CHAPTER IV

INDIA

BIPOLARITY, MULTIPOLARITY, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The contemporary intercurrent geopolitical set-up is exposed to shifts that are fast and widespread. However, the issuing reasoning regarding importance of these inclinations has developed to a great extent on the important branchings among bipolar and multipolar patterns of reciprocal plan. As a consequence, the discussion has taken place on account of rather special idea of absolute organizational inquiry. It is offered that division among bipolar and multipolar patterns is obviously unsatisfactory to manage a number of chief postures and turns of changes which are coming to be significant in mutual political affairs in the existing age. Nor is the direction of the combined kind with colors amongst


the counterpoles of multipolarity and bipolarity enough for
a plain examination of current changes. The ideas of multilayered and symmetrical systems, with mixed factors of multi-
polarity and bipolarity simultaneously, though appealing yet
also fail to catch the full meaning of the present alternations.
All the power poles, the Soviet Union, America, West Europe
leaving China and Japan have atomic arms, Western Europe is
enclosed as a sharing unit, thereupon interrupting the chief
grade political ownership. These multipolar nations are of
great significance in North South centre of contest in universal
matters.

An alliance is rather one way in which different
'actors', that is blocs of nation-states, likely integrate
their economic, political, military acts. From a common hypoth-
etical view, the extents of adjustments amidst nation-states

4. Richard Rosecrance, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the
Future", Journal of Conflict Resolution, Volume 10, No.3,
(September 1966), New York, pp. 314-337. Wolfram F. Ham-
rider, "The International System Bipolar or Multibloc,"
Journal of Conflict Resolution, Volume 9, No.3, (September
1965), pp. 399-308.

New York, Times Magazine, February 20, 1972, pp.14-15,
43-47. Zbigniew K. Fallembuchl, Carl R. McMillan,

6. Henry A. Kissinger, "Coalition Diplomacy in the Nuclear
Age," Foreign Affairs, Volume XLIV, No.4, (July 1964),
pp. 523-545.
can best be described in terms of continuity. Now bipolarity likely be going out, with the emergence of nations like Western Germany, China and possibly India and Japan. Its dissolution in a recent multipolar system is conceived to be nearing. According to Mears, when besides existing East-West nuclear nations or power blocs, different large number of states have nuclear abilities, every additional multi-state system emerging like this will possess postures greatly unlike from those who discuss in the usage and sense of a reversion to a conception of five nation or six country system. It would be different in the way that it would put up with existing atomic bipolar blocs a large number of 'units', which in case, 'small', 'medium' or large in conventional usages, would all stand on a ground of basic, 'equality', as owners of the additional atomic arms. 'Multipliary', (on the model of word, 'bipolarity'), or 'polycentrism', conceivably be improved expressions appropriate to a condition of system in which every 'unit' creates a nucleus of actual power. This is quite another thing from the literary configuration of, 'multinational', or 'multipower', system with its graded influence of matching 'powers'.

This is Kaplan's 'unitveto', system basically explained in the expression of nation-state, as 'actors'. The word,

'multipolarity', is used for an inter-state system in which every, 'actor', in spite of its magnitude, commands a strong atomic ability like that it possibly ruin every other, 'actor', (still if it is ruined in the operation). This question is intrinsic in the spreading of atomic arms between indefinite number of nation-states.

But it is not essential to suppose that a multipolarity of nations, having a power to attack by atomic weapons will be equal to a number of blocs, every including a number of nations. This justification can stand on the premise that the atomic bomb is an omnipotent arm, to such a degree that it balances one nation and a bloc of nations with regard to their defensive security ('impermeability').

Hersz argues, in nature, these nations—that is, states with atomic abilities' get matching influence and position, but owning of atomic arms like this does not necessarily match influence to retort or destruct, particularly when atomic blocs enclosed in security blocs with certain extent of organized plan are included. But when some number of nations which are neither bound nor organized have this force, condition likely very, community would not be solely at the charity of every nation as such but would in addition be reliant on whosoever, that is, which individual, bloc, administration in each unit, was governing the armed organization.

Strictly speaking, Hers assumes that the symmetrisation effected by atomic dispersion would have its, 'unit veto', impacts when indefinite number of nations or blocs accomplish the ability to ruin some opponent. Inspite of his choice of the word, 'multipolarity' in these surroundings, Hers persist likelyhood that security blocs with certain degree of organised plan likely not exist in a 'unit-veto', relation with each other.

Kaplan has suggested that an abundance of blocs is likely to come if the application of atomic arms were forbidden by mutual consent. This shows, that for Kaplan, the 'unit veto' model outlines a condition of international system rather than a detrisental structure. But out of different organizations some can more possibly cause selfrestricting understandings than others, Kaplan's, 'unit veto', pattern, by emphasizing the involvement of atomic abilities, neglects the power context in which such military arms are located. If the 'unit veto' system means an indefinite number of actors, this is never sure that Kaplan's pattern outlines the conduct of a few blocs, even supposing every is equipped with atomic arms. In economic hypothesa for instance few oligopolies,


11. Oligopolies, that is, a situation in which there are a few sellers and a small number of competitive firms control the market, opposite to oligopoly that is a situation in which there are a few buyers each competitive buyer influencing the market.
have been present to vary quite basically from systems with 12
indefinite number of actors. This indicates that it is
possible to build a multipolar pattern while neglecting the
impact of atomic arms, their insertion can be constructed
afterwards as a more practical supposition. This resembles
the plan applied by Herz, in as much as his illustrious reason-
ing of inter-state system of post San Francisco period lie
on a difference among the impacts of East-West rivalry (orga-
nization of power, and atomic arms, (demonstrative means of
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military power).

Roger D. Masters adds, there would develop a multipolar
system with the development of nuclear weapons in which not
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states but group of states would deal with each other. This
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multipolar system would create a threat to the peace. The

12. Roger D. Masters, "A Multibloc Model of International
System - American Political Science Review, Volume 51,
No. 4, December 1951, pp. 780-92.

p. 111.

John H. Herz, "The Rise and Demise of the Territorial
state", James H. Rosenau, edition, International Politics

15. Kenneth N. Waltz, Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer,
"Multipolar System and International Stability", World
Politics, Volume 16, 1964, pp. 399-406, John G. Stoessinger,
"Right of Nations": World Politics in Our Time, New York,
development of detente is desirable in the interest of peace. But these are all preferred models of balance of power, that may develop in the opinion of these scholars not what nations are actually observing in practice. In practice during 1914-18 war, over 80,000,000 men were killed while max casualty in second world war was over 10,000,000.

Roger B. Masters has tried to describe a theoretical pattern of the international system, or to be more exact a pattern of the form of that system, as an addition to the kinds offered by Morton A. Kaplan. He has defined the practice of a multibloc system, as a substitute of Morton A. Kaplan's six patterns, 'Balance of Power', and 'Unit Veto Systems'. He supports American foreign policy of multipolarity. World order to Masters signify, a stable system, here world system is assessed in relationship to the accomplishment of five


world order worth of to certain substitute class of values. Though Masters builds his discussion on the idea of a multibloc pattern on Mortan A. Kaplan’s plan, yet Raymond Aron’s treatise is very critical of his approach. Michael Haas investigates the books of Rosecrance, Waltz, Small and Singer and concludes multipolarity is not more stable in comparison to bipolarity. Even in past world war II, involving Chinese sphere, Atlantic orbit, Russian Community, could not be deterred or cured. Weaker nations could easily be won, divided or merged by eminent nations as an diplomatic affair.

The Nations of the world can be supposed to reject power as a means to deal with international conflicts, if effective, alternative, means are provided for the peaceful settlement of these disputes. War by major nations can never solve the problem, union of the world through Soviet Communist

23. Ibid., p. 121.
24. Walter Lippman, United States War Aims, Boston 1944, p.191.
acquisition likewise can not solve the problem. The single substitute is to set up a World Federal Republic by free will. Since a universal collective order is hard to attain United Nations should be preserved as the last and best hope of human beings. The current order of alliances likely will be unavoidable shift for a time of transition it does not directly lead towards solution of diminishing the hostilities. If properly used the United Nations can render a diplomacy better than any means in reach of member nations.

The establishment of the United Nations aroused hopes that have been only partly fulfilled. The world organisation has not been able to eliminate wars, and the dangers of nuclear destruction over the decades. However, it has helped considerably to prevent the emergence of crisis, to reduce or diffuse them, as in the dispute between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. It has helped to speed up the progress of decolonisation, removal of racial discrimination, spread

throughout the world the realization of human rights and made the family of nations aware that the economic development of the third world, was the decisive challenge of their times.

2. The Future of Military Power

To United State's, regionalism stood as a device of guarantee, that the expenses done in Vietnam war, would not be continuously done again and again, by an America working as an universal protector of law. For instance, a government speaker explaining his views to Congress said, an improved South Asia, not so much probable to bring forth a sequence of Vietnam, can be upgraded by regional unification.

By the close of the year 1960, the Soviet Union also boosted a supposition of South Asian regional alliance consideration, to involve India, Pakistan, Burma, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Singapore, also a regional commercial scheme that could include Turkey as well. On coming Soviet endeavors were


taken with indifference, and there is every sense in stating that the Soviet Union will face similar difficulties in the encouragement of regional combinations in South Asia, which United States was presented. Chinese ironically charged Russians to have taken the idea from the wastepaper basket of U.S. John Foster Dulles. Neutral or nonaligned nations cannot help the disarmament much, but in presuming some proper objective of prominent existing tendencies in the coming time, these issues in due time though can not be exterminated yet at least can be regulated.

3. Small State Regionalism

To what degree does regional arrangements suit an inter territorial balance between disproportionately influential nations, enhance the status of smaller states in the supremacy, and organizationally improve manifold security in the area? There are several kinds of conditions and reactions. A comparatively commissioned major nation likely offer territorial security to unoffensive weaker members, or smaller

associates possibly have to follow peace and prosperity in a region open to different opposing influences, and lastly, such states be able to either adopt effective engagement or attempt to maintain an independent attitude.

Weaker nations prone to the influences of many powerful states make out very hard to adjust to regionalism with their partnership in a common grouping, real freedom, and national protection. This has been the state of many smaller nations in Europe and, even more in Middle East and South Asia.

Smaller nations willing or inclined to share effectively in the search for regional and inter-regional protection respect the higher freedom and prestige of belonging to a common system. They are in addition tempted by the assurance of positive additional safety from a regional treaty, built on solid concerns and supported by one or more major nations. They both wish and are offended of the requirements for association having a great power and try to rely on the distant instead of a regional nation. They would like to get the intrusion of influential partner merely when demanded, and then with rarity, the associated major nation is inclined to choose the precise contrary. From the separate convenience of common and regional systems. The weaker nations naturally, desire to keep both. Simply distrust regarding the power of
the common organisation will tilt the balance in the direction of regional design.

The Present Asian neutralism symbolises the wish of weaker nations for regional groupings without major nations. In their opinion security activities should be followed by the United Nations. It is in the international organisation that major nations should balance one another in proceedings. Regional groups with major nations are simple misrepresentations of power over weaker nations. These nations will not be able to compel major nations, according to the terms of the United Nation's Charter. Rather regional groupings should be planned between nations with nearly equal, means, strength and progress, sure to honour one another's authority and freedom. They must think about social economic cultural and political matters and remain away from major nation disputes. Jawahar Lal Nehru said, in future we must work together only as equals. There can not be intimacy if one orders and the other obeys and they are not equal. Such a concept always attracts politicians eager to economic advancement and political freedom.


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The power of the Asian and African nations in the general collective system manifest reasonable stress on United Nations as a medium of security, place for settling diplomatic issues, an arrangement for social, economic and cultural help. India and most of the nations of Southern Asia with the exclusion of Philippines and Thailand declined to adhere to SEATO advanced by Western bloc. Yet the effectuation of substitute policy has also found obstacles interwoven with common regional also different disputes.

In South Asia Regional means are inadequate and smaller nations think differently about cold-war. They misbelieve actual and doubted ambitions of superiority, of distinguished nations of this region like the India, Philippines and developing China. It is an unfortunate reality that every state big or small has greatly irregular means also equivalent demands for power, and the rejection of regional or distant nations is not invariably practiceable although always preferred in theory. Because majority of nations cannot get

(Continued from the previous page)

K. Santhenan, Regional Authority for South East Asia, Regionalism and Security, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

territorial protection and prosperity with solely their
restricted means. Bandung Conference exhibited mainly oral
effect. The Colombo plan is joined with the help of the
United States and the United Kingdom. Marshall plan for South
Asia would inevitably animate inert SEATO into a theoretical
image like NATO.

The Little Entente, emerging from the First World War
and Arab League, emerging from the Second World War are similar
precedents of the power and circumscription of small state
regionalism without rejecting the successes and dissimilarities.

The interference or sharing of one or more major
nations in a regional arrangement is a most powerful element
in changing its limited geographical range. As the concerns
of these powers are increasingly world-wide. As a consequence
the regional complex loose its geographic interpretation and
also its secure freedom from involvement in the unwelcome

40. Howard, 'The Little Entente and the Balkan Entente',
Paul Seabury, "The League of Arab States: Debauch of a
Regional Arrangement", International Organization (November
1949) pp. 633-642. H.Khadduri, "Regional and Collective
Defense arrangements in the Middle East", Regional Arrange-
and Danhard. A.Rustow, "Defense of the Near East",
global difficulties.

Increase of national safety obtained in small state regionalism is often more than a change, as it slowly erodes their freedom. Competing regional arrangements degenerate in rival orbits of power that lead to international instability rather than to internationally balance. Thus under the theory a universal United Nations is relegated to a subordinate position or rejected totally.

4. Commonwealth:

In South Asia states differ in their political alignments. In British Commonwealth too states are divided in numerous and at times into overlapping subordinate groups. Moreover, agreements like Commonwealth have exhibited, have been the agreements of portions of individual state in gradual progress of decay, about the blending of different policies of former units, it has no lesson to propose. For instance, recently Commonwealth leaders split on Afghan Cambodias 43 problems.

43. Hindustan Times, D-(C) 67, September 6, 1980, New Delhi, p.1 Head Lines.
In Commonwealth, even if Britain, Pakistan, Canada, New Zealand and Australia are connected to one or more of the Western alliances, like Britain to NATO and SEATO, Pakistan to SEATO and CENTO, Canada to NATO, Australia and New Zealand to SEATO and ANZUS. If either or all of them take a decision, its origin and military influence comes from outside associations that is they all are attracted by the influence of the United States and are less similar among themselves, that is in the Commonwealth. Of course Pakistan is no more a member of Commonwealth though it is again desirous to join it.

The political and military connections develop either by particular pacts among Britain and one or additional countries, as ANZAM (Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and Malaya) or by regional arrangements like SEATO, ANZUS or NATO and British Pacts with Ceylon and South Africa on account that army may be reared there but such pacts have finished their course of life and are now dead. In fact influence of United States counts more than that of Commonwealth in the South Asia Region.

The grant of self-government to India, Burma, Pakistan, and Ceylon, during 1947 did not change British claim that defence of India remained its trust as the defence of New Zealand and Australia. British thinking even during 1942 was completely preoccupied with India and South Asia.
It is a fact, war among Britain, Australia, Canada and South Africa is less likely. As Karl M. Deutsch and his associates consider them, 'Pluralistic Security Communities'. But British expectations attached to white governments ended into frustration as New Zealand and Australia left Britain and arranged the ANZUS Pact with United States after two years.

The Asian Security Pact Expectations of India were repulsed in 1948-1949 when India rejected the British offered South Asia Treaty Organization, during 1954. India likely had not remained in Commonwealth, had not the freedom been given to it when it was. Hope on Pakistan, to prove a powerful ally to support both U.S.A. and U.K. got belied as Pakistan came to be victim of her own internal strife. After the World War II, joining of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, and Malaya into complete membership brought to notice a difference.


of opinion on a principal fact between those who joined neutralist group and those who joined Western, and it brought in the range of Commonwealth two opposite principles characteristic of international politics, between India and Pakistan, and India and South Africa. Disagreement is gradually growing in Commonwealth it can not grow more than without breaking it.

5. THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL SECURITY

Many constant and unmanageable interstate clashes have occurred in South Asia. These events were not of course just chances. South Asian units are weak. This is a region where neither regional nor global methods of conciliation are politically suitable. And these are not adequate due to the prevalent disorder and difference of opinion as to the right posture of this region in the inter-current state system. While the demand of Western leadership in most of the region is even more hard to rationalize on the ground of an extraneous assessment of diplomatic realities here. However, it is not a assertion which is given up by American control. Rivalling East West claims of hegemony joined, conceivably, with the constant rejection of India to link herself with, much less

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initiative, a regional security notion in the region—have restricted the advancement of non-hegemonic regional grouping in South Asia subordinate system to treat issues of regional security. According to aforesaid sign, the preventive diplomatic function of the international organization has not been relevant. In view of the reality that no manner has turned up to accomplish powerful international mediation that would be satisfactory to the two major nations having the power of veto in the Security Council of United Nations. For instance, state of affairs in Vietnam.

In fact, Southern Asian questions must be solved by Southern Asian members themselves. They can of course, have resort to the United Nations, to check the rigorous regional intervention tried by external powers. It would accomplish in removing almost continual threats to global peace, that will continue so long as rivalry amidst major powers exists. Because process of decision making in distinct sovereignties are becoming increasingly interdependent than what it was 49 a century back.

The major nations have presently started to indicate an obvious attention in integrating their actions in South Asia. Usually for retaining in part minimum durable superiority in

49. Max Beloff, "Federalism as a Model for International Integration", Yearbook of World Affairs, Volume 13, 1959, pp. 188, 204.
this subordinate system and more particularly to treat the
wishes and politically diplomatic situation of China. These
increasing solid concerns of the powerful nations, in orga-
nizing their actions inside Asia have been exhibited in
various circumstances. For instance India has been the con-
temporary centre of interest for different problems that have
worked as catalysts at least to certain extent, silent integra-
tion among the powerful states. Special events applicable
are, Sino-Indian dispute during autumn of 1962. Taking the
time factor into account and putting this incidents (i.e.,
Sino-Indian Conflict) side by side with, Cuban missile crisis,
efforts of Super powers at implicit harmonizing are more
significant. Then to take another example, the issues of
making friendly intentions concerning the future security of
India. Different long conflicts between India and Pakistan
enhanced during August and September of 1965. These greatly
fluctuated after Tashkent Declaration of January 1966. In
this relation, positive, but openly repudiated, adjustment
of powerful nations in the Security Council of global orga-
nization was a striking appearance of the attempts to prevent
the conflicts among Pakistan and India in September 1965.
Throughout January 1966, the Russia took precedence to parti-
cipate as mediator at Tashkent. However, America acted in a
way that showed real affirmation and backing of the Russian
push. Australia like wise remains concerned with problems
influencing the future stability of the Indian Ocean region and uphold the reduction of tension there.

The emergence of India as a new nuclear power centre alongside France, Japan, Germany and China, although much less powerful, is of great importance. India as a new power centre differs from European states, in the nature of its political alignments, scope, and importance of its complicated regional conflicts with Pakistan, degree of revisionism towards United Nations and nuclear power. Sardar Pannikar writes, that the present charter cannot function successfully in whatever way it may be framed, because it would enable powerful states to have hold on the regions. If a regional organization in the Indian Ocean is formed having (with the power of veto in the Security Council) as its member Great Britain, United Kingdom would get a sort of quasi colonial influence over the Indian Ocean.

6. NEUTRALITY AND UNITED NATIONS

The foreign policy factors have restrained India and possibly Peoples Republic of China to be entangled into any


of the regional groupings. Quite recently under the expression of 'neutralism', an attitude has largely been adopted, which consist of refraining from any military bloc. This policy known also as the policy of, 'freedom in regard to blocs', and of 'non-alignment', does not rest on the condition of permanent neutrality nor does it hinder the practicability to share in future struggles. Specially, it is planned to enable a neutralist nation freely to decide, its policy at any given time without being linked to any one of the Power blocs. The policy of neutralism thus rests on considerations of expediency connected at need with motives of a doctrinal nature for instance, the uselessness of protection in opposition to a nation or group's of nations furnished with greatest modern type of weapons a wish to avoid extreme expenditure for armaments the alarm of becoming politically dependent in the instance of joining an alliance, a wish to establish a 'Third Force', including all the neutral countries. Dislike to one of the two groups of power without longing with that indication to make intimate ties with the other. India and Yugoslavia can be quoted nations claiming a neutralism of this kind.

The concept of neutrality is consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this reference it possibly be stated that when at a time of armed aggression the Security Council is unable to take a judgement in conformance with article 39, nations not involved in the dispute can
claim in pursuance of article 51 to help the nation sufferer of aggression but they are not bound to do so. This mean they possibly continue to be neutral.

The idea of collective security which is true basis of the United Nations Charter is decidedly theoretically at disagreement with that of neutrality, which means abstention from covitry and intervention. Collective security on its side claims that members should take legal action in opposition to the aggressor. The necessary condition however is that the purpose of the either idea is to maintain peace. In this understanding neutrality in no manner tend opposite to the principles of the Charter. Whereas goes with the Charter. It should likewise be noted that neutrality is a state which has at times established its value in its actual use of international law, on the contrary concept of collective security will for a long time to come will stay Utopian. For that cause it is now acknowledged as subject of principle that despite the idea on which it rests the Charter does not exclude neutrality.

Since long several nations have come to be members of the United Nations, without any unwillingness from any nation to their entry or pursuing their neutrality for instance Sweden

entered during 1946, Austria was admitted in 1955. Leos another member of the United Nations has held neutrality from year 1962.

Even the United Nations and its members must agree with the usages of customary international law provided only that they are not altered by the treaty. Switzerland's neutral position has likewise from 1815 adopted the Character of a treaty, such in any case was the aspect approved by the United Nation's international law commission.

Although neutrality does not seem to be fundamentally incompatible with membership of the United Nations, in actual working it is restricted by the Charter.

The obligation to take part in activity which does not involve use of armed force, according to Article 43 especially demonstrations or actions by air, sea or land forces involving the granting of right of passage and other conveniences, comes to be effective only when the neutral nation has settled an approval controlling the type and scope of the military help to be given. In the absence of such a settlement, that nation is under no obligation to take part in the operation determined

by the Security Council, according to Article 43. For this reason military neutrality is practicable and a member nation is not even obliged to give the forces involved in the use of sanctions, a claim of passage across its land.

The decision of an approval in virtue of Article 43 has not been so far placed on any nation. Further such a compulsion would appear to be prevented by paragraph 3 of Article 43, which stipulates that such approvals shall be liable to be approved by the signatory nations in conformity with their constitutional proceedings. Neither does the Charter include any enforcement conditions regarding the provisions of such approvals as Paul Boncour, the French reporter of the commission indicated at San Francisco Conference. Even the International court of justice in its advisory opinion, of July 20, 1962, held that the Security Council and member nations are fully at liberty to determine on the tenor of such approval. Moreover as no approval to 52 follow Article 43 has so far been settled, there is no precedent from which to take the guidance.

55. International Court of Justice Reports, 1962, p.166.
No rules having been made on similar approval on sanctions not involving the application of armed force the Security Council in conformity with Article 43 paragraph 1, likely commit an accomplishment of enforcement action with or without access to armed force to all or certain of the member nations. Hence as in the event of involving armed force a neutral nation likely be left from taking part in non-military sanctions. Decidedly as a common guide, there would be little motive to give such exemptions which would issue in the weakening of the non-military sanctions.

Moreover, experience has revealed that Chairmanship of Committees, commissions and working groups had readily been committed to delegates of neutral nations who were at times more suitable to pacify contention particularly in West and East or in the past Colonial powers and fresh rising nations and therefore in a better place to promote reciprocal agreement. Mr. Trygve Lie Foreign Minister of Norway later first Secretary General of the United Nations was sponsored by Soviet Union.

Long practised neutrality of Norway was completely changed on April, 1949 when it joined NATO, due to final

57. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
East-West split on Czechoslovakian issue in February 1948. The German attack during 1940 terminated the time during which the Netherlands had followed the policy of neutrality. Netherlands joined Brussels Treaty in 1948 which was enlarged into Western European Union (W.E.U.) in 1955. In the Economic region of Benelux Economic Union during 1958, Jawahar Lal Nehru never liked the idea of these alliances, because these add to hostility and anything that added to hostility, took nations away from peace.

7. Nonalignment.

The policy of non-alignment was first enunciated by Jawahar Lal Nehru shortly after India got independence with a view to economic uplift and technological development. It meant evading any involvement in cold war generally styled, 'free and unfree world.'

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Term neutral meant non attachment to military alliance, it did not essentially meant neutral in relation to right and wrong and is not disadvantageous to Afro-Asian neutralist group as it was to United States. United States however pledged to honour nonalignment and neutrality and pledged to access the United Nation as a place not to combat but to terminate the Cold War. To India, associating with an alliance meant to abandon a portion of its sovereignty. India wanted to be friendly both to Communists and Western Nations like many millions uncommitted ones. J.L. Nehru said India was neutral concerning cold war. Non-alignment policy does neither restrict India to help a nation victim of an act aggression in a war, if called by United Nations to do so, nor does it restrict it to work together with other nations in cultural, economic and social fields. No doubt India accepted help from


64. Mr. J.L. Nehru's Speech to All India Congress Committee, The Statesman (Calcutta) 7 April 1963.


66. Ibid., p. 58.

Anglo-American bloc, but it accepted it without any conditions and without relinquishing its nonaligned policy.

In the nuclear age Cold war and the atomic peace are extension of war in different order. It is not strange that in such a time the idea of neutrality in period of war as put down by international law, is continued to the time of peace. The changing notion of neutrality accordingly include the concept of non-alignment during the time of the atomic peace and Cold War. It is not an isolationist policy. It is neither bargaining in the context between the two power blocs trying to get as many concessions from each other as may be gained nor is it a policy which aimed to isolate it from world affairs. It has debated and suggested remedies on these affairs.

Communist China invaded Ladakh and NEFA frontiers in October 1962. Jawahar Lal Nehru was shocked and admitted India's defence had been overlooked. As a consequence of

68. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
70. President Nasser, of the United Arab Republic Statesman, Calcutta, October 6, 1964.
India's non-alignment foreign policy, Western nations helped
India unconditionally. Russia's usual economic help to India's
gradual growing plans and for the manufacture of M.I.G.'s were
not obstructed.

This region of non-aligned states was enlarged by the
Charter of the organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) signed
by thirty two African states including the states of Casablanca
bloc (the U.A.R., Ginee, Ghana, Morocco and Mali) on May 25:
1963 at Addis Ababa Conference excluding the republic of
South Africa accepting the policy of non-alignment, with
regard to all blocs. According to African States non-alignment
policy was the unavoidable characteristic of the sovereignty
of every of those states.

In India's view policy of non-alignment could lessen
the chance of war, case of Indo-China being the example.
It is true deduction of Indo-China Arisitice Agreements, ended

75. Article III of OAU.
243-248.
unity in Indo-China for some time. Cambodian government proclaimed it will not join any military alliance in contradiction with U.N. Charter. Policy of non-alignment is now viable political doctrine which has caused certain prevention of major nation's cold-war attitude and narrowed the regions of practicable disagreements amidst them. Soviet Union declares it to be a true friend of non-alignment movement. China's connections with nonaligned nations are at times debatable. China maintain that it supports developing community of nonaligned nations. But Russia thinks its plans are risky for peace. Appearance of aims of Chinese diplomacy is worth considering in the context of idea of interstate communist order. Moreover it shows an aspect of Chinese foreign policy that has not been considered enough. With regard to regionalism


79. Ibid., Article VII Cambodia Agreement.


it indicates a premise for territorial recognitions, that if brought about will direct to further structural attempts. China advocated, peace, unity and cooperation at Bandung. But attacked India during 1962.

Some defenders of cold war argue that the sufferers of armed attacks, have been only the non-aligned nations. They indicate events like Chinese and Pakistani attacks on India and attacks on Egypt. During 1963, at a SEATO Assembly American Secretary Dean Rusk asserted China was tempted to attack India because of its non-aligned foreign policy and non-military confedrate of West had to meet such Communist attack. But defenders of Military blocs forget and overlook the Communists attacks on South Vietnam an American Confederate and Soviet attacks on Hungary and Czechoslovakia, signatories of the same military treaty.


The attack of Pakistan on Bangladesh began as a climax of civil war in Pakistan. Pakistan started a huge attack on India, on the evening of December 3, 1971. The Pakistan Airforce attacked many Indian states along with ground attack on many boundary towns forty five minutes following its attack. Pakistan asserted India had started an attack.

At 11 P.M. following the attack of Pakistan, President Giri announced a national emergency and the Prime Minister said in a speech to people that India had accepted the challenge of Pakistan's attack.

At 11:59 P.M., 6 1/2 hours following the attack of Pakistan Indian Air Force attacked Pakistan, in return but at 6:15 p.m. 5 1/2 hours earlier, Pakistan Radio had charged India of aggression.

This reality was either overlooked or falsely represented in Western circles specially the United States.

8. Cooperation of Cultures

Recent military blocs have not decreased the possibility of common aggressions, but have only heightened the military abilities that endanger not one but numerous states. [49]

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expects, the fresh emerging social system, assures to provide a voluntary combination of belief, thought, knowledge, principles, arts, in an organized order of greatest usefulness, of virtues, elegance and love. According to F. S. C. Northrop a universal culture can slowly develop having one coordinated culture zone.

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin anticipates a marvelous combination of persons, intending and residing as single existence. And Oliver Reiser pens about the beginning of an earthly existence, combining East and West. But really organismic ideas are forever very exalted to convert to simple phraseology.

Many recent predictors of universal system agree that no durable agreement of countries, no trustworthy community, is practicable without co-operation of peoples. An international organization or an Arms Control Commission working under its

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guidance, could possibly delay the flood for certain period, but few persons ought to intend and sense co-operatively rather than they jump to a world order.

Arthur W. Wright, insists that there is neither a conventional civilization of the entire, orient, nor can either Western or Eastern nationalities be deemed in three thousand year lots, in the Northrop way, lacking all great alterations adopted over the ages. But 'East' and 'West' can and have been usually differentiated. Lately technological development in West has acted to separate the economies of world in two halves. Western hemisphere being wealthy, Eastern division inferior. Noting the wide dissimilarities among the different regions of Western civilization and among India and East Asia, what distinguish. East from the West? which primary opinions have to be reconciled in the future combination? Every scholar who has undertaken the question as logical has determined it in a different manner to certain extent. The main aspiring wide attempts to find the actual dissimilarity among East and West have been done at the three East-West thinker's discussions, supported and encouraged by the University of Hawai, during 1939, 1949 and 1959, respectively. Significant presenters were, F.S.C. Northrop, William Earnest

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Ecking, Charles A. Moore, John Wild, George P. Conger, Charles Morris, and John Wild, all the contributors from the United States. Dōsetsu Suzuki, a Junjiro Takakusu, and Chan Wing-tsit were oriental philosophers. Many of the writings introduced at the Naijī Conferences have accepted that important fundamental comparisons can be done among Eastern and Western philosophy and usually sharing rationalists also compromised, on the regions where the dissimilarities are quite obvious, between East and West. In nature of thinking West chooses firmly explained logic, the Eastern ethical philosophy emphasises, agreement with the universe and internal quiet.

Many of these contentions recur in later predictive books on the plans of an International Organization. There is much difference between Western culture and that of East Asia and India. East believes in truth non-violence, strength of spirit, peace and general disarmament of great power. But western thinkers like Erich Fromm, observe it is a Eastern choice for reasoning of 'paradox' and not a Western sense of identity. At the time of Korean War, for instance, neutralists


believed taking part in this battle was aiding one of the power blocs. To West this action of India, along with other non-aligned nations was moral lack of interest to universal problems. To East speed is not end of the life. Different civilizations have stressed separate manifestations of realities, and the more nations become linked instructively greater these different views of the facts, come to be aggregated in the limits of whole pattern. Denis De Rougemont hold, India as a representation of East and Western Europe for illustration of West and conclude, that Eastern manner is 'incarnation', assimilation in the Kosmos, by means of meditating on the psychic sphere of truth, whereas, the West searches, 'incarnation', by a materialistic 'incarnation', by a materialistic reality focused on the man and distinguished by constant concerns and exploit. The process of unification will have to be East-West combined plan. Western rationalists are competent by their conventional ways to examine the issue, Eastern thinkers to give the persuasion of universal agreement barring


100. Lancelot Law Whyte, The Next Development in Man, New York, 1950, p. 244.

which no effort at blending could gather any effect.

Radhakrishnan stresses there are many bonds of reasoning among both hemispheres. All that is required is broad-mindedness and reciprocal tolerance, which is the sole durable foundation for a 'world community.' Northrop blames Radha Krishnan to be narrow-minded, as patience is one of the most important goodness in Hindu Philosophy, and hence, Radha Krishnan is encouraging other persons to act according to Eastern thinking. Northrop calls agreement by comprehension instead of mere tolerance and broad-mindedness.

Like Radha Krishnan, Jaspers appeals unrestricted intercommunication among East and West. Denis de Rougemont also expects for the genuine affiliation of both the hemispheres. Meantime East and West would go on assembling agreeing and differing by means of international organization, its related agencies tourism, trade, interchange of films and students, books and Art, consultation, conferences and discussions, till


103. Northrop, Ibid., p. 647.


East and West would gradually combine. Many scholars profess 107
this separation of East and West would be over. Toynbee
seriously expects that the Western culture will adopt all
that is best in each heritance. This comprehensive issue of
whole combination or two cultural hemispheres of the world,
does not absorb all questions implicated in the cooperation
of civilisations, which is the biggest demand today. Inside
the West Latin American civilisation disagrees with the North
American culture, English talking community is not wholly at
accord with mainland of Europe, and the German problem is
still undetermined, despite of both the World Wars. The
Islamic West is at variance with the Christian West, inspite
of thirteen hundred years of enmity. In the East though there
is some sympathy and various links of past experience and
view point yet disproportionate regions like India, Indonesia,
China and Japan are differing.

Charles Moore opines that the logical postures of the
conventional orient and the formal occident are in basic
agreement with while Communism with its various aspects is
fundamentally differing with the two. But this again is

    1950, p. 244.

108. Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History XII, London,

109. Charles A. Moore, Horst Frenz edition, Asia and the
    Humanities (Bloomington 1958), pp. 93-94.
bitter and splitting opinion originating from cold war.
Communism has been changing in later years, hence, nothing
can obviate the conceivability that it at a certain time
can turn up in a combined culture, if intention of agreement
is on the two sides. No one can foretell what alterations
future can bring.

Even supposing that the whole world ultimately and
voluntarily unites the complete form of societal civilization
can not be predicted. If it would be a civilization of
\[110\] and \[111\] hodgepodge, or brotherhood of man fatherhood of God? There
are seven dominant cultural units in the present community.
The North Atlantic Charter and the NATO point towards the
fact that this cultural bond has appeared quite firm in
generating a diplomatic alliance. All this indicates a
beginning in the direction of universal accord and rule by
sticking jointly of two or more of the seven cultural geog-
raphical solidarities.

\[110\] B.R. Trevor-Roper, *Men and Events*, New York, 1937,
P. 314.

\[111\] Toynbee, op. cit., *A Study of History*, pp. 577-604.

\[112\] F.S.C. Northrop, *Founding of Nations*, New York,
But who will unite the integrators? The consideration is more with the distinct accesses to universal co-ordination considered by distinguished scholars located in separate nationalities than regionally united participations. However the notion of analyzing the balancers is applicable to the complete concept of shifting in the direction of universal society after temporary practice with regional sharings. One of the tendencies in the inter-current community is facing the multiplication of types and variety of units. Carl J. Friedrich expects, such a community in embryo, its integral regions would be, India, Great Britain and the Commonwealth, Latin America, China, Eastern Europe, Africa, Arabia, the Americas and the Soviet Union.
