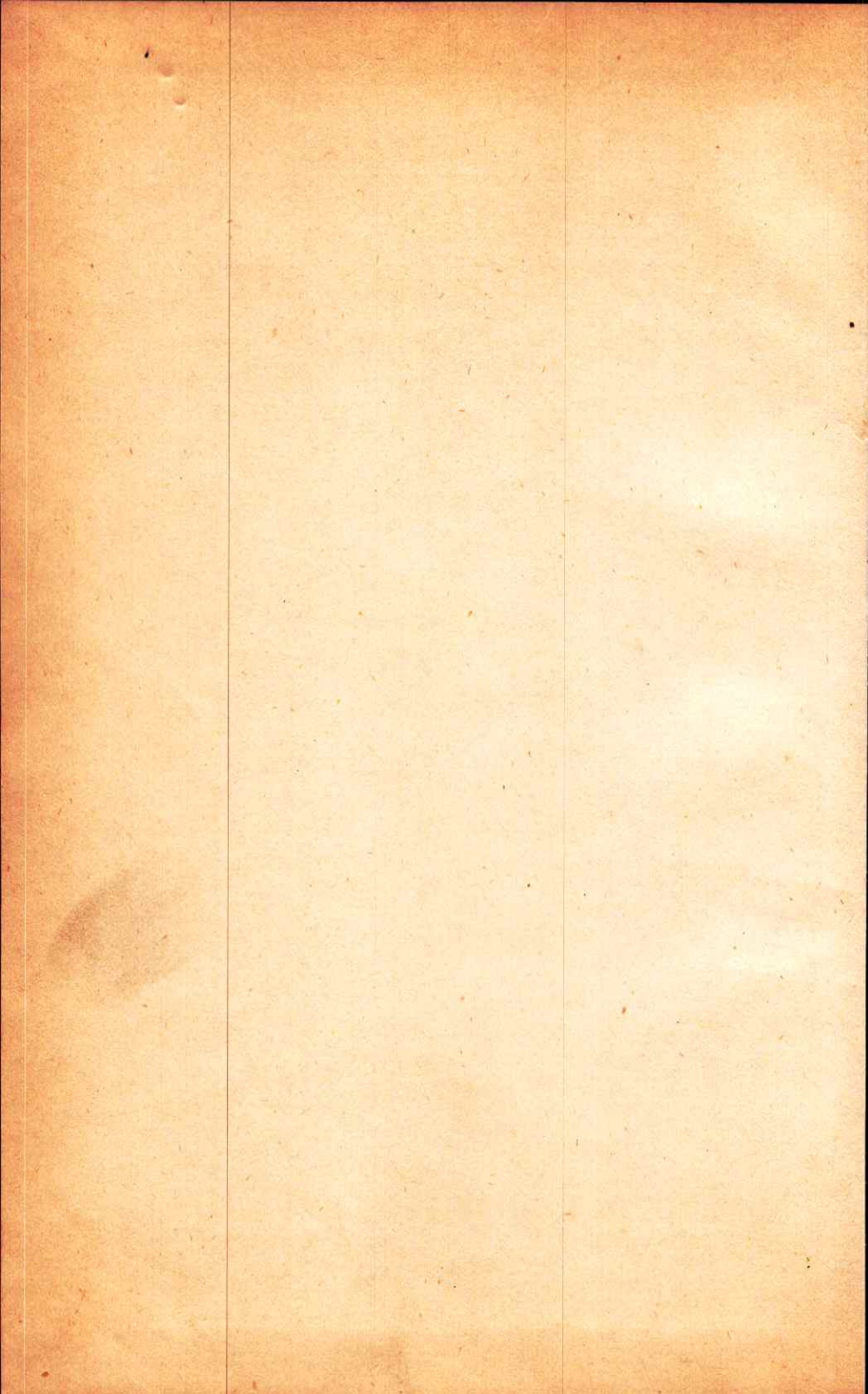
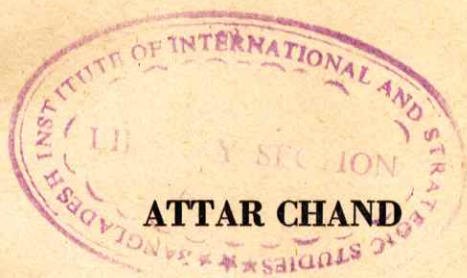


ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY

(A Bibliography of Selected Readings)



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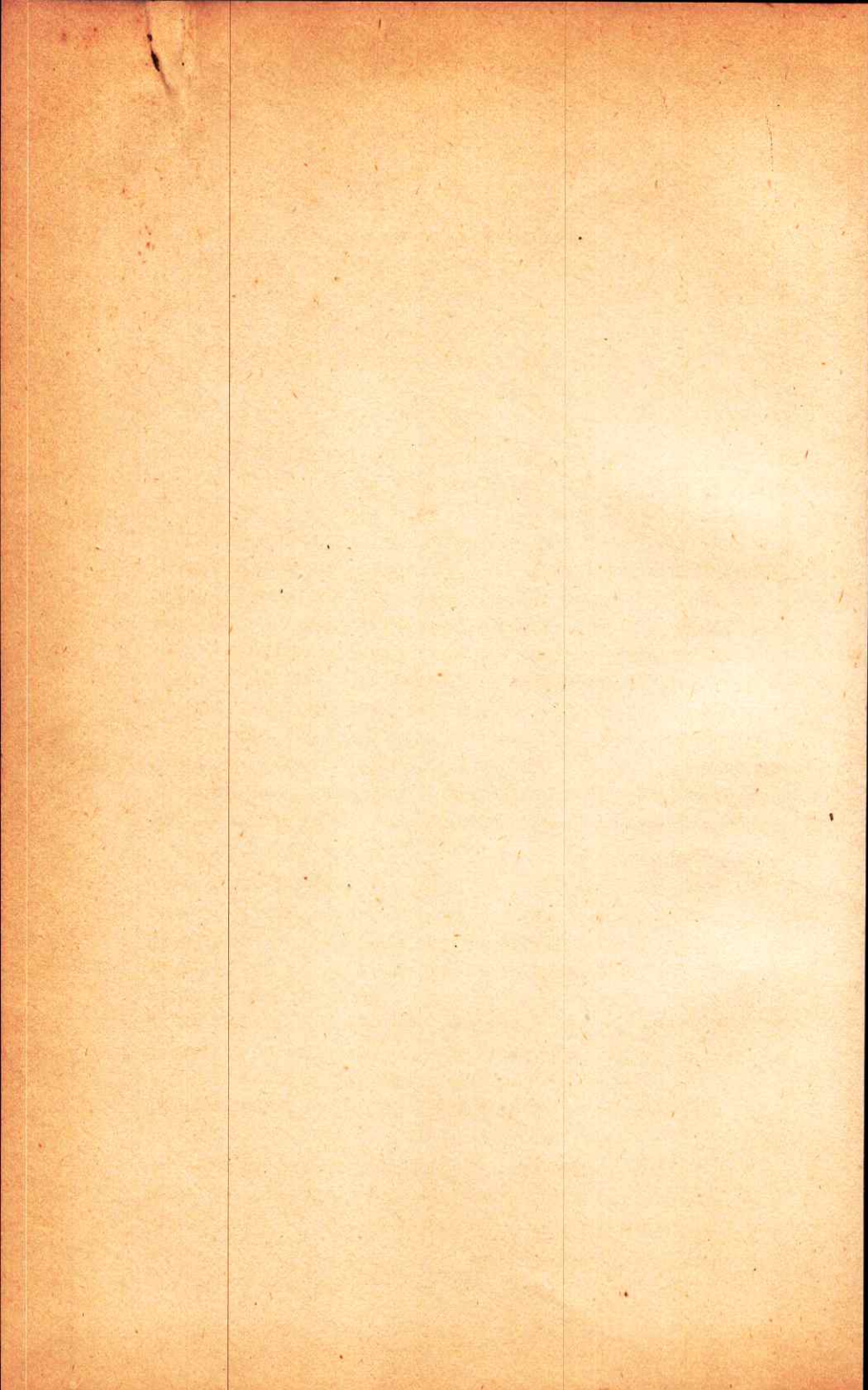
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Introduction

The struggle to bring about peace and stability by collective efforts in Asia, the most populous region of the world, is making steady progress with more and more Asian nations coming forward with the determination to achieve economic independence in order to safeguard their political independence against the onslaught of forces still not reconciled to the freedom of these countries. The movement for peace has got a new impetus following the victory of the Vietnamese people and also by the victory of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia which have effected a cardinal change in the situation in South-East Asia and severely undermined the mainstays of imperialist and neo-colonialist policy in the area. The defeat of the forces opposing detente in Europe has also exerted a favourable influence on Asian nations seeking to establish peace in the region.

It is also important to note that the struggle for Asian security through collective endeavour has become intensified under the influence of the general change in the alignment of forces in the world in favour of socialism and weakening of the positions of the forces of war and imperialist aggression. The persistent efforts of the socialist countries and vigorous actions of all progressive and peace-loving democratic forces have all created more favourable conditions for consolidating peace and brightened the prospects of evolving a system of collective security in Asia.

The interests of the Asian peoples and the need for strengthening international security inevitably call for a policy of peace and cooperation. Peoples in Asia and outside of it are becom-

ing increasingly aware of the fact that the solution of this truly historic problem is attainable only on the road of collective security. Peace in the region has become an urgent necessity because without peace unhindered economic development is impossible. The two issues have thus become intertwined and indivisible.

The Soviet Union's suggestion to bring about Asian security by a joint effort of the nations belonging to this region is based on this country's policy of peace and freedom for the peoples. The Soviet Union, two-thirds of whose territory belong to the Asian continent, proceeds not only from its own interests, but from the vital interests of the Asian nations. It also takes into account the role Asia plays in world politics.

At the very beginning the Soviet state could enlist support, in the interests of the establishment of a just and democratic peace in Asia, of the nations which had attained their national freedom. The treaties concluded between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Mongolia in 1921 were a major step in that direction. Those documents provided for the respect of the right of peoples to decide their own destinies, the renunciation of force, non-interference in their internal affairs, solidarity in the struggle against colonialists. The Soviet state, in this way, was beginning to build its relations with Asian nations on the radically new basis which was to become a major factor in the struggle for freedom and independence throughout the continent. The pooling of efforts with Soviet Russia proved decisive in bringing to a successful end the struggle for independence waged by many Asian countries, among them Afghanistan, Turkey and Iran. Soviet Russia's support helped them to repel imperialist interference in their internal affairs, and, in the case of Mongolia, oppose aggression by the Japanese army.

Apart from taking bilateral steps the Soviet Union strived toward joint efforts by the Asian nations in the defence of peace. The programme of collective security sponsored by the Soviet Union in the 1930s concerned not only Europe, pregnant with war, but also other parts of the world, too, including Asia. At the international conference called by the League of Nations

in Brussels in 1937 in connection with Japan's armed attack on China, the Soviet delegation demanded that collective sanctions be applied against the aggressor in the interest of collective security. Opposed by Western states this action and other similar moves were not realised.

The situation was different following the defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan for the solution of the problem of regional security in Asia. Colonial empires collapsed under the joint pressure of world socialism and national liberation movements. The young nations which emerged in these areas got down to the building of a new life. They were vitally interested in averting devastating wars. The reserves of imperialism in the past, they turned into the allies of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system in the struggle for peace and international cooperation.

The Soviet government, working for the strengthening of international security in those conditions, invariably considered Asia as an area where peaceful settlement of burning issues was most imperative. A resolution of the 20th CPSU Congress (1956) placed collective security in Asia among other major international issues whose solution would create a basis for a lasting and durable peace.

It may be recalled that such an idea of cooperation had taken root among the non-aligned Asian countries more than two decades ago. India became familiar with this idea as far back as in 1947 when at the first Asian Conference held in New Delhi, Nehru spoke of building a "world of unity" and called upon those concerned to devote thoughts on the need for cooperation among Asian countries. Later at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the idea was accorded formal recognition by a number of Asian countries with China and India as its leading exponents. The concept of cooperation was based on the principles of collective defence of peace and sovereignty and mutual economic cooperation to strengthen the edifice of political independence.

Thereafter the idea gained popularity and acceptability among the non-aligned nations to checkmate the imperialist

neo-colonialist offensive of forming military blocs which prepared the ground for direct military intervention against those who refused to limit or mortgage their sovereignty by aligning with these blocs. These military pacts exploited and exacerbated the disputed issues for preserving tension in the area so that the neighbouring Asian countries are compelled to spend a substantial part of their national resources on defence and remain perpetually dependent on the imperialist nations for basic goods. This game of the imperialists has been crudely demonstrated more than once in the subcontinent during the repeated aggressions by Pakistan on India.

The course of events have, however, shown that no military power, however diabolical and truculent, can equal the strength of the awakened people imbued with the spirit of a national liberation movement. The matchless victory of the Vietnamese people is a scintillating confirmation. This strengthens the belief that collective defence by the Asian nations of their priceless sovereignty and independence can alone guarantee their speedy progress for a better future long denied and already overdue.

It would, however, be foolhardy to conclude that the imperialists, though badly mauled and humiliated, have forsaken their firm faith in their old favourite gunboat diplomacy. On the contrary, they are picking new grounds to resume their old game. The Indian ocean region and the subcontinent continue to attract imperialist attention for new intrigues. In fact it was against these attempts that India, along with other non-aligned countries, had called for declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

In order to foil the imperialist moves Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had suggested, as far back as 1967, a convention or general agreement amongst the nations in Asia embodying guarantees for the independence and territorial integrity of countries in the region. Incidentally, these ideas permeate the Bandung principles which have always been supported by the socialist world.

It was in this atmosphere of growing cooperation among the Asian nations that Leonid Brezhnev, in his speech at the Mos-

cow Conference of World Communist Parties on 7 June 1969, mooted the idea for a system of collective security in Asia. Elaborating the idea later, Mr. Brezhnev said that such a system should be based on the principles of renunciation of the use of force in relation between states, respect for sovereignty, inviolability of the frontiers, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and an extensive development of mutually beneficial economic and other cooperation on equal footing. This idea stemmed from the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence which gained recognition in recent period not only in Asia but also in Europe. The winds of change and bright prospects of East-West detente are increasingly perceptible and its results easily discernible in the conclusion of, for instance, a 10-year treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of the Germany.

In Asia too the treaties of peace, friendship and cooperation between India and Bangladesh, India and Soviet Union, Iraq and USSR and Egypt and the Soviet Union have already laid the solid foundations for still closer cooperation among these nations. Besides, the successful conclusion of the Helsinki summit, the growing cooperation between nations with different social systems and the futility of Western nations' "position of strength" policy have gone a long way in popularising the idea of collective security and cooperation for mutual benefit. The joint Indo-Soviet declaration issued on the conclusion of Mr. Brezhnev's visit to India in 1973 also reaffirmed the need for promotion of extensive mutually advantageous cooperation and for strengthening peace and stability in Asia.

These developments have had a decisive effect on the Western nations and have made them speak in terms of negotiations rather than confrontation.

India's own experience prompted it to respond positively to the idea of collective security. Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, stated in the Lok Sabha on 6 April 1972 that government was "generally in favour of all initiatives aimed at promotion of peace and security for the reduction of international tension and would be prepared to consider any concrete proposals in this regard." (*Motherland*, 7 April, 1972).

As Nehru once said, "Peace like freedom is indivisible", it should be the common endeavour of all Asian nations to collectively defend their freedom and work for a lasting peace because both are vitally important for them and the people fighting for national liberation. There is no denying the fact that tension and warlike conditions threaten security and jeopardise national independence. Relaxation of tension and promotion of peace are therefore the paramount needs of every nation interested in progress.

Imperialist policy is basically aimed against peace as peaceful conditions do not serve their interests. Therefore they are bent upon creating and preserving tension by making one Asian country fight another, which incidentally is the core of the "Guam doctrine." An effective alternative of this policy therefore could be mutual agreement among the Asian countries on non-aggression which would remove the possibility of the recurrence of war, brighten the prospects for durable peace and promote a healthy growth of mutually beneficial economic co-operation to achieve the goal of self-reliance and safeguard political independence. Such agreements would in no way harm the interests of any peace-loving country, but would only provide a powerful shield against those who hate peace and fawn on the lovers of discord and war.

The then Foreign Minister, Swaran Singh, in an interview with the Soviet weekly *New Times* observed: "The security and stability of the region is essentially a matter for the countries of the region to ensure. We believe that a greater degree of economic cooperation among the countries of the region, respect for the sovereignty and integrity of these countries among themselves and understanding by big powers to ensure the neutrality of these countries would be positive factors which will contribute to the security and stability of the region." (*New Times*, 12 April, 1972).

The system of collective security is primarily based on these ideas and seeks to achieve the same results as underlined by the Indian Foreign Minister. It is only through development of multilateral relations and cooperation on an equal basis among Asian nations that congenial conditions can be created for the

realisation of the true urges and aspirations of Asian nations. These have been truly reflected in their policy of non-alignment and rejection of military blocs to ensure peace, defend national security and achieve speedy progress.

The determination of Asian countries to jointly promote peace and foster economic cooperation has been boldly stated by many leaders of the region. Echoing this sentiment during her visit to Sri Lanka in April this year, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stated categorically that increased regional economic cooperation was the only way to strengthen the security of Asian nations since, in the final analysis, security depended on internal political cohesion and economic strength. Increased economic cooperation among the Asian nations did not mean that it was directed against any particular country or groups; it only meant that each country assisted the other in order to strengthen its own economic stability.

It may not be inappropriate to quote here the words of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In her interview with the editor of the Central News Service (CNS) on October 22 in New Delhi, Mrs. Gandhi welcomed the results of the Helsinki summit which declared to resolve the disputed issues between the nations on the principles enunciated by the Soviet proposal of Asian Collective Security. Stating that India has been taking initiatives for achieving what had been accomplished by the European nations at the Helsinki summit, she said that the activities of "many outside forces" make it difficult for a "closer understanding to be reached among the Asian countries."

Stressing the need for peace, cooperation and security, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi observed: "Peace and cooperation are always important, but for India—or for that matter any developing country—they are doubly valuable because they will enable us to concentrate on overcoming our economic difficulties and problems. The best security for Asian countries is to build their own economic strength and stability and that is why we lay such stress on greater bilateral exchange which we hope would grow into multinational economic arrangements." (*The Times of India*, 24 October, 1975).

Certain interested quarters are, however, sparing no effort to attribute motives to such cooperation as envisaged in identical terms by the Indian and Soviet leaders. The opponents of such cooperation have been painstakingly trying to establish that it has military-political implications, that it is incompatible with India's policy of non-alignment and that it is directed against China and so on and so forth. However, these motivated inventions do not stand the test of argument and are not corroborated by facts and realities.

The distinctive character of the proposal stands out in sharp contrast with the nature of military-political alliance propped up by the imperialists. For, the aim of collective defence by Asian nations is basically different from those of CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS, etc. While the system of collective security enables Asian nations to engage themselves in a common endeavour for peace and social progress, the military blocs created by the imperialists have already shown that they disturb peace in the world and retard the growth and development of the member-countries and, of course, their adversaries.

It is due to the soundness of the proposal that the Soviet initiative has met with a favourable response and understanding of the leaders in a number of Asian nations. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement and many public organisations are increasingly coming out in support of this idea. The World Congress of Peace Forces (Moscow, 1973) and the International Forum, "The Struggle for Peace and Security in Asia—the Vital Task of Our time" (Samarkand, 1974) made a considerable contribution to the settlement of the Asian collective security problem. The Asian Peace Conference in Dacca, Bangladesh, held in 1973, adopted a declaration expressing resolute support of the principles the USSR suggests to use as a foundation of collective security in Asia.

The International Conference for Peace and Security in Asia held in Baghdad (Iraq), in February 1975, and a conference for turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone held in New Delhi in November 1974, also supported the idea of collective security in Asia.

Peaceful coexistence in Asia would considerably promote the opposition to anti-democratic trends in international relations, to the manoeuvrings of neo-colonialists and also to hegemonistic interference.

Asia has traditions and experience of rebuilding inter-state relations along the lines similar to those which the Soviet Union suggests as a foundation for the system of collective security. Some of those principles are stipulated in the resolutions of the Bandung Conference, others, in international agreements relative to Asia. These are friendship and cooperation treaties concluded by the USSR with India, the Arab Republic of Egypt and Iraq. They also include joint official documents signed recently by the Soviet Union with Afghanistan, Iran, Sri Lanka and documents signed by the Mongolian People's Republic and Iran.

These efforts of the Asian nations help to lay the foundation of a peace zone in Asia. However, the system of collective security to be built in Asia is not expected to be identical to a mere sum total of normal relations between separate countries. The establishment of such a system signifies, in fact, the emergence of a completely new pattern of international relations on the continent.

The fear or allegation that the system is directed against China is unfounded if one refers to numerous statements of the Soviet leaders and also the assurance given by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Leonid Brezhnev said as far back as on 20 March last year that the Soviet Union was prepared to cooperate with all countries, including China, to achieve this system and reiterated, on 21 December 1972, that the USSR desired China as an equal partner in such a system. It may be recalled that China and the Soviet Union had signed a declaration on 18 January, 1957 envisaging such a pact between Asian and Pacific countries, including the USA, for non-aggression. It is thus clear that the present clamour against a collective security system is motivated by China and the USA which have since made a *volte-face* and have become strange bedfellows for hegemony and spheres of influence in the world.

It is to be recalled that in the early stage after the historic

Chinese revolution, China moved shoulder to shoulder with other socialist and peace-loving nations to champion the cause of peace and made weighty contribution to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence. In 1955 at the Bandung Conference, Premier Chou En-lai declared:

"...All countries, big or small, strong or weak, should enjoy equal rights in international relations. Their territorial integrity and sovereignty should be respected and not violated.

"...We hold the view that if only together with all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world we will be fully resolved to preserve peace, then peace can be preserved....

"...They (the participants in the peace movement) demand an end to the arms race and preparations for war. They demand that the great powers be the first to reach agreement on the reduction of armaments. They demand the prohibition of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction.... Their voice can no longer be ignored...."

But since then much water has flown under the Yang-tse river and the same Chou En-lai in his speech at the session of the National People's Congress in 1973 spoke of "the inevitability of war" and declared that "the peoples of all countries should prepare for this."

In fact much earlier than this statement was made, the Maoists violated the Bandung principles. The Chinese leaders arrogated to themselves what they called "some basic responsibility in Asia and, burying in oblivion the "Bandung Spirit", they deliberately exacerbated the frontier disputes with India and Burma and carried them to the point of armed conflict in the Himalayas in October 1962.

Following Mao's dictum that "tension is to our advantage", China pursued a policy of "great disorder" in Asia and openly collaborated with the bellicose imperialist powers. In order to keep up tension, China is doing everything in its power to oppose detente. It is also advocating the strengthening of NATO, CENTO and other aggressive military blocs, opposing limitation of the arms race and disarmament.

A clear proof of China's open advocacy of the continuation of the cold war atmosphere is available in Chou En-lai's pathetic implorings to the US Senators that America must not abandon its military presence in Asia and the Pacific. The Peking leaders also do not raise even a little finger against the continuation of US occupation of South Korea. They also come out for the maintenance of numerous military bases in Japan, Thailand and the Philippines.

Despite the Chinese hostilities the idea for Asian collective security is gaining credibility among Asian nations. The efficacy of the proposal has now been convincingly proved and the Asian nations including India which are devoting careful attention to it feel that it is the best guarantee to safeguard their sovereignty and integrity and ensure speedy economic progress.

Cooperation among the Asian nations on the principles enunciated by the Soviet Union can become a real alternative to the imperialist panacea of military blocs. The Asian countries genuinely interested in peace can jointly strive to put an end to the dreadful policy of strife and confrontations between neighbours which fritter away valuable national resources. Collective defence of security, achievement of durable peace, common endeavour for mutual benefit of Asian peoples and development of economic ties for not merely mutually exclusive benefits can actually become ideal models for other peace-loving peoples to emulate, and herald the ushering in of a new era of peace and progress.

The aim of this bibliography is to list together books and periodical articles that appeared during June 1969-December 1974 in order to provide a base for further researches, discussion and comprehensive analysis of the subject. Some of the best works on Asian Security have been done by the Indian and Soviet scholars, journalists, writers, commentators and columnists.

My aim has been ambitious in the sense that I have sought to insert into this book all the available works *viz.* articles, write-ups, books, etc. on the Asian Collective Security System that have appeared in the last six years.

Every Public, College and University Library, as well as

Research Centres, would find this book helpful in acquiring materials on the subject. The book will be no less useful to the numerous Newspapers' Editors and Working Journalists; it will provide them with reliable references to foster their work in the field.

Entries are listed authorwise, or by title when no author is given. Authors, joint-authors included, are listed surname first.

I wish to place on record my deep appreciation of the assistance received from the professional Librarians of Indian Council of World Affairs Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Gandhi Memorial Museum Library, Nehru Museum Library, National Archives Library, Delhi University Library, University Grants Commission Library, Aligarh Muslim University Library, Agra University Library and Rajasthan University Library for their generous help in getting or making available for my use most of the source material used in this bibliography.

Attar Chand

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Asian Affairs, London
Asian Quarterly, Brussels
Asian Recorder, New Delhi
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Assam Tribune, Gauhati
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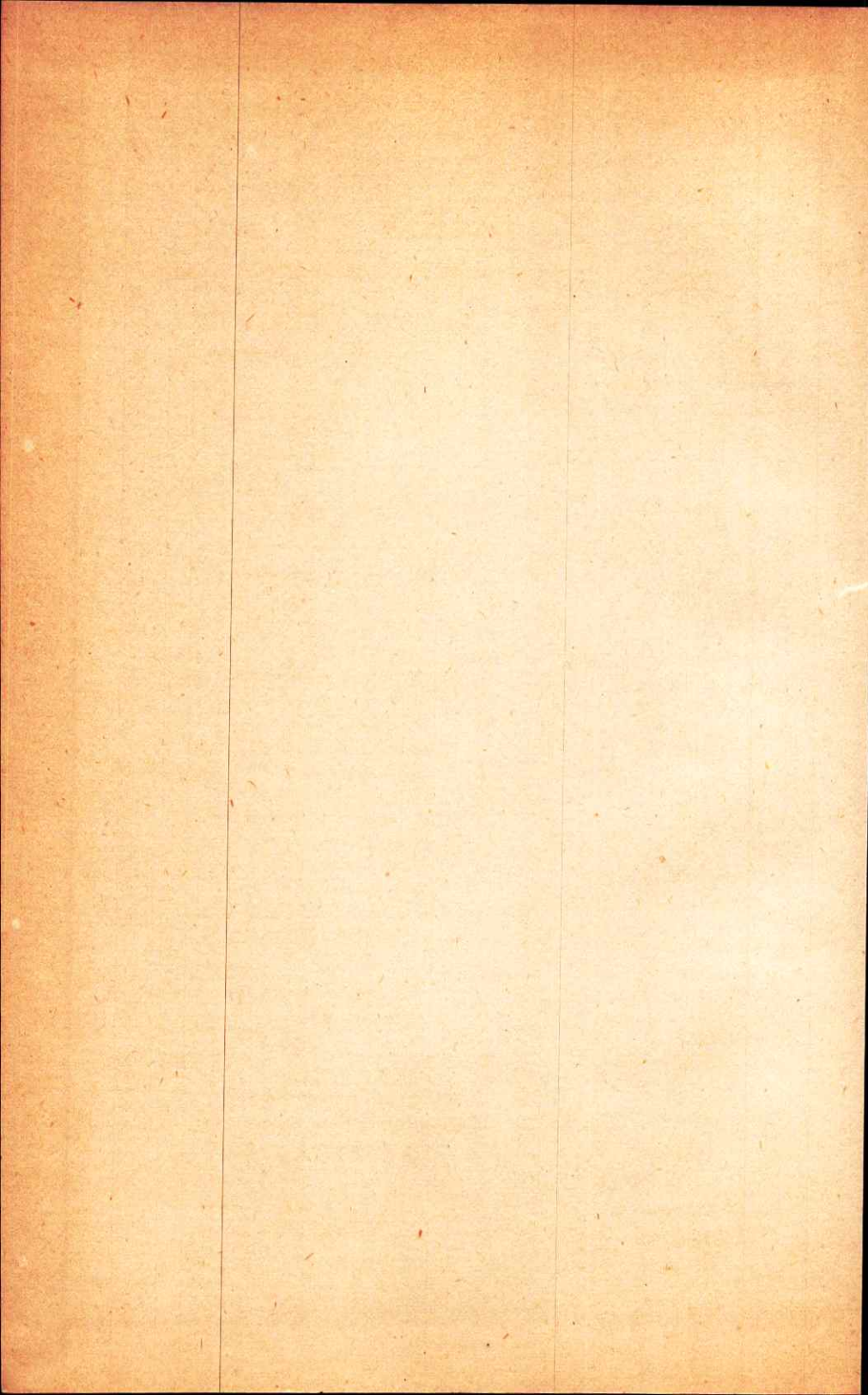
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