

## PARTITIONING THE SUBCONTINENT IN 1947: A MOVE OF WEST AGAINST THE STABILITY OF ISLAM USING APPLICABLE GEOPOLITICAL LAWS

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### Abstract

*History of Subcontinent is enriched with secrets, most of research, is done under only the political topics and aspects, instead of geopolitical research. But under the geopolitical prospects, this work is done to highlight one of the hidden secrets of the partition of Subcontinent. There are a lot of geopolitical aspects which were the real causes of the independence as well as partition of Subcontinent which are never tried to highlight, at least in the history of Pakistan and India after the partition. Being an easy access choke point, this patch of land had been an arena of global traders and invaders. These powers changed and used geopolitics of this choke point according to their own benefits while Muslims of this area considered it a great opportunity for the stability of Islam. At any point of time this patch of land never loses its importance. In the near past international geopolitical western policies disclosed the secrets of Indian partition. Even before partition Northern India (recently Pakistan), had been providing an easy access. Recently it has become very important because it connects Europe and Australia for a joint project of huge geo-economics, geopolitical and strategic values as well as Indian Ocean has been serving as a triangle course for trade among Asia, Africa and Australia since ancient period. Seeing this important triangle West started to change the geopolitical direction under its foreign policies. For the achievement of these motives, ulterior planning was started. This planning had been travelling gradually with the start of World War I but remained underground. When World War II started, the West took it serious and with the start of war, underground powers increased its activities to get control over the global geopolitics and started to pressurize several powers involved the war, purpose was to get control over the choke points of the strategic value for maritime traffic and monopoly in the Asia, Central Asia, Gulf and Middle East through oceans' trading activities as well as stationing Naval Bases. In this research paper all origin perspectives of British India (Subcontinent) partition, under the geopolitical realities, according to the research requisites, are tried to highlight the global geopolitical applicable laws which were necessary to fulfill the required changing global geographical monopoly requisites.*

**Key Words:** Subcontinent, Islamic state, Northern India, geopolitics, Secrets of Partition of 1947, Western powers.

### INTRODUCTION

After the World War II, the decolonization of Philippine, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Burma and other Asian states the geopolitics of Asia shifted against the colonial powers but two questions are a dilemma and haywire for researchers. Why did British withdraw from Subcontinent? Why did



partition was occurred? The imperialists answer that independence was to fulfill the Britain's self-appointed mission to assist the Indian to self-government. Partition of Subcontinent was the consequence of the old Muslim-Non-Muslim religious gulf of "two Nation theory". According to Dominique Lapiene and Larry Collins "The root of the social, political and administrative problems was the age-old antagonism between India's millions Hindu and Moslems. Sustained by traditions, by antipathetic religion, by economic and social differences, subtly exacerbated through the years by British's own policy of Divide and Rule, their conflicts had reached on boiling point".( Collins, L.,& Lapierre,1999.p.7)

According to the radical views "independence was wrested of the mass actions of 1946-47 of which Communists leaders not only participated but leaded but the bourgeois Hindu leadership under the Congress flag, frightened by the revolutionary upsurge and struck a deal with the British power by which power of governance was transferred to them and the whole nation had to pay the price of Partition in the shape of human and movable and immovable property havoc(Bipan Chandra, 1988.p.494). According to the Narendra Singh Sarila "...the geopolitical implications of Indian partition as well as Kashmir issue, was primary concern on Britain for its future defense and American global sovereignty issue (Sarila, Narendra Singh, 2006). According to the Gurharpal Singh and Ian Talbot "...Indian partition was contingent on a range of economic, political, defense and administrative choices of the impacts of the World War II on the subcontinent those were concluded between British and the Indian political elites."(Talbot, Ian, and Gurharpal Singh, 2009, 58).

Authentically, German farsighters introduced the Anglo-American concept of a Russian deriving for the serious effort of a warm water port. Russia felt this need during the 1920 and 1930 keenly. It was the time when England's thesis had been fallen into disuse. Since before the First World War 1914-18, Anglo-American geopolitical thinking molded the German perspectives on international affairs. According to General Karl Haushoffer,*Germany and Soviet Union have no business fighting each other, and his many maps of the "natural" geopolitical divisions of the world always showed the Soviet Union as having maritime access to the Arabian Sea. Often his "Greater Soviet Union" even incorporated all of India.* (Green,1993, 6).

### **The Events leading to the Partition**

With the end of World War II the United States had to face three great tasks; first, lead to the reconstitution of a global economic system to recreate the conditions; second, to limit and defeat the powers those after the World War II were compelling to push the world in radically different directions to that favored under the American and its market allies umbrella; and third, to incorporate Japan and the Germany into an American-flag global order. On May<sup>7th</sup>1945, with the surrender of German, the World War II ended with bitter results and realities which marked an era of economic and geopolitical revolution in Great Britain dynasty. The British are a brave and steady nation those have no crack in their determination in front of any ragging storm at any time and at any place at this planet of earth. In the World War II, to win the war, The British fought to the last man and the last penny. This struggle led them much poorer economically than before. The World War II shaked the British power economically, socially and administratively and left ruins in its wake for them. The war result created social problems. Colonial government could not equip to deal with these problems. The British were too distracted with the war results to lend much of a hand. Finally, this situation led the British power to weakened colonial system rapidly (Basil Davidson, 1994).

Tired of World War II the Great Britain started to lose its grip over colonial India as well as disruptions started to grow in the colonies of its empire. Victory in the World War II gave nothing to Great Britain but endless poverty, social, economic, administrative and defense complicated problems. All this also caused the Britain's decline and British had to return to their own home from there they started to travel for global colonialism. (Metcalf, Barbara Daly., 2012.p.212). Seeing surrounded him in the grave problems other rising global powers, special America, helping him economically and defensibly, pressurized him politically and compelled him for decolonization. According to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, in 1947 when Pakistan and India got freedom, British Kingdom was breaking into pieces and losing its power all over the world. (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.2013.p.37) because



World War II destroyed the Great Britain economically which caused the decline of social, defense and administrative system's destruction which leaded it to the surrender before new global hegemonic policies of rising powers. This was the main cause of Indian freedom. Same as,

*"The cost of their victory had almost vanquished the British power. Industry at Britain was crippling, its exchequer bankrupt, its once haughty pound sterling surviving only on the injection of American and Canadian dollar, its Treasury was unable to pay the staggering debt she'd run up to finance the war. Foundries and factories were closing everywhere all over the England. More than two million British public was unemployed. Coal production was lower than it had been a decade earlier and, as a result, every day, some part of Britain was without electric power for hours".*(Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins,1999.pp.1-2).After war in this most declined economic circumstance was an open herald for Indian freedom then partition because American geopolitics web has fastened and checked the Great Britain to extend its power for more colonization and was compelling the Great Britain for decolonization.

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup>centurythe Royal Navy's decline matched the British Empire's downward trajectory. Extending its own imperial aspirations Britain's sea power enabled it to establish a globalnorm of free trade. According to Churchill, America might use its naval power to ensure the international access to the maritime common purposes. Nevertheless, the Royal Navy's decline opened the horizons for USA to revise the norms established by England, particularly on Imperial system. A host of economic and cultural factors accelerated the decolonization process.(Seth, 2018).

According to the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Naturally we do not want to throw India into chaos on the eve of invasion later; the rapid Japanese advance in south-east Asia prompted President Roosevelt to press Mr. Churchill harder on the question of independence for India. Mr. Churchill has described the United States' pressure in the following words:- "*The United States had shown an increasingly direct interest in Indian affairs as the Japanese advance into Asia spread westwards. The concern of the Americans with the strategy of World War was bringing them into touch with political issues, on which they had strong opinions and little experience. Now that the Japanese were advancing towards its frontiers, United States Government began to express views and offer counsel on Indian affairs.*"(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.2013.pp.34-35)

After 1940the interests in the East of Suez region started dramatic and radical reshuffling. Socialist triumph in China caused the freedom of pacific region as well as India and Pakistan's from Britain. This thing altered the maritime policy of British stationing in the Indian Ocean Region (V.K Bhasin, 1981). Both World War I and II destroyed the British power economically and monetarily. This thing led it to decolonization all over the world. Decolonization also affected its foreign policy. This situation degraded its military and political power in the Indian Ocean Region. This declined the British geopolitical power with military responsibilities now was transforming to American emergence (Report, 1966). Although determined British had been bold but this situation compelled them to change their policies in the regard of colonization system.

Geo-strategically Sub continent was and is the junction of Middle East and Central Asian land short routes as well as had been a source for European domination of oceans, specially the Pacific Ocean to gain the status of a power monopoly towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup>century. To achieve this goal The Indian Ocean became fundamental strategic point for patronage of Eastern and Western world. Both United States of America and Japan stood up to ground the turn down of British sea power.(Beverley Nichols, 2006, p. 195).

World War II created an opportunity for the United States to reframe its security policy towards Asian states. United States based this policy on preserving balance of power and shaping a defense network against the Communist emerging power. Military stationing of china and USSR's charm reducing was the intricate and most instantaneous phase of this American strategic plan's integral part. Strong economy, man power and modern technology were necessary to execute this strategy that was a great task to manage for US power. To achieve this taskthe United States was seeking Asian allies under the cold war game. Supporting these states economically and militarily United States itself could be victimed to the state affairs instabilities. Anyhow emerging new Eastern

powers as China and other regional states accelerated its (American) economic and allies task race. (Wayne Ayress Wilcox, 1967, p. 85).

So, to achieve this task British global decolonization was inevitable. Marching to its target American power pretending the local political freedom activities, got its achievements and managed its future defence targets before the time. Later All American ominations proved true.

#### American Marine and Maritime Trade Course safety



In April 1942, Japanese Empire has spread Japan to Australia (North to South) and its forces were moving through Island to Island in the Pacific Ocean to Capture Australian and New Zealand's regional maritime trade course. It was a dangerous message for American maritime trade regulation through Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean and next to Atlantic Ocean. (L.K.Wong, 1991) getting this Japanese dangerous message American power stood alert to save its future maritime trade planning. So American started to change its global relations policies because Japan was getting outstanding victories in the pacific whole region and its victories success danger, passing through the Australia and New Zealand was advancing to American region. American never wanted Japanese access to American region while Japanese forces attacking on Pearl Harbor, getting access to tiny but a crucial atoll in the central Pacific Ocean. About 1,300 miles north-west of Hawaii, an important American Naval Base, located Midway, was a tiny island in a great pacific ocean which was defended by a U.S. Army flock. It was also an important American naval base. It was suitable for Hawaii's naval base safety. Seizing Midway, Japan power was hoping to force the American defence power back to Californian and Pacific Coasts. In this effort to occupy Midway Japan succeeded..... On the other side allied and Axis powers were fighting in North African including the Mediterranean region. German Commander Erwin Rommel was gaining victory greatly in this region. This battle field gave a tough time to the Allied powers with victory against Axis powers under the equipment with 300 new American-made M-4 Sherman tanks and over 200,000 troops' help by America and America by the victory of Allied had won the war of Maritime in Red Sea region, Mediterranean region and Atlantic Ocean. (Eileen Daspin, World War II, 2014). So, in the shape of new geopolitical laws and policies America starting to make planning to secure its future trade-monopoly in the whole Asian region for this purpose both to check the Russian ragging storm towards Indian Ocean through Arabian Sea and second British decolonization from Asia and Africa was necessary; so that it could be manage to continue the American trade through global sea routs. It had been American usual that first of all it oppresses any its ally power to jump into any conflict then presses and constricts to achieve its purposes globally in economic, social system, educational system, health, technology, politics, defence and trade fields. Same as America treated with Great



Britain and its allies during the World War II. During the whole period (1939-45) she preferred its interests to the global peace. In the past in 1914 because Panama Canal had been operated and this thing made cheaper and easy to convey the goods by maritime traffic to the USA Atlantic sea ports from Indian Ocean belt states, through Suez Canal and Singapore region as well as it was easy to keep eye on any enemy's land and maritime activities from East till West. (Sam Bateman. ASEAN AND THE INDIAN OCEAN: 2011)

#### **World War II Led to British Decolonization**

It was only the result of Second World War which compelled the British Government to bend in front of the circumstances of that time and to agree for decolonization. The entry into the force of United Nations in 1945 and severe financial constraints in the result of the Second World War are the real causes for British Government to agree in principle to work towards the self-government and independence for all of its colonial territories all over the world. Rising anti-colonialist sentiment also compelled the British Government for the accession of India and Pakistan to independence in August 1947.(Dheerendra Kumar Dabee.2018.p.57) In the regard of the partition of subcontinent we observe that the Indian freedom is mostly written, read and researched than partition; and in the regard of, Indian partition research, mostly it is researched only politically not geopolitically. While Indian partition was occurred mostly geopolitically because there may have been international interests in this region but the focus of the partition efforts remained on creating two countries, India and Pakistan, in this way the partition of Subcontinent remained limited around the matters of the Congress, Muslim League, and British power. Furthermore, Great Britain tried to preserve its status of power. According to Lucy Chester, British power was determined that it could handle the decolonization storm at India without any foreign assistance. The British power had been so strong and powerful that, instead of so much declined economically it wanted to maintain its status of global superiority and uphold its powerful and great reputation and never wanted withdraw from Indian colonization.

In the wake of World War II when Indian political powers had achieved independence; then senior British authorities assumed that the Raj's dominance in the South Asian region particularly Subcontinent would pass to the Indian powers (peter, 2005.p.13). Before the World War II, the Soviet Union never devoted attention to South-east Asian region. It had been surprisingly slow.....USA, like Soviet Union, paid attention to the South-east Asian region after the WWII....The Truman administration encouraged the British, French, and Dutch to follow its.....maintaining some degree of commercial, security, and political influence in former colonies. That formula struck American experts as best suited to the long-term peace and prosperity that US interests here, as elsewhere, required. The British, under the progressive Labour Government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee, adopted the same basic formula, negotiating the peaceful devolution of power in most of their Asian possessions. India and Pakistan became independent in 1947.(Robert,2003.p.46).

#### **The Marshall Plan**

According to the Marshall Plan, for the reconstruction of Europe economically 1% of American GNP had been disbursing each year from 1948 to 1952 ..... World War II ended with the result of large scale of the problems of widespread poverty and hunger. So, to resolve these problems the Marshall Plan was signed between American and European Authorities. (Glyn and others,1990).According to Gerard Bossuat, "*In the beginning of 1947, American funds for foreign aid amounted to USD 350 million and were aimed at stopping the actual or alleged Soviet expansion..... Nonetheless, the fight against communism was a strong reason for the American aid to Europe*".(Eliot Sorel and Pier Carlo Pado.2008).So, the all American planning was to stop the ragging storm of communism as well as it was also a help, chance and beginning to make the United States the only leader of the world and to hand over the global leadership. After this no global decision was concluded without the American involvement. It was the Marshall Plan under which the geopolitical game was played and the Britain was compelled to decolonize from Africa and Asia. Along with the rebuilding of European countries Marshall Plan accelerated the process of decolonization that was taking place



all over the world with the ending of World War II and starting with the global cold war that led to the emergence of new states, including Pakistan.(Murad, 2012.p.4)

### **The role of Global Powers**

In the result of global duresses, the Britain had to evacuate the Subcontinent as efficiently as it could in order to "...avoiding to project the image that British power is transforming the power to natives under the global duress. British power tried its best to create the impression that the transforming the power was proceeding in an orderly and rational manners."(Chester, Lucy P., 2009.p.2). The ways in which the land of Subcontinent was partitioned were based on benefitting the great powers.(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.2013.p-p.31-37). Actually Subcontinent was and is a choke point patch of land which is and was remained fertile for every foreign group as invader or trader. In the past and currently global and strategic position of the Indian Ocean was and is the center of gravity of the existing and emerging super trade powers.“Great Game” between Russian and British power, for the Indian Ocean monopoly and related to its maritime traffic controlling and other matters had been playing. It was the Great Game which became real cause of Indian Partition because geographically the land of recent Pakistan was suitable for the game of international geopolitical game-arena. In fact, World War II destroyed the Britain with its alliances badly in all fields of life special economically. At that time America was rising as a star in the west, American president Franklin Delano Roosevelt was determined to demolish the British colonialism from Subcontinent. America pressurized the British power to go back and leave India forever because America was supporting Britain economically. Actually during World War II, American-Russian economy war was continuing but because of war both powers were covering it. With the end of war America started to pressurize the Britain to invade the Russia but The Britain denied doing so because during the war Russia had been the British-ally.

This thing rose up the American power to step forward itself to do something to check the Russian power to reach in the Indian Ocean; and for this Britain was inefficient because war has destroyed it badly while Russia was a strong power. Now America changed his geopolitical policy because he was feeling danger to his preservations in the Indian Ocean. So for entry and stationing in the Indian Ocean with the Indian freedom Indian Partition was also necessary.

So, American pressure leaded the Great Britain to take some bitter decisions. While the British preference was to keep India “United “Any how British power wanted to keep Army intact and India as a dominion. So that at any time of trial all forces could be used against enemy but American pressure checked all ways of exit from American geopolitical web which caused a great hindrance against to continue its colonialism at Subcontinent. To make decision the top British leaders gathered and finalized the Indian Partition because Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was willing to join and accept the supervision of commonwealth. So, Indian division was considered best for Britain interests in future. So, further more British power demanded, Muslim leadership will have to accept the following British demands as:- all ports, air bases located at Lahore, Peshawar and Karachi and Armed forces would remain under the British command. So that this location and troops under the British command would be able to conduct battle against any enemy, at any time and at any place whenever need arises. Furthermore these forces will be trained, advised and assisted by British command in their reorganization.

The Indian partition another cause was that British power never did trust in Hindu mentality. So, instead of so much differences Muslim leadership was trustworthy for British power for future expected events. Anyhow British power accepted the Pakistan because in past this patch of land remained the castle of Great Game to control over the warm waters of Indian Ocean and now in future British power never wanted to lose this important strategic geographical point to save their interest in global oceanic channels through Indian Ocean. Later this expected danger proved true when Russia, invaded on Afghanistan (1979-88), passing through Afghan territory, it tried its best to reach to warm waters of Indian Ocean and wanted to check the international trade rout . At the time of trial, it was Pakistan which remained most trustworthy for British and America. So, creation of Pakistan was best for both Britain and America strategically and defensively (Bipan Chandra.pp.505-6).



### **Cold War under the Capitalism and Communism game**

Balshvik revolution (1917), holding the capitalistic and communist global issues was the prelude of ideology war between Russia and western world. After World War II (1939-45) global governance appeared with a new change because aliened-powers unity during the war was based only on to defeat or to rout up the Adolf Hitler or German power. Humiliating defeat by Nazi Germany, France and England powers lost their global patronizing status. The decline both of them brought forth new superpowers America and Russia. Both of these two new super powers divided the world into two blocs, the Western and the Eastern Bloc. England, under the American umbrella joined the Western Bloc. This division accelerated the geopolitical competition between the America and Russia. Under these two blocs, the world entered into a new global economic revolution. With the economic race global defence tension increased. In the result of this competition, Cold War started. Cold war accelerated the process of decolonization and several new states and countries emerged on the map of the world. To accelerate the process of decolonization both Russia and America framed their foreign policies according to the new trends of new global thoughts. The Soviet Union policy was to encourage and support all the nations those were locked under the colonial empires (England, France, etc.) and were seeking for independence. While! America framed another policy. It was more suitable to change or to finish the British colonial system. This policy was to grant the independence to the struggling nations assuming that these new nations will continue as the puppet states to the America but Cold war made new nations an essential supporter to maintain global governance (Azam; 211-15)

### **Search for the warm waters**

Indeed Russia had been a big power globally but weak geopolitically because it has no whole year warm water sea port; instead by area it is a biggest country of the world but is surrounded mostly by land locked countries. Since ancient time Czars in Russia wanted to occupy the ports facilities in the Indian Ocean via central Asia to the south and south west Asia. To become a Eurasian power, Russia changed its geopolitical policies and wanted to play geopolitical game. She saw warm-water ports' dream several time but all its attempts ended in smoke. Every Russian military advance to other Asian states was desire to gain warm water ports (Alex Marshall,2006).The Russian desire to gain warm water ports was never fulfilled. Main reason of this failure was to prefer the materialism policy's fulfillment over the humanity's policy's fulfillment. As we study all Russian Revolutions, special in 1917 according to the paper work of public welfare was best was never fulfilled. So, all its dreams to reach Persian Gulf ended in smoke (Harm J De Blij; 2011). Along with to fulfill its warm waters reach dreams other Russian plan to reach in southern seas and oceans was to lock and block the American maritime traffic for sea channels monopoly; so that could get control over the global trade and become the single supper power. But American power under the best geopolitical policies, using the Asian regional powers, ended the every Russian plan to reach the warm water. Actually Partition of Subcontinent in 1947 was also an American game to check the Russian ragging storm to Southern seas and oceans because after world war II Britain has no power to check the Russian ragging storm to Indian Ocean. Now it was being expected Russian military advance to Indian Ocean through Balochista. So, it was necessary for America to check this Russian Military adventure to continue and save its maritime monopoly. Afghan-Russian war 1979-88 is open proof of true American geopolitical as well as maritime monopoly overtakes game.

### **Findings**

There is lack of geopolitical empirical research about partition of Subcontinent than political. Research about the geopolitical incidents at Subcontinent during 1900 to 1950 is done a lot of little. The English period at Subcontinent was a blessing of Allah for South Asia, for the revolution in Agriculture, economy, industry and political awareness in the shape of trial but this revolution was a game against natives. Although powers were advancing in the shape of allies and were working together and were saving their allies with their interests all over the world. Frontally all they were ally in the war against the axis powers and were saving the Britain while in the back powers interest were different and hidden. These secrets never were revealed.



### Suggestions

It should be explored and analyzed the effects of welfare social work for public by the different rulers in the different times at Subcontinent and then comparison their work and highlight the characteristics to urge the new public commanders/rulers for public welfare. So that in future prosperity and peace way could be leveled. Moreover search should be done to explore the new horizons of knowledge because the explored new horizons of knowledge will highlight a lot of new aspects of Indian partition Game.

### CONCLUSION

After the World War II globally political arena changed. Aftermath of WWII Europe's landscape left in ruins. America and Russia emerged as global super powers and for, global leading as a single super power a Cold War was started. It is important to note that in the result of strife of these two countries several nations got political awareness and came into being on the map of the world. No doubt America and Russia both were the Britain allied but to maintain the colonial rule in Africa and Asia they never took interest for Britain and France. Political agenda of both countries America and Russia was different but anti-colonial policy was same. Now globally the political views of colonialism were changing against the old European views.

Actually, American state structure is established on commercial bases. So, all kinds of American internal and external policies are always framed according to the commercial planning. Since the World War II ended on baseless and fruitless results, during this, global economy from both sides UK group and German group, had fallen badly. Now every power started its planning according to the new requisites of time. In this regard American power was most upset because its survival always had been only on the global geopolitical involvement activities. So American power started to press and pressurized UK for Indian decolonization which meant the end of British hegemony in the Indian Ocean. The global escalation of rivalry due to the region's strategic importance because Indian Ocean always had been a serving triangle bridge between Atlantic and pacific Oceanic states and then next to America and rather than Europe. During the war Japan's forces occupied all over the Pacific Ocean and blocked the American trade channels. After failing the negotiations between America and Japan, to get hold Pacific Ocean region Hiroshima on August 6<sup>th</sup> 1945 and Naga Saki on August 9<sup>th</sup> 1945, were hit by American Atom bomb. Now the Indian Oceanic monopoly Arena was empty but not empty because the next expected threat for Indian Ocean blocking was Russian raging storm which caused the actual reason for the Partition of Subcontinent because it has reached near the Chitral State Border. In the result of United India to stop this raging storm was impossible because American Stationing at Subcontinent was not possible because different agreements, between UK and US had concluded; while the UK power has weakened so much and was unable to stand against the Russian expected brutality to crush the Indian Oceanic monopoly and to check the International trade rout. So, the partition of Subcontinent was inevitable. So that American Monopoly over maritime routs for trade and defense could be established and a new international battle could be checked. Today America has hundreds of maritime stations around the world. All that American planning has a strong and arranged political, geopolitical, social, cultural, security, threats, domestic, regional and global control and monopoly which caused the African and Asian decolonization. Actually The WWII (1939-45) affected the world militarily, politically and economically. In retrospection, WWII proved an instrument to gain independence for conquered and subdued from conqueror. This new geopolitical global policy compelled the international leading powers to reframe their geographical monopoly policies to make able the geopolitical laws accordance to the required demands that could be prove a powerful instrument against the ragging anti-powers' race towards marine channels.

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