CHAPTER TWO

NATIONALIST DIPLOMACY: STRATEGIES AND METHODS
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As discussed in the previous chapter, the objective of the nationalist movements was to achieve freedom from colonialism. In order to accomplish this the nationalist leadership, lacking the conventional powers of states, sought to harness the power and influence of foreign governments. In doing this they were thus using diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic strategies and methods. In this chapter, we shall attempt to define these. One of the most important features of the nationalist diplomacy considered here is the use of international conferences to promote the cause of freedom from colonialism.

DEFINING NATIONALIST DIPLOMACY:

As was noted in the preceding chapter, the nationalist elites in the colonies strived to internationalise the issue of freedom from colonialism. The aims and actions of the nationalist elites were not contained within the boundaries of their respective countries but tried to influence the behaviours of governments of other states and of groups and individuals within them. In doing this, the varied nationalist groups could be said to be undertaking transnational relations and were acting as 'transnational actors'. These transnational relations have been defined as 'contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not
controlled by the central foreign policy organs of the
governments'. 1

Transnational actors often pursue their own diplomacy and
this was the case with the most important anti-colonial
groups which sought external support in the shape of
funds, arms, or diplomatic and public pressure.
Such relations involved bodies such as trade unions and
revolutionary organisations which operate in more than one
state. These nationalist bodies approached sympathetic
governments outside their own country as well as other
anti-colonial non-governmental groups. In this way, like
governments they maintained foreign relations, though they
were often unable to employ similar diplomatic procedures.

Underlying the thought and actions of all nationalist
groups was the central problem of colonialism, although
the revolt against colonialism was anything but monolithic
either in its goals, methods or organisations. This
conflict between colonialist and nationalist had to be
resolved either by negotiations or force, or by some
combination of two. Yet in so far as nationalists
perceived the colonial power to be alien and exploitative
and wished to replace it with some form of government of
their own, they tended to behave in many respects as

1 See: Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr. (eds.)
Transnational Relations and World Politics (Cambridge,
representatives of a de jure government. In this sense their behaviours vis a vis colonial powers may be seen as an early form of diplomacy, a sort of 'foreign policy in embryo', with consequences which were ultimately reflected not only in the creation of new states, but also in the foreign policy of the post-colonial states.

Diplomacy is traditionally understood to be a political process that promotes national interest of a given country. According to Morgenthau, the task of diplomacy in promoting national interest is fourfold.

(a) Diplomacy must determine its objectives in the light of the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives,

(b) Diplomacy must assess the objectives of other nations and the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives,

(c) Diplomacy must determine to what extent these different objectives are compatible with each other,

(d) Diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of its objectives.2

One of the chief functions of diplomacy is the protection of the interests of the country and their symbolic and political representation abroad.3

In the case of the anti-colonial freedom struggles, the ultimate national interest was the end of the colonial


rule. The activities of sections of the nationalist elites abroad, as we shall discuss in the forthcoming chapters, signifies the symbolic representation of national interests of the colonies, and in this way they seem to act as unofficial envoys of their respective countries. For the purposes of the present discussion, this dimension of anti-colonial activity is defined as a feature of nationalist diplomacy. This diplomatic activity was particularly important in the colonial metropolitan centre.

The diplomacy of the nationalist leaderships in the colonies was, from the outset, geared towards achievement of freedom from foreign rule. In many respects, the exponents of the nationalist diplomacy demonstrated the uses of "new" or "public diplomacy", a product of mass communication and the changing complexion of international relations in the twentieth century. The public diplomacy can be defined as the ways in which both governments and private individuals and groups influence directly and indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which have a bearing on other government's foreign policy decisions. In other words, propaganda diplomacy was a significant part of nationalist diplomacy.

It is the main task of a strategic diplomacy to choose the appropriate means for pursuing its objectives. According to Morgenthau, persuasion, compromise and threat of force are the three means available to diplomacy. No diplomacy
relying only upon the threat of force can claim to be both intelligent and peaceful. No diplomacy that would stake everything on persuasion and compromise deserves to be called intelligent.

As Morgenthau argues, the art of diplomacy consists in putting the right emphasis at any particular moment on each of these three means at its disposal. A diplomacy that has successfully discharged its other functions may well fail in advancing the national interest and preserving peace if it stresses persuasion when the give and take of compromise is primarily required by the circumstances of the case. A diplomacy that puts most of its eggs in the basket of compromise when the military might of the nation should be predominantly displayed, or stresses military might when the political situation calls for persuasion and compromise, will likewise fail.4

A careful study of the nationalist diplomacy in Indian, Indonesian and Algerian freedom movements shows that the nationalist elites skilfully employed the three above-mentioned means of diplomacy to achieve their ultimate objective, i.e. freedom from colonial exploitation. These activities can be defined as nationalist diplomacy.

4 Morgenthau, n. 2, p. 521.
It is important to remember, however, that the nationalist movements had no organized instruments of diplomacy like the foreign offices in the capitals of the respective nations and the diplomatic representatives sent by the foreign offices to the capitals of foreign nations. Yet, as we shall see in the following pages, the overseas political movements of the sections of nationalist elites amount to pursuing diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic activities, with the primary aim of freedom from colonial domination.

MODES OF NATIONALIST DIPLOMACY:
The diplomacy of the anti-colonial struggles had to operate under severe political and economic restrictions that went with a colonial system. The nationalist elites in the colonies therefore had to pursue their diplomacy through unorthodox forms and means. For our discussion we shall adopt the following four modes of diplomatic activities that are to be witnessed in the diplomacy of the freedom struggles of India, Indonesia and Algeria.

(a) Propaganda diplomacy
(b) Diplomacy at the colonial metropolitan centre
(c) Symbolic diplomacy
(d) Conference diplomacy

PROPAGANDA DIPLOMACY:
A key component in the nationalist diplomacy was propaganda diplomacy. Political propaganda played a vital
role in the diplomatic endeavours of the nationalist elites in their anti-colonial struggles. According to Morgenthau, propaganda is an instrument of foreign policy, co-ordinated with the traditional instrument of diplomacy and military force:

Psychological warfare or propaganda joins diplomacy and military force as the third instrument by which foreign policy tries to achieve its aims. Regardless of the instrument employed, the ultimate aim of foreign policy is always the same: to promote one’s interest by changing the mind of the opponent.5

Nationalist diplomacy is one of the fields in which propaganda plays a large part. The Oxford dictionary defines propaganda as 'an association or scheme for propagating a doctrine or practice' and the word takes its origin from the Latin propagare which means the gardener’s practice of pinning the fresh shoots of a plant into the earth in order to reproduce new plants which will later take on a life of their own. Propaganda has come to acquire unpleasant connotations because of its misuse for political purposes during the First World War and its distortion in the form of the thought control under totalitarian regimes like that of Hitler and Stalin. It was seen as a deliberate attempt on the part of an individual or group to manipulate, the minds of others for their own ulterior ends.

5 ibid, p. 333.
Jacques Ellul's comprehensive and pioneering work *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitude* defines four categories of propaganda. (1) political and sociological propaganda (2) agitation and integration propaganda (3) vertical and horizontal propaganda (4) rational and irrational propaganda.6

According to Ellul, political propaganda appears when a group uses techniques of influence in order to achieve goals which are clearly distinguished and quite precise. Propaganda of agitation is usually subversive and oppositional. It may seek to overthrow a government or established order.7

Both these types of propaganda are to be found in the study of the freedom struggles in India, Indonesia and Algeria. The nationalist propaganda diplomacy borrowed from some of the more specific techniques employed in propaganda such as the use of stereotypes, selection, repetition, assertion, pinpointing the enemy and the appeal to authority.8

In different stages of their anti-colonial struggle the

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7 ibid, p. 64. Also see Daniel Katz et al (ed), *Public Opinion and Propaganda* (New York, 1954).

nationalist diplomacy in India, Indonesia and Algeria used the tools of media, radio, press etc. for liberation propaganda. By getting access to anti-colonial information and exploiting it for propaganda purposes, the nationalist leaders in the colonies achieved their diplomatic goals. Through overseas nationalist journals like, Khadar, Talvar, Azad Hind the Indian propaganda diplomacy publicised the cause of independence. In case of Indonesia and Algeria Het Vrije Woord and El Moudjahid respectively performed the same role in the freedom struggle. 9

Nationalist propaganda took the form of systematic anti-colonial and pro-liberation campaigns and communications directed from one country to another with the hope of causing in the target state a movement to overthrow the existing political order. Sporadic forays through media in the form of liberation propaganda aimed directly at liberating a captive people yearning for independence were made by the nationalist elites.

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9 Within India the nationalist propaganda was undertaken by the Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Bombay Chronicle, The Hindustan Times, The Free Press Journal, The Young India, The Harijan, and National Herald which were prominent nationalist dailies and weeklies in English. The Hindu and The Leader, were some of the prominent journals reflecting the liberal school of nationalism. The nationalist vernacular press was represented by Anand Bazar Patrika in Bengali, Kesari in Marathi, Bombay Samachar and Navajivan in Gujarati, Matribhumi in Malayalam,epadshhamitram in Tamil and Aaj in Hindi. See: A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism (Bombay, 1976), p. 229.
The perception, awareness and crystallization of an anti-colonial theme was achieved through nationalist mass media. The nationalist propaganda diplomacy had to operate under adverse conditions. The paucity of funds, jamming of radio beams, control of news media by the colonial powers, press regulation acts, licensing of press, telecommunication controls, and threats made nationalist propaganda very difficult. The liberation propaganda had to adopt unorthodox and innovative techniques to survive in a colonial set-up.

The liberation propaganda was concerned with among others, the projection of an image, propagation of certain nationalist ideas, publicity for the cause of national freedom in international press and friendly national media, stirring for favourable public opinion, refuge, economic assistance, arms and friendly borders. The last point was particularly important in the case of Algerian nationalist diplomacy.

DIPLOMACY AT THE COLONIAL METROPOLITAN CENTRE:
Another important mode of nationalist diplomacy was concerned with political activities in the metropolitan centre of the colonial power. Such activities in the early stages took a constitutional approach such as the work of the Indian members of the British Parliament like Dada Bhai Naroji. The primary task of extending nationalist diplomacy to the metropolitan centre was to
help mould public opinion there by lobbying with liberal and Leftist forces who were opposed to colonialism. Nationalist media in the metropolitan centre became a major instrument for enhancing anti-colonial activities aimed at repudiating the falsehood of the colonial propaganda by a counter offensive in media.

Besides, the students from the colonies studying in the metropolitan centre, who later formed part of nationalist elites, used mass media, academic seminars and political organisational resolutions to influence the liberal attitude in the colonial centre. There are interesting parallels between the diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic activities of the students and political emigrants from India active in London with those from Indonesia based in Amsterdam and the Hague and the Algerians in Paris. Furthermore, the nationalists also maintained contacts through a network of people in other important world centres in countries like Germany, United States and the Soviet Union.

Another task of the nationalist groups in the metropolitan and other important centres of power, was to organise emigrant labour force, as was done by Indian nationalists in the U.S.A. and the Paris-based Algerian nationalists in their fight against the French colonialism. A detailed discussion of these aspects of nationalist diplomacy shall be taken up in the forthcoming chapters.
SYMBOLIC DIPLOMACY:

Nationalist diplomacy by its very nature was reliant on symbolic gestures as it had no foundation in real governmental power or authority. Hence the nationalist elites attached great value to diplomatic symbols in their anti-colonial struggle. One of the most important aims of symbolic diplomacy was to convince world opinion of the quality of the nationalist leadership and their ability to administer a country when the colonial power had left.

Through symbolic diplomatic gestures the nationalist elite also asserted its independent foreign and domestic policy so as to distinguish the nationalist interests from the interests of the colonial power. The significance attributed to the symbolic diplomacy in the freedom struggles in India, Indonesia and Algeria is evident in the proclamation of a provisional nationalist government in all the three cases.

In the case of Indian nationalist diplomacy we find the proclamation of a provisional Indian government by Subhas Chandra Bose. Likewise, in the Indonesian diplomacy the announcement of a provisional Indonesian republic was a significant dimension of the nationalist diplomacy. In the Algerian case also the provisional nationalist government reflected the importance of symbolic diplomacy in the nationalist struggle.

Seeking diplomatic recognition for the provisional governments from international organisations and friendly
nations, taking active part in various Afro-Asian conferences, sharing diplomatic limelight with important world leaders, building a network of personnel well-versed in foreign affairs to act as unofficial diplomats in world bodies, are some of the other dimensions of the symbolic diplomacy of the freedom struggles. In the following chapters we shall study in detail the various aspects of the symbolic diplomacy in the anti-colonial movements.

DIPLOMACY THROUGH CONFERENCES:
The three aspects of the nationalist diplomacy described above differ from case to case and need to be considered on a national basis. Conference diplomacy, however, is by its nature an international activity, based on the diplomatic gathering of many national groupings with similar aims and thus forms an international backdrop to the individual nationalist struggles. Thus for the purposes of this thesis, the significant international conferences of the periods concerned will be considered in detail here, so as to set the context for the following national case studies.10

The anti-colonial movement in Asia and Africa developed parallel with the growing awareness internationally about

10 Conference diplomacy is defined as "that part of the management of relations between governments and inter-governmental organisations that takes place in international conferences.", See: Johan Kaufmann, Conference Diplomacy (Leyden, 1988), p. 22.
the problems of the colonial relationships. After the First World War, the League of Nations and later in the United Nations, a new type of diplomatic intercourse was created, diplomacy by parliamentary procedures. International problems requiring solution were put on the agenda of the deliberative bodies of these conferences. The emergence of the Afro-Asian diplomacy as a result of decolonisation process can not be comprehended until we make an effort to understand the role that the international conferences have played in this process.

**Impact of International Socialist Conferences:**

The international socialist movement provided both the ideological and organisational framework for a burgeoning anti-colonial campaign in Europe. The International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907 was an important international forum for nationalists from various colonies.

With the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia the political emancipation of the colonies became a possibility and started being discussed at international conferences. The nationalist diplomacy was gradually acquiring an internationalist perspective. The diplomacy through international conferences provided them with the institutional framework to propagate their cause for freedom in an international setting, enlisting support from the radical and Leftist circles in European politics. The Soviet Union the Bolsheviks encouraged the Asian
Freedom movements and helped provide international organisation of nationalist forces of Asia directed against the Western colonialism. In Asian nationalist movements there emerged a new way of thinking which emphasised perceiving colonial questions in the broad framework of world historical developments. The first international Communist (Comintern) Congress convened in Moscow in 1919 called for a "inner disintegration" of Western Capitalism.11

Calling for a revolt against the colonial rule and emphasising the community of interests of the proletariat of Europe and the oppressed peoples of the colonies, the Congress exhorted:

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will also be the hour of your own liberation.12

The Bolshevik-sponsored conferences provided a radical platform to Asian nationalist movements, trade unions and progressive political groups. Examples of such radical groupings where the issue of colonial rule was discussed mainly on an economic plane were: the First Congress of the Peoples of the East (held in Baku in September 1920), The Congress of the Peoples of the Far East held in Moscow in 1922, the International Union of Oppressed Peoples of

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12 ibid, p. 18.
Asia, convened in Canton twice in 1925 and 1927, and the Pan-Pacific Trade Secretariat, which met in Shanghai in 1927. Some of the Indian nationalists living as political exiles abroad took active part in several of these conferences, making the case for India's independence.

The Brussels Congress, 1927:
From the viewpoint of the anti-colonial diplomacy the most important conference was the "Congress Against Colonial Oppressions and Imperialism" held in Brussels in February 1927. The Congress was attended, among others, by Nehru as a representative of the Indian National Congress, Maulvi Barkatullah and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya. The Congress marked Nehru's debut in the field of international relations. He took the opportunity of this unique meeting to proclaim his country's right to freedom. He was one of the chairmen and member of the steering committee of the Congress. Nehru's observations and political experiences from the session that he reported to the leadership of the INC became guiding principles observed by the nationalist leadership in India in their relations with other Asian freedom struggles.13

During this Congress, Nehru was in close contacts with the Kuomintang members and other nationalist groups from Asian countries. In many informal meetings possible forms of cooperation between the Indian and the Chinese nationalists were discussed. The members from the Asian countries at the Congress also discussed the problem of Inter-Asian relations. As Nehru writes:

An interesting feature of the Brussels Congress was the strong desire of the delegates from Asia that the beginning should be made of some Asiatic federation. This was not due to any special feeling against Europe or America but to a drawing together of the Asiatic elements and a recognition of a common bond uniting them.14

Nehru writes that he did not see how to build up an efficient Asian organisation at that time and that Europe seemed to him more appropriate place for meetings. In meetings with fellow nationalist leaders Nehru decided that the idea of a special Asian organisation was premature at that stage and they must instead work towards strengthening the League Against Imperialism which originated in the congress and which was supposed to support the anti-colonial movements all round the world. They decided to maintain regular contacts, to exchange delegates and political literature, conference resolutions, to invite each other to congresses etc. They also appointed a Paris-based four-member committee which

was to take care of the cooperation with the League in Asian affairs.15

Significance of the Brussels Congress:

The most important result of the Brussels Congress was that the people in the colonies gradually came to see their own freedom struggle as a part of the struggle of Asian countries, as a world issue, and to estimate its broader portent in the context of the political situation in the fellow countries.

The results of the Brussels Congress mirrored in the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress. In the Madras session of the INC held towards the end of 1927 the party approved the League against Imperialism. The party demanded the withdrawal of the Indian troops from China, Mesopotamia, Persia and other British colonies and

15 ibid, pp. 170-171. Twenty years later, recollecting the Brussels Congress, Nehru wrote:... "We talked about developing some kind of contacts so that we could meet occasionally, somewhere in Asia, and develop political, economic and other relations, and, at any rate, get to know each other better. But though everybody agreed and there were plenty of people from China, Indo-china, Indonesia, Ceylon, India, some from Syria, and I think one or two from Iran, an odd fact emerged: that this conference or meeting that we might have of representatives of Asia, could not meet anywhere in Asia. It was easier to meet in Paris, Berlin, or Brussels, or London, than anywhere in Asia, partly because of political restrictions and partly because of travel difficulties which made it easier to reach European countries than any part of Asia. So the project dropped...., J. L. Nehru, "Inter-Asian Relations", India Quarterly, New Delhi, Vol. II, Oct-Dec. 1946, p. 323.
territories abroad. "Once India is free the whole edifice of imperialism will fall", said the president of the Madras session of the INC, A. N. Ansari. Ansari indicated that the only way to challenge the European rule was to bring together nations of Asia while common cultural and economic interests would facilitate the consummation of the scheme of an Asian federation. A resolution was passed at the Conference summoning a Pan-Asiatic Conference in India in 1930.16

The League Against Imperialism:

With the formation of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels in 1929, the anti-colonial movement acquired a more pronounced international character. The object of the League was to bring together the nationalists from the colonies and the people fighting against colonialism in the metropolitan country. The Left-oriented League was attended by among others J. L. Nehru as the official representative of the Indian National Congress, Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya and Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya. Fenner Brockway, the British Labour Party leader was elected the chairman of the League.17

The League played a significant part in the evolution of a coherent anti-colonial struggle in the countries of Asia

16 Prasad, n. 13, p. 83.
and Africa. It became a vital element as an anti-imperialist organisation which coordinated anti-colonial tendencies among the communists and international labour movements and other progressive sections of the nationalist movements in the colonies. Its platform was sufficiently broad to attract all organisations capable of waging a struggle against colonialism. As Nehru noted in his autobiography:

The Brussels Congress, as well as the subsequent Committee meetings of the League, which were held in various places from time to time, helped me to understand some of the problems of colonial and dependent countries.18

In its later years the League Against Imperialism countering the rise of Fascism veered more and more towards the Moscow Communists and hence the mainstream Indian nationalists eschewed from taking part in its activities. Yet the League did a great service in raising the anti-colonial movements into the forefront of international political agenda.

The Asian Relations Conference: 1947

After the Second World War there was a generally favourable atmosphere for developing contacts among the nationalist leaderships in different Asian countries. In the changed global power equation it was possible to

return to the spirit of the Brussels Congress and to the project of the Pan-Asiatic Conference. The convening of the First All Asian Conference was considered to be an important international action which would give both moral and political support to the final struggle of Asian nations for independence and a first step to their future closer association. For political reasons India appeared to be the most suitable country for this meeting. As Nehru said during his address to the Conference, India was "the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia".19

The Indian Council of World Affairs, an unofficial academic body, took over the task of organising the Conference. The Conference took place in New Delhi's historic Purana Qila between March 23 and April 2, 1947 with the participation of more than two hundred representatives from 28 countries including many important political leaders and prospective statesmen of independent countries of Asia. A delegation of the Asian republics of the Soviet Union and delegates from Egypt also attended the Conference.

Though the Asian Relations Conference covered a variety of problems confronting all represented countries, the main

relevance of the meeting was in the political manifestation of common interests and of the determination to pursue unity. The Conference signified an era in which the idea of Pan-Asianism went hand in hand with the crucial question of struggle for political independence and mutual aid and unified action among the Asian countries.

During the years between the two world wars, the Asian liberation struggles had learned not merely to respect each other and exchange experience in European universities, but had begun to devise a general strategy for Asian resurgence. Nationalist leaders like Nehru, Ho Chi Minh and Sukarno had developed over the years a certain understanding of their shared problems. They had also realised that the post-colonial phase would bring its own problems for the newly independent Asian countries.

All this can be seen in the programme which the Asian Relation Conference had for discussion. The study of the national movement in the various countries was inevitably the most important topic at the Conference. Besides, discussions on economic development dominated the Conference agenda.20

The greatest importance of the Asian Relations Conference was in its clear announcement to the world that Asia as a continent had regained its self-respect. This new spirit was reflected in Nehru’s assertion:

Far too long have we of Asia been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own legs and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others.21

It is important to recognise that the Asian Relations Conference did not confine itself to the theme of Pan-Asianism. Indeed, the Conference helped open up new vistas on the foreign outlook of the various participants. Voicing solidarity with the African people, Nehru told the Conference delegates:

We of Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family.22

From the point of view of the evolving diplomacy of the nationalist movements in Asia, the Conference helped to prepare the nationalist leaders for the necessary period of apprenticeship in international affairs.

21 Nehru Speeches, n. 19, p. 251.
22 ibid, p. 253.
New Delhi Conference on Indonesia: 1949

The growing solidarity among the nations of Asia was reflected in the convening of the New Delhi Conference by the Government of India in January 1949 to discuss the political situation in Indonesia. It was the first official Asian government's conference, convened at the instance of the Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu. He suggested to the Indian government that they should invite Asian countries to deliberate on the second Dutch military action against the Republic of Indonesia.

In a display of Asian and African solidarity, eighteen countries attended the Conference. While Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen were represented at this Conference by delegates at ministerial level, Australia, Nepal, New Zealand, Ethiopia, China and Siam sent their observers to the Conference.

Nehru outlined the main task of the Conference as:

To frame and submit to the (U N) Security Council proposals which would if accepted by both parties concerned, restore peace immediately to Indonesia and to promote the early realization of freedom by the Indonesian people. and,

"to devise machinery and procedures by which the governments represented here today can keep in touch with one another for purposes of mutual consultation and concerted action... .23

All the participating countries at the Conference

23 ibid, p. 410.
condemned the Dutch military action in Indonesia. There was a world-wide interest in the meeting and its outcome. In Indonesia, it was a big booster to the morale of the Indonesian nationalists resisting Dutch occupation. The Indonesian army and the detained republican leaders saw new hopes emanating from the New Delhi Conference.

The Afro-Asian diplomatic efforts coupled with the economic pressures exerted by the United States on the Netherlands government showed results and the Dutch yielded ground and agreed to open negotiations with the Indonesian leaders, paving the way for the transfer of sovereignty. It was the first major triumph for the Afro-Asian group which became increasingly important in the coming years in the wake of the Cold War rivalry among the two superpowers and their respective power blocs.

The next major conference in the evolution of the Afro-Asian diplomacy was the Bandung Conference that led the foundation of the Non-aligned movement, a new force in international relations. Even during the New Delhi Conference on Indonesia, Nehru had mentioned the need for a more organised political structure for the emerging nations of Asia.

Is it not natural that the free countries of Asia should begin to think of some more permanent arrangement than this Conference for effective mutual consultation and concerted effort in the pursuit of common aims.. 24

24 ibid, pp. 410-411.
These sentiments reflect the growing demand for a different international diplomacy of newly independent countries in post-colonial world.

**The Bandung Conference: 1955**

The diplomatic activities of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa received a new life after the first Afro-Asian Conference held at the Indonesian town of Bandung in 1955. It is no coincidence that the two most significant anti-colonial conferences, the Asian Relations Conference and the Bandung Conference, were convened in the countries whose own nationalist struggles had recently achieved success. Above all, the Bandung Conference was a symbol of the idea of Afro-Asian unity. Though it did not create any enduring institutional relationships among the newly emerged countries of Asia and Africa, yet it did unleash political energies that substantially shaped Third world diplomacy in succeeding years.

The Bandung Conference captured the world attention by its sheer size. Twenty nine delegates from diverse Asian and African countries attended the Conference in April 1955. It was a big number considering the fact that at that time the United Nations itself had only 59 members. The prominence of many of the leaders who took part in the Conference like, Nehru, Chou En-lai, Nasser, Sukarno, Prince Sihanouk, U Nu and Carlos Romulo made the Conference a
significant diplomatic event. The purpose of the Conference was to:

promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa... to consider social, economic and cultural problems... to consider problems of special interest... (such as) racialism and colonialism... to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation. 25

Five major issues were discussed at the Conference, viz, the reluctance of the West to consult on decisions affecting Asia, the tension between China and the United States of America, a desire for peaceful relations between China and the West and with other Asian countries, opposition to continued colonialism, particularly by France in North Africa, with special reference to the liberation of Algeria. A ten-point declaration was adopted on world peace and cooperation.

Nehru outlined the five principles—Panch-sheel, to guide the new nations in their foreign policies. The Five Principles, which were to become the guiding factor of Sukarno's foreign policy in Indonesia, repudiated force, urged international cooperation, opposed intervention within sovereign states, accepted Non-alignment in the

25 Details of the Bandung Conference are to be found in, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, Asia-Africa Speaks From Bandung (Djakarta 1955)
power struggle and denounced colonialism.

The final communique, issued at the end of the Conference said:

The Conference is agreed in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end, and in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for the people under alien subjugation.

Referring especially to the situation in north Africa the communique said:

The Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay. 26

Despite the heterogeneity of its members and the prevailing Cold War atmosphere of the global diplomacy at that time, the Bandung Conference was able to focus upon the political and economic goals of the emerging Third World countries. The participants at Bandung were the precursors of the Non-aligned movement, the most significant ideological element in the Third World diplomacy.

The Bandung Conference became a catalyst for the leaders of the newly emerging Asian and African countries aspiring

26 ibid, p. 168.
to forge a common Third World consciousness. The Bandung
guernique pointed to the two principles that have
remained the foundation of Third World solidarity,
decolonization and economic development. In the following
years various leaders sought to give a concrete shape to
the spirit of Bandung.

Cairo Conference: 1957

For the next several years Bandung remained a mobilization
theme for Third World diplomacy. To the Left-wingers in
many Asian countries represented by the Asian Solidarity
Committee, the Bandung Conference gave ideas to organise
the Left movements all over Asia. In December 1956, the
Asian Solidarity Committee reconstituted itself as the
Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee with the support of
President Nasser of Egypt, riding a high tide of Arab
nationalism in the wake of his successful handling of the
Suez crisis.

The Committee asked Egypt, which had emerged at that time
as the focal point of Arab nationalism, to convene a
People's Solidarity Conference of anti-colonial political
parties in various Afro-Asian countries. A new more
militant organisation— the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity
Organisation (AAPSO)— was created in Cairo in December
1957.27

27 See Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, Cairo,
December 26 1957-January 1 1958 (Moscow, 1958)
The Cairo Conference and the AAPSO reflected a convergence of Nasserist anti-colonialism and communist anti-colonialism. AAPSO was not officially an organisation of states but rather a transnational association of Left-wing political parties. The AAPSO organised a series of conferences from 1958 to 1965, strengthening solidarity among the developing Third World bloc.

The Cairo Conference was the largest Afro-Asian assembly ever to have been held because it extended membership to colonial territories as well as to sovereign states, thus giving a new diplomatic channels to the freedom movements in many African colonies. One of the significant participation in the Conference was the FLN delegation which put the case for Algerian independence from the French colonial exploitation.

The Algerian nationalists sought diplomatic and economic help from the members of other political organisations represented at the Conference. The radical African states gave the greatest backing to AAPSO, which provided an additional framework for regular interaction and consultation among the Afro-Asian political groups.28

The conferences at Bandung and Cairo stimulated other initiatives of greater relevance for the Third World

diplomacy. The most significant among them was the emergence of the Non-aligned movement, which eschewing the Cold War power blocs, charted out a new foreign policy promoting peace and development. The first Non-aligned summit Conference was convened in Belgrade in September 1961, marking a new era in the evolution of Afro-Asian diplomacy.

The First Non-aligned Conference: 1961

The prevailing aim of the Third World diplomacy was to organise Third World countries who were against the bipolarity in the Cold War into a tangible international movement. The Third World diplomacy sought to establish that these countries were not neutral in their international commitments but had a positive contribution to make in the dominant bipolar structure of the international system by providing a new ideology for the foreign policy of the newly independent countries.29

The Non-aligned movement called for the pursuit of a foreign policy of national independence based on peaceful coexistence, supported national liberation movements, and eschewed military alliances like the NATO, CENTO or SEATO.

29 There is ample literature of an analytical nature about the Non-aligned movement. I have however concentrated on the following—Rikhi Jaipal, Non-alignment: Origins, Growth and Potential For World Peace (New Delhi, 1983); A. W. Singham and Shirley Hune, Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments (London, 1986); Robert A. Mortimer, The Third World Coalition in the International Politics (New York, 1980).
Although far from politically monolithic, Belgrade, where the first summit Conference of the Non-aligned nations was convened, assembled a group of leaders challenging the role of the former colonial powers in the Third World. Anti-colonialism had served to crystallize the composition of the first Non-aligned conference, making it one of the most significant meetings for the evolving Third World diplomacy.

One of the major issues discussed at the Conference was Algeria. In keeping with its promise of support for anti-colonial freedom struggles, the Non-aligned Conference allowed the Algerian delegates to attend the meeting. The delegates from the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA) in exile, represented the only non-independent state at the Belgrade Conference.30

The Algerian delegates wanted a tough line to be adopted by the conference condemning French suppression by force of the right of self-determination of Algeria. Egypt and Morocco, the two staunchest supporters of the Algerian war of liberation, were in favour of a tough line towards

France. At the end the summit declaration at Belgrade said:

The participating countries consider the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom, self-determination and independence, and for the integrity of its national territory including the Sahara, to be just and necessary and are therefore, determined to extend to the people of Algeria all the possible support and aid. 31

The Belgrade Conference was also significant in the sense that it showed the extension of Afro-Asian solidarity to Latin America. The decision to invite Cuba to the Belgrade Conference was the first diplomatic step to include Latin America within the orbit of Third World politics. It underlined the new conception of solidarity among the Third World countries and became the guiding ideology in their foreign policy and their diplomatic behaviour in the international system.32

United Nations And The Nationalist Diplomacy:
The diplomacy of the liberation movements had gained a new dimension in 1945 with the advent of the United Nations. At this world body the case for the liberation of the colonies was articulated by the countries who had already thrown away the colonial yoke. Thus when the Dutch government resorted to the police action in Indonesia,

31 ibid, p. 13.
32 ibid, p. 14.
India was one of the first countries to lend diplomatic support to the beleaguered nationalists of Indonesia.

In case of the Algerian nationalist movement also the diplomatic support of the Third World bloc within the United Nations influenced the French retreat from Algeria. The General Assembly was significant battle ground of the Third World diplomatic offensive. It was first utilized by the Arab group, beginning in 1951, in support of demands of the freedom fighters in Morocco and Tunisia. From 1956 on, the annual session of the General Assembly was the scene for furious diplomatic confrontation between French and Algerian delegations.

Even though General Assembly resolutions had no binding force, both sides initially attached great importance to the psychological impact. However, by 1960 the Algerians had reaped all the benefits that could be gained from declaratory UN resolutions condemning France, while de Gaulle had made clear his contempt for the UN and his indifference to its resolutions. Yet the efforts of the Third World countries in the UN did have a bearing on the eventual French withdrawal from Algeria.

The role of the United Nations as an important instrument of liberation diplomacy has since been highlighted by the efforts of the Third World member states in the world body to coordinate diplomatic support for the anti-colonial movements in Africa. In the contemporary world, the Third World diplomacy inside the UN is geared to support the
anti-colonial and anti-racial movements in Southern Africa and the Middle East.

In this chapter we have examined the components of nationalist diplomacy and discussed its aims and objectives. The four modes employed for achieving the nationalist diplomatic aims, namely, propaganda diplomacy, diplomacy at the metropolitan centres, symbolic diplomacy and conference diplomacy are to be found in the diplomacy of freedom struggles in India, Indonesia and Algeria. The role of international conferences (the most important among them being the Brussels Congress, Asian Relations Conference, the Bandung Conference, and the Non-aligned Conferences) and the diplomacy within the United Nations have been crucial factors in enhancing the diplomatic profile of the anti-colonial struggles.

The next three chapters will discuss the distinctive features of a nationalist diplomacy in three different anti-colonial movements. The gradual hardening of anti-colonial sentiment, evident in the freedom struggles in India, Indonesia and Algeria is reflected in the uses of diplomacy. While the diplomacy of Indian freedom struggle shows in the large part, moderation, the Indonesian nationalist diplomacy exhibits a combination of military and diplomatic strategy to gain independence, and by the time of the Algerian war of liberation the nationalist diplomacy acquires an increasing radical dimension. It is to the first strand of the evolving
anti-colonial feeling, as reflected in the diplomacy of Indian freedom struggle, that we address ourselves in the next chapter.