

ASIAN RELATIONS
CONFERENCE

March—April

INTER ASIAN HARMONIES
AND CONFLICTS

by

P. G. Sinha

GROUP B: MIGRATION AND RACIAL PROBLEMS
TOPIC II: RACIAL PROBLEMS

INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI

P. G. SINHA is the Principal of Patna College. He has made an intensive study of racial and migration problems.

*This paper has been submitted to the Asian Relations Conference by the author.
The author alone is responsible for statements of fact or opinion in this paper.*

INTER-ASIAN HARMONIES AND CONFLICTS

Argument No. 1. The urgency of asserting the sway of Reason over the blind forces of historical or evolutionary and geopolitical determinism

The human race as a whole, and the humanity in Asia in particular, is at the turning point in its life. The evolution of the social and political units and institutions has hitherto taken place predominantly, though not wholly, as a result of the instinctive reactions in man for survival, shaping the course of social evolution and working within the frame work of geopolitical conditions. Its course has been marked by two contradictory forces. One consists of the tendency to in-grouping and group-exclusiveness arising out of social polarisation and the growth of an ethical code governing the intra-group relations. The other is the urge to grow by means of the cosmic process of the struggle for survival. The working of these two forces has welded the smaller social and political units into the nation states of to-day. But the operation of Reason has not been completely absent. Many old tribal confederacies and ancient empires and many large federal and multinational states of today show the extent to which the reasoned analysis of self-interests and the power of persuasion have asserted themselves over the blind evolutionary forces and the operation of naked force in the growth of states.

However, the most enduring and vital force within all political units has been the urge to grow as a means for survival. In some cases it has been a dynamic force like the protoplasmic urge of any species to spread itself as widely as possible to strengthen the chances of survival and evolution by means of variations. In other cases it has been a defensive measure for withstanding the dynamism of other expanding units which seek to treat the other social units and the space occupied by them as 'environment' for exploitation and growth.

The urgent question now before us is how to subordinate the blind evolutionary forces, the factors of geopolitical and historical determinism, to Reason. Even Marx's historical materialism ends by calling upon Reason to take control of the evolutionary forces and lead them to a Revolution to subserve to human welfare in a class-less society. French thinkers, true to their Rationalist traditions, have tried to show the necessity of liberating the human soul from the geopolitical determinism with which the German geopolitical school has shackled it. Geography marked out Asia into four distinct regions, more or less effectively separated by high mountains and deserts, into which racial variations were evolved and their evolutionary drama played. The political and social systems developed in them, however, were fairly elastic and mutually accommodating for different cultural and racial types. But since the last century, as a result of the success of the European nations in the struggle for survival, the Asian socio-political systems are getting remoulded on the exclusive and emotional basis of European nationalism.

The immediate problem before us is to realise that nationalism has exhausted all that it had to contribute, and that adherence to its creed has ruined Western Europe, while communities are coming up today in the scale of power, welfare and culture in the degree in which they are able to overcome those forces of nationalism

which hinder the longer aggregation of communities in vaster spaces. We have to realise that the Asian system of multi-racial and multi-cultural political organisations have stood the test of time over longer periods than the more exclusive, though intense, tribal and national principles of political organisation in other parts of the world.

We have to revive this tradition to-day for overcoming the geographical barriers which divided Asia in the four regions looking out into four directions in the days of the primitive means of transport. From the processes by which Hemisphere solidarity has already been achieved in the New World under the leadership of the United States of America, and by which an Anglo-American Transoceanic Commonwealth is being created beyond this fully entrenched Continentalism, we have to learn useful lessons for the sake of our survival.

Argument No. 2. Group interest or the self-interest of a social or political unit is synthetic in nature, formed by compounding the interests of the primary units of individuals and of smaller constituent groups. The ethical code of the group seeks to reconcile the internal conflicts and to stress and to institutionalise the group harmonies. The rational application of this process to Inter-Asian relations are analysed :

In all our social organisations it is the family, and not the individual, which is the primary social unit. Nature has taken out an insurance policy by implanting the sex instinct in the animal kingdom for perpetuating the race and hence the narrow individual self-interest is expanded into the self-interest of the family. Beyond the family all social units are synthetic, based upon the harmonisation of self-interests and the synthetic creation of a nexus of self-interests of the unit.

In the creation of these supra-family nexus of interests the complex basis of human behaviour made up of reason, instincts, emotions, impulses, and so on, is operative. This complexity lessens the calculability of human behaviour, but it also imparts a plasticity to social evolution and has enabled leaders in the New and the Old World to harness emotions to reason and to break out of the chrysalis of tribalism and nationalism for a wider life in vaster space. Alexander tried to lead the Greeks out of their narrow tribalism and to rationalise the basis of the Empire by preaching the doctrine of homonoia or union of hearts at the feast at Opis. Asoka sought to transform the force-basis of the Mauryan Empire, which had led the tribal republics into the life of the larger aggregation and vaster space, into an ethical basis of consent through the laws of dharma. Islam overcame Arab tribalism by rationalising the religious emotions. All modern federations have sought to rationalise the harmonies of interests and to provide an ethical code for reconciling the conflicts of interest among the units. The Anglo-Saxon cult of the Transoceanic Commonwealth seeks to rationalise and to stress and propagate the harmonies of interests between the British and the American Commonwealths. To this end even emotions and sentiments have been harnessed and history has been reinterpreted. Since 1939 when the Nazi menace unfolded itself concretely and Japanese intentions became blatant, American writers have preached that American Continentalism has been developed with the blessings of the British Foreign Office and behind the shield of the British Navy, even though we all know how British policy persistently tried to

split up the unity even of Anglo-Saxon America in the last century with a view to exploit a balance of power politics in North America.

It is recommended that the Inter-Asian Conference should set up a permanent organisation like the Pan American Conference for the following purposes:

1. The common cultural heritage should be studied along with the Unity of Asian history. The exchanges of professors and students as arranged between India and China should be expanded to cover all the countries. Our educational experiences should be pooled. The theory of the Large Space in all its economic, political, strategic and cultural aspects should be studied in all our universities.

2. Methods of institutionalising the Inter-Asian harmonies should be studied and recommendations made for setting up common organisations for defence, economic development, research and so on.

3. The possibilities of setting up institutions for reconciling the Inter-Asian conflicts of interests to work side by side with the intellectual efforts to minimise them in the thought-habits of the people should be examined.

In this respect the history of the Pan American Conference and the Chapultepec Act of 1945 should be studied and propagated. Unless this is done, the imperialist interests would always seek to exploit our conflicts against us as they have done so far.

4. A technical survey of the factors which have divided Asia into four natural divisions, and the methods of overcoming them by means of radio, air and sea transportation facilities should be studied. The possibilities of reviving and developing new overland routes should be carefully examined. The lessons of the Pan-American Highways in the political, economic, strategic, cultural and technical aspects should be examined in detail.

Like our mental outlook, our transport and communication facilities too link us with the other continents, but not the different parts of Asia. This deficiency must be remedied to emphasise the unity of our interests by reshaping our transport systems so that the inter-continental facilities grow up in harmony with an intra-continental transport system.

Argument No. 3 A. The nexus of Inter-Asian interests, formulated here, deserves critical study and wide publicity so that the knowledge of the common interests becomes a part of our every day thought-habit

Our common interests may be put into two broad categories. Firstly, there are the interests common to all the Asian countries looked at from an Asian viewpoint which remains to be rationalised. Secondly, there are advantages which each Asian community would expect from its own point of view. The latter way of looking at things cannot be ignored until an Inter-Asian ethical code has developed objectively and in the mental make-up of the people. It is necessary to emphasise,

rationalise and propagate both of them. The arguments are formulated below very briefly.

(A) The end of the nation-state.

A large volume of literature has grown up in America to show that there is no place for the nation-state in this air age. Col. Lindbergh has explained that aviation has increased the vulnerability of each country to attacks from another country in the same continent, but has decreased the vulnerability of each continental land-mass from without by way of the seas. If we examine a map of the mainland of Asia we shall find that with the modern bomber of the type which was developed last year by the USA, the states of Asia can easily bomb out of existence the vital regions of one another. Maps showing this situation should be prepared and popularised.

Note should be taken of the fact that Lindbergh's analysis stresses by implication that the outer islands and points on the fringe of a continent should not be in the hands of others if a continent is to be safe from the vulnerability of air attacks from outside. Hence the fringes of our islands like Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, the East Indies, Ceylon, and so on, are bound to us in interests like the arms to the body.

(B) The present state of technology makes the nation-state an anachronism!

The nation states were formed in the days of the primitive means of transport and communication, and of the handicraft industries. In Asia, the common race of humanity evolved in Central Asia, split itself into four distinct channels for further evolution on account of the central massif and deserts. Today radio and aeroplane have reduced all the impediments or overland distances like mountains, deserts, forests and swamps to one common factor of cost-distance. There is, therefore, no justification for allowing the primitive factors to impede the realisation of our destined unity in a continental state.

(C) There is no justification today for arresting the urge to grow at the stage of the nation-state. The New World has already achieved its hemisphere solidarity and is forging beyond that. It brings to the New World military, strategic and economic advantages which are within the reach of the Asian people as well. The literature of the German geopolitical school should be studied in this respect and popular presentation of its thesis should be prepared and propagated.

(D) Our racial and cultural affinities should be stressed as they transcend the national boundaries. Islam is one of our universal links bringing together each and every Asian country. Buddhism is another similar link. Ancient Hindu culture covered the vast regions from Central Asia down to the East Indies.

Our racial affinities with the people inhabiting the vast land stretches upto the Baltic, the Carpathians and the Alps should be known widely. India itself is the meeting ground of all the racial types, So also we find South-East Asia

another meeting ground of all our cultural and racial types. We shall have to refer to this region again.

Education of the masses and a general cultural levelling up always tends to lead the local cultures toward the generalised world type of culture. As that level is approached, Inter-Asian marriages should be encouraged.

(E) The basic principle underlying the Japanese co-prosperity system of economic co-operation deserves to be salvaged and reinterpreted since the Japanese militarists put this useful doctrine to a perverted use. The Asian countries have a similarity of economic problems in the fact that they have all got to free themselves from the artificially created advantages of lower comparative costs arising out of the economies of large scale which were worked out behind tariff walls, state subsidies and profit inflation by colonial exploitation. Giant trusts and cartels and world-wide financial integrations are sustaining these economies. It is only by similar large scale economic organisations in which the Asian states and businessmen co-operate that we can get the chances of favourably moulding our cost structures. Yet the Asian countries are poor in the supply of land per head of the population, and labour. The most plentiful of our raw-materials must be utilised effectively in industries and intensive farming in order to lift this Asian mass of humanity out of the state of grinding poverty and squalor.

It is in the interest of each Asian country to help the industrialisation of the others so that the general level of standard can be raised in an expanding economy. The Japanese rightly held that the level of living of the poor Asians could only be raised by the goods manufactured by low labour-cost Asian countries. Japan has shown that efficiency does not depend upon an artificially high level of living and that the rising standard of living is subject to diminishing returns in terms of efficiency.

(F) The scope for the complementary economics of the Asian countries should be planned on the geopolitical principles which have been applied successfully by the Soviet Union in Siberia. Asia can match the economies of the large scale and space of Anglo-Saxon America only by pooling the resources of the continent and by purposively studying and planning the transport system. The national disparities in the natural endowments of the mineral resources should be made the basis for closer Inter-Asian relations and economic co-operation. It is easy to understand how the economies of the colder regions of the Soviet Union and the temperate and hot belt of southern Asia are complementary. Then to the common Asian heritage the Persian Gulf countries would bring their mineral oil whose known reserves are equalled only by those of the United States. India would contribute her rich iron ore, Indo-China her coal, the Philippine Islands their iron ore and tropical product, China, Malaya and Burma would remove the deficiencies of the others in ferro-alloys and Japan in copper. China's vast mineral resources still remain to be fully surveyed. Nature's factories in the vegetable kingdom work at a higher pressure in the hotter regions and the southern parts of Asia may be looked upon to supply the deficiency of the continent in vegetable fats.

We find that the hydro-electric resources of Asia are the largest in the world, and only next to those of Africa. They cannot be exploited effectively without planning and co-operation of the different countries.

(G) The interests of all the Asian countries, with perhaps the exception of Russia, are at one in winning from the rest of the world the respect for the human dignity of the Asians abroad. This is not a question of mere sentiment, but of the opportunities open to them to improve their lot.

Argument No. 3 B. While social growth does not take place purely on the basis of business principles and even the processes of confederation, federation or merger must have some sentimental and emotional background, it will not be out of place to examine the gains which each individual Asian country would derive from our continental solidarity and the dowry which each country would bring to our continentalism

Some of these considerations have already been examined under Argument No. 3 A. A few others are examined below.

(A) The Soviet Union and Asian Continentalism.

We must realise that we cannot achieve any effective continental solidarity without the Soviet Union. We can assert without any reservation that the Soviets cannot be won over to any Western European or a White front because they cannot afford to do so. The Soviets do not now believe that Asia ends at the Urals where Europe begins. We know that for the major portion of the period of history, the ethnic boundary of Asia had merged with the Vistula and Baltic. It is only during the last few years that the Soviets have attained them again. We find that only 57% of the population in the Soviet Union is regarded as 'White' by the European writers. If the Russians base their power and economy only on this fraction of the population, they would have a state poorer both in the human as well as the material resources than even Germany. We believe that the Soviet citizens refuse to recognise colour barriers because such a course would spell the doom of the union as a great and growing family.

We hope that the Soviet citizens realise that in the long run the political, economic and cultural strength which the other Asian countries would develop would be pooled in our continental solidarity for the benefit of all including their Union. A strong Persia, a united India or China, a spiritually remoulded Japan would not offer any scope for diplomatic pressure from outside.

As we shall see again, the Soviet Union is not altogether free from justifiable causes of fear complex in spite of the vastness of her space. She is in need of coming to the councils of world politics with the solid backing of the other Asian countries.

The Soviet Union is our natural leader in the field of social and technological development. Her social sentiments are inspirations for the under-privileged millions in Asia, the Pacific, Africa and Latin America, even though all may not

agree to her technique of the social process. The vast economic resources of the Soviet Union would be necessary for a balanced growth of the Asian economy.

We should all take note of the famous Olney despatch of July, 1895, of the American government to the British Foreign Office in which the natural ties among states in a continuous land-mass were stressed and see how this principle applies to the relations of the Soviet Union with the other Asian states.

(B) China : The Chinese peoples and their society have stood the test of time for a longer period than any other community in History. The vast unexplored resources of China would have to be developed with the help of the more favoured people to-day. If we are able to achieve a continental solidarity, China would be easily able to recover the place of her old cultural leadership within it of the days when the Celestial Empire extended from beyond the Amur to the Indian Ocean. If we succeed in consolidating an Asian family of nations, it would not matter much whether Mongolia and Korea enter the house in company of the Soviet Union or of China, or whether Tibet and Nepal come in alone or in company of China or India. Conquests by force are aimed at to satisfy the ambition of some, the greed of capitalists and financiers and of some sections of people bribed to a predatory outlook by the former.

As Henry Ford writes, 'no nation stands above the Chinese in the thoroughness and assiduity of work.' He feels that only organisation is lacking for making the Chinese industrially the most efficient people in the world.

(C) Japan : Lin Yutang has characterised Japan as the Warrior, China as the Gentleman and India as the Mystic of Asia. As a result of drinking deep at the venomous stream of imperialism of the West, of miscalculating the material basis of power and of ignoring the spiritual heritage of the Gentleman, one Warrior of Asia finds himself in the depth of gloom and despondency. We cannot afford to leave our Warrior there and the Warrior himself cannot recover his dignity except as an honoured member of the Asian family of nations. Japan is poor in natural resources but has developed a capacity for squeezing nature and overcoming the impediments of nature which would be an asset to us.

Strategically, the Japanese islands are one of our maritime bastions along with Formosa, the Philippines, the East Indies and Ceylon for continental defence in this age of aviation. No country is in greater need of a strong but ethically remoulded Japan than China and the Soviet Union. And in our era of the Large State, Japan would be a mere helpless dot unless she is the member of a Great Asian family and carries the prestige of the Vast Space of Asia behind her.

(D) The Island Republics of the South Seas and the States of South-East Asia :

It is not necessary to repeat the foregoing arguments to show the mutuality of the interests of the Philippine Republic and the Indonesian Republic with the

mainland. It may, however, be mentioned that their natural resources in iron etc, tin, rubber and so on, are complementary to the resources of the mainland.

(E) India : She stands at the head of the Indian Ocean and is of vital importance, both strategically and economically, for the development of the welfare and the defence of the continent. With her tainted atmosphere of communalism born of the Western concept of territorial nationalism, she stands in need of being made to breathe in the more open air of Asian continentalism. She, too, has got to recover the sense of dignity at home and abroad by becoming a member of a great family.

(F) The Islamic Bloc : Even more than South-East Asia, this region has been attacked by the virus of various imperialisms which may convert it into a festering sore on the Asian body politic. The states in this region should be the vanguard of our defence system, like Japan at the other end, instead of being the Trojan Horse for Asia. Their fears can be allayed, and their internal disequilibria solved effectively only on the platform of Asian solidarity which will regard their individual strength as accession to its own strength. Asian Continentalism will have nothing to gain but everything to lose, by not taking vigorous steps to resolve their internal difficulties which are being exploited by the non-Asians.

Politically, the development of this region would be one of the first considerations of Asia, because on that would depend the salvation of millions of coloured people in North, Central and South Africa who even now are looking towards Asia for inspiration and help. Any progress in this region would be automatically propagated in the Arab world of North Africa which has suffered so long and so much from the predatory dynamism of the West.

It is a matter of vital importance for both Asia and Africa to consider how we can contribute towards a reorientation of the policies of the countries of the Middle-East.

In the economic sphere, Asia would be interested both for strategic and welfare purposes, in contributing to the development of this region. The Middle East holds about 50% of the world's oil resources which would be her great dowry to the Asian joint family. But she would be in need of India's iron. A programme of economic development of this region would contribute to the mutually expanding economies of the whole of Asia and of the World. And Asia would be interested in seeing that the benefits of this development come to the people there and do not flow out to others.

Argument No. 4 Asian Continentalism will not be a menace to any section of humanity. It will, on the other hand, be a source of inspiration to the vast mass of humanity which is the plinth of the present pyramid of the world society.

It is not the object of the analysis given below to raise any alarm or to accuse the United States of militarism. We are fully aware of the fact that for the first time in the affairs of the world as a whole America is repropagating the cult of

homonoia and importing the single ethical standard into the international relations of the world irrespective of race and colour. We are not unmindful of the long and uniform history of American good-will which has saved China from dismemberment. America, unlike South Africa, is inconveniently alive to the existence of her Negro problem as a legacy which should be liquidated. It is a great achievement of the American culture that America does not blatantly introduce the consciousness of her overwhelming economic might or of the possession of the atom bomb secret in the Prussian style in her diplomatic dealings today, whatever might have happened upto 1933. It is to the credit of the American civilisation that she is trying to reshape the economic policy of the world and of herself for a participation in an expanding economy of the world which is to be achieved by the export of machinery, the industrialisation of the colonial countries and the raising of the purchasing power of the under-privileged masses of the humanity. Every age has got a dominant type of culture of the period. British culture was the world culture of the last century in which the British navy had established a world peace, and the British economic system, with gold as the world standard and London as the financial capital of the world, had established a world order. But it was a world order in which opportunities were open only to the white men. American civilisation was built up on the basis of this British culture, but today American culture is a noble 'variation' which, as already seen, marks a revolutionary stride forward.

These facts should not, however, throw mankind off its guard against the dangers of the subconscious mind and the inhibited warlike mental traits. Militarism is not always an over-all thing and it may be buried in the thought-habits of certain sections. Moreover, every country has got a War office which is not maintained for being pacifist.

Our object here is simply to show how Asian continentalism, even when fully achieved, will not be a match for or a menace to the Anglo-American Trans-Oceanic Commonwealth which consolidates the two continents of North and South America with the oceanic empires of the USA and Great Britain, the latter of which brings in not only the continent of Australia but also great chunks from the other continents and the numerous large and small islands dotting the seas and the oceans. In addition, this Trans-Oceanic Commonwealth controls the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and naturally claims or holds the allegiance of the communities of their seaboard. It is now seeking to complete the annexation of the Antarctica as well in addition to consolidating its position in the Arctic regions.

The United States of America completed the consolidation of its land-mass from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the middle of the last century. A decade later, the Civil War was followed by the economic modernisation of the country. By the end of the century she was a naval power in the Pacific with interests in Asia. Between this time and 1933 she passed through the social process and the psychological stage of imperialism as a result of the European parentage of her civilisation. Since 1933, she has struck out a new line in the world social process by continentalising the Monroe Doctrine and establishing the principle of joint responsibility of the states in the New World for the defence of the hemisphere. By mutual defence arrangements Canada too was brought within the system. The necessities

of a total war as well as a tinge of idealism have brought about this revolution. European developments after 1939 have forced America to look even beyond the hemisphere solidarity and to think in terms of a global strategy on a permanent footing. It was urged that the defence of the Panama Canal required an arc of naval and air bases in the Caribbean region, and it was completed by the Lend-Lease arrangements. It was then foreseen, a fact amply justified by the Battle of the Atlantic, that she needed another outer arc of a defensive system to defend. And this argument is reinforced by the fact that the land-mass of South America lay nearer the African continent than the United States. Hence a chain of defensive posts was thrown out from Greenland *via* Iceland to the Western coast of Africa. Then the occupation of Germany has brought America to the western border of Greater Asia (whose boundary has been defined in an earlier paragraph as running with the Baltic, the Vistula, the Carpathians and the Dinaric Alps).

Then in South West Asia (or in the Middle East) America has come in possession of the greatest localised petroleum reserve in the world, with further interests on the other side of the Red Sea in Abyssinia. She has thus developed some powerful air-bases in these regions.

Similarly in the Pacific, American bases have pushed far beyond the pre-war arc of Dutch Harbour, Hawaii, Guam, the Philippine Islands and Samoa. She proposes to retain Okinawa and the former mandated islands of Japan, along with the other island chains around Japan.

Add to those strategic achievements the facts that the Anglo-American Trans-oceanic defensive arrangements mean the pooling of the British bases in South and South-East Asia and the possible control of the Dutch, French, Portuguese and Australian strategic resources in case of necessity. We may leave out of account the military facilities in China and Korea, but Hong Kong and the newly acquired territory of Sarawak as a cover for Hong Kong may be taken into account.

If all these facts are taken into consideration along with the economic resources and the level of the productive capacity of the British and the American Commonwealths; and if account is taken of the fact that the new heavy American bomber as added to the USAAF last year has a range of 10,000 miles, it is clear that every part of Asia is commanded by bombers from the American bases around Asia as shown above. Thus even the defence against vulnerability to air attacks from another continent in this age of aviation as held by Lindbergh, does not hold good about Asia even before we have taken account of the atom bomb.

This analysis of the present situation has been given to show that neither Europe nor America has got anything to fear from an Asian consolidation. And yet this process might be necessary as the last but one stage in the creation of the World Commonwealth.

Argument No. 5. Asian Solidarity and World Peace

We have seen how we have to look upon Asian continentalism as the last but one stage in the preparation for a world order. But this step is necessary and

cannot be slurred over or by-passed. We have seen how the present pyramid of world society has got a dangerously massive plinth formed mainly of the coloured races. The processes of profit inflation and class exploitation of the early nineteenth century assumed an international shape in the last quarter of the last century. Class exploitation within each country was converted into racial exploitation and the Nazi philosophy sought to rationalise it as a natural order. The development of a democratic and co-operative commonwealth in Asia alone can rectify this flaw in the social process of the last century. This rectification is likely to be opposed, at least subconsciously, by those nations whose high standards of living have been built up on the basis of racial exploitation, or are believed by them to depend on this process. The USA and the USSR are building up a high standard of living on the basis of their native natural resources. But the other European nations have got to be re-educated out of their nineteenth century mental outlook in this respect.

The dangers to the political aspect of this liberation of mankind from the cosmic process (or imperialism) of the last century are clear from the fact that the regions of the Middle and the Near East and South-East Asia are the focal points of all the forces of predatory imperialism of today. Only Asian consolidation can save the world from a conflagration originating in these regions.

Secondly, as we have already seen, the Western countries have already achieved a level of integrated economic development as a result of (1) the density of the natural resources (2) integrated organisation of production, transport, trade and finance and (3) the economies of the Large Space, so that the competitive power of the Asian countries separately would continue to be weak unless economic integration is organised on the Inter-Asian scale. This alone would enable for the masses a rapid economic development and guarantee conditions fit for human beings to live in.

The rapid growth of population in the Asian countries has been frequently invoked as the cause of alarm of the ruling races of the world. This, however, is something in the nature of a retributive justice and of nature's insurance against the risks of the extinction of the human race. It implies nothing more than the international aspect of the disparate rate of growth of population between the richer and the poorer strata of the people within each community. It is the counterpart of the racial exploitation on an international scale which has replaced the class exploitation within each country. Hence, this menace can only be removed by raising the standard of living of the plinth of our world society.

The social, political and economic progress of Asia would react materially and spiritually on the submerged people in the other countries. To give one concrete example: it was reported, some years ago, how in East Africa the incidence of hook-worm which had defied huge public expenditure and efforts, was practically eradicated when Japanese-made low labour-cost rubber shoes became available at 6d. a pair within the purchasing power of the natives. The disease established itself again when these shoes were driven off the market by high labour-cost British shoes in the interest of imperial trade.

Millions of underprivileged people in Africa, in the Pacific Islands and in Latin America would be inspired to feel like human beings if Asia recovers its soul.

It is not generally known that in many of the Latin American countries the mass of the people of the aboriginal race are condemned to a life of grinding poverty, squalor and ignorance as a result of the rule of small white ruling classes at the top. That is one of the great problems for the USA, and a mission for her crying for attention nearer home. In that mission, America can count on the whole-hearted support of Asia.

Argument No. 6. An Inter-Asian Organisation is needed for resolving the various local disharmonies in different parts of Asia. They can be looked upon in their proper perspective only from an Asian view-point. Outside interests have always tried to exploit them for their own advantage. Such local disharmonies are not absent elsewhere, but they are resolved in the atmosphere of the broader interests which have been institutionalised there. These local disharmonies may be indicated here briefly :

We have in the Middle East and in the Near East regions a number of purely local disharmonies based mainly on sentiments. The Turks and the Arabs have not looked eye to eye since World War I in view of the part played by the Arabs in this war in the final defeat of the Turks. It is satisfactory that since the latter part of 1946, the Turks are drawing closer to some Arab states. Then there are the differences within the Arab world itself which are happily being solved by the Arab League. They would be resolved as material progress brings about a more uniform type of modern civilisation. For similar reasons, the sentimental differences between the Sunni and the Shia worlds, would also be remedied.

There is much of racial overlapping in these regions and many minority problems which have accounted for European interference for a thousand years. These are being solved locally. Of course the Jewish question can be solved only on an international plane. But the Kurdish, Assyrian, Azerbaijani and other problems can be solved locally or by Asian public opinion.

But the greatest question of the region is the relation between Russia and Turkey. This, clearly, is the greatest menace to the peace of Asia today. It accounts for the persistence of the oil imperialism in this region and for squeezing the Asian interests, represented by Turkey, out of the Mediterranean. A more vocal Asia might have pleaded some of the islands of the Ionean and the Dodecanese groups for Turkey on the ground of minimum conditions necessary for the defence of the Turkish shores and of her territorial waters. For these reasons, it was more desirable that in the interests of Asia, the Russo-Turkish differences had been taken up for solution on an Inter-Asian plane. It would be more appropriate for Asia to guarantee the integrity of Turkey than for distant interests to come in and use it for their advantage.

In India, we have got the great communal problem which is being exploited like the Catholic problem in Canada, the Muslim question in the Philippines, and so on. The whole of Asia has got a vital stake in the orderly solution of the problem in India in a manner which does not create further pockets of disharmonies. Outside powers cannot help utilising the local disequilibria for their own interests.

In Burma, we have got problems created by the presence of Indians, of Chinese, and of indigenous communities which remain to be levelled up. There is no reason why these problems should not be solved on purely Asian plane. Looking ahead, I feel that the larger communities everywhere should be able to work out a common culture in the long run and all racial fusions should be encouraged as in the USA and the USSR.

South-East Asia and Indonesia are the meeting grounds of all our Asian races and cultures. For that very reason, it is the happy hunting ground of all imperialisms of the world. All the countries in this region have got a Chinese problem which might mar the internal harmony unless looked at from the broad Asian point of view. A Geographer has said that 'the racial function of the huge and prolific Chinese population is to absorb all the peoples it impinges upon, or which may for a time conquer it.' A modernised Chinese culture approximating to the world type of culture would reinforce this process. In this way, a synthetic Chinese culture may become the dominant type in these regions and in the Pacific.

Let us conclude by noting that racial and cultural miscegenation are not to be dreaded but to be looked upon as necessary for the creation of large social aggregations which are complementary to the economies of the Large Space. The approximation of local cultural types to the world type of culture removes the strongest impediment to racial miscegenation, and racial miscegenation is necessary not only as a complement to the Large Space and necessary for the survival of the Race and the Space, but also for the qualitative improvement of mankind.