

## INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WWU - 11

INDIA: WHO LECTURES WHOM?

Claridge's Hotel,  
Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.  
March 31, 1959.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers.  
Institute of Current World Affairs.  
366 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

During my two months in India, I have constantly run into the term, "lecture": "If only India wouldn't lecture us..." "But it is you Americans who lecture India..."

As a matter of fact, this last is a direct quote from Indira Gandhi, Nehru's only child, close confidant, official hostess and now a power of her own as Congress Party President -- a sort of Jim Farley in sari.

"It is you who criticize us," she told me. "Time Magazine (the No. 1 compounder of antagonisms in every country I've visited so far) accused us of putting delays in the way of your ice show ("Holiday on Ice," a commercial venture). We didn't do this. The Government didn't do this. There were some floods and rains and it made the ground difficult for the ice. Are we responsible for that?" Then this shy, quite pretty lady warmed up: "We have said we are anti-Communist. But after that we do our best to get along. We expect you to understand us. It's much more difficult with the Russians. We don't speak in even the same terms, the same language. We are of different minds than the Russians." Mrs. Gandhi, who can't help but reflect some of Mr. Nehru's own thinking from a lifetime of exchanges over the family dinner table, was clearly saying: We have a double standard in our non-alignment. We expect more of you in the West because you know us better. When you let us down we are disappointed and we are forced to criticize you.



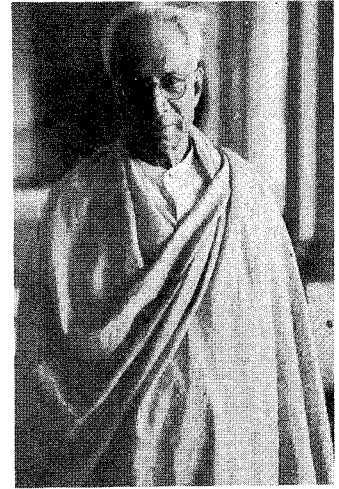
FATHER NEHRU'S PARTY BOSS

Mrs. Gandhi didn't mention it, but I heard elsewhere, that when her Father did speak out against Russia last Spring, criticizing the Soviets for cutting off Yugoslavian aid after Tito had reemphasized his independence of Khrushchev, the Indian Ambassadors in both Moscow and Belgrade were summoned by the Russians for a severe dressing down. They also were instructed to tell Mr. Nehru to lay off. Nor did Mrs. Gandhi mention the article Soviet Ambassador to China Yudin wrote last year tearing into a personal testament Nehru had written on the joint attractions and detractions for him of Soviet communism and Western democracy.

Now I got an entirely different appraisal of lecturing from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, India's leading philosopher, beloved Vice President and onetime (1950-1955) Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Vice President came right out with an admission: "Yes,

we lecture, but we admit we are not always right. We don't even follow our own moral precepts. Look at the continuance of caste and untouchability." But he also said that when he found himself lecturing, he tried to do it impartially. He recalled being the guest speaker at a Kremlin banquet attended by the whole Soviet hierarchy. "I said, 'There are only two parties here. The one that is in power and the one that is in jail.' I was told later than the U.S. Ambassador wrote his superiors, 'The only smile in all that great hall belonged to Molotov.'"



DR. RADHAKRISHNAN,  
THE PHILOSOPHER-VEEP

Let me digress for a moment over Dr. Radhakrishnan. He has a gentle humor, is given to reeling off quotes seriatim, sort of as a walking Bartlett, possesses a noble, humane face, and dresses in such a fussy combination of over-sized turban, cascading sheets and high, gartered black stockings that someone described him to me as looking like the deacon who had just opened the door a speck to take in the milk and let out the cat. Dr. Radhakrishnan received me at 6 o'clock one evening at his home. He served up tea and two unexpected guests: the Prohibition leaders from Parliament. It was obvious that the lady of the pair -- the very Secretary-General of the Prohibition movement -- was giving the V.P. a hard time in trying to make him crack down on the anti-Prohibition forces in the Raja Sabha, the Upper House over which Dr. Radhakrishnan presides. The going was getting tough so Dr. Radhakrishnan decided to pass the buck and asked me what I thought. Conscious that Indo-American relations might collapse with a careless hiccup, I told the bottle banners that I could draw only on my own experience: I was raised in a home with cigarettes on every table and a bar in the dining room piled high with bottles. I have never smoked, I said, and nowadays may take a drink or pass it up, it matters very little since no one ever told me not to.

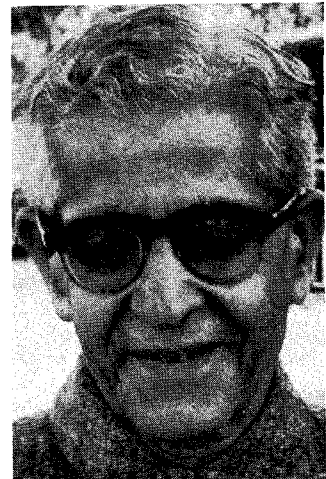
"Ah, Sir," the female bottle banner lamented, "there are too few like you."

My halo glistened in the gathering dusk of the Vice President's parlor.

But now I am sorry I wasn't more outspoken. I got to Bombay and found that Finance Minister Morarji Desai had turned off the town spigot when he was Chief Minister of Bombay State. And a liquor permit for a traveler like me would cost around \$5 for my remaining three days there. Had I applied six days earlier, when I first hit town, the permit charge would have been only \$1.25. I am afraid Bombay left me foaming -- from Indian **bureaucracy**, not from the beer whose blackmail price I wouldn't meet. End of digression. Back to non-alignment.

DR. H.N. KUNZRU, chairman of the Indian Council of World Affairs, president and one of the early members of the dedicated Servants of India Society and now an independent M.P. in <sup>the</sup> Raja Sabha, traced for me some of the origins of India's non-alignment policy. He said Nehru first enunciated it even before Independence: "We had had no foreign policy. We had to fall in line with the decisions of Britain. Then, as our new Government came to power, we decided, just as Washington had in 1789, that we should be developing ourselves economically and not take part in the rivalries that were going on. After all, we had to do something quickly to raise the standard of living of the people

in order to inspire democracy. With Partition (between India and Pakistan), refugees, the poverty of the country, the insufficiency of food and the instability of a new Government, there was a need to have democracy understood and supported and we could not involve ourselves in international complications. However, in saying we would not join either bloc, we were not saying one form of government is as good as another form of government. At first our relations with you were quite good. Then came estrangement, particularly over the Korean affair. You thought we were leaning toward China because China was our near neighbor. But we were no more communist than we are now. All we said was that going across the 38th Parallel would make China come into the war, and actually it did happen."



DR. H.N. KUNZRU

Then, without pausing to note any inconsistency, Kunzru continued: "You think of Communism as a military danger. It may be. But so far it has not used its arms to bring other people under its sway. It has used the minds of people in these countries...Russia during the last five or six years has grown much stronger. It has created a pride among its people with good housing at nominal charges, medical services, education -- all free. Only the intellectuals realize the value of free expression of opinion. But education is spreading fast in Russia and I have no doubt that the educated people will not long be content with this type of government. You should work hard to have the educated Russians on your side. You can't go on indefinitely supporting people in power because they are in favor of you. All the dictators will be in your favor. And in Thailand, Viet Nam and China you not only lost your money, but you lost your reputation too." With that, this mild-voiced, gentle septuagenarian glanced at his watch, jumped to his feet and announced: "It's 11 o'clock and I must be in Parliament."

S. SEN, called "TINOO" by his friends, is one of the key career men in the Ministry of External Affairs (equivalent to the U.S. State Department). He represented India and headed the three-nation UN peace team in Laos and Viet Nam; he has headed the Ministry's public affairs section; and now he is sort of overall desk man supervising India's foreign relations with Europe and America. I had a long session with Tinoo Sen in his office the end of one leisurely Saturday afternoon and though I cannot quote him directly (because of his job sensitivity), I will try to summarize his thinking for you.



S. SEN: Compensate

Primarily, I gathered, India is inclined to look favorably on Russia in comparison with the West because Russia has no direct conflicts with India regarding her neighbors. The U.S., with its massive aid to Pakistan, obviously has. Then there is India's 300-year memory of colonial rule and the compromises the U.S. has made with colonialism since World War II to keep its Cold War allies happy. There is also the envy of a poor nation for a rich one. And even though Russia and China have shown startling signs of progress, theirs is a progress to be admired -- because they began with hardships similar to India's. Then there is the awareness, at least among India's intelligentsia, that the bulk of information they receive on world affairs is from the West. And so to compensate for this they maintain a general attitude of doubt, even when they know they are

predisposed otherwise. As for lecturing the West, India feels it is the West who lectures her. The Communists, through their controlled press and officialdom, are always careful not to lecture. And as for Hungary, India at first reacted adversely to the Western glee -- as part of her determination to compensate -- and then rationalized that she didn't have the facts. Nor, she decided, would condemnation do any good. India herself has never suggested that even Pakistan be condemned by the UN even though she is convinced that Pakistan committed aggression in Kashmir. And no one ever suggested that the British, French and Israelis be condemned for their Suez venture (which, incidentally, occurred after India had decided to drag her feet on Hungary). As for the good intentions of the West, India has noticed that the U.S. has made it plain it will not enter any international conference with Russia if it is not assured of a majority ahead of time.

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR is Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and a renowned poet, writer and educator. He sits in a Secretariat office decorated with portraits of Ruskin and Gandhi and weighs the forces which influence India's non-alignment: "First, there is nationalism, which makes India want to speak for itself. Then there are the really appealing parts of Communism -- the egalitarian theme of a classless society with equality of race and justice for the underdog, a theme which Western spokesmen at all levels have not been able to characterize as fully; and there is the striking progress that Russia has made in the last 40 years, even though history showed similar progress in America's first 30 years, and in Germany in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. And finally there is the third force in India -- the one that makes for a balance -- our very strong strain, call it philosophy, religion, or what you will. This makes for democracy and not for violence."



KABIR: Balance

Prof. Kabir also went into the "lecture" subject: "If a man is a democrat you expect a different kind of behavior from him than if he is not a democrat. And you must remember that the Chinese policy is difficult to understand. It is not even in your own interest to make China completely subservient to the Soviet Union. As for Pakistan, people here always say of military pacts that they all have political-military components. Although, things have improved a lot since 1955-1956 when you so espoused Pakistan."

MINOO R. MASANI is a Bombay Parsi, onetime Tata public relations director, onetime Ambassador to Brazil, early-day Socialist and Congress Party leader and now, at the agile age of 53, an independent anxious to form a conservative opposition to the Congress in Parliament. Masani is by all odds the bitterest and most outspoken critic of Prime Minister Nehru I have met. Says Masani of Nehru: "He is so consciously dishonest, no neutral, pro-Communist, anti-West, hates capitalism and started creating a double standard of non-alignment -- loaded in favor of the Soviets -- six months after enunciating the policy in 1947." Masani went on to say that India's then UN Ambassador Rao initially had voted to condemn the North Korean aggression without Nehru's permission and Nehru then tried to overrule him. Masani said Nehru was restrained



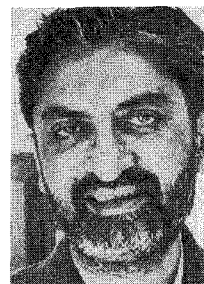
MASANI: For Nehru no love

Masani said Nehru was restrained

by his Cabinet but nonetheless made it clear that India would provide no military participation in the UN police force. Masani also said that when he got up in Parliament to ask Nehru why he didn't criticize the Soviet purges, the Prime Minister replied it was none of India's business. Masani calls Nehru's action regarding the 1950 Chinese seizure of Tibet a "double-cross": publicly protesting it but privately working to get it from appearing on the UN agenda. Masani said that when he challenged Nehru on this during the Question Hour, the Prime Minister replied that China had every right to take what action she did since it was Chiang, Dulles and General MacArthur who pushed Mao into the situation. Masani said that when he got up to question Nehru about the Communist satellites in 1956, the Prime Minister referred to them as "friendly, independent countries." Masani also said Nehru publicly declared Stalin's death a loss to every Soviet home -- when it first occurred -- and maintained embarrassed silence after Khrushchev announced Stalin wasn't so hot after all.

Concludes Masani: "Neutralism is a cover under which Communist propaganda advances. There is a very important difference between neutrality as practiced by Sweden and Switzerland. It harbors no illusions. It knows which are the free states and which are the total dictatorships. Neutralism as preached in India professes to see little to choose between the two sides. It seeks to equate the evils of totalitarian Communism with the evils of liberal Democracy. By refusing to discriminate between gray and black it thus helps black." Masani considers the U.S. "too soft with Mr. Nehru and too pampering." He says Nehru is "blackmailing the West" with appeals that it had better help to make the Third Five-Year Plan succeed -- or else there will be Communism -- just as Russia "blackmails" Nehru by threatening to vote against him on Kashmir. Masani says he has made a study of Nehru's "silences and pronouncements," thinks any Western impression of increased friendliness of late "wishful thinking" and concedes the Prime Minister only one saving grace: "At least he doesn't want violence. He considers it an aberration of Communism." With such violent words from Masani, I naturally wanted to know how much credence I should give him. I have been told that he has one of the best minds in Indian politics, is usually accurate with his facts but permits his personal bitterness to give these facts faulty interpretations. I interviewed Masani in between two angry debates he had with Nehru in Parliament over the Prime Minister's "cooperative farming" scheme. So I assume he was even more wrought up over Nehru than usual.

ASOKA MEHTA, a leader of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) in the Lok Sabha, is also considered to be a brilliant politician and is also a strong critic of Mr. Nehru's -- although a far more temperate one than Masani. Whereas Masani is against non-alignment, Mehta is for it -- but he wants it more closely adhered to. He considers India's actions regarding Hungary "shameful." Says he: "We are in favor of friendliness, but friendliness should not mean ignorance of economic and other developments affecting us. We say things about the U.S. but constantly are unwilling to say anything which affects us in China. It is considered 'unfriendly' toward China... Non-alignment is not 'leave-us-alone' policy. Non-alignment means that you are not going to get tied up in Big Power conflicts. It means that you are going to extend the possibility of constructive effort among nations." Mehta is particularly concerned about China, and particularly worried over Chinese economic imperialism. He fears an "Ice Age" economic stagnation among the South Asian countries which will leave their people frustrated and ripe for Communism -- obviating the need for any Communist military action. To counter this, Mehta is intent that the forthcoming Third Five-Year Plan succeed in order to insure



MEHTA: Critical

that India herself will succeed. But even if the Third Plan does succeed, Mehta says India will still have Communism: "We will then be in the position of Italy, a strong Communist Party, but one that will not be able to take over." He adds: "If China had not gone Communist, India would have more or less been inoculated against Communism. Russia would not have had any impact on India."

**THE KRIPALANIS.** Husband Archarya J.B., a longtime Gandhi follower, broke with the Congress Party some time ago and now is one of the Socialist leaders in Parliament. Wife Sucheta broke too, but rejoined them again and now not only sits on <sup>the</sup> Congress side of the aisle of the Lok Sabha facing her husband, but has just been made Congress Party Secretary-General (one of four) under Indira Gandhi and so is a major party boss. I interviewed the Kripalanis together on the porch of their New Delhi home **one morning** and I found myself constantly asking: "Do you both agree to this? Or is this where you depart?" Sucheta Kripalani would invariably reply: "Ideologically, we are both Socialists. But we differ on emphasis." When I brought up the question of the West being "lectured" to, I was told: "You must remember that you are injuring us where our vital interests are concerned and Russia is not. Russia says, 'Yes, Goa belongs to India.' You would rather say, 'Goa is a province of Portugal,' (John Foster Dulles in a joint statement with the Portuguese Foreign Minister in 1955 when the Secretary apparently wanted to be not only hospitable to the visiting envoy, but to jolly well brandish the welcome mat.) And Pakistan, (here the Kripalanis really got worked up, ensemble), you aid them when they are always talking of war with India. And Kashmir. Khrushchev comes here and he says, 'Kashmir belongs to India.' The whole theory of Pakistan is that wherever they have a majority the whole land must belong to Pakistan. We have had enough of transferring minorities." Do the Kripalanis think non-aligned countries should strengthen their hand by banding together into a neutral bloc? "To increase our forces, yes. But a Third Force in public opinion, not a military alliance. The very fact of neutrality precludes military alliances."



BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE

**THE AMBASSADORS.** To gain further dimensions in my search for the whys and wherefores of non-alignment, I decided to seek out two particular Ambassadors accredited to New Delhi. One represents a longtime neutral nation and so is competent to give one neutral's appraisal of another. The other Ambassador represents a comparatively independent member of the Soviet bloc, a satellite which is as neutral as it dare be. Ambassadors are understandably shy about having their names identified with comments on their host country so I'll refer to them as Independent-Neutral (IN) and Soviet-Neutral (SN).

IN started right off by saying that Jawaharlal Nehru, with whatever human faults he may have, is still one of the most balanced statesmen in the world today and the most understanding representative of India "you" (the West) will ever get. But IN has noticed that during the past year or two Nehru has shied away from emphasizing the positive, or mediating role, of India's non-alignment, rarely mentions his old theme of "Pancha Shil" (the Five Principles of Coexistence which Nehru and Chou En-lai agreed to in 1954), and concentrates more on India's internal problems and stiffening the socialistic trend of her economy. IN had occasion to see the Prime Minister for several days in succession

following the Russian action in Hungary and feels that the tardiness of his and India's words of condemnation were caused by nothing less than pure shock: Nehru just couldn't believe such brutality possible of people he had called "Comrade." Then came the double punch -- Suez -- and this really crippled Nehru with disillusion. After all, even though Britain had long kept his country captive and imprisoned him personally, Britain was still the Harrow and Cambridge of Nehru's school days and gentlemen just didn't bull their way into Suez with parachutes and machine guns. IN feels India's officials "really are neutral, in their thinking and in their actions." But IN adds that there is "no doubt" that Russia "receives the better public notices." IN thinks this is due to "disappointments" over the U.S. attitude toward Goa and Kashmir, the rearming of Pakistan, and just plain common-level envy of the poor for the rich. But far more crucial to India than anything Russia does is what China does, IN declared. China's intentions in Laos, Burma, Tibet and Nepal are the things this Ambassador finds to be really bothering India and Nehru.

Now SN, the Soviet-Neutral Ambassador, had this to say: "Russia seeks more the support of India than her participation, because Russia realizes that ideologically India is tied to the West. Russia therefore merely tries to keep the pendulum from swinging too far to the right. China's peak of foreign activity was in 1954-1955 and now her interests have diminished because of her concern for internal affairs. (I interviewed SN before the current Tibet crisis and don't know how this might amend his remark.) But China's impact is still very much here. What she does economically today affects Ceylon, Cambodia, Pakistan, Thailand and here." SN sees India's "neutrality" (He defines neutrality as "active coexistence"; neutrality as a "waiting for a future alignment") as a consciously active program. He says the pendulum swings constantly from right to left and back -- in order to preserve the necessary balance. The height of the pendulum's activity, SN observed, was during Korea and during the French Indo-China War, the two occasions when conflagration most threatened all South Asia. Now, SN thinks India's relations with both East and West are better. He suggests that part of the better relations with the West may be caused by a change he has observed during the past year in the U.S. understanding of a neutral's *raison d'etre*.

I tried to see how an outright member of the Communist diplomatic corps reacts to India's non-alignment. But the Chinese were untouchable, the Russians refused to answer some 12 to 15 phone messages I left at both home and office. And even the Communist Party leader in the Lok Sabha, S.A. Dange, first ignored my phone messages and then, on the morning I finally had been granted an appointment in his New Delhi office, blithely stayed in Bombay without having his staff bother to call me off. It seems to me I found the Communist representatives in Hong Kong equally unobliging (WWU-3).

DR. APPADORAI AND MR. POP-LAI. Dr. A. Appadorai, director of the Indian School of International Studies and a rapporteur at the celebrated Bandung conference of Afro-Asian nations in 1955, said India's non-alignment policy is no accident: It is an outgrowth of the country's religion and philosophy which rejects the concept that there is only one single truth (Communism or Democracy) and so accepts and rejects from both orbits. And he said non-alignment is also an outgrowth of India's determination



A. APPADORAI



S.L. POPLAI

to concentrate her strength on internal development and therefore to resist all military alliances -- even those in which she takes no part -- as contributing to tensions which may make it impossible for her to concentrate on internal growth. Moreover, says Appadorai, "We are no neutral at all. We are non-aligned. We do take sides. We have expressed our views on many subjects. If we were tied to a bloc, we would be less free for such expression."

S.L. Poplai, Secretary-General of the Indian Council of World Affairs and, as you well know, co-author with Phil Talbot of "India and America," again brought up the "lecture" theme: "There is a tendency to speak more critically to people you know and China and Russia were virtually unknown to India until after 1951. By then we were emotionally free to look abroad. But Soviet development in Europe already had taken place. Moreover, we have an expectation of much more from the West and our disappointment -- real or imagined -- is all the greater. Added to this is a continuing distrust, even today, of most things that come from the West. This is caused by our experience with Britain. And our contact with the U.S., after all, came only after the war." What about Hungary, why didn't that outrage India into action? "The Government felt that mere condemnation through the UN would be like scoring a point in a debate, no more. What concrete result came from the UN condemnation in Korea? The division went on anyhow."

The Rajkumari (Princess) Amrit Kaur, for 10 years Health Minister in the Nehru Cabinet, had another explanation of the "lecture" theme: "Maybe the reason we speak more kindly toward Russia -- and we do -- is because of the race thing." And then she added: "Anyway, China is what we really fear. We never have feared Russia."

And there you have it, a gamut of opinions and a gamut of confusion. I will take refuge in my reporter's training and tell you my only obligation is to relate. On the subject of who lectures whom, and with what just cause, I am afraid my thoughts are still as unjelled as they are concerning how neutral is neutral India.

Cordially,



Warren W. Unna

Received New York April 14, 1959