these destructive capitalistic enterprises and methods and to give every possible encouragement to their tribal, socialistic institutions and trends, and to try to rebuild their social and economic structures on the granite foundations of their self-employment in agriculture and crafts, tribal, village and craft traditions and sentiments, which are all genuinely socialistic. I do realize the need for democratizing the traditional institutions of the coloured peoples. It is urgent, especially, to replace the institution of tribal chiefs, which has been prostituted by imperialists, by a democratically chosen tribal council of chiefs. Certainly we shall have to preserve and improve upon the present system of law and order, so far as it does not erode or weaken the basic socialistic foundations and social structures of the coloured peoples, because it is one of the very few good things that have been introduced by imperialism, though it was more for its own benefit than for that of the natives. But so far as the laws concerning property are concerned, they have to be carefully and completely overhauled from the viewpoint of tribal collectivism. Therefore, while making an exception in the case of private holdings so far created by imperialism and granted to the local coloured peoples, in regard to the holding of all other lands, the earlier tribal conception of collective ownership and exploitation must be upheld by law and every effort has to be made to dislodge the tribal chiefs and their lessees from their ill-gotten ownership or quasi-ownership of lands which rightfully belonged to the tribe as a whole. I wish to suggest the reconstruction and development of the colonial economic structure especially in its agricultural and industrial aspects on the lines of the Gandhian Plan and the Chinese New Life Movement and Indusco, as opposed to the Bombay Plan, because the former are very much in line with the existing social and economic traditions and institutions of the coloured masses, whereas the latter can only

intensify the prevailing mischievous and degenerating influences of the West.

A constructive and determined effort has also to be made to encourage the existing cooperative and collective influences and elements in the social and economic fabric of these peoples. It is in the direction of cooperative organization of agriculture and cottage industries that the future progress and protection of these masses is to be sought and achieved. When viewed from this angle, we can see clearly how wrong it is to allow the white or brown or yellow planters to remain in possession of the vast lands which they are supposed to have acquired with the sanction of imperialistic laws. We can now see that instead of the coloured masses being confined to the far too inadequate reserves and the white minorities appropriating the largest slices of land in every colony, it is the latter whose rights must be delimited and it is the former whose expansion by way of land ownership and exploitation of all other natural resources that ought to be unbounded and untrammelled by 'open door' competition.

As for the white minorities in coloured peoples' countries, we have to insist upon a ceiling being put to their rights and claims, in view of the fact that they are too strong already and they are always being strengthened by the white peoples' governments of the West. When we come to the coloured minorities in the white peoples' countries, we have to insist upon the satisfaction of a decent minimum standard of life—social, economic and political—, because they are quite unable to look after themselves and prevent the aggressive whites from exploiting and degrading them. This protection of the coloured peoples and delimitation of the whites' rights can be achieved only by international controls to be enforced by the new World Security Organization. That may necessitate a serious restriction of the nations' enjoyment of sovereignty and the so-called self-determination. That is inevitable in the larger interests of humanity as a whole and the depressed and oppressed sections of it in particular. Therefore coloured masses cannot and ought not to accept the Western peoples' one-sided interpretations of their sovereignty.

Helping the Coloured Peoples

The more advanced peoples of the world have a special duty

to perform towards these colonial peoples. They are always talking of world unity and world responsibilities and so on. If really they are sincere in saying that no one part of the world shall enjoy extreme prosperity while another suffers from dreadful poverty and that the prosperous and powerful people must go to the aid of the less fortunate, then it is their duty to do all they can to help the coloured people.* But such help, if it is to be of real benefit to the natives, must not be associated with any political or economic claims for vested interests or special remuneration or even normal returns for their labour. For, the coloured masses cannot afford to assure them such normal returns for their labour, owing to the great disparity in their respective standards of living and economic levels. Are the whites ready to render such service?

That the whites are as yet unwilling to render such altruistic or socialistic help to the coloured peoples becomes evident from their refusal to accept even the Chinese proposal to agree to train the colonial masses towards independence; or to accept the Indian and Egyptian proposal to create a special claim for financial assistance on the World Bank; or even to abandon their claim to the 'open door' for the free and unfettered exploitation of colonial resources. That they are not even prepared to give up their existing rights of exploiting and cheating the unfortunate colonial peoples is made clear by the British conscription of the dollar resources of these peoples and their continuation of the Empire Dollar Pool. That they really owe a special duty towards the colonial peoples becomes clear when we realize how greatly they depress the prices of agricultural goods supplied by the colonial masses, prevent the development of their industries, charge or impose their industrial goods and services at inflated prices, and thus inflict unjust and unfair terms of trade on those helpless people. For a century and more they have been exploiting the colonies. At least in part restitution they ought to agree to place sufficient capital at no interest, or only nominal, at the disposal of the colonies for the advancement of the economic and social life of the colonial peoples. But they are not willing to render any such restitution or even to abstain from looting the colonies.

*As reiterated by the Willy Brandt Commission of the U.N. in 1981. —Ed.

It is also manifest that the Western devices of majority rule, party system, log-rolling, selection of the service-men by competitive examination alone, selection of men for political, defence and civil services from amongst the feudal lords and rich families who alone can afford the prescribed educational standards are not suitable to the colonial tribal peoples. Therefore, the Western people cannot be expected to react to the needs of these peoples as sympathetically and creatively as the Eastern peoples can. The dangers of the growing managerial counter-revolution also are attendant on the Western political and economic institutions and devices and so Western thinkers have to be doubly careful not to import their peculiar prejudices and fads into the life of the colonial peoples. On the other hand, the oriental peoples, say of China and India, Egypt and Burma, can more easily react to and understand the tribal, caste, or clan structure of the social and economic life of the coloured masses, aid their efforts at reconstruction, and generally make more constructive contributions to their well-being. There are greater possibilities for the transformation of the craft Panchayats into Guild Socialist ventures, and of the tribal collectivism into tribal cooperative democracy, than for the Western capitalistic or Soviet transformation of colonial life. Hence the need to turn to the East for guidance and leadership and fraternal cooperation.

It is therefore the duty of all colonial and coloured masses to continue to make their demand for the recognition of their national independence, to refuse to be cowed down by any threats or be satisfied with any partial reforms or high-sounding promises, to launch straightway upon their revolutionary career. And whenever any transitional measure of reform is offered, they have to judge it from their revolutionary standpoint that neither the whites nor other immigrants have any better right than themselves and theirs must always be the first and foremost interest that must be served and safeguarded.

Declare the Colonial Peoples Free from all Domination

When we maintain that the independence of these colonial peoples shall be recognized as the first step in the re-orientation of the world's attitude towards them, we do not, however, mean that they shall be left unaided to tackle their own problems and

to find their own moorings in this baffling, too complex, too highly mechanized world. *We do mean, of course, that they shall forthwith be freed from every vestige of bondage or of dependence upon any other country or nation.* This stand presupposes the abolition of all empires, and of imperialist domination. It is a flat denial of the right of one nation to impose upon another its own institutions or notions of government and economic or social development. It means that however poor the coloured or colonial peoples concerned might be, however much they might lag behind the more advanced nations, they shall be enabled to start on the road towards progress and prosperity, as free peoples, completely untrammelled by any feeling of direct or indirect dependence upon, or forced tutelage to, another nation; and freed from that consciousness of inferiority and sense of despondency which the arrogance of a ruling nation stamps upon the minds of a subject people.

One may wonder what advantages are to be derived from the conferment of a free status when these peoples are admittedly so backward in most respects as to need many years of special effort to come up to the standard of civilization in its broadest conception enjoyed by other more advanced nations. The answer is: the mere consciousness of national independence and freedom from every kind of outside domination will rid them of the depressing load of slavery, intellectual stupor and moral degradation. It will release all their latent powers for the achievement of their hopes and aspirations, and encourage them to dream of and strive for a glory that now seems a mirage. It is indeed for this reason that Mahatma Gandhi, in 1942, demanded orderly British withdrawal from India. "The relation and attitude of the European to the Asiatic or African, wherever the former has found it possible and profitable to rule the latter, has easily and naturally become authoritarian. The psychology of an imperialist is based on a negation of democratic ideas of individual equality and freedom," said Leonard Woolf in his book *After the Deluge*.

Moreover, once their freedom and equality of status with other nations are recognized, the colonial people would readily welcome the assistance and cooperation of all social workers, philanthropists and genuine internationalists in their efforts to improve them and raise their cultural standards. Whoever is

permitted to go to their aid would be conscious of the fact that he is working in the midst of and for a free people, equal in international status to his own and only deserving assistance as younger brethren. He would have to shed all sense of superiority and be content to remain with such people only as long as he enjoys their confidence freely given. Only in an atmosphere of freedom would these helpers be stimulated to give of their best. To anticipate a little of what is to follow, such helpers would be there, not as a matter of right but because of an invitation, not permanently but only for a prescribed period; not with the chance of prolonging their sojourn as well as wardenship of the people by sabotaging their progress, but only with the opportunity of competing one with another for the approval of both the people concerned and the rest of the world by adopting 'shock' methods of teaching, guiding and inspiring, and thus progressively shortening the period of their minority.

Moreover, the recognition of their independence as the very first step necessarily presupposes that the industrial, agricultural and cultural resources of these peoples shall be developed only in their own interests and not as hitherto to the equal advantage of all other nations, irrespective of the special needs and disabilities of the people concerned. Article 4 of the Atlantic Charter, aiming at the 'open door' to colonial countries, was opposed to the real and permanent interests of their inhabitants.

The immediate recognition of the independence of the colonial peoples shall be the very first act of justice and restitution by the empires of the world. All those who wish well of the coloured races and other colonial peoples must place at the head of their demands, as the absolute minimum, the recognition and proclamation of their complete independence.

Form the International Social Service

The recognition of their national independence is only the beginning. It only gives them, for the first time in their contacts with the conquering whites, an opportunity to develop their productive resources, raise their standards of living, create suitable modern political institutions, and march along cultural avenues best suited to their genius and the modern age. But to exploit to the full the local resources, material and moral train-

ing, scientific equipment and organization are essential. It is just these that the coloured people need so badly, especially in relation to the demands of the present times. They cannot be mechanically grafted on them. Much hard training, enthusiastic work and careful practice are necessary to foster these to the requisite capacity. Due to the dwarfing effects of imperialism, the colonial people, as they are today, stand badly in need of help and cooperation from more advanced peoples. How is this help to be rendered? The late Woodrow Wilson evolved the Mandates System. Lord Cromer would solve it, as in Egypt, by the imposition of a protectorate. Lord Passfield, the Fabian Socialist, accepted the much more civilized conception of trusteeship. All these systems are now discredited. None of them has been free of the taint of imperialist exploitation. The only solution that has so far been tried with success was the League's attempt to reorganize the civil life of Vienna and the financial structure of Austria after the last war. It worked well in that it neither violated the Austrian consciousness of independence nor perpetuated their dependence upon the League for more than a few years. The only defects in the plan were that U.S.A., Germany and U.S.S.R. were not then represented and that the agents of the League despatched to Austria to undertake the work of reorganization did display arrogance, though not for long, unashamedly. The only organization that can be expected to train and help the colonial peoples must therefore be representative of all the countries of the world, at least as many countries as possible, including, of course, the countries of the coloured peoples too.

Such an organization, whether it be called the World State, League of Nations or Federation of Nations,* shall develop an international cadre of experts, recruited from all over the world and selected for their mastery of the requisite language or languages, their sympathies and affinities with the traditions and cultures of the different coloured peoples, their record of social work, political experience or expert knowledge of industrial matters. They shall not be called civil servants or mere experts, for both these appellations have unhealthy associations of

*Called at present U.N.O. —Ed.

superiority or class prejudice. They must be called, instead, 'International Social Servants'. Thus we shall have our International League or Federation of Nations organizing its service of 'International Social Servants' (I.S.S.).

What are the broad qualifications that these I.S.S. shall possess in addition to those indicated above? They will certainly be given a good grounding in sociology, particularly psychology of tribal peoples, rural culture, anthropology and the working of ancient collective institutions, economic and social. They will study tribal laws regarding civil and criminal problems. They shall be on probation for a year among just those people whom they will be serving later on, so that they may get used to their ways, learn their language and habits and develop a genuine love for them. Any one who does not give sufficient proof of real ability to adjust himself to the habits of the people concerned and fails to develop adequate faith in their future will not be entertained for permanent service.

These I.S.S. will be engaged for not more than twenty years in the first instance and they will be given definite instructions to see that they complete the work of training, organizing and guiding the people in whose midst they work so that their own leaders and civil servants emerge, able to stand on their own feet. In no case will this period of training be prolonged beyond fifteen years. If the Russian 'Group Competitions' and 'Shock Methods' of service are pursued, it must be possible in most countries to achieve extremely satisfactory results in the first five-year period itself, and complete the process of training in all of them before the second five-year period is complete. Each one of these I.S.S. (men or women) must be enjoined to train every year a batch of at least twenty native social workers and civil servants, in addition to discharging his other official duties, so that by the time his period of service is completed, there will be enough competent and well-trained natives to render the requisite services to their own people. Norman Bentwich said: "There is general agreement on the desirability of introducing technical officers from different countries into the colonial administration. The exchange of ideas between officers of different nations should be an advantage in the task of the economic and political development of the colonies."

The salaries and allowances to be paid to the I.S.S. need not

be too high. But while they are given allowances sufficient to enable them to live in the same comfort as the cultured but hard working people of the race they are to serve, they may be assured of a pension to enable them to live in their own countries for ten fifteen years in that degree of comfort and security essential for men of their culture and age. Thus the sum total of these allowances and pensions would be less burdensome than the present salaries paid to colonial civil servants. Such economy is needed not only because the colonial and coloured people are poor, but also because persons ought not to be attracted to the I.S.S. merely by monetary inducements. The fixed period of 20 years for drawing pension would be a stimulus to an I.S.S. to finish his work, in cooperation with his colleagues, as soon as possible. Scrupulous care has to be taken to see that these I.S.S. are made to realize that they are primarily valued as social servants, and also for their expert knowledge and that, therefore, they must display the greatest possible zeal and earnestness in the work they undertake.

As far as possible, intellectuals from among the coloured peoples of Asia, Africa and America must be given first preference in the selection of these I.S.S. since they can be expected to be more sympathetic towards their fellow-peoples. Even among the whites, only those who have displayed a genuine love for the suffering peoples shall be selected.

It is, however, most necessary to see that these I.S.S. do not degenerate into the customary type of civil servant. To this end, it is essential to associate committees of the people with every department and its district branches and see that at every stage, the work and the mind of the I.S.S. are subject to free criticism, constructive suggestions and voluntary approval and cooperation of the masses concerned.

It is the duty of the International Government to pay for the services of these I.S.S. for the first twenty years as the contribution of the civilized world towards the regeneration and training of the coloured peoples. The industrialized countries can certainly afford this contribution.

They owe it also to the coloured peoples to make a return for all the benefits they have derived from them in the past. Moreover this would be an inducement to all nations of the world to hasten the training of the depressed nations and place

them, at an early date, on their own feet.

Programme for Development

Once the necessary cadre of international social servants is got together, it has to be distributed, in accordance with qualifications and special choice as well as the order of need of the coloured peoples concerned, between the various divisions of work of national reconstruction. To venture a few suggestions, the very first task of national development must be *the organization of both large-scale and small-scale industries and cooperative and collective agriculture*. Of course, no private enterprise shall be either encouraged or created in any of these areas. Every industrial enterprise shall be carried on either cooperatively or collectively, so that it fits more easily into the traditions and inclinations of the people concerned and the vicious system of capitalism, springing from private enterprise, is avoided. To achieve such industrial development, two preliminary tasks will have to be carried out—one, the provision of training in mechanical services like engineering, mining and metallurgy; and the other, a survey of the agricultural, industrial and mineral potentialities of the country and the preparation of a 'five-year plan of development'. These responsibilities can best be discharged by an international delegation of experts deputed by the International Government. To avoid unnecessary delay and to achieve the greatest progress in the shortest time possible, training schools and colleges and agricultural experimental farms are needed and industrial planning and the initiation of certain preliminary industrial enterprises have to be carried on simultaneously.

Such rapid development of agriculture and industries in vast areas of the world needs immense capital investment. Who is to supply it all? We cannot allow the various private companies or banks of different creditor countries or even their governments to advance this capital, lest the evils generally associated with such investment should afflict these nascent nations also.

As for the existing investments of local and foreign capitalists the World State must fix a maximum period after which they would be liable to be repaid at their face value. Similarly all the industrial and commercial concerns that are functioning today

or may be allowed to be organized in the colonies will have to be given a maximum period of ten or twenty years, after which they would be taken over by the State on payment of reasonable compensation. Even during the transitional stage, the State shall fix the maximum limit for profits to be derived by capitalists, and nominate a prescribed number of directors on its behalf to see to their efficiency and public utility. The profits over and above the maximum limit shall be taken over by Government for social progress.

International Economic Help: The International Government shall develop a *Special Bank and Industrial Corporation and Agricultural Development Board*. It shall invite deposits and investments from various companies, individuals and Governments of different countries in the world at specially reduced rates of interest. Then these various Boards shall re-invest all the resources thus obtained in different industrial and agricultural enterprises in the undeveloped countries according to the agreed national plan. If need be, the Boards may levy quotas of investment, as between different creditor countries and expect them to offer the necessary investments, no matter whether the funds are contributed by their Governments, banks, or individuals, or all these in combination. Since such investments are secure from the fear of internal revolutions or international warfare and also from the risk of any large-scale failures of the industrial or other ventures to be financed, one may be confident that the more prosperous peoples and their Governments would be only too glad to make adequate offers of capital. Until such investments are repaid the International Government and its institutions will be given an effective voice in the initiation, development and governance of all such enterprises as are to be started by and financed from such funds, of course without in any way infringing the present and future rights of the coloured people concerned.¹ The foreign trade of these countries shall be controlled by their States and regulated especially with a view to fostering local industries and agriculture at record speed and to prevent world trade from having any deadening

¹ Since then, as of now, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Asian and African Banks are functioning.—Ed.

or depressing effect upon local enterprise. Naturally, the imports of certain commodities may have to be completely banned for a time and those of other commodities seriously curtailed in order to stimulate the growth of local industries. The Arab, Indian and European merchants who have built up their interests in this trade may have to be cashiered after the payment of suitable compensation, and their personnel absorbed to the maximum extent into the new services needed to administer the State enterprises.

The inland trade, whether wholesale or retail, shall be carried on by cooperative societies and, when necessary, by State enterprise. This prevents the growth of that noxious weed, the private trader and his shop. It is only then that the extremely complicated problem of Indian, Arabian and European middlemen can be eliminated. The displaced merchants may be given first choice of employment in these cooperative organizations after they have been given the requisite training. Thus and thus only can the enormous profiteering that goes on be completely eliminated from the economy of these countries. None need fear that this collective or cooperative industrialization and agriculture will introduce too much of regimentation, for the coloured peoples have been accustomed for ages to such a collective organization of life and need such a paternal organization to protect them from the disintegrating canker of capitalism. The proposed triangular control over such collective organization will try to eliminate the natural evils associated with too much regimentation.

Agricultural Development

When we come to agriculture, we have to be careful not to introduce plantation economy where it has not already been adopted, but foster cooperative and self-employed farming. Where it is more economical to organize large-scale plantation, collective or State farming will have to be developed. In the case of peasant proprietors where they have already established themselves, cooperative controlled credit as well as cooperative marketing for supplying the peasants' needs and also for selling their produce will have to be developed so as to embrace all peasants. The present private plantations must be taken over by the State

and run on cooperative lines, of course with official guidance. Every river will have to be examined and its waters harnessed for the production of electricity. Reservoirs, tanks and aqueducts have to be built and irrigation developed, tanks and wells will have to be dug, tube wells sunk, and the maximum advantage taken of sub-soil water. Protected supplies of drinking water, the conservation of moisture, fuel and green manure will have to be provided for in every possible manner. The spread of the desert, erosion and deforestation must be checked, both irrigation and drainage facilities carefully developed. All this can be achieved only by the expenditure of vast sums of money, which the International Government alone can raise. The kind of crops to be raised and the system of rotation to be followed must be settled by a national crop-planning body and every care must be taken to avoid over-production of certain crops. The manufacture of tractors, harvesters and other modern implements, fertilizers and insecticides will have to be undertaken. Similarly, cattle breeding, dairy farming and other subsidiary industrial occupations shall as far as possible be planned, once a year, in keeping with the local agricultural economy, the tempo of its progress and the people's needs. In short, every means shall be adopted so as to secure the maximum returns from farming. Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and peasant immediately relieved of the burden of interest charges. Peasant economy has to be encouraged to associate itself more and more with cooperative agriculture. A systematic effort will have to be made to raise the general standard of living of the masses. In all these matters the International Government would do well to see that its various delegations and I.S.S. are made to develop their plans of action after carefully studying the reconstruction methods adopted by Soviet Russia, methods of rationalization followed by America of the NRA period and the traditional institutions of the coloured peoples themselves.

Side by side with these plans for industrialization and agricultural development attention must be paid to the draining of marshy tracts, development of forests, extermination of mosquitoes from malarial areas, provision of protected supplies of drinking water, construction of irrigation projects, digging of tanks and wells, the organization of famine protection works, provision of different kinds of communications including roads,

canals, railways and airways, and the organization of public health and sanitation. The heavy incidence of disease and mortality has to be tackled without delay.

Self-Defence

Simultaneously with all this constructive activity, the coloured peoples must be trained for the defence of their territories and for the maintenance of internal law and order. Instead of creating costly standing armies recruited from among a few sections of these peoples, it is safer and more economical in the long run to provide for one or two years of scientific training in modern warfare to all able-bodied men. Then it would be enough to maintain only a small standing army at a cost within the means of these people.

Education

To achieve any or all of the reforms mentioned above, the most important pre-requisite is the development of education among these peoples. Merely literary education would be neither adequate nor economical. A literary education coupled with vocational training, organized on lines somewhat similar to those indicated by Mahatma Gandhi and practised with great success by Soviet Russia, would be best suited to the needs of these countries. The appalling ignorance and backwardness among the Africans and Asians have to be fought, and the torch of education has to be carried into every home in order to drive away superstitions. If the industrial and agricultural development of these colonies is to be carried on rapidly along scientific lines, then hundreds of thousands of educated mechanics, electricians, and other technicians are necessary. And only an educated community can supply this need. Therefore a very large number of high schools, institutes for vocational training, engineering and agricultural colleges and universities, besides free and compulsory elementary schools, have to be established immediately. Such an education would help these people to gain at once literacy, vocational aptitudes and skill, and initiation into the rapidly growing world of modern civilization.

The collection and editing of the various poetical and prose

compositions of these peoples, the development of a progressive and self-reliant literature and the publication of books on all modern sciences and problems in a simple and popular style are other urgent educational tasks. The adoption of the Latin script and the popularization of a common African commercial language, based on the Bantu, would prove useful.

Prevention of Mischief

Certain negative tasks, which in effect would be just as constructive and helpful as the other schemes so far indicated, would also have to be carried out. For instance, the prohibition or regulation of alcoholic drinks and narcotics would have to be enforced, and the Africans, Malaysians and other coloured peoples rescued from their present suicidal mania for intoxicants. Head-hunting and wasteful and bloody ceremonial orgies must be banned. The inordinate expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies must be discouraged; the cruel disfigurement of babies and adults must be prevented; and the blind destruction of forests and wild life checked. Similarly the reckless and untimely exploitation of mineral resources such as gold, copper, iron, oil, gas and coal shall be stopped. Any further development of private enterprise in industries, of private ownership of lands and minerals, any further alienation of lands to white and other foreign settlers must also be stopped. There shall be no more grants of privileges to foreigners, whether they are whites or coloured people. No more powers shall be given to the tribal chiefs.

Beware of the White Settlers

We now come to the rights and privileges of white settlers. We strongly object to the imperialist theory that equal opportunities shall be given to both the whites and the coloured. Although it sounds rather impartial and liberal-minded, actually it gives a special advantage to the white settlers—and to a lesser degree to other immigrants who are coloured—since the natives are in a much weaker position. Even if all the existing invidious disabilities imposed upon the original peoples of the land are removed, they cannot achieve for some time to come equality of

bargaining power. Therefore it is most necessary to discriminate in favour of the natives.

This means that the white settlers' existing rights and privileges will have to be re-examined from the standpoint of the *paramountcy of native interests* and all those rights and privileges which are proved to have been gained by the whites and now retained by them to the detriment of the interests of the native coloured masses must be contested and sought to be abolished at the earliest opportunity.

The entire taxation systems of colonial countries will have to be reconstructed in such a manner that those like the whites and the rich coloured immigrants who hold large properties and who derive huge incomes are made to pay progressive rates of taxes and bear their real and full share of tax burdens.

In settling the various directions and degrees of public expenditure on different departments, especially social services like education, public health, hygiene, and labour, special care will have to be taken to see that the present unjust and disproportionately large expenditure for the benefit of the white and other settlers is stopped and a greater share of all such public expenditure is devoted to the uplift and well-being of the poor native masses.

Immigrants

So far as the existing immigrants are concerned, their properties and rights may be protected and ensured by Government, provided they do not in any way impede the progress of the natives in the direction suggested by us; that is, properties up to a certain maximum, and vested interests of particular types and for a definite number of years, may be safeguarded.

White and other settlers can claim to live in these backward colonies by virtue of their services and utility to the natives, and not because of their might, vested interests, or their colour. We do not at all want any unjust deprivation of their legitimate rights, which are also open to the rest of the population and which do not militate against the present and future fortunes of the less developed native masses. We are particularly opposed to any deprivation of citizenship rights, such as the franchise, to the settlers. We may even come to allow them some weightage

in the quotas of representation they want in legislatures, ministries, services, etc., provided all their present undeserved special privileges and rights are cancelled.

In every case, however, the ultimate touchstone would be the essential interests of the peoples themselves, of whom these foreigners also form a part. But future immigration must be strictly regulated or restricted, as the case may be, and immigrants must be forewarned as to the conditions under which they would be allowed to settle down. So far as civic rights are concerned, all other coloured peoples who have already settled down or were born there must be treated as regular natives and accorded the same protection, privileges and rights as the natives and no special privileges shall be countenanced and every existing discrimination shall be abolished. This means, automatically, that the whites will have to forgo their present special and privileged positions.

Need for Leadership

The greatest and most urgent need of the coloured masses of Africa, South America, and of many an Asiatic country is for trustworthy, competent and courageous leaders. The Christian missionaries have failed miserably in nurturing local leadership. The British imperialists discouraged the emergence of such a leadership by propping up the institution of native chiefs and by discouraging the leaders of cooperative societies. It is high time that special steps were taken by all existing educational institutions and also by the political leadership to provide requisite training to the country's youth in the technique of national service.

A far greater number of leaders can be recruited from amongst the youth and the adult population by inviting and urging them to take part in every public institution of a democratic character. Thus the educative value of cooperative societies and local self-government institutions cannot be over-estimated, since by participating in the activities and governance of all such organizations, the coloured peoples can gain experience of political work.

How Are the Coloured People to Select their Leaders?

Are they to follow the Western device of voting, majority rule and party organizations? We have to remember that the Western party system of government and electioneering campaigns are not likely to be the best means of selecting leaders. For, while in the West, especially in England and the U.S.A., party conflict does not degenerate into faction fights, among coloured peoples living in tropical areas and accustomed to fierce tribal feuds party conflict is a very dangerous experiment. There is need for caution about the steps we may take in helping coloured peoples along the lines of the Western democracies.

To avoid the evils of factions and feuds, the Indian Peasant Congress has devised a novel method, which incorporates the ancient Indian practice of selection by drawing lots and the present-day Western idea of 'voting', for the election of popular representatives. Suppose 5 members are to be elected to a workshop commune or committee. According to our scheme, the workers are asked to elect a panel of 15 candidates from out of those qualified to be elected. The 5 members are then selected by drawing the 'lot' from the panel of 15 candidates. This method ensures freedom to the general body to exercise its choice in selecting a panel of persons considered to be good and reliable enough to protect its interests. Every group or party or faction will have the chance of getting its man or men in. Then the actual members are selected by lot, so that there is hardly any room for heart-burning. Each elected member is warned that his term of office is not likely to be prolonged beyond the normal, since the lot may go against him at the next election, even if he should be sure of re-election on the strength of his conduct during his term. This will naturally induce a member during his term of office rather to win the general approval of the public than that of a section and to deserve well of all people. There is at least a chance of minimizing the growth as well as the virulence of factions. Such a precaution is especially needed among the coloured people.*

To guide them to a higher tempo of progress, a nobler culture,

*In many African countries now one party government is prevailing.—Ed.

and a more robust social life, a central organization, which may be called National Service Society, may be brought into existence. Its function will be not to dictate but to serve, its method not to intrigue against the people but to educate them on the democratic ways of life. The members of this Society will take the vow of national service and eschew all personal property and power. In short, it will form the backbone of the people in their political, social and economic life. And they will be recruited as far as possible from among the masses, and high schools and colleges must make a special effort to recruit and train such workers.

Coloured Minorities

So far we have treated coloured peoples as if they were all living in certain subject countries that have to be declared independent. But that does not approximate to the true state of things. There are large numbers of Negroes in many independent countries who are supposed to be free, enjoying civic liberties, and also considered equals to the whites before the law and government. But everywhere, these coloured peoples suffer untold indignities owing to the racial prejudices of the dominant whites.

Fate of the Coloured Minorities

In a memorandum drafted by the League of Coloured Peoples and other organizations in London for presentation to the San Francisco Conference, the United Nations were asked to eliminate within their own borders these practices of racial discrimination against which they were fighting. I think that, in this connexion, the institution of a Secretariat of the International Government in every one of the countries concerned would be useful. Such a Secretariat could be empowered to work through the local Government for the better protection and development of these peoples. Complaints from any aggrieved coloured person or group of persons could be made to such a Secretariat against any constitutional, administrative, or social injustice done to them whether consciously or unconsciously by the whites or the State or Federal Government. It shall be entitled to make detailed enquiries into such complaints, of course in

cooperation with the Government concerned. It may, with the active assistance of the Government, work out, from time to time, such plans for the social and economic development of these peoples and raise the requisite funds, initiate various enterprises and aid every move calculated to improve their political status. A careful study has to be made of the efficacy and utility of the various devices such as reservation of seats in the legislatures, places in the civil services, provision for free places in high schools and universities, and any other special protection decided upon or granted; and the State and Federal Governments persuaded to adopt them as far as possible.

Protect the Suppressed Coloured Minorities

I do recognize that to persuade the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, the South American States and Australia to agree to these and many other protective reservations upon the exercise of their full-fledged national sovereignty is no easy task. But no true democrat and well-wisher of the coloured peoples could be content until these nations are persuaded to rid themselves of their vicious racial arrogance and learn to treat the coloured peoples as their equals and to give them a helping hand to reach the cultural levels of the whites. It may be a long-drawn-out struggle. But it must be fought out. It may imply the infringement of national sovereignty. But such limitation of their sovereignty is absolutely essential in the interests of the nationals concerned and also of the welfare of humanity as a whole.

We have to recognize the fact that the World Security Organization that is being set up can become possible only if the old idea of sovereignty of states is suitably limited, by the superimposition of the greater sovereignty of the world state, by whatever name it might come to be called. The present San Francisco scheme envisages such a limitation of State sovereignty except that of the five Big Powers.

Bases of India's Foreign Policy

India made her debut into the arena of world politics the moment Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru became the Vice-President of Viceroy's Executive Council and took charge of the Foreign Affairs Department on 2 September 1946.

The 15th of August 1947 had inaugurated Free India and given Pandit Nehru complete freedom from any possible unwelcome advice or interference from British Government. But throughout these 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.

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 Atom Bomb's secrets.

India has long suffered under imperialist domination. So she understands and sympathises with the sufferings of the other

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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 peoples' 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 peoples had been arrested during the past 200 years. So much so, 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, organisation and development than so many other peoples. To raise their standards of living, education, efficiency 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 or any other Asian country can possibly remain independent of both the Russian and the Anglo-American power blocs, if ever they come into conflict with each other and rush into a 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 the best possible terms and arm herself most effectively on both 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 cannot 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 argued 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 throat 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 influence. Therefore, India and her friends can continue to play an effective role in world affairs and continue to strengthen themselves 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 because 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 leadership through her championship of the African 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 nine 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

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 the United States of America to build up adequate military strength either for self-defence or for offensive action as it had been for so many European countries during the tank-age between the past 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 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 bomb. Therefore it is much better for them to concentrate on the development of their moral power and influence against the misuse of atomic power for the suppression of smaller countries. It is in this sphere that India has to exert herself most, if she is to rise to her full stature among the nations of the world and win for her people peace and progress.

All those 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 the 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 dictatorship of the 'Big Five' 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 U.N. Charter. It is in this direction that the Indian Delegation so far

has not been able to pursue any clear-cut policy. India must decide to support those, whichever 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 five 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 as to pursue such an independent role? Does not India need the assistance of foreign capital goods and technical 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 Bank may also help her. But, will that help be free from political entanglements? If political conditions are attached to such help, India cannot afford to have it and, therefore, ought not to invite it.

I had talks with some of the leaders of the American Delegation to the 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 16-18, 1947, 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 Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Australia which must be capable of assisting us and cooperating with us in building up in our country some of the most essential key industries without seeking any political strings over our State. Indeed, if India takes the initiative in this direction, she will be showing the way to many other countries which are equally keen on not being dragooned into the enclaves of the five Great Powers and

maintain political freedom.

The retention of political power is dependent upon the rapid growth of economic strength and strategic industries. These three are inter-dependent. India is best situated to achieve these three essentials of independence if only she is willing to develop teamwork with other smaller nations and also to invoke the cooperation of all sections of our peoples, their smaller and bigger savings and all their technical, managerial and patriotic services. Once America and England realise 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 the 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 past thirty-five years and 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 Industries Conference, representing both capital and labour, primary producers and consumers. We have also patriotic labour equipped as it is by higher technical training received during the war and seasoned by its participation in the national struggles 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 Cooperative Banks and other cooperatives, lend them to Government 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 shap-

ing 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 square 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 on their debts 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 the landless sections of 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, remuneration, 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 to 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 be adopted by our national leadership. Thus we must do our best to ensure the wholehearted, enlightened and passionate support of our peasant masses.

Such cooperation, 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-sufficient 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 also 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 does not cooperate 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-American predominant 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 a ten-year period of rapid progress on our agricultural and industrial fronts. We have to complete our multipurpose 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 organisation.

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 a 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 the Big Powers, and organise 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.

Fair Deal for Agricultural Countries

We are today witnessing a global contest between the protagonists of all-round democracy.

The economists and other savants who believe in democracy and non-violence can succeed in their contest 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 virgin 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 acreage available for each farmer and greatest mineral and industrial potential available for each industrialist and worker, the populations of the over-crowded East are obliged to struggle hard for a mere subsistence because of their weary and uneconomic holdings and very low industrial potential.

There is also the great disparity in earnings and opportunities made available between the white and the coloured peoples of the American and African continents. 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 large por-

Inaugural address at the All-India Economic Conference held at Waltair on 26 December 1949. Excerpts reproduced from *Towards World Peace* (1955).

tion 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 arable land while the land hunger of crores of farmers and peasants is unappeased.

Among non-agriculturists also there is so much of inequality 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 happening 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 would it 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 that we have to examine the post-war world's new ideals and principles for mutual cooperation and service as between the peoples of different countries in answer to their growing needs arising from their greater inter-dependence 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 the 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 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 ad-

mitted 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 the popularity of the idea of violent overthrow of established institutions and States is also coming to be recognised.

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, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the UNESCO in addition to the continuation of ILO founded by the 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 accepted 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. (Read N.G. Ranga, *Credo of World Peasants*—Ed.)

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 multilateral trade which became necessary in the light of the inter-war experiences of economic depression and Hitlarian autocracy and the successful Soviet economy and 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 difficulties 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 International Monetary Fund based upon the earlier Sterling Exchange Standard that India and some European countries used to maintain in London with a view to arranging for multilateral exchanges 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 functioning in these post-war

years of International Monetary Fund and World 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 Russia's planned economy and America's 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 reliable 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 the FAO has been brought into existence.

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 International Monetary Fund, World Bank, FAO and WHO. 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 result of this realisation is the Marshall Plan. (And Point Four and food aid under PL 480—Ed.)

While the World Bank is empowered to lend to all the poor nations of the world only to the maximum extent of 4 billion dollars, the ERP was intended to offer American aid to West European nations alone up to 8 billion dollars. This was not intended to be charity. This was an offer made by the rich democracy of America to save the poor democracy of Western Europe.

We used to think that if we were to borrow funds from other countries we might run the risk of becoming economically en-

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

In earlier times we were only keen on importing consumer goods. Can we do the same thing with capital goods? 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 crore rupees per annum by stopping all food imports and importation of most of the consumer goods, how are we going to meet it? Would it not be necessary for us to borrow larger and larger sums from the World Bank? Would the World 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?

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 World Bank. Hence President Truman's Point Four which offers to guarantee the safety of their capital, interest and profits thereon, i.e. investment climate, 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? 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 statesmen have come to realise that in the post-war 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 foodgrains, 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 the 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 inter-war 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 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 be extended to the East with a view to purchasing all the food surpluses from the West and to distribute them among the peoples of the East?

Various plans have been prepared by some economists of the FAO from the World Food Board to the latest World Food Clearance Scheme and Consultative Machinery with a view to protecting 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 period 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 the statesmen have to devise and adopt some plans to make it possible for producers to adopt the latest 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 meanwhile efforts have to be made to prevent blackmarketing in international trade for foodgrains and fertilisers. The FAO has been helpless to prevent this. India has

had to complain bitterly against such blackmarketing by certain nations.

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 the World 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 the 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 irrigation, flood control, hydro-electric projects which are urgently needed to be developed within the next 10 to 15 years in order to insure agriculture from vicissitudes of seasons and ensure a certain amount of stability to tropical agriculture. As it is, neither the World Bank nor the Point Four programme is 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 to co-exist, so also the better-fed and underfed peoples live side by side within the same country without the realisation on their part of the utter immoral nature of such a state of things. 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 Gandhijee, Roosevelt, Truman, Attlee and Nehru have already realised the untenability of such a hope.

The Marshall Plan can only be a palliative to serve the needs of the under-developed countries in the short run, until those countries are able to raise their productive capacity up to the minimum level and become creditworthy enough for the World 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 inter-war 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 dictatorships? It might be said that the ERP has resulted in the European nations subordinating their sovereignty under the overall and growing power of the U.S.A. But, should we not also remember that the resulting influence of the 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 the Socialist Government of England, Bel-

gium, Denmark, Sweden? Therefore I feel that we need not be unnecessarily fearful of any American interference in the development of our Indian democracy and our achievement of Gandhian socialism even if we were to succeed in getting the Marshall Plan extended to India. But, would this Plan be extended to India 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. Therefore if Asian countries 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 past three 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 economists in favour of the extension of the multinational Marshall Plan to Asia and Africa.

It is surely not wise for a nation like India to wait upon the convenience of the 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 the next 10 years to such an extent as to enable the Eastern countries to speedily develop their mother industries. The World Bank may not be aided by foreign capitalists in order to let it lend at least up to its maximum capacity of 4 billion dollars. The FAO too might fail to

place the world's food surpluses within the reach of our masses. In short, world democracy may fail to live up to its professions and duties. And who knows when the next war will be hurled on us!

The present world and especially Asian countries seem 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.

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.

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 the spokesman for the United Kingdom and the spokesman for India come not from the Government parties but from the Opposition parties. 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 rivalry between the super powers. 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 herself and on that basis determine what position she will adopt.

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 and 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 was the biggest bulwark of world democracy.

We have been able to achieve our freedom in India under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, but of late some of us felt that we should break away from the Congress and form separate political parties. However, all of us are ready to co-

Prof. Ranga's speech in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held at Ottawa in September 1952. Excerpts reproduced from *Rzanga's Towards World Peace* (1955)

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 goodwill and cooperation 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 International Monetary Fund and the World 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.

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 cooperative 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 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 establish their domain. I have come to the conclusion that Pandit Nehru was not wrong in the stand he took in recognising People's Republic of China. 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 misunderstandings 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 will 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.

India to Stand by Colonial Peoples

I have been 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 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 contribution we made was to invite an even increasing number of their young men 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

Prof. Ranga's speech in the Council of States (upper chamber of India's Parliament) on 27 August 1954. Excerpts reproduced from *Towards World Peace* (1955)

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 from what they are today.

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.

How can we have peace if, over this huge Himalayan range,

*R. Makkonen, Secretary of Pan African Congress and Joint Editor of *Pan African*, writes in his book *Pan-Africanism From Within* (London : 1973, p. 195) : "Ranga is the trusted emissary of Gandhi and Nehru. He had very early been acquainted with Jomo Kenyatta. The two of us met through Dinah Stock and he embraced me as a brother. We had immediate accord. We kept the flame burning for several years." —Ed.

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 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.

I wish to congratulate our Government on having played the noble part that they did in the recent Geneva Conference over Indo-China. Somebody said that Indo-China was 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.

I am very glad indeed that our Government has to its credit one definite achievement, that is their assurance given to the colonial peoples 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.

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-a-vis 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, with 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 were 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 had 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 countrymen abroad must make up their minds as to whether they would like to remain as Indian nationals or as the citizens 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 our policy by Nehru 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. Unfortunately our Indians abroad found themselves unprepared for this revolutionary change in India's policy.

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 cooperation 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.

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 comradesly relations with Indian youths and savants. India's post-independence 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.

*Jawaharlal Nehru was one of its founders.

**Founded by N.G. Ranga, Dinah Stock and Dr. H. Moody.

†Founded by Dr. Du Bois, Padmore, Makonnen and Kenyatta.—Ed.