

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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Letters to Premiers of Provinces

New Delhi

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5- It is clear that there is no force

6- In any event, what is likely to happen is a consolidation of the Communist regime in about two-thirds of China and the advance of the Communist forces towards the South. Within a few months they should occupy the whole of China. It is possible that a splinter government might be formed in Canton, to oppose the Communists. But this is hardly likely to achieve anything. We may take it therefore that the whole of China will be under the control of the Chinese Communists within a few months.

7- The question then arises as to whether the revolutionary urge to advance will be satisfied and whether the new Communist-dominated Government will be chiefly occupied in dealing with internal problems, or whether that urge will continue somewhat and affect the situation in Tibet, Indo-China and Siam. To some extent these neighbouring countries are bound to be affected. Tibet is a difficult country for any outside force to enter. But the internal economy of Tibet is very primitive. On the one hand, there are religious heads, the Lamas who are also the feudal chiefs, on the other hand, there are the people who are more or less serfs. Such a situation always has a certain explosive character unless economic changes take place. The success of communism in China may apply as a spark to this explosive situation

in Tibet. This may not take place suddenly or quickly, but the general tendency would be there.

8- In Sinkiang Province of China, Soviet influence is already considerable and the Soviets have obtained a Privileged position by treaty with the Nationalist China¹. Sinkiang touches upon the Kashmir frontier and Afghanistan.

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India and UNESCO²

I welcome the idea of the seminar³ being held in India and we should try to make it a success in every way. Probably the State Hotel in Brindaban, near Mysore, will be a suitable place. I presume enquiries have been made from the Mysore Government about the accommodation available there and the kind of arrangements that can be made.

2- Non-member States in Asia may be invited, but some care should be taken as to who is going to be invited⁴. I should like the Secretary-

¹ In 1939, The Sino-Soviet treaty was signed for economic collaboration in Sinkiang for ten years, giving the Soviets exclusive rights to operate a Sino-Soviet airline, set up and manage an aeronautical factory and explore oilfields and uranium and other mines. This treaty was not renewed in 1949.

² Note to the Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary, 24 February 1949, File No. 8(14)-U.N.I/49, M.E.A. & N.A.I.

³ UNESCO planned to hold an Asian seminar on rural adult education in India in October or November 1949.

⁴ On 17 February 1949, the Ministry of education suggested invitations to non-member States like Burma, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Tibet, Korea, Indonesia, Indo-China and Malaya. States along with Afghanistan, China, Iran, India Pakistan, the Philippines, Siam, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon. Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Turkey, which were member States.

General and the Foreign Secretary to consider this matter and to make their own suggestions. I think that Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan and Indonesia should be invited. I rather think that Tibet should be left out. I doubt if any suitable person is likely to come from there and this business of treating Tibet as an independent entity causes trouble. Indo-China again offers difficulty. Are we going to invite the French Government there or the Vietnam Government? Korea has to be considered. Normally we would like to have Korea join in, but we have not formally recognised South Korea yet. If South Korea is invited, what about North Korea? What does the Malaya States mean? Does that simply mean a British Governmental representative or something else?

3- In inviting all these countries, the absence of the Soviet countries of Asia is noticeable. I suppose it is difficult to invite them. At the same time I do not like our ignoring them at such Asian gatherings. It adds to the barrier between them and us.

4- These are some first thoughts. As I have stated above, I should like the S.G. and the F.S. to make suggestions.

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India's Foreign Policy and World Peace⁵

....Now foreign policy in the past, I suppose, related chiefly to the relations of a country with its immediate neighbours-whether they were friendly or otherwise. As our chairman reminded you, our neighbours now are all the countries of the world so that we cannot relate our foreign policy just to a few countries round about you, but

⁵ Speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 22 March 1949, P.I.B. reports and the Hindustan Times, 23 March 1949

have to think of practically every country in the world and take into consideration all the possible areas of conflict, trade, economic interest, etc. It has been recognised now that if there is conflict on a big scale anywhere in the world, it is apt to spread all over the world, that is, that war has become indivisible and, therefore, peace is indivisible. Therefore, our foreign policy cannot limit itself to the nearby countries. Nevertheless, the nearby countries always have a special interest in one another and India must, inevitably, think in terms of its relations with the countries bordering her by land and sea. What are these countries? If you start from the left, Pakistan; I would also include Afghanistan, although it does not touch India's borders; Tibet, China, Nepal, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon. In regard to Pakistan, the position has been a very peculiar one owing to the way Pakistan was formed and India was divided. And there have been not only all the upsets that you all know, but something much deeper, and that is, a complete emotional upset of all the people in India and Pakistan because of this.

....So far as other countries are concerned, our relations with them are quite friendly. Take for instance, Afghanistan is exceedingly friendly and our relations with Tibet, Nepal and all these countries roundabout are also very friendly. In fact, I think I am justified in saying that there is no country in this wide world today with which our relations may be said to be inimical or hostile. Naturally we will be attracted more towards some of our trade or economic interests might link us more with some countries and less with others, but there can be no doubt about it that we are friendly with all and I think that is a good thing and some achievement.

If our neighbouring countries have in a sense first place in our minds, then the second place goes to the other countries of Asia with whom

we are also fairly intimately connected. Now, India is very curiously placed in Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in Asia you may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether you think in terms of China or the Middle East or South East Asia, India immediately comes into the picture. It is so situated that because of past history, traditions etc, in regard to any major problem of a country or a group of countries of Asia, India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence or trade or Industry or other economic policy, India cannot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because, as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources. Whatever her actual strength may or may not be, India is potential a very powerful country and possesses the qualities and other factors that go a long Way to make a country grow strong, healthy and prosperous. She is rich in those elements and I think, she has a population which has the capacity to use those elements. Naturally we have our failings and the difficulties are there, but if you view the problem in a certain perspective, there can be no doubt in anyone's mind that India's potential wealth will become actual and in the not too distant a future.