

CHAPTER - I

NEHRU'S CONCEPT OF ONE WORLD

C H A P T E R - I

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India's role in the Korean question was not an isolated phenomenon but formed a part of a general and broader context having its roots in some of the basic assumptions of its general policy. These basic assumptions found, its outlet in India's role in Korean question. It has been remarked that " The Korean conflict has shown India's Foreign Policy as active and resourceful in its attempts to lead India to a peaceful settlement of a major conflict " ¹.

Korea was a significant case in which India's declared aims and objectives were put to a practical test. Korean war revealed important aspects of Indian neutralism and India has done everything in its power to localise the conflict and prevent global war ².

Since the main objective of the present case study is to bring out the role of India in the Korean question it seems to be necessary to give a brief survey of the general policy made by India before and after independence.

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1. Dr. Leyser, India's Foreign Policy, V. Australian Outlook, March, 1951, pp. 40-41.
 2. Nehru Jayaharlal, The Hindu, Nov. 4, 1951.

As a prelude to Independence the Interim Government was formed on 2nd September, 1946 and Jawaharlal Nehru was made the Vice-President and member for External Affairs and Commonwealth relations in the Governor General's new Executive Council. In his broadcast speech to the nation on 7th September, 1946 he said -

" We propose to function as progressively to achieve that independence in action both in our domestic affairs and in foreign relations. We shall take full part in International Conferences as a free nation without own policy and not merely as a satellite of another.... "3.

This clearly reveals India's strong desire to have an independent foreign policy for India.

Prior to independence, the Foreign Policy of India was determined by Britishers and it naturally was in accordance with the interests of Britain. Britishers tried to keep India isolated from other countries and Indian mind was nowhere expressed. But Indian National Congress through its various resolutions tried to express Indian opinion on different,

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3. Nehru Jawaharlal, " India's Foreign Policy - Selected speeches, September, 1946, p.2.

international issues and laid down the foundations of the Indian Foreign Policy. Some of the important resolutions are hereby examined; which speak for the foundations of India's Foreign Policy.

A resolution passed during the first session of Bombay Congress in 1885 " deprecated the annexation of Burma by Britain "4.

In 1892, at Allahabad Congress Session " objected to the military activities beyond the national lines of defence of India "5, in opposition to the imperial policy of Britain in its relations with some great powers of Europe. Increasingly Congress objected to the use of India as a base for military moves against surrounding areas such as Tibet, Burma, Afganistan and Persia.

A Resolution of 1904 asserted that " An expedition to Tibet was but a part of a general forward policy which threatens to involve India in Foreign affairs"6. This resolution was probably the first expression of India's dislike of getting involved in unnecessary foreign entanglement, and

4. Rajkumar N.V., Background of India's Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1962, p.31.

5. Rajkumar N.V., Resolution VII, Allahabad, 1892, p.33.

6. Bombay 1904, Resolution X, pp.37.38.

favouring neutral stand on matters that did not concern her.

After the Second World War, it began to take more independent views on foreign issue. In 1920, it sent a message of sympathy to Irish people in its struggle for independence. The resolution of Foreign Policy adopted by AICC Congress Committee in 1921 was landmark in the history of India's Foreign Relations. The resolution's informed the neighbouring and other States, which is quoted at length;

- 1) " The present Government of India in no way represents Indian opinion. Its Foreign Policy has been traditionally guided by considerations more of holding in subjection than of protecting her borders.
- 2) India as a self governing country can do nothing to fear from the neighbouring States or any State as per people have no desires upon any of them and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations, hostile to or not desired by the people of such States.
- 3) The people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by the neighbouring States as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by the Imperial power and would therefore, urge the States having no ill will against

the people of India and having no desire to injure their interests to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial Power "7.

This was the first significant declaration on the part of nationalist India, that its interests and objectives in the international field were diametrically opposed to those of Britain.

In 1921, the Congress Working Committee issued a statement in which it "condemned the Government for utilizing the Indian soldiers for crushing national spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs and other nations "8.

Again in 1927, the Congress Session in Madras passed a resolution of "protest against the use of Indian troops in China, Mesopotamia and Persia and deplored the extensive war preparations which the British Government was carrying on in India "9.

In 1928, the Congress Session at Calcutta "sent his greetings to the people of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Iraq to its struggle for freedom from the grip of western Imperialism.

7. Sitaramayya, P. The History of Indian National Congress, Madras, 1935, pp. 365-66.

Also quoted from India's Foreign Policy, K. Raman, Pillai, p. 2.

8. Ibid., pp. 366-367.

9. Rajkumar, N. V., Background of India's Foreign Policy, New Delhi, p. 47. Madras Resolution VI, 1927.

It welcomed the Independence of China "10. Those resolutions gave the first indication that India's national leaders were thinking in terms of Pan-Asian movement to resist European imperialism.

The resolution in late 1920's the congress, it is found has always condemned the aggressive acts of the 'Nazis' and 'Fascists' and it also declared that India would not be a party to 'Imperialistic War'.

At Haripur in 1938, the Congress formulated its policy with regard to war and pacific settlement of disputes. It said that " the people of India designed to respect the freedom of others and to build-up their strength in co-operation and goodwill founded on a world-order standing for disarmament and collective security "11.

At Tripura Session (1939), congress strongly disapproved British Foreign Policy as it was carried on for imperialistic ends. Resolution stated that " As war fought by Britain was not against (totalitarianism) and exploitation, India could not associate itself with it. India now has to direct her

10. Ibid., p. 48.

Also quoted from Sitaramayya P., The History of Indian National Congress, Madras, 1935, p. 557.

11. Rajkumar N.V., pp. 55-56.

own Independent Foreign Policy keeping aloof from both imperialism and fascism and pursuing her path of peace and freedom "12.

A survey of all above pre-independence resolutions of Indian National Congress clearly point out, that, India has always opposed any aggression, and has sympathised with attempts made by dependent nations to free themselves of foreign influence and advocated pacific means of settlement of disputes which clearly lay down the basic objectives of Indian's foreign policy i.e. peaceful co-existence; for freedom and opposition to all unjust acts of oppressings.

So after the end of the war India became independent and free to decide its own Foreign Policy.

Michael Brecher tends to ascribe the conception formulation and implementation of the policy of non-alignment almost entirely to Nehru. In this context he points,

".... In no other State does one man dominate Foreign Policy as does Nehru in India. Indeed, so overwhelming in his influence, that India's policy has come to mean

12. K.Raman Pillai, India's Foreign Policy, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerus, p.3.

in the minds of people, the personal policy of Pandit Nehru. And justifiable so, for Nehru as the philosopher, the architect, the engineer and the voice of his countries policy towards the outside world ..."¹³.

India, under the stewardship of Nehru, India adopted " the policy of non-alignment because of Nehru's firm faith in the ideal of one world "¹⁴ and not merely because of the nation's sole interests. The policy perfectly represents Indian traditions, culture and ideals which had a deep influence on the personality of Pandit Nehru. Dr.S.Radhakrishnan puts it, " Nehru was a great believer in World Peace and the concept of world community "¹⁵. Nehru always believed in peace and on many occasions he had pointed that one cannot expect peace, by talking of war. He always felt that war was closely associated with aligned foreign policy, and so he was always against an aligned foreign policy. He had a conviction, that India cannot be viewed in isolation from other States of the world. So he regarded, the Indian question as a part of the larger movement of the oppressed people

13. Michael Brecher, Nehru- A Political Biography, London, 1939, pp.564-65.

14. Appadorai, The Foreign Policy of India, p.484.

15. Ahluwalia B.K. Ed.Facts of Nehru and Dr.Radhakrishnan,p.3.

fighting against colonialism. Nehru was a great democrat and he firmly believed in liberty. He was further convinced that in the thermonuclear age, one would mean the extinction of the very civilised values, with these firm believes he felt that the true role of the statesman lay in the way of lessening tensions and conflicts and bringing about a climate of understanding. He believed in co-existence and felt that settlement of international conflicts should always be peaceful and not to resort to the horrors of war. Hence he adopted the policy of non-alignment for India. "But at the same time he carried the philosophy of non-alignment to the world at large "16.

Nehru gave " Indian nationalism a wider perspectives and he elevated the Indian national movement to an international status "17.

Nehru's internationalism and his regard for human dignity was his great concern for world peace. He had firm conviction that war is evil and co-existence and tolerance are essential for the survival of the civilization. He usually,

16. Michael Brecher, 'Nehru-A Political Biography', London (1959), pp.564-65.

17. MKRV Rao, Nehru and India's Cultural Renaissance, pp.16-17.

asserted that, true victory was that which left neither party with a feeling of vanquished. Such a glorious interpretation of victory no doubt strengthens the force of peace.

Nehru's above all idealistic views were incorporated in his policy of non-alignment. So Nehru's most cherished objective of world community became the basic objective of his Foreign Policy.

The policy of non-alignment was a new and very strange policy for the whole world, and it was looked upon with eager, with slight humiliation and at the same time with suspicion. Actually Nehru thought of using it as a means of establishing peace but it was thought to be a mask for hindering the common objectives of foreign policy as the national interests. Nehru tried to convey the exact meaning of non-alignment through various speeches.

In 1958, Nehru himself declared, " By non-alignment, we mean non-alignment with military blocks. It is not negative but positive concept and a dynamic concept "¹⁸.

18. Nehru Jawaharlal, India's Foreign Policy- Selected Speeches, Publication Division, 1961, p.22.

Non-alignment did not mean neutrality, or passivity. In 1949, when Nehru was attacked by his critics for pursuing the policy which was negative as neutral according to them, he said,

"... It is a vital policy which flows from our struggle for freedom. When man's liberty and peace, is in danger, we cannot be neutral. Neutrality would then be a betrayal of what we have fought for and what we stand for ..."¹⁹.

In September, 1961, while speaking in the Conference of non-aligned nations in Belgrade Nehru said,

"... Basically non-alignment means non-alignment with great power blocks of the world. It has negative meaning. But if you give it a positive connotation it means nations which object to this living up for war purposes, military blocks, military alliances and the like. Therefore, we keep away from this and we want to throw our weight such that it is in favour of peace ..."²⁰.

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19. Nehru Jawaharlal, On World Affairs, 1946-64, New Delhi, p.76. Quoted from Baljit Singh, Indian F.P., An Analysis, Asia Publishing House, p.17.
20. Ibid., p.23.

Non-alignment also does not mean non-interference as non-intervention in the affairs of others. In its most elementary meaning non-alignment means freedom from all obligations and commitments. Nehru even declared that, we are free to join an alliance.

Speaking at Columbia University in 1949, Nehru explained:

"... The main objectives of the policy of non-alignment are the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power as groups of power but through an independent approach to each controversial and disputed issue the liberation of subject peoples, the elimination of racial discrimination and the elimination of wants, disease and illiterary which still afflict the greater part of world's population ..."²¹.

Policy of non-alignment is the means to achieve the above objectives. These views of Nehru point that Nehru was not only concerned with India's problems. He was concerned with all types of exploitations immetrial whether in India, Asia or Africa.

21. Misra, K. P. Ed., Studies in Indian Foreign Policy, p.26.

Nehru didnot entirely accept this romantic idealism on national and international levels. He introduced a large measure of objectivity in it. So Indian Foreign Policy has the distinction of combining idealism with national interests²².

Pandit Nehru has rightly expressed that;

"... It is the policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditions of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom and inherent in the circumstances of the world today..."²³.

The term 'non-alignment' assumed meaning and significance only in the context of the cold war²⁴. A new war emerged after the Second World War viz., the Cold War. The international scene was disturbed by it. The world war had already changed the old pattern of the State system. Britain and France ceased to play the role of the 'holder of the balance'. Russia and America emerged as big powers. Due to this equal powers and differences in ideologies both these rival powers tried to influence the world politics.

22. Ibid.,

23. Bandopadhyay J., Nehru & Non-Alignment, Indian Foreign Policy, 'The Nehru Years', p.179.

Nehru Jawaharlal, India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches, Publication Division, 1961.

24. Nanda B.R., Ed. Indian Foreign Policy, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, p.179.

Nehru & Non-Alignment, p.179.

The world was divided into two mighty camps. The communist block and the anti-communist block and more and more States of the world were drawn into either of the blocks. Due to this a great tension had developed in the international field, and each and every State of the world hurriedly tried to join either of the camps for the sake of security. Moreover, the rapid development of nuclear weapons with almost infinite destructive power by both blocks posed a danger of Cold War exploding into a universal holocaust.

Nehru realised this situation. To India and other newly emerging nations two alternatives were there, either to participate in the Cold War and thereby participate in the military alliance compromising newly established sovereignty and probably sliding into the total destructive third war. On keeping out of the bi-polar confrontation thereby preserving newly won sovereignty and playing an Independent role in international politics.

For achieving national security and national development the only national choice was to remain aloof from both blocks as India knew, " In the fight of two elephants it is grass that suffers ".

location between the east and the west and has a great significance for her role in international relations. The Indian Foreign Policy makers were keenly conscious of it. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a former President of Indian National Congress, has observed:

"... India is ... the key to the freedom of pacific nations and the control of the despotism of atalantic nations..."²⁸.

Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised the same fact in his speech, thus,

"... India becomes a kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and meeting ground between what might roughly be called as the east and the west..."²⁹

While addressing the Congress in Washington, Nehru pointed,

"... India has a great deal to do with the middle eastern world and has a great deal to do with the Chinese world and has a great deal to do with South-East Asia. India geographically speaking is a pivot,

28. Sitaramayya Pattabhi, The History of the Indian National Congress, 1935-47, Vol.II, p.11.

29. Nanda B.R. Ed. Indian Foreign Policy, Vikas Publication, Delhi, p.172.

it is centrally situated from the strategic as well as from other points of view..."³⁰.

India's locational relationship with Europe and Asia is such, that under certain political conditions it could assume a decisive position in the strategy of world control. The primary reason for this importance is India's geographic location to the great ' Heart Land ' of Eurasia³¹.

It is because of this position India since, the ancient period is also considered to be the worlds meeting place of civilizations.

Another significant aspect of the country's physical location is sea frontage. India has 3,500 miles of sea frontage, and she is centrally situated on the main sea route between Europe and Far East, via, the Mediterlan, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the straits of Malacca provides favourable commercial connections with the rest of the world.

The relative location of other political areas also influence the foreign policy to a great extent. In East and

30. Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches - 1949-53, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1954, pp.116-146.

31. Nehru Jawaharlal, India's Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1961, p.3.

West Pakistan maintains the common boundary with India. In the north are Sikkim and Tibet separated by the Himalayan ranges. In the north-east border geographical barriers separate India from her neighbours China and Burma.

India shares more than 1,500 miles long frontier with Chinese People's Republic³². India, therefore, wants to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours and with those powers which are capable of closing the Indian Ocean³³.

Nehru realised that geopolitical factors would compell India to seek friendship with Russia. Nehru wrote, " The USSR is a large country sprawling half over Asia and Europe. It cannot be ignored by us because she is our neighbour which may be friendly and co-operative to us as which may be a thorn in our side "³⁴.

India wanted to play the role of a mediator or peace-making agent and good relations with powerful neighbours like USSR and USA would have helped in India in its peace-making efforts. India's geographic position in the middle of Eurasia induced Pan-Asiatic sentiment.

32. The Eastern Economist, Delhi, Dec.26,1952, p.999.

33. Karan P.P., 'India's Role in Geopolitics', IX, India Quarterly, 1953, p.60.

34. Aquid Ahmad, Indo-Soviet Relations, September,1973.

India in 1926, " participated in the Pan-Asiatic Conference at Nagasaki alongwith Koreans, Japanese, Chinese and Phillippeans"³⁵. In the same year President of the Indian National Congress declared " The time has perhaps come for us fo think of a federation of Asiatic people for this common welfare..." a federation of Asiatic democrasies will make for peace, prosperity and freedom in Asia "³⁶.

India then started its efforts in this direction by calling ' First Session of a Pan-Asiatic Federation '. India's ultimate goal was of world federation and the first step was to be taken in Asia.

It was in the year 1946, the All India Congress Committee pointed " whatever the future of the world organisation is, India and the countries of South-East Asia must hang together and work together. This is necessary from the point of view of the defence and strategy, for trade and commerce and in cultural association "³⁷.

In March, 1947, representatives of 28 Asian countries attended the 'First Asian Relations Conference ' in New Delhi, Korea was an invitee, who attended the conference³⁸.

35. Literary Digest, September, 18, 1926, p. 20.

36. Indian Quarterly, Registrar, Calcutta, Vol. II, July-Dec. 1926, p. 306.

37. Indian Annual Register, 1946, p. 104.

38. Nicholas Mansergh, The Asian Conference, 23rd International Affairs, July, 1947, p. 296.

In May 1948, speaking before the 'Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry', Mr. Nehru observed, " India is found to play an important part in the development of the South-East Asia region"³⁹. This tide of 'Asian Solidarity' and sentiment later culminated in the form of ' Bandung Conference' in which 29 Asian nations participated; India took a leading part. The declared objective of the conference was " To view the position of Asia and Africa in the world today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation"⁴⁰.

Speaking before the Political Committee, of the Conference on April 22, 1955, Mr. Nehru observed,

"... We countries of Asia and Africa have to consider whether we can all of us put together... prevent the great powers and big countries going to war ..."⁴¹ .

This pattern of " Asia developing under, Indian thought was a patient building peaceful co-existence in which Nehru had a dominating role"⁴². While the west relies upon collective defence pacts, India is aiming at a different

39. The Statesman, June 2, 1948.

40. Kohin G.M., The Asian-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April, 1955 (Cornel Uni. Press, 1956), p. 3.

41. Kohin G.M., Closing Speech by Mr. Nehru, p. 73.

42. Warwick Chipman, India's Foreign Policy, XIV Behind the Headline Series No. 4, October, 1954, p. 7.

approach which lies in peace alliances rather than military pacts, collective peace approach rather than collective defence approach⁴³.

India's keen interest in the Korean question and in other important Asian problems appears to be motivated by the feeling that because of its geographic position, political policies and economic resources, India might be in a position to hold the balance of power in Asia. If USSR, is considered to be European country, then Japan, China and India remain the three great powers in Asia. Since China and Japan are in opposite power blocks; China aligned to USSR and Japan to USA. " India with its policy of non-alignment remains the only country which can hold the balance of power in Asia"⁴⁴.

Due to the various developments, Nehru had realised the path of India and hence he was both perturbed and hurt very much because of these alignments taking place. He did certainly realise the danger of opting for an aligned foreign policy.

43. Bandari, S.C., Problem of Security in Asia, Foreign Affairs Report, November, 1956.

44. The Eastern Economist, New Delhi, August, 1952, pp. 301-302.

Of course, India need not solely rely upon a strategic position for political importance. Size was another crucial element and a country with a big size just cannot be ignored. " India is adequately large, the seventh largest state, with second largest population in the world and relatively large stock of National resources"⁴⁵. India even in 1947 had the power potential necessary for influencing, though not to a large extent, the contemporary power politics. Nehru thoroughly realised that India, was not a big power but she was too big to be a statalite of any other country and restrict her action of freedom in international field. Nehru had never dreamt of aligning with any block after independence. He was determined of this aspect as far as he was concerned. He said, " India is too big a country herself to be bound down to any country, however, big it may be "⁴⁶.

Another chief geopolitical factor is the insulating effect of northern mountain Himalaya and Indian Ocean has made India a " compartment separated from adjoining countries and facilitating defence. It also has enabled India to remain

45. Nanda B.R., Ed. Indian Foreign Policy, The Nehru Years, Nehru and Non-Alignment, p.71.

46. Nehru Jawaharlal, op.cit, p.32.

aloof from ideological conflict and power politics of the mid-twentieth century and accept the policy of non-alignment. Nehru realised this geographic condition, for non-alignment when he said,

"... We are geographically so situated that we are not drawn into controversies with that passionate fury that some other countries are. This is not due to our goodness or badness, but is a matter of geography ..."⁴⁷.

Further, it is also pointed out that India's Foreign Policy has its foundation into her religion, philosophical ideology, in her immediate and remote past⁴⁸.

This view regarding India's Foreign Policy seems acceptable at least to some extent. Religion, culture and traditions constitute one of the factors determining the foreign policy of India which gave idealistic approach to the foreign policy of India. Great Saints of India like Shankaracharya, Kabir, Dnyaneshwar had an ideal of 'one world'. This ideology did not remain restricted only to the spiritual fields. It was also manifested in the political life of India.

47. Ibid.

48. Appadorai, The Foreign Policy of India, New York, 1963, p.484.

J. Bandopadhyaya says, " Ashoka rather than Kautilya was the model of political aspirations of India "49. Nehru was greatly influenced by idealistic Indian culture and his deep study of Indian History and Philosophy and culture gave his life depth, meaning and experience which was reflected in his political behaviour.

Nehru was an architect of India's foreign policy. So obviously his idealistic views of internationalism become basic concepts of India's Foreign Policy, which is proved by his frequent references to the ideal of 'one world '50.

Nehru's above view was incorporated in Panch-Sheela i.e. five principles of peaceful co-existence included in the agreement of April, 1964, between China and India. The five principles were:

- 1) Mutual respect of each others territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- 2) Mutual non-aggression.
- 3) Mutual non-interference in other's internal affairs.

49. Nanda B.R., Ed. Indian Foreign Policy, Nehru Years, Nehru and Non-Alignment, p.175.

50. Ibid., p.176.

4) Equality and mutual benefits.

5) Co-existence.

Madan Gopal says,

"... Non-alignment was not born suddenly. It was inherent in the Indian capacity for assimilation and it can be said that it takes off from the political philosophy of India's outstanding rulers of past as Ashoka, Raja Chola and Akbar and from the thinking of the philosophers like Shankarcharya, Guru Nanak and Kabir ..."⁵¹.

Gandhiji was also influenced by the ideology of Indian culture and put forth the concept as Ramarajya which may be free from class-struggle; Oppressions evil things, and which would be based on non-violence and peace. He defined politics as " transformation of social relationship in terms of certain values "⁵².

He used to criticise " power politics and firmly believed in non-violence. India's political struggle for freedom under Gandhiji through non-violence and truth had much to do with

51. Madan Gopal, India As a World Power, Aspects of Indian Foreign Policy, p.2.

52. Nanda B.R., Indian Foreign Policy, Nehru Years, Introduction p.19.

the building up of the concept of world peace through non-alignment "⁵³. Nehru constantly referred to the influence of Gandhian policy on India's political behaviour.

The logical outcome was, Foreign Policy which will neglect contemporary power politics and accept new path of non-alignment. In the world lost in greed and selfishness India had been trying to follow a path of virtuous idealism⁵⁴.

Concludingly it may be pointed that India's Foreign Policy has roots in its recent past history. It is not wholly philosophical, neither solely influenced by religion. It is neither embeded only in national interest, but the result of the efforts of Nehru in adjoining the past with the trends of present world and make the future world.

53. Madan Gopal, India As a World Power, pp.2-3.

54. Ibid., p.127.