

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CENTRAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 48033

CALL No. 808.850954/Neh

End

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECHES

VOLUME FIVE



*The Prime Minister at his desk—with a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi
and a bowl of beautiful roses at hand*

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECHES

VOLUME V

March 1963—May 1964



48033

808.850954

Neh



PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

November 1968

Agrahayana 1890

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.
Acc. No.
Date
Cat. No.

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.
Acc. No. 48033
Date 5-3-1970
Cat. No. 808.850954/NeK

PREFACE

This is the fifth and last Volume in the series of selected speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. This Volume covers the period from March 1963 until his death in May 1964. As before, the speeches have been grouped in relevant sections and each section arranged chronologically. This Volume also contains some of the speeches delivered in March and April 1963, which could not be included in Volume IV. A detailed version of Mr. Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on the Official Languages Bill, of which a short version appeared in Vol. IV, is included in this Volume.

This period marks the closing stages of a unique career of ceaseless activity and exertions in the cause of India and world peace. Although his health came under great strain during this phase, Mr. Nehru's dialogue with the people was not interrupted, as evidenced by the speeches in this Volume. Significantly, his last public pronouncement, at a press conference in New Delhi, was made only five days before his death.

These speeches reflect the basic values Jawaharlal Nehru tried to uphold all his life. Again and again, he spoke of his abiding faith in the destiny of India, its vitality and strength. At the same time, he warned the people against complacency and against the tendency to get lost in petty squabbles. He urged the people to strive hard to build India into a land of opportunity, to be disciplined and united. It was in this context that he viewed each single problem, whether it was the continuing threat from China, the language controversy, the problems of education, or the economic advancement of the country. His vision of a world without tensions, a world in which nations co-operate for their own good, was undiminished till the end.

CONTENTS

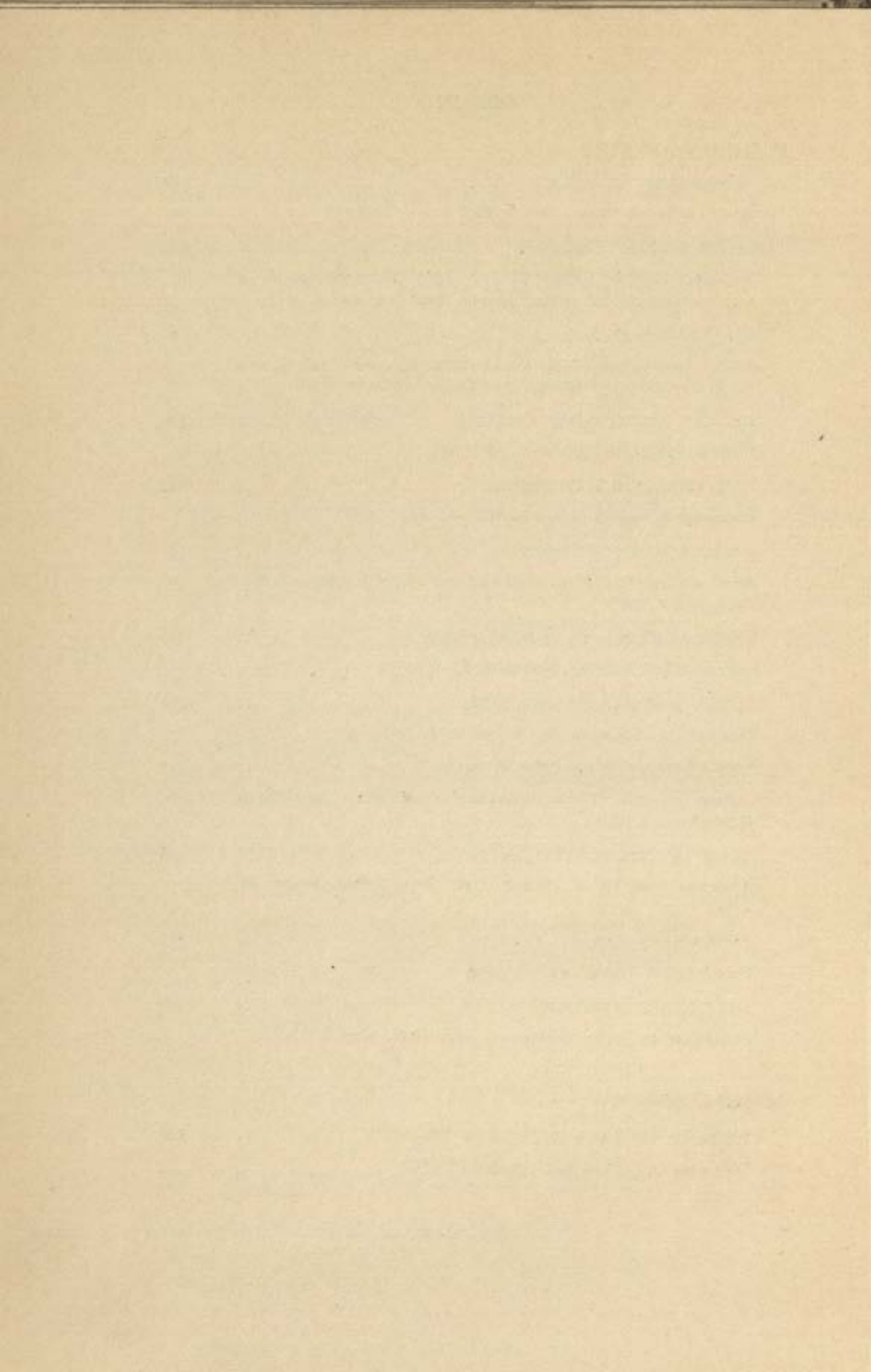
	PAGE
OUR POLICIES JUSTIFIED ..	75
Speech on the No-Confidence Motion against the Government, Lok Sabha, August 22, 1963	
GRASS ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY ..	94
Speech at the Ninth Meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government, New Delhi, September 6, 1963	
SOCIAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT ..	99
Speech at a Seminar on Social Welfare in a Developing Economy, New Delhi, September 22, 1963	
PLANNED DEVELOPMENT ..	108
Message to the Anniversary Number of ' <i>The Kurukshetra</i> ', New Delhi, October 1963	
AGRICULTURE—BASIS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ..	110
Speech at the National Development Council meeting, New Delhi, November 8, 1963	
ASIAN POPULATION CONFERENCE ..	116
Inaugural Speech at the First Asian Population Conference held in New Delhi from December 10 to 20, 1963	
A BASE FOR FUTURE PROGRESS ..	120
Reply to the Debate on Planning, Lok Sabha, December 11, 1963	
IRRIGATION AND POWER ..	137
Speech at the Conference of Ministers of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, January 3, 1964	

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

THE VALUE OF MUSEUMS ..	139
Speech on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone for the new building of the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, July 23, 1963	
EDUCATION AND SCIENCE ..	143
Speech while inaugurating a Conference of Scientists and Educationists, New Delhi, August 4, 1963	
EDUCATION—THE PRIME MOVER ..	149
Speech at the Education Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, November 10, 1963	
STUDY OF THE PAST ..	151
Speech at the International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, January 4, 1964	
CATCHING UP WITH GIRLS' EDUCATION ..	157
Speech at a Seminar on Gaps between Boys' and Girls' Education, New Delhi, January 4, 1964	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS	
INDO-PAKISTAN TALKS ..	159
Statement in Lok Sabha, May 7, 1963	
CHINA'S INTRANSIGENCE ..	160
Statement in Lok Sabha, May 7, 1963 and Statements at Press Conference, New Delhi, June 15, 1963	
AWAKENING IN AFRICA ..	166
Speech, proposing a Toast to the Prime Minister of Somali, at a dinner at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, August 12, 1963	
CHINA'S AGGRESSIVE POSTURE ..	170
Statement in Lok Sabha, August 16, 1963	
THE CHALLENGE OF CHINA ..	173
Statement in Rajya Sabha, September 2, 1963	
BACKGROUND OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ..	177
Reply to the debate on the international situation, Rajya Sabha, September 3, 1963	
INDIA ADHERES TO NON-ALIGNMENT ..	199
Statement in Lok Sabha, September 3, 1963	
DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM ..	200
Statement in Rajya Sabha, September 3, 1963	
THE OBJECTIVE OF ONE WORLD ..	201
Address at the World Federalists' Conference, New Delhi, September 4, 1963	
ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ..	206
Address at the United Nations Day, New Delhi, October 24, 1963	
CHINA-PAKISTAN COLLUSION ..	211
Speech in Lok Sabha, April 13, 1964	
LAST PRESS CONFERENCE ..	218
Statements at a Press Conference, New Delhi, May 22, 1964	
MISCELLANEOUS	
TRIBUTE TO LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY ..	229
Statement in Lok Sabha, November 25, 1963	



ONE NATION

THE SIXTEENTH YEAR

WE ARE AGAIN assembled here today on this auspicious occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of free India. Sixteen years ago today, we met here, below the Red Fort, and our National Flag fluttered here for the first time. We shall never forget that day when India attained freedom after a long and hard struggle and great suffering. We were kind of intoxicated with happiness and celebrated the day with fervour. We thought our days of toil were over and we would be able to build our country. But, very soon, the country was overtaken by a terrible calamity. In the wake of the partition of the country, there were riots in Pakistan and on this side of the border. These were ghastly events which shocked us and pained us. But we faced the situation and gradually brought it under control. Then came the assassination of Mahatmaji at the hands of an Indian. We could not have suffered a more rigorous sentence. Nevertheless, we asked ourselves what Gandhiji would have wanted us to do—would he want us to mourn and bewail or fight those evil forces and ideologies which could destroy the country. We faced them and triumphed over those forces.

A fresh wind began to blow again across the country and we decided to devote all our energies to build a new and prosperous India so that the people could move forward and strengthen the nation. Big plans were prepared which we have been implementing for the last 10 or 12 years. I believe, and I think you will agree with me, that the face of India has changed in these 10 or 12 years and is still changing. New cities have been built, thousands of new factories have been set up. Projects have been implemented and everywhere a measure of prosperity is discernible. No doubt, we are still very far from our goal. But these

English rendering of the Independence Day address, delivered in Hindi, Delhi, August 15, 1963

achievements cannot be denied. In recent years, our attention has, however, strayed from the fundamentals. We became complacent and felt that our freedom was secure and there was none who could threaten it. We had not yet grasped that freedom is not secure by itself. We did not realize that freedom calls for eternal vigilance, year in and year out, day in and day out. In the absence of vigilance, dangers arise. We had become standard-bearers of peace in the world and India was rightly regarded as a country which stood for peace. We still stand for peace. But weakness goes ill together with peace. Peace can be secured by strength and endeavour, not by complacency. That way alone can peace be secure in the world and our voice can be heard with respect.

All of a sudden, aggression was committed on our borders last year by a country which we had looked upon as a friend. This naturally shocked us and we had to pass through hardships and difficulties. This also had its good consequences, because we were shaken out of our complacency and once again a climate of preparedness and sacrifice was generated. I still remember how our people, the ordinary people, offered to the nation all their possessions, cash, gold and silver. Those who had the least gave the most. People forgot their mutual conflicts, put them aside and realized that their first duty was to face the danger to the freedom of the country. The spirit of unity manifested itself in the country, which proved that notwithstanding the apparent differences, there is an underlying unity which comes to surface at the right time.

Our morale was high. We strove to prepare for defence and to raise our strength, and the country did become strong. But popular enthusiasm is not enough in national preparedness. Preparing for the defence of the country means a thousand different activities to make the equipment and material which the defence forces need. Backing this all, are the countless farms of India which produce foodgrains and other foodstuff. Preparedness therefore means all-round effort, everyone in this place striving hard to produce to the limit of his capacity so that our economy is strengthened.

We have attended to these matters and some progress has been made and is still continuing.

But again the state of complacency is returning because the hostilities have ended. In place of the unity and harmony that were witnessed, the old controversies and conflicts which weaken the country have reappeared. Unfortunately, this is our old failing, reasserting itself when we are not face to face with danger. But we are facing continuous danger on our borders and it becomes our first task to defend the country against it. Other things can wait. Who will respect that country which cannot defend its independence and its territorial integrity? Such a nation is even powerless to make any progress. No doubt, at this moment the biggest task facing us is to raise the strength of the country, increase production and banish poverty so that everyone has an equal opportunity for progress, and the millions of our people and our children have a chance to lead a better life and to get the good things of life. But all this presupposes that we uphold our honour and make our freedom secure. Any slackening in this respect will leave the country disheartened, weak, powerless. A free country which wants to maintain its freedom gives top priority to its defences. Everything else comes afterwards. On this question there can be no argument, although there is scope for discussion. We have to speak with one voice. The unity of India, which is most vital to us, comes first—the unity which manifested itself last year and early this year but which we have been neglecting after the fighting stopped. It is unfortunate that again conflicting and dissenting voices have begun to be heard and small and big controversies have erupted.

Ours is a free country and everyone has a right to free discussion and criticism which one can freely exercise. But with rights go duties and obligations. Anyone who neglects his duties cannot protect his rights. The national duty today is to defend the country, to maintain unity and increase the nation's strength, irrespective of religion or State. Everybody has his rights but if we neglect this duty we weaken our claim to those rights. There are several

rights which cannot be fully operated today. All our citizens are entitled to a happy life, to be freed of the burden of poverty and to expect opportunities of progress for their children. We are marching towards that goal and we hope that the day will come when it will be achieved. The fact, however, remains that we are far from that goal and we can reach it only when we fulfil our duties.

When I say that the country is facing dangers on the borders, I am not suggesting that something is about to happen. Rather that this new situation that has arisen has created new dangers on our borders, which we appear to have forgotten. Of course, we have to station our troops and our Air Force to guard against this menace, but the Army or the Air Force alone cannot protect the country. Nowadays, the defence of the country requires all the people, men and women, to do something or the other in that cause. The defences have to be strengthened by the endeavour of the entire nation, by its unity and ability to work together, in farms and factories or wherever we happen to be. We should all prepare ourselves to meet the danger so that we could strengthen our country and thus strengthen the Army.

It is a strange world in which we live, a world which is changing. On the one hand, there is a danger of a world war in which nuclear weapons may be used. On the other hand, there are also some favourable trends. Recently a treaty was concluded in Moscow on nuclear tests by the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. We and other countries acceded to the treaty later. The agreement does not eliminate the danger of war but it shows a way to bring war and warlike tendencies under control and to ensure peace in the world. Seven or eight years ago, we had made this proposal in the United Nations, which it has now given the shape of a treaty in Moscow. We were the first to raise our voice for this kind of arrangement. We are, therefore, particularly happy that our proposal has been acted upon and hope that a move having been initiated, further progress will continue to be made and the world would be rid of the nuclear danger. Young men and women today face a life full of dangers as well as hopes. It

is a good thing that we live in such times because in a situation like this a nation can become strong and courageous. Soft living is not good for any nation because it weakens the people. I wish to congratulate the people, particularly the young men and women and the children, that they live in an age full of tests and trials more difficult than the examinations they have to take in schools and colleges. The tests in life are harder and bigger and no book can help us in facing them. To face these tests and trials and to emerge victorious, we need character, a stout heart and mind. As the years roll by and free India grows up, we have to grow in strength along with it and never permit ourselves to become complacent. We may have two, three or even a thousand different views, but so far as the unity of India and its security and prosperity are concerned, we have to speak with one voice. There is no scope for difference of opinion in this matter. We can argue about the approaches and methods, but whenever we take any action we should ask ourselves whether by that step we are serving India, strengthening its unity, helping in the defence of the country or weakening it. This should be our yardstick in whatever we do because often we are carried away in the heat of factional controversies and weaken the country. We should remember all this because the days to come will not be easy ones. However we look at the situation, we are going to face a difficult time.

After the attack on our borders, we were compelled to take certain measures which we did not like. The military expenditure had to be increased, more than double, and for has to go on for ever. Recently, when aggression was that taxes had to be levied and increased. Nobody likes taxes, neither the taxpayer nor the government. But when the country is in danger, those who are talking about their profits and not about the danger hardly serve the country. Money we can earn and spend, but the country committed, everywhere, whether in our Parliament or in the country at large, we rose to the occasion and despite the hardships, we faced it with firmness and dignity. No matter how much we have to suffer, even at the cost of our lives,

we have to face the danger of aggression so that India may live.

Now, we have to face all kinds of dangers, internal and external, and in so doing if we have to carry heavier burdens, we should be prepared to do so. When nations go to war, the people have to carry tremendous burdens and sometimes a country is laid waste. We are not facing such a war at the moment. Nobody knows what the future holds for us. But to avert such a war we have to be ever vigilant and we have to undergo hardships.

We have a reputation for being a peace-loving people. The fact that we are expanding our defence capacity and giving military training to our young men does not mean that we have given up our principles and policy of peace. We shall follow that policy in any situation and try to resolve disputes with other countries by peaceful means, if it is possible to do so. We do not like war which can bring ruin to the country and cause hardships to the people. But there could be no peace without honour, certainly not by submission to evil, out of fear. If the people are seized by fear, they weaken the country and tarnish its fair name. Thus, while we prepare with all our strength for the defence of the country, we shall tread the path of peace. Whenever we can solve any problem in the world, any issue concerning us, we shall always resort to a peaceful course, but not to the detriment of India's honour. To uphold that honour we shall prepare in full measure. This preparedness does not merely mean arms and armaments. It means that every man, woman and child in the country has to offer something, has to be ready to work with determination and in co-operation with others. Very few people in our country know how to march in step. Marching in step is not in itself a virtue but it stands for working together. An army is strong because the soldiers work together, march in step. They are disciplined and follow rules. We have to teach to our countrymen discipline, the outlook of a soldier.

It would be a good thing for our future if we prepare ourselves in this manner and when we are out of the present danger, we would be a strong country with courage and

confidence in ourselves. Then we would be able to march on the road to prosperity with ease. Nations become great by self-confidence, not by relying on others. You can be friends with others, but you have to rely on yourselves. There can be co-operation with others, but you have to do your own thinking and work with your own hands. Any country which forgets this and is frightened and loses self-confidence begins to decline, faces ruin and lowers itself. What greater indignity can there be for India than that fear should grip us and we lose confidence in ourselves? Whatever work is there, it is we who have to do it, although we have friends in the world and we have to maintain that friendship and take their help. The big countries in the world have helped us and we are grateful for that, not only for the help but for their sympathy. We have to march ahead towards our goal on the path we have chosen for ourselves, and we shall attain that goal. We have to remember this principle and ensure the progress of the country. Relying on ourselves and with the help of friends, we have to solve our economic problems, and so change our country that it would be able to stand on its legs.

I particularly want that the millions of our children have an opportunity for growth, for education and to serve the country and to serve themselves. Let us build an India in which these opportunities are available and there are no differences of high and low. This is our vision of India. Of course, the Planning Commission and other offices of Government are working for this purpose, but as you know the Government and the Planning Commission can only show the way. The work has to be done by millions of our people. If they cannot do it, neither the Planning Commission nor the Government can achieve anything. Whether it is defence or development, it is the people who have to carry out the work, not those sitting in offices. Our task is to awaken the 450 million people of India and to show the path. It is for them to march along that road and reap the benefit. Whatever happened on our border this year was, I think, all to the good because it will strengthen and fortify us. It would prepare the country for progress,

provided we do not lose heart. Our people have never trodden the path of cowardice.

I again congratulate you on the 16th anniversary of our freedom and hope that you will remember the day. Free India is still a child, for what are sixteen years in the life of a country? Of course, ours is an ancient country. I hope it makes progress, becomes strong and holds its head high in the world. Let us remember these things, particularly the fact that we are all brethren in this country; wherever we live, and whatever our religion, we have to work together. Whoever forgets this fact does not serve the country well.

FACING THE MENACE TO FREEDOM

TOMORROW YOU WILL meet in towns and villages in India to celebrate the National Solidarity Day, and to take a pledge reaffirming the solemn resolve of our people to preserve the freedom and integrity of the motherland however hard and long the struggle, and however great the sacrifices. We shall pledge ourselves to work with determination for the strength and solidarity of the nation.

Why have we chosen this day, the 20th October, for taking this pledge specially? Why, indeed, should we have to take a pledge of solidarity? Solidarity is a natural thing which the people of every nation must possess because the whole concept of a nation is that the people hold together, that the people have many common features, that the people attain freedom and retain it, and the people realize that in the freedom of the nation and in the progress of the nation lies their progress and advancement; and if anything ill happens to the nation, that is an ill to them all. If in a country there is no proper solidarity among its people, that country is doomed. It will go to pieces. It cannot fight the many dangers that beset it.

Broadcast to the nation on the eve of the National Solidarity Day, New Delhi, October 19, 1963

We have chosen this day tomorrow, not because it is a day which we celebrate with rejoicing for our successes. It is easy to celebrate successes; but tomorrow is the anniversary of a day which brought sorrow and pain to us, which brought setbacks to us and which led to the death of many of our brave Jawans and to the capture of many others.

Why, then, do we celebrate this day? I think it is right that we celebrate it because it is fitting to take lessons from our failures and from our weaknesses, so that people can convert those weaknesses into strength. Ever since this sad experience of last year, we are trying to build up our strength, our military strength. The strength of a nation lies in its mind and heart, in its firm determination to face all dangers and to preserve the freedom and integrity of the nation.

Who was the bravest man that India has produced in our times? Mahatma Gandhi was by far the bravest man whom I have ever met. He was not a man who used arms or one who suppressed others; but he was invincible in the strength of his mind and believed that nobody could suppress him or buy his soul for anything. Now, we are not wholly following Gandhiji's way, because we are compelled to rely on arms—armies, air force and navy.

That is because conditions today in India require us to do so. Unless we did that, we would become weak, we would become cowardly and we would betray our nation. But the fact remains that whether you take to arms or not, the real courage lies in unity and solidarity, strength of will and strength of heart. And even the fight with arms has to be supported by the work, courage and unity of the nation.

If a country is united, if there is solidarity among the people, then no amount of arms can conquer it.

So, while we prepare for strengthening our army and air force, all of us must always remember that real strength will come from the unity of the country and from the hard work that we put in. We possess, I think, that basic solidarity in our people. We saw that at the moment of danger last year. When the Chinese invaded our country, suddenly the people

rose to the occasion and pledged themselves to meet this menace with all their might.

That was a heartening sight, but sometime later when the immediate danger seemed to have passed, when there was no actual fighting going on, many of our people relapsed into complacency and started forgetting the menace and the dangers, although they were still there. They lost themselves in mutual squabbles, complaints, slogans and the like. That shows that although we are basically united and there is something in us which makes us rise when danger threatens us, we soften and go back to our petty thoughts and conflicts when the threat does not appear to be so obvious.

We have the Chinese menace before us. Even before this menace occurred, we had, and continue to have, the real menace of poverty. We have to fight that as stoutly and as bravely as we fight any enemy who invades our country. We can build our nation only when we build our people and make them happy and contented.

Therefore, this habit of ours to slacken when no immediate danger threatens us, is bad. We must get over it. We talk of solidarity and unity, and yet we know that in our country, behind this certain feeling of solidarity and unity, there are many forces which are fissiparous and which interested people use for separating us. It is unfortunate that some people forget the essential unity of the country by encouraging these forces.

Sometimes religion is employed in this behalf; sometimes caste, sometimes language; sometimes there is conflict between States and so on.

We are a great country, a country with enormous variety, a variety that is good. There is no reason why we should be regimented and be made to look like one person. We should keep the variety, but that variety is only good when we are united and there is an essential unity behind it.

I am not asking you to forget this rich variety, but I am asking you to remember that this variety itself, along with everything that we value, will go if we do not remember that unity is essential. That unity is not a superficial unity

on the map or of some Constitution, but the unity of heart and mind, which makes us feel like a large family, which has to be defended, which has to be worked for and which will lead us to co-operate with one another.

You know that we have stood for peace in the past, and we became known all over the world as a nation pledged to peace. We still have not given up our ideal of peace and we want peaceful settlement of disputes.

We should like peaceful settlement even of the dispute with China, provided it is in consonance with our integrity and honour, because if we forget our freedom and our integrity and our honour, then, indeed, it will not become a settlement; it would be a shameful and disgraceful surrender, which can bring no good to the country.

So, while we stand for peace as we have done, we also prepare for any challenge to us, to meet it adequately, to preserve our freedom and the integrity of our country.

Therefore, I hope that tomorrow we shall take this resolve firmly and we shall remember that this means not merely bravery on the battlefield, but the courage to do the right thing in our homes, in our towns and in our relations with one another. We have to show that we are full of the spirit of co-operation and solidarity and that we belong to a country which will not tolerate any disorder. We have to stand up to resist any invader who challenges us.

It is that spirit which must be with us always and if we possess that spirit, we shall not only become strong but we shall also become prosperous. Out of this co-operation will grow much that will benefit our country and our people.

TOLERANCE AND COMMUNAL HARMONY

WE HAVE MANY difficult problems to face. There is the menace of China and Pakistan. There is the tremendous influx of refugees from East Pakistan and the duty to look

after them and rehabilitate them. There is the problem of rising prices which affects all our people.

But I am speaking to you today about something which is more important than anything else. This is the communal disharmony which has resulted in many deaths in East Pakistan and in India and has created bitterness and fear amongst various communities. This feeling is fatal for all of us and, unless stopped completely, will lead to most dangerous consequences.

This communal trouble is entirely opposed to our policy and to our future, and I do appeal to you to fight it and to put an end to it.

India is a country of many communities and unless we can live in harmony with each other, respecting each other's beliefs and habits, we cannot build up a great and united nation.

Ever since the distant past, it has been the proud privilege of the people of India to live in harmony with one another. That has been the basis of India's culture. Long ago, the Buddha taught us this lesson. From the days of Asoka, 2,300 years ago, this aspect of our thought has been repeatedly declared and practised. In our own day, Mahatma Gandhi laid great stress on it and indeed lost his life because he laid great stress on communal goodwill and harmony. We have, therefore, a precious heritage to keep up, and we cannot allow ourselves to act contrary to it.

Pakistan came into existence on the basis of hatred and intolerance. We must not allow ourselves to react to this in the same way. That surely will be a defeat for us. We have to live up to our immemorial culture and try to win over those who are opposed to us. To compete with each other in hatred and barbarity is to sink below the human level and tarnish the name of our country and our people. One evil deed leads to another. Thus evil grows. That is not the way to stop these inhuman deeds. If we can behave with tolerance and friendship to each other, that surely will have its effect elsewhere. If not, this vicious circle will go on bringing sorrow and disaster to all of us and to others.

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should

realize our duty to all our countrymen, whoever they might be. We must always remember that every Indian, to whatever religion he might belong, is a brother and must be treated as such.

A few days ago, I wrote to President Ayub Khan of Pakistan appealing to him against these inhumanities that were taking place and suggesting that our Home Ministers might meet soon to curb these. Today, I received a reply from President Ayub Khan in which he has entirely agreed with my proposal. I hope that soon a meeting of the Home Ministers will take place, probably in Delhi, to consider this vital problem and what steps we should take to meet it. I hope that that will have a salutary effect on our people.

But it is not so much Home Ministers and others in authority who can put an end to this unhappy business. It is the people themselves who have to act rightly and speedily and thus promote an atmosphere of friendship and harmony between different religious groups and not allow their anger and bitterness to grow. I appeal, therefore, to all my countrymen to put an end to this inhuman behaviour. I would specially appeal to our friends and countrymen, the Adivasis in Bihar and Orissa, who have been agitated greatly by the stories they have heard. I hope that they will check themselves and try to create an atmosphere of goodwill and friendship for those of our countrymen who are Muslims. Our great public enterprises are suffering because of this communal trouble, and the whole of India's future is bound up with this.

I earnestly trust that our efforts will be directed towards creating communal harmony and that all our people and especially our newspapers will appreciate the grave dangers that are caused by communal conflict and disharmony. Let us all be careful in what we say or write lest it might create fear and conflict. Let us put ourselves together and create an atmosphere of co-operation and work for the advancement of India and of all those who live here as her sons. Thus only can we serve our motherland and help in making her great, united and strong.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

DIALOGUE BETWEEN INDIAN LANGUAGES

I SHOULD LIKE to congratulate all the award winners. You will notice that some awards in some languages have not been given because no recent outstanding work in these languages came up for our notice. But I think you will find that during the last eight years or more since this Akademi was founded, and even before that, ever since independence specially, there came about a remarkable growth in the Indian languages, both in quality and quantity. And that is a good sign. Sahitya Akademi deals with all the languages of India and tries to encourage them and to bring about, as much as possible, not exactly a synthesis, but a mutual understanding and comprehension of them through translations from one language to another.

Many of our languages have been long in existence, and they have a distinguished past. Many of them have remarkable books, written hundreds of years ago, and have exerted a great deal of influence on our people. They are not new languages. At the same time, learned people thought in those days that they would show their ability in Sanskrit and, later, in Persian. So, our languages, although they were old and rich, found it difficult to grow.

The Indian languages really started to grow afresh about a hundred or 120 years ago. That period coincided with the introduction of printing in India and it was influenced naturally by ideas which had come to India mostly through the English language, and other languages, too. The modern literature in these languages is naturally much influenced by the modern world, and that is as it should be. Therefore, we find some interesting aspects of this question. During the period of the British rule when English was more or less the official language of India, English affected the Indian languages in a different way, by

indirectly encouraging them to come into contact with the new world. Therefore, modern ideas, modern concepts, began to enrich our languages through English, and because of our knowledge of English, our languages also grew. I have no doubt they will continue to grow. Even now they are strong and very effective languages and a large number of books of merit are being published. To think that a language is crushed or suppressed by another language is not quite correct. It is also enriched by another language. Our languages will be enriched the more they get into touch with one another and it is Sahitya Akademi's function to get them into touch with one another and, to some extent, with foreign languages too, through translations of foreign classics into our own languages. Therefore, it is important that our writers should keep in touch with world ideas directly through other languages, or through translations.

A new development in language, perhaps, is taking place in foreign countries. We live in a scientific and technological age and more and more science is written in symbols. You will find that a mathematical treatise consists of about 75 per cent symbols. So, a new language of symbols is developing. These symbols can be used in any language. It is interesting to see these developments, with, I suppose, all the literary styles flourishing in their variety and also giving place to a symbolic language, common for all the languages. This development is interesting because it represents more and more the spirit of these scientific and technological times.

I think that the Sahitya Akademi has done fairly good work in encouraging our languages and eminent writers in them, and in bringing them nearer to one another and thereby contributing not only to the variety of India but also to its essential unity. Both the variety and the unity are essential. Persons who think that unity can be maintained by suppressing variety are, I think, completely wrong. On the other hand, mere variety means separateness and break-up of the unity, which is fatal even for the diverse aspects of India.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

WHEN THE BILL was introduced, and we started the course of discussion, we saw a most extraordinary, disgusting and disgraceful spectacle in this House. It was a bad beginning. You were pleased to take some action in regard to that matter. I do not know, but I hope that it has had some effect on those who misbehaved on that occasion. If they had really thought about the matter they would have seen that they had done more injury to the cause of Hindi than any man in the whole of India. Now, if this is the logic on which some Hon. Members act, it is a little difficult to meet their arguments which are as wide off the mark as their behaviour.

Yesterday, one Hon. Member who did not come here behaved in a rather extraordinary manner in the precincts of this House. I do not know if that gentleman has the least conception of what Parliament is, what democracy is, and how one is supposed to behave or ought to behave.

That, I submit, raises more basic questions than even the question of language. Therefore, I am referring to it because language, after all, does represent some of the deepest urges of human beings and is the vehicle of all our business. I am perfectly free to say that I will prefer any language, whether Finnish, Swedish or anything, but I am not prepared to see this behaviour in the name of language which spoils democracy.

As I said, many of the speeches delivered yesterday—some I had the privilege to listen to and some I read subsequently—seemed to me, having regard to the importance of the problems, on the whole, in line with parliamentary practice and procedure and were good for all to listen to, even though we may not have agreed with all the views.

I refer to speeches like those delivered by Prof. Mukerjee or Dr. Govind Das. With much of what Dr. Govind Das said—and indeed part of his speech consisted of quotations

Speech while intervening in the debate in Lok Sabha on the Official Languages Bill, April 24, 1963

from various persons, including quotations from me—I thoroughly agree. I agree, too, with the conclusion that he has arrived at. Whatever he said, he said because he felt it and I welcome his saying it.

I am sorry I cannot say exactly the same thing about the Hon. Member, Mr. Anthony's speech, which I read in full afterwards. I am not referring to his views. But it was an unhappy speech and as he himself said in the course of his speech, he represented a rather extreme—I think he used the word 'bigoted'—point of view. That is not the way to consider this question. I shall venture to deal with one or two points that have been raised. In spite of the heat engendered in the debate, there are not really many points raised. It is not a contest between English and Hindi. It would be wrong to look at the Languages Bill that way.

This is a Bill in continuation of what has happened in the past, to remove a restriction which had been placed by the Constitution on the use of English after a certain date, *i.e.*, 1965. It is just to remove that restriction that this Bill has been placed on the Floor of the House. It does not do really much more than carry out an assurance given in this House. There are a few other little things to consider, but the main thing is to remove that restriction.

It was our intention to bring this Bill in during the last session, but the last session was tied up with many things with regard to the emergency. It was a short session and we could not do it for lack of time. We were accused then of deliberately postponing it by the very persons who want us to postpone it today. I am sorry I do not understand the logic behind this demand.

Now, the Hon. Member, Mr. Anthony, has said very hard things about various persons and about the assurance I gave. I am sorry I am entirely unable to understand what he said about my going back on any assurance I gave at any time. He talked about all kinds of pressures being exercised on me. I do not know who is exercising it. I am not aware of it, and I have not succumbed to any pressure either exercised or implied.

I had given on the last occasion an assurance about no

major change being made in regard to the use of English without the consent or approval of the non-Hindi-speaking people. That was made by me and that represents not only my viewpoint but the viewpoint of our Government. It was clear to me that it was given largely with the approval of this House. We stand by that completely. Apart from what I may have said or not said, there are circumstances in the country which inevitably point to that direction. Maybe, some of these gentlemen who perform 'havans' and what-not on this question may think otherwise. That is a different matter. Maybe, Mr. Anthony in his excitement may also think otherwise. I would strongly recommend Mr. Anthony to develop close contacts with the gentleman who is performing the 'havan' outside and, perhaps. . .

MR. FRANK ANTHONY: Sir, I rise on a point of explanation. May I know—I am not questioning the motives of the Prime Minister—how the Bill reflects his assurance? How are the non-Hindi-speaking people going to be consulted? How is "may" going to be prevented from being interpreted as "may not"?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I shall deal with those points. I do not see how this Bill could say anything about consultation with non-Hindi-speaking people.

MR. FRANK ANTHONY: Why not?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I say, according to my thinking, it is quite absurd and unconstitutional.

MR. FRANK ANTHONY: Why is it unconstitutional? Give us some reasons. I am a lawyer and the Prime Minister also is.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The assurance has nothing to do with the Bill or the Act being passed in this Parliament. It seems to be absurd, on the face of it, to limit the power of Parliament, limit the power of Assemblies and other bodies in that way. It is an assurance which has to be given effect to in other ways.

The Government can see to it that nothing is done against that assurance or, when the time comes, consult the State Legislatures also; this I can understand. But for this House to give an assurance that a future legislation would

have to be passed by only one-half, maybe two-thirds, or whatever the figure is, and that others should not have a voice, seems to be quite extraordinary.

As for the words "may" and "shall"—I would again say that when people get excited they do not see that the word "may" is the most ordinary word, always used in this connection in the English language. I do not pretend to know more English than Mr. Anthony. But the question is one of removing a restriction, a restriction which would have prevented the English language from being used after a certain date. For removing this restriction, we say that this "may" be used afterwards. It is quite absurd to say that the word "may" means also "may not".

MR. FRANK ANTHONY: Why absurd? That is the natural meaning.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I disagree with the Hon. Member in this context. I say it is not the natural meaning in this context. The dictionary meaning may or may not be so but, in this context, it simply means that the barrier is removed and I challenge anybody to prove that this Bill does not remove that limitation and barrier. That is the main purpose of this Bill.

Now, let us consider this matter with some objectivity and calmness. I realize it is very difficult to do so when people get excited about it.

It may be because of my upbringing, but I am rather partial to English. I think English is a fine language, just as other languages are very fine, too. Nevertheless, I have been convinced for a long time, and I am convinced today, that any real awakening of the people cannot take place through the English language. It is patent to me, not today, but has been so for the last 40 or 50 years, ever since I have been engaged in public work in this country.

The House will remember, at least many of the Hon. Members who have participated in it will remember, the tremendous difference it made in our public work when we gave up frock coat, top hat and English language in our approach to the people.

Previously, we used to talk in the English language

even in our Congress sessions and other meetings, but we could not reach the people. It does not seem to be an arguable point that a country can preserve not only its individuality but develop the sense of the masses only through languages which have deep roots in their minds and hearts. Therefore, from that time onwards, I have believed that it is through the languages of India alone that we could reach the people. That does not mean that we should discard English because I think it is a very important language and English is likely to remain in India for a long, long time. I do not know exactly what form it will take, but the mere fact of its being there will serve as a vitalizer to our languages, though this may seem a curious argument.

Our languages are fine languages. They are old languages. Most of them, certainly the big languages—Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and the southern languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam—are great languages from any point of view. They have produced great books which are rooted in the minds of the people. There is no doubt about that. So far as Tamil is concerned, if I may say so, it is as old as Sanskrit, and all our languages, northern languages, apart from the four southern languages, are daughters of Sanskrit and have grown out of Sanskrit.

The other languages also, to some extent, have grown from that root and have been closely associated and affected by Sanskrit. In fact, one may say with confidence that Sanskrit has represented broadly all the thought, culture and traditions of India. I do not say exclusively, but broadly it may be said so. I am an admirer of Sanskrit; not that I know very much of Sanskrit, but I admire it greatly. I think that it would be a great pity if Sanskrit became a completely dead language in India at any time. That would do great damage to all that we stand for in India.

Unfortunately, we cannot make Sanskrit the working language of India today. That is obvious. I should like to encourage the learning of Sanskrit as widely as possible, but it cannot become the language of the common people. It ceased to be a language of the common people 2,000

years ago when Prakrits came in. It remained a language of the learned and gradually Prakrits developed. But Sanskrit gives a certain basis and foundation for our present day languages, still strengthens them, gives them depth and so on. We should cherish it.

If we had only two or three languages, I would have suggested that all of them should be national languages in the sense that all the three should be used. They use three languages in Switzerland, and more than one language in Finland and Canada. In Finland, about 10 per cent of the population is Swedish but Swedish is also a national language, in addition to Finnish.

In these matters of language, one has to be very careful. One has to be as liberal as possible and not try to suppress a language. We should not try to coerce anybody into using a language, as far as possible. Whenever an attempt has been made to suppress a popular language or coerce the people into using some other language, there has been trouble. There have been innumerable examples of this.

Since it is impossible for everyone of us to know the thirteen or fourteen languages mentioned in our Constitution and use them daily, the makers of our Constitution were wise in laying down that all these languages were to be languages of equal status. There is no question of any one language being more a national language than another. I want to make that perfectly clear. Bengali or Tamil is as much an Indian national language as Hindi. Therefore, it becomes our duty to encourage all the languages.

Having admitted that, may I differ completely from the remarks that many Hon. Members have made here? The Hon. Member who spoke last said, and repeated it many times, that Hindi is not being allowed to grow, or not encouraged etc. I entirely disagree with that.

I think Hindi has grown very much in the last 15 years. Not only Hindi but all our Indian languages have grown more in the last fifteen years than any language anywhere in the world in this period. It is a big thing. I say this with some knowledge and confidence because I happen to be the President of the Sahitya Akademi which deals with

an emotional response. I would go so far as to say that I am all for English being used for higher, scientific and technological studies. But, I think, even to spread the knowledge of science in our schools, we must teach it widely through the national languages. Otherwise, you will inevitably limit people's appreciation or understanding of it. It will not spread. In the higher stages and in research work etc., foreign language comes in; not one language only, but many languages.

MRS. RENU CHAKRAVARTY: The Vice-Chancellors do not agree. That is the trouble.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: They have agreed.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Let us not look at it from the point of view of Hindi versus English or English versus Hindi. That is a wrong point of view. We have to use each in its proper sphere. In the sphere of national language, only national languages have any place. All the fourteen national languages have a place. There is no doubt about that. You cannot speak of English in that connection. You can speak of English in other connections. You can say, as I do say, that English should be a compulsory second language in the schools, a foreign language that must be studied. That is a different matter. We might say that English should be used for foreign contacts, and for scientific and technological work of a higher grade and all that. That is all right. But English cannot be, we must admit, a language which rouses the understanding or emotion of the common people in India. These must be the languages of India, whether it is Tamil, Hindi, Bengali or Marathi.

Language is something bigger than offices and clerks. I shall give you an example. Take Urdu. I think it may broadly be said that no great encouragement has been given to Urdu and yet, such is the vitality of this language that today Urdu is growing faster than many other national languages of India. If you judge it from the number of literary books that are published—that is a good test—it is extraordinary how fast Urdu has grown. This is because Urdu is a dynamic language.

I think that if Hindi is really to grow very fast, it

should ally itself with Urdu, ally itself in the sense of vocabulary, etc. It will get vitality from Urdu while retaining its own genius and nature. Urdu is vital. I shall tell you why. It has a strange capacity for adaptation and drawing from other languages. Urdu has drawn more from English than Hindi, strictly speaking. Urdu has drawn from Persian, from Arabic and from the Turkish language. I do not mean to say that you should adapt from Arabic or Turkish in Hindi. That is not my point. It is this adaptability that makes a language strong. The other attitude weakens it.

The tendency, which unfortunately has been in evidence in India for some time, of living in a narrow linguistic circle and coining words from ancient Sanskrit or Pali does not help. Because these words which you have coined have no reality behind them, have no emotion, have no history. It will become impossible for you to really translate from one language to another. You cannot translate all the historic connections of that word—where it has been used, how it has been used, etc. That is so in regard to the best of all languages. You may translate, of course, simple words like 'chair' or 'table'. But, as soon as you get a slightly more complicated idea, you cannot translate it with coined words.

Of course, as regards translating into or from Chinese, it is almost an utter impossibility to do it. Because the whole background of the Chinese language is quite different. It is not even an alphabetical language. It is a picture language. That apart, we do not have to face that difficulty in translating from Hindi to English or any other European languages because the basic stock is the same, historical development, etc. Yet, it is extremely difficult to translate from one language to another. I am amazed at the rapidity with which our journalists translate, seldom correctly, but, they do translate.

We have to develop our regional languages. There is no doubt about that. I am talking, for the moment, of Hindi as a regional language only. We have to do everything to help them grow. I have no doubt that we will do more

and more of our work in education, administration, etc., in the regional languages.

The real difficulty arises in the next stage. What is the link connecting these regional languages? That is the point we are dealing with. Thus far, the link has been English. In fact, work has been done not in the regional languages but in English even in the regions. What are we to do now? That is not a question of your choice or mine.

We all know that standards of the English language are going down in India. This is not because of conflict between Hindi and English but because of the conflict between the rising regional languages and English. English standards are going down and may further go down. But I think English would be more widely known in India in the future than now; though it will not be known for better quality. Individuals apart, hereafter you won't have people as we have had in the past, who took so much pride in their command of English. As Shri H. N. Mukerjee said, we have had a fixation about English and we still have it to a large extent. There is no doubt that there is a certain vested interest created in the knowledge of English. It is a bad thing to have a fixation or a vested interest. That automatically separates us from those who do not know English.

We know what the position was before Independence. In this country of castes, the most hardened caste was the caste of the English-knowing, English-mannered people. A terrible caste! All our administrators and others, and many of us too, belong to that caste. It is a bad thing because it puts tremendous barriers between us and the mass of the people. So, many of us gave it up. I do not attach much importance to clothing. But, it is important because it can create or remove barriers. We took to wearing clothes which were more in keeping with the traditions of the Indian people. That brought us nearer to them.

It is quite clear that if I were to go in European clothes to a village, I would be further removed from them than otherwise. As it is, I am far enough from them in many ways. If I go and speak to them in English, I can satisfy

myself ; I won't satisfy anybody else. That is patent. We have to remove these barriers that have come between us and our people. The great success of Gandhiji's movement was that he removed many of these barriers. That process has not stopped. It follows logically that we can progress only through our national languages. National languages mean all the languages mentioned in the Schedule of the Constitution. We cannot, I must add, suppress any of them; we cannot impose any of them on others. Both these things are true because not only is imposition resisted, but such imposition is also harmful to the thing being imposed.

The growth of India in the sense of a common language can only take place by co-operation among the languages and not by conflict among them. They are near enough to one another. It is relatively easy to translate from one Indian language to another because the ideas behind them are much the same and the language is not so terribly difficult.

So, we have to take all the languages together. The only question that remains is that of a link language between them. Hindi has been suggested by our Constitution as the link language for Central and official purposes. Remember the words "Central and official purposes."

It is clear that if we do not think of English as a link language for any length of time, inevitably we have to consider Hindi, not because Hindi is superior to Bengali or Marathi or Tamil. Of course, it is not. In some respects, they may be better, and in some matters, not. We have to consider Hindi for the simple reason that it is most feasible for the purpose of a link language, apart from its being widespread. It is also spreading.

If I may say so, all the steps that my Hon. friend the Education Minister may take in regard to the spread of Hindi do not go as far as the influence that cinema has had on the spread of Hindi. Any order that in a particular office Hindi must be used from tomorrow—I have no objection to that—would not spread Hindi. And yet, we can envisage a link language which is Hindi and no other, if it is not to be English. We cannot have English in any such sense for a long time.

I said some time ago that I want English to continue here for many purposes. I hope it will continue and, to some extent, it may even be a link language between thinkers and authors, but the normal link language cannot be English.

To repeat, of all the Indian languages, only Hindi is feasible as a link language. That is the only claim that I make for it. It was because of this that our Constituent Assembly wisely decided that Hindi should be the official language for Central purposes.

It is claimed that Hindi might have become a link language if the Government had encouraged it enough. There may be some justification for this remark. But I think that most people will agree with me when I say that at the present moment Hindi cannot take up all this work of administration. I do not, therefore, think that there is much truth in the criticism that the Government has not helped its growth. The reasons (for Hindi not growing faster) are far deeper than Government help or lack of help.

People seem to think that a language is a thing which grows or spreads by some magic. It is a much deeper thing than that. It becomes still more difficult especially when there is a rub between one language group and another. You have to proceed very cautiously. It is not a question of producing dictionaries, although dictionaries have to be produced and have been produced. It is something much bigger than that.

A language must be able to promote thinking habits in the subject with which it is concerned. You can write simple books and make translations of technical books as they are indeed made; but the moment you go a little beyond that, your translations tend to be stilted. The words used have no history behind them. European languages have a tremendous history which is contemporaneous with the growth of science and technology. Each word has come out of this historical growth. If you translate it quickly into some word of your own which has had no previous history, no previous life in it, it becomes a stilted word.

That is why it has been suggested and, I think, accepted

that all scientific and technical terms should be as far as possible in line with international usage, not only in Hindi but in all the languages of India. If all the languages of India adopt scientific and technical words in conformity with international usage, you succeed in two things: first of all, you bring the languages of India closer to each other. Secondly, you keep contacts with the thought of the world in regard to technical and scientific matters. They are both important. And it becomes easy for you to learn another language for scientific work etc. All this is happening daily. And to say that Hindi has not progressed merely shows an utter ignorance of the subject.

India is a multilingual country. Although it is multilingual, the languages are closely allied and, therefore, they are not foreign to each other. That is, we can skip from one to another with relative ease, and we should try to do so. We have suggested the three-language formula. A large number of people should know some Indian languages, apart from English and their own language. As this endeavour grows, you will find them coming closer together and the gaps which exist today between Indian languages will lessen. But, inevitably, those languages must grow in their own regions. That should be encouraged.

The question of the link language remains, and basically there can be no other link language than Hindi. But merely saying so or putting it down in the Constitution does not make it the link language. It has to grow into a link language. It is not sufficiently adapted today for various reasons, but it is getting rapidly adapted. Let us encourage that process. While that process is being encouraged, it becomes necessary and almost inevitable for English to continue to be a link language.

The process of change-over cannot be such a sudden thing that you fix a date for it and say that thereafter English ceases and Hindi comes in. It is a gradual process of both being link languages, and Hindi gradually getting better known and better used. That is the process I see.

In this gradual transformation, dates have very little significance except to see whether we are going along the

right lines or not. It is important that we should give a certain direction to our movements.

From that point of view, it becomes quite inevitable, according to me, apart from the assurances I may have given, that English has to continue as an associate language or an additional language or call it what you like. These words have no particular meaning. The door should remain open. As a matter of fact, it is the circumstances prevailing in the country that will compel you to use it. If you try to suppress the use of English, undoubtedly, you create not only a hiatus and a gap but stop progress in many directions because that progress cannot be achieved at the present moment entirely through Hindi.

Therefore, the whole object of this Bill is to remove that barrier of date which was put by the Constitution, and to allow things, as they are, to continue. For how long they will continue is a matter which I cannot precisely and definitely say. But I do think we should get rid, not of English which, I think, is very good and useful, but of the fixation of the English language in our minds.

There is one thing more. I think the Home Minister said or may say later that whenever that Committee, which is envisaged in this Bill, is constituted and reports, that report should be sent to all the State Governments for their views so that there is no question of rushing or imposing a decision.

The more you try to impose, the more obstructions you meet with. A question like this can only be dealt with by a large measure of consent and consultation.

The purpose of the assurance that I gave, and which I hold today, was that no change of this kind will be effected in English or Hindi without the full approval of the non-Hindi speaking people. I wanted to remove any apprehension that possibly by a majority in Parliament or elsewhere, we would make changes which are not approved by them. As a matter of fact, such a thing cannot be done, apart from my assurance, because it will raise such difficulties that no government would conceivably want to do it that way.

In Pondicherry, we are encouraging the French

language. We are trying to have a University there with French. I do not know if the majority of the people in Pondicherry know much French. Nevertheless, because French is a valuable language and we want to take advantage of the knowledge of French there, we want to encourage its study there. We want these to be windows of India on the outside world.

A little while ago I mentioned Urdu. I feel rather particularly strong about Urdu. For long, the House may remember, there was a conflict between so-called Urdu and so-called Hindi in Uttar Pradesh etc. A more foolish controversy in the linguistic sense I have been unable to think of, because protagonists on neither side did much to progress their language but they wanted to pull down the other. The result was injury all round and little progress.

Urdu itself is an amalgam, a synthesis of various languages; it is about 75-80 per cent Hindi and about 25 per cent of the words come from other languages, maybe Persian, Arabic and Turkish. It is quite clear that when two languages come together, they strengthen each other. The idea of pulling down a language and thinking that your language will profit by it is utterly wrong.

Gandhiji laid stress on relatively simple language, and a language which is understood by most people and which is, to some extent, an amalgam of Hindi and Urdu, as far as possible, retaining the basis of Hindi. The moment you stop words coming in, you stop the progress of the language.

I should like the House to consider the language issue not only in the limited sense in which we have been arguing it, but in the broader sense, in the wider context. We are passing through a difficult and delicate period of transition in many ways, and it requires wisdom and a capacity for flexibility in order to meet the demands of the times. Rigidity stops growth. The main question is of India's growth in every way, materially, intellectually and spiritually. We must view every step that we take from the point of that major question. How will it profit us if we honour Hindi and put it in a closed chamber? This will prevent not only its growth, but the nation's growth. The growth

of our languages is essentially tied up with the growth of the nation. Both help each other. We must, therefore, look upon this question in this wider context and see to it that we advance all along the line to reach the great goal that we have in view.

FUTURE OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

I CONFESS THAT I did not know much about this Institute till I heard the Director tell me about the various aspects of the work being done here. I knew, of course, that this Institute was meant to train teachers and others in the English language so that they could themselves train others.

It is obvious that if we have to learn English, it is desirable to learn it fairly well. We have arrived at a stage when people talk about there being a Punjabi-English, Bengali-English, Madras-English and so forth. Every part of India seems to have its own brand of English—the way of pronunciation etc. making the difference. It is undoubtedly so. I have met people coming from England or America being unable to understand the eloquence in English of some Indians who speak it with greater rapidity than any Englishman can manage.

Dr. Dastoor said something about this teaching of English being above the dust and turmoil of politics. Well, that is exactly what it is not in this country, but should be so. The English language should not have anything to do with politics as such, but, unfortunately, the whole language question has got itself entangled in political issues. If you analyse it, going a little deeper into this controversy, those who object to English are those who have reacted strongly to the domination of the English people on India for the last many generations. The fact is that with many of those who learnt English it became a kind of fixation that the

English language was a symbol of status. A man who knew very indifferent English somehow thought himself a better scholar than one who had studied our own languages. That fixation was obviously most improper and most objectionable. It has to be got rid of. I am not quite sure if you have still got rid of this feeling. This has nothing to do with our liking for English, considering that it is a very desirable language to learn.

If we consider the English language like any other language, on its merits, then our attitude to it will become objective and our reactions to it will not be coloured by resentment. If people say, as some do, that English should remain dominant instead of our regional languages or mother tongue being dominant, it will have an irritating effect and as a result English itself would suffer more than any other language. In the old days when we had a fixation about English we produced a relatively small class of English-knowing people who formed a kind of English-knowing caste in India. In this land of castes, everything tends to turn into castes. The persons who learnt English, even though they might not have learnt it very well, considered themselves superior to those who did not. That kind of attitude continues, to some extent, even now. It is clear that just as we are trying to do away with the caste system in India, we have to do away with this "English-speaking caste" idea, too. However widely English might spread, it is hardly conceivable that it will spread to the vast masses, to hundreds of millions of our people. We do not want English to become a barrier, separating millions of our people from those who have learnt this language. We have to acknowledge that any kind of real progress, specially to begin with, can be made only through the mother-tongue, that is, in the regional languages of India. To these languages we add English, just as we do Hindi, for various reasons. Essentially, the question is of the medium of instruction being in the regional language.

I am not an educator as such. If I try to educate people at all, I do so in vast public meetings, not classes. To some extent even in public meetings I do try deliberately to

talk to them as perhaps an indifferently trained teacher might talk. Teaching, specially in the school stages, has to be in the regional tongue. Thereby you may perhaps lose some advantage which you might have at the higher stages of education; but you gain the enormous advantage of finding the children's mind opened through their mother tongue. They will not have the tremendous handicap of having to learn another tongue in order to learn something else. Such a thing is not desirable at all. If you have the medium of instruction as the regional language, the first question that would arise is how can we extend it to the later stages of education also—the higher stages. I have no doubt that we can do this even though there might be some difficulty at the present moment in finding scientific and technical terms. I would prefer to leave this problem to get solved gradually by experience and not force a solution down. The ideal is that the medium of education has to be one's mother tongue, but aided and helped by other languages, such as English, for instance. To begin with, we may retain English for the study of specialized subjects in higher studies, but eventually this would have to give place to the mother tongue. I do not see any great difficulty in solving this problem provided one decides on not too theoretical or passionate an approach.

English is a very widespread language, a very important language. Other foreign languages too, like French or German or Italian or Spanish or Russian, are very important, although probably English is the most widespread. There is a good deal that other foreign languages have to teach us which no one language can teach. If Science and Technology are important, practically no high class student of technical subjects can get on without learning at least two or three languages. German is very important for them. Russian is becoming even more important now. The amount of literature that comes out in Russian on Science and Technology is increasing rapidly and the least that any student of science or technology does is to either learn several languages or obtain translations of all that appears in the other languages. This is a complicated business.

Without going into the merits of various foreign languages, English is obviously more convenient for us than French, German, Russian or Spanish. We want, as a matter of fact, to encourage the teaching and the learning of French in Pondicherry. We have a base for the French language in Pondicherry which has been existing for a long time. We want to take advantage of that and to keep Pondicherry as a window to French culture. Just as Pondicherry has been associated with French, the greater part of India has been associated with English and it is obviously desirable for us to take advantage of this. Apart from the obvious reason that English has a historical background in India, it deserves to be nourished.

Why do we want a foreign language in India? There are many reasons, more especially so for a country like India. India in the past had many virtues; it had risen to great heights in many ways. But it had a tendency to get itself cut off from the rest of the world, although it did not happen always. We have lived for long in a shell of our own. It is true that the shell was very big, but it was a shell all the same, and we were cut off from what was happening in the rest of the world. Many things helped to bring this about. The growth and intensification of the caste system, for instance, has been, I think, a total abomination. I do not know what it was like when it originated but all the castes created smaller shells and the larger shell was India itself. So we lost touch with the changes taking place in the rest of the world at a time when vast changes did take place in science, technology, etc., the industrial revolution, and all kinds of other things. We came to be left behind, steeped as we were in our own self-developed culture which was, of course, very good in so far as it went. But we were hopelessly left behind. But it is of the utmost importance today that we should have these avenues open to us. The windows of our mind should be open to them and the best windows are those of language. Most of us who know English can easily read English literature, English or American journals, reviews, magazines, etc. This language link is a greater link between us and the English-speaking

people than any political or Commonwealth or any other link. It is so because we can read their thoughts, and see how they are functioning. So I attach the greatest importance to keeping the windows of our minds open to what is happening in foreign countries. Naturally, that can be done best by knowing their languages. We can translate them, and we should translate them. We have a very efficient service for translating foreign books. But it is really quite impossible to keep pace with the flow of new books.

Another development is taking place in languages which is likely to have a fairly far-reaching effect. With developments in science and technology and the like, and with the increasingly important part that mathematics plays, language is becoming progressively a language of symbols. Of course, symbols are always to be found in languages, but you see many of them in scientific treatises, sometimes frighteningly large. Every child knows some simple symbols like plus and minus or, going a little further, such Greek words as theta, pai, etc. But now every language is increasingly becoming a language of symbols, a kind of universal language. How this will develop further, I do not know. But I suppose we shall also have to adopt that symbolic language in dealing with science, technology and similar subjects. Therefore, the arguments that we use for or against this or that language will probably fade out as we grow more and more scientific-minded and begin to adopt a symbolic language with a few words to connect the various symbols. I think it is a good and important decision which our Government took that in regard to scientific and technical words, we should try to retain them as such. This will keep us in touch with international practices and will also introduce a common factor in all the Indian languages. The number of words is increasing with amazing rapidity and I believe every year hundreds of new words are being added on to the English language. While we should direct the growth of our languages in the right direction, we should make no attempt at forcing new words on them. If that is done, much of the fury of political conflict in regard to the language question would lessen and may even disappear.

So, while the regional languages must enjoy a basic position in our education and ordinary usage, English and, of course, Hindi have also a very important position. That is why a year or two ago the three-language formula was evolved which was generally accepted all over the country. It is possible to criticize it, as it is possible to criticize any formula that you might evolve, but it is a good formula keeping in view the various aspects of this problem and the need to bring about a sense of unity in the political and cultural spheres and a common understanding all over India. I really do not see why we should get excited over these subjects and quarrel with each other unless we differ fundamentally in the objectives we aim at. I do not think there is any such fundamental difference. But I think it is chiefly fear—fear of unemployment resulting from a change-over or by the advantage given to a certain language affecting others that has caused this excitement. Those fears are wholly not unjustified, but it is not difficult to get over them. When we lay it down that there should be no unfair disadvantage to any linguistic group resulting from change-over to a new system, that fact must be kept in view by all.

We live in a changing world and we cannot possibly think in terms of a static state of affairs in the field of language or any other. As we go through this process of scientific and industrial revolution which we are undoubtedly going through, all our regional languages will themselves be changing and developing. Language today seems to most people to consist of the works in our classics—poetry, epics, etc. They, of course, form the basis of any languages, here or elsewhere. I imagine that certain modernization of our regional languages really began about a hundred years ago with the coming of English and the printing press. The impact of new ideas coming through the English language brought new forms of expression into our regional languages. That process of assimilation is going on now fairly rapidly. It seems to me desirable and essential, if I may say so, that this impact of foreign ideas on India should continue to help in the development of our own languages. We may honour, as we certainly do, all our very

valuable classical works and epics, but one cannot live with epics all the time. One has to live in the modern world, with modern ideas, and therefore language has to fit into that process of change. The ideas that come to us from the languages of Europe are useful because it so happens that Europe, chiefly Europe—and I include in Europe Russia—represents modern ideas, ideas of an industrial age. We may like or dislike industrialization, but we have to face this historical fact and we should help the growth of industrialization in this country, though we may try to give it our own bent to avoid some of its evils. But there is no alternative to industrialization; we have to progress in industry as we must. If we do so, we must also accept its consequences. It is no good if we live in a world of science, if the basis of our thinking is opposed to science. We would then simply split up, functioning satisfactorily neither in this world nor in the other. Therefore, I think it is important for the growth of our own regional languages that we should learn foreign languages and it is most convenient for us to learn English. I want to lay stress on that, because people seem to think that laying stress on English will somehow be disadvantageous to the regional languages. I do not think so. I have not the least feeling in my mind of any contradiction in stressing the fundamental role of our regional languages as well as of Hindi and English. I don't think it is too great a burden for people even if large numbers of them have to learn these three languages.

If we have to retain English, we have also to try to keep up certain standards in its usage. People tell me, and it is a fact, that the standard of English has gone down considerably in India. It is bound to go down as it ceases to be the medium of instruction. But it is desirable and important to keep up high standards and the effort made in this Institute to keep them up and train the teachers of English language is very valuable. I hope your Institute will succeed in bringing about better standards in the usage of English in India.

English is a fine language like many other languages, European and Indian. I think, though I do not know much

of it, that Sanskrit is a wonderful language, a magnificent language and the whole of India—our thinking, our languages—has developed through the Sanskrit language. I have the greatest admiration for it. But I cannot go about saying that everybody should know Sanskrit. It just does not fit in with modern times, though I hope that Sanskrit education will continue.

PROGRESS THROUGH PLANNING

THE HUMAN FACTOR IN DEVELOPMENT

I WELCOME THIS opportunity of coming here, to your annual meetings, to have a look into your minds and perhaps give you a glimpse of my own mind.

On this occasion, however, I had some difficulty. Because of various developments, many of my colleagues and friends were not quite clear whether I should accept the invitation to attend this meeting or not. I had in fact accepted it some months ago but I also gave a good deal of thought to the advice of some friends. I came to the conclusion that it would not be proper for me to go back on the acceptance of this invitation and so I am here. This very preamble will make you realize that I and many others are faced with some difficulties. The reason for those difficulties is obvious.

You know that recently a report has been published by a Commission, presided over by an eminent ex-Judge of the Supreme Court, called the Vivian Bose Commission. This has troubled and distressed a great many people, not only the members of the Government but, I feel sure, also many of you. That report dealt with certain transactions, certain developments in the course of the last few months which, no doubt, pertained to a group of organizations and may not be representative of all. Nevertheless, this look into how things were done and managed in past years to the detriment of public good came as a shock. Many questions have arisen since then as to how this kind of thing should be dealt with. No doubt, the Government will try to do what it considers proper, but it is up to you, ladies and gentlemen, also to give thought to this matter. Otherwise, an impression will spread, as it has, to some extent, spread, that all is not well in our commerce and industry and that the standards that we should keep up are not

Address before the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, March 16, 1963

being adhered to. I would therefore draw your particular attention to this matter, because it seems to me of the utmost importance that we should maintain the highest standards.

We in the Government deal with the public sector and the private sector, but you deal specially with the private sector of our economy. We want both of them to progress but it is clear that if an impression gets abroad that the private sector is not maintaining the moral or physical standards that one expects of them, it is that sector that will suffer in public estimation. On the other hand, if it does maintain them, it will advance and grow.

After all, whatever department of life we may be in, whether it is public or private or a mixture of the two, it is the human aspect that counts. Indeed, the whole work of a nation ultimately depends on the quality of the persons living in it, not only their capacity or their expert knowledge but also their character.

No country in any part of the world has risen to greatness if it has not had these qualities in an ample measure. I would therefore commend this matter to your earnest attention. It is not a matter which can be dealt with solely by Government, although Government has an important part to play. It is for the people of this country and specially you, who are largely concerned with industrial processes in this country, to deal with this matter and make it clear to the public that the whole object of business and industry in this country is not to make profits or to profiteer only, but something else. That something is the growth of the country, the betterment of the lot of the people of this country on which ultimately depends the growth of each individual. In the long run, we cannot separate the one from the other. It is a very short-sighted policy, apart from the morality or ethics of it, to think in individual terms too much and not in national terms.

What is the problem before us? We all work from day to day but we must have a clear idea of the major problems we face. One might say today that one of the major problems is to protect our country from foreign

aggression. That is indeed so, because no country can do anything worthwhile if it cannot even protect its freedom. Everything has to be sacrificed in order to protect and maintain it. Even the protection and maintenance of freedom requires long-term efforts to build up and strengthen the country. Whether we look to that strength to provide higher standards to our people or the capacity to defend ourselves, the actual processes have to be watched all the same.

Therefore, many years ago when we became independent and we thought over this problem, it was clear to us that the primary need for us was to build up the social and economic strength of the country, to give it higher standards and also to build up our capacity to maintain our independence and freedom.

It is true that the emphasis sometimes varies. It depends upon the dangers facing a country. If war comes, one has to concentrate inevitably on war but, essentially, the processes involved are the same.

A country which is economically strong and industrially developed, is much more in a position to defend itself than a less developed country, however brave its people might be. The great countries today, from the point of view of military power or defence, are countries which have developed industrially, which have advanced in the field of science and its progeny, technology. Therefore, after independence, we thought that the obvious course for us to follow was to build up our country industrially. An industrial revolution could not be brought about the way it happened in England or other Western countries some 150 years ago, because conditions have changed everywhere and we were functioning in the context of full political democracy.

You will remember that when the Industrial Revolution came to England and Western Europe, they did not have democracy, except in a very very limited way. In a sense, that smoothened the processes of change there, although it brought a good deal of suffering to those people at that time.

But we have to function in the context of full democracy, a full realization by people of their political and economic

demands. That comes in the way of a smooth change-over to industrialization as it happened in Europe in the early days of the Industrial Revolution. So, functioning in this context, we have had to carry on an experiment, a tremendous experiment of maintaining our democratic structure and at the same time of planning for as rapid a progress, industrial and scientific, as was feasible for us. In what measure we have succeeded is a matter for you to judge and for the world to judge.

I believe that in spite of many difficulties and errors of commission and omission, we have made considerable progress. Progress does not ultimately consist of merely industrial enterprises. That is only a symbol of it. Progress ultimately has to be measured by the quality of human beings—how they are improving, how their lot is improving, and how they are adapting themselves to modern ways and yet keep their feet firmly planted on their soil.

It is a little difficult to judge this by statistics, although statistics help greatly. But I think it may be said, on the whole, that we have been laying sound foundations for our progress. There are many tests to find that out. I shall not go into that. We laid special stress on industrialization—not because we were not conscious of possible dangers to our freedom—but because we thought that any preparation to meet those dangers necessitates the industrial development of the country. Of course, if a big danger comes suddenly, one has to face it, whatever the cost, and everything else has to go overboard. But that is not a good way to build up the country's strength in the long run.

If we are constantly preparing for a danger, which is anticipated, it means loss of a great deal of the nation's energy and other values. So we concentrated on our Five Year Plans and the like, at no time forgetting the possibility of danger but still thinking it was not likely to come in the near future. It may be said that we were perhaps a little too optimistic, and that when it did come, it came with a suddenness and a massiveness that was not expected. But the fact remains that real strength consists in developing the country's scientific, technological and industrial growth.

There is the external danger which has to be met, at whatever cost it may be. At the same time, there is the question of the processes of our economic development which may be called the Five Year Plans. Are we to meet the external danger at the cost of slowing down that process of development? That is not a pleasant thought, because thereby we delay the process of strengthening the nation.

The external danger that faces us may last for a considerable time. I am afraid that if we delayed or stopped our developing processes on that account, it will not be good for us later. We may not be as prepared and as fit as we should be tomorrow and the day after.

Therefore, we came to the inevitable conclusion that difficult as the task might seem, we must shoulder the burden of both meeting the external danger and speeding our development processes so as to strengthen the country for the future.

If you like, it was a brave decision, but it was also an inevitable decision. There was no way out for a country like India, threatened with foreign aggression. Submission to aggression means in many ways not only physical submission, but something that will alter its independent course of action under external pressure. Having come to the decision that we should develop our defence and industry at the same time, we had to see what we could do to give effect to that decision.

Development involves investment. It naturally involves savings, private and public. Both are necessary. Public savings means taxation and other forms of compulsory saving. While it is good that there should be private savings—it should be encouraged—it is not something on which one can rely with any assurance. Nor is it necessarily a very equitable way of doing things because, while the people who are more conscious of their duty, act up to it, others do not. As it often happens, the good people who are conscientious suffer, and those who are not, get away with no savings. Therefore, it becomes inevitable for a country, faced with these choices, to pay a good deal of attention to public saving which takes the form of taxation or compulsory saving.

Recently, our Finance Minister presented an unusual budget in which he has gone pretty far to tap new sources of revenue. It would not be proper for me to discuss that budget here as the Finance Minister is dealing with it in Parliament. I believe he will discuss its several aspects with the other representatives of the public. But I would like you to consider what may be called the strategy of that budget, irrespective of individual items with which you may agree or disagree. I submit that the broad strategy of that budget is a good one.

Nobody likes to increase one's own burdens, but on the whole an attempt has been made to spread out the burdens so that they should not fall very much on particular groups of people, specially those who can least afford them. Some of these burdens, unfortunately, but inevitably, fall on the relatively less prosperous people. In a country like India, where a great majority of people are less prosperous, and a handful are really prosperous, that cannot be helped.

I am merely saying that the Finance Minister has given a good deal of thought to this matter, as he indeed had to, and produced something which has had a good reception in spite of some criticism.

In normal times, such a budget would have obviously been objected to far more, but people realize the danger that threatens India and the necessity to work our hardest and to shoulder the burdens that are imposed on us by this situation. This is a healthy sign, indeed, as heartening as when the people reacted to the Chinese aggression with a wonderful exhibition of unanimity and enthusiasm all over the country.

So, our problem is to be prepared to face aggression in the present and to prepare to face any such menace in the future, and at the same time to try our best to strengthen the process of development. That process can never be complete because it is a continuing one, though it can reach a certain stage when we are more or less self-dependent in producing the things we want, both for defence and other purposes.

Defence, indeed, includes many other things. When we

talk of defence, we know what we think of. We do not have, for instance, atomic weapons ; we are not going to make atomic weapons. We decided that long ago, not merely because of a moral urge in us but because we thought that it was practically wrong to do so. Atomic weapons will bring us no good. It will only add to the dangers of the world. What are we going to defend ourselves against?

Weapons are improving every day and the latest modern weapons are practically the monopoly of a few great powers who produce them and who are in a position to use them. Are we going to spend all our resources in building specialized weapons? We cannot do it at present and in future I would not like to spend a large part of our resources in making more and more improved weapons. Nevertheless, there is a certain basic minimum which in terms of efficient armed defence we must have today. For that, we must have an industrial background. It is not a question of putting up an arms factory here or there, which we do, of course. The industrial background has to grow, which means that we should provide for this process of development all the more. Inevitably we are driven to expediting this process to the best of our ability.

Now, if we are to expedite this process, we have to do so in a logical, planned way. Leaving it to odd persons to do it will not help utilization of our resources to the best advantage even with the best will in the world. As you all know, there is inevitably a good deal of planning even in countries which normally do not plan. They have to plan, so as to use their resources to the best advantage, and resources are always scarce. We also have the same conditions of scarcity, and the only obvious thing to do is to plan.

It is possible to have two views on the relative importance of planning. I cannot understand how any person with a grain of intelligence can talk against planning. He does not live in this world, at least, not in the world of today.

In planning, you must have clear objectives. Those objectives are governed by certain social imperatives. In a democratic country like India, we cannot think of any social objective which does not touch the vast masses of the people.

Some of these objectives are part of our Constitution and part of our thinking, and they must also be part of our planning. If we do not keep these social objectives, the social structure cracks up.

As a matter of fact, what we have accomplished in India is a remarkable thing. If you look round the world today, specially the world of Asia and Africa—the world of the newly independent countries—and compare that with what has happened in India, you will appreciate that the developments that have taken place in these last 15 years or so are historic. I think you will agree with me that this comparison always shows up India in a better light, politically, socially and economically, in spite of our failings and omissions.

That is partly so, I think, because we have kept the aspect of social growth in view, which is not the same as making money. We want to produce more and more wealth and also have it properly distributed, which, I regret to say, has not always been acted upon.

Where such a social objective has been lacking, difficulties have arisen. All kinds of *coups d'etat* and military governments have occurred elsewhere because the prevailing social and political outlook was not the right one. We, on the other hand, still continue with our democracy, functioning in as wide a measure as is possible, even though the shadow of war and other troubles have hovered over us and affected to a slight extent the functioning of our democracy.

Therefore, we are fairly clear about the problem before us—the problem of working for the development of India in all its aspects—scientific, economic and social, in the context of a democratic structure. We adopted this method because we think it is the only system which will function properly in India. We feel that any other system will have harmful results. It may be that in the context of democracy things are sometimes not done as speedily as by other methods. There is no reason why they should not be done speedily. Democracy is a complicated way of functioning and sometimes it involves delays. I think we should get rid of these delays. Some of our methods of working have also been

inherited and we have to face this fact.

You, Mr. President, referred to delays and the like. I largely agree with you that we should avoid these delays and procedures and improve upon them as much as possible. I believe we are making some progress to that end under the stress of events but, inevitably, all these matters involve not a question of improved procedures but changing the whole approach to things that concern vast numbers of people.

It is not a question of a few people or officers or Members of Parliament doing it. The whole structure has to move rapidly, more efficiently and with a greater sense of purpose.

We live in a difficult and rather callous world, always on the brink of a possible catastrophe. I don't think many people realize this. Perhaps if they had realized it, they would move a little more swiftly. We are criticized, and criticism is the very breath of democratic process. So it is not the criticism that I object to, but that sometimes criticism seems to ignore certain realities, including the realities of the modern world. And if it ignores that reality, it is not likely to help us very much.

We live in a dangerous and threatening world. This threat is not confined to our borders—that is bad enough—the general context of the world today is one of danger. The only way we can face this and prepare ourselves for whatever might come is to work hardest to increase our strength in every way—industrial, economic, social—and do it in the context of the objective of higher standards of living, and with faith and belief in the democratic structure, the process of building up a new India.

I referred to the wonderful response of the Indian people following the Chinese aggression in the north-east. That in itself was, I think, an indication that however much the Government today may be criticized and may be worthy of criticism, the changes brought about since independence have been such that people value their freedom and do not want to see it endangered. They felt that the Chinese aggression was something that might endanger freedom, and the kind of

betterment that they had been working for. So they rallied round in a remarkable way. That was very heartening.

We have always to consider that we work for the vast mass of people in India. India is not merely a land of mountains and rivers and forests and cities and towns ; it is a mass of human beings, many of them struggling for a bare pittance. The real test is how we make the life of those people better. If we think only of our individual betterment and profits, we lose grip of the real problem, and all our perspective.

In building up India and planning for it, it is not enough to plan for the needs of today or tomorrow. We have to have perspective planning, that is, we must plan for the next 15 years or 20 years. Things take a long time to develop and therefore perspective planning becomes more and more important. Whether it is immediate planning or perspective planning, we have to get, as you, Mr. President, said, as much of co-operation as possible. Co-operation there has to be, co-operation for common ideals and objectives, even though we may differ slightly here and there.

We who live in India today have a tremendous challenge to face and also a tremendous opportunity. Perhaps it is good that we have those challenges to face because the challenges bring out the best in a people. And I think we have shown that the reaction of the Indian people has been good and we have to live up to the expectations of the common people in India. Therefore, everything that we aim at should keep in view this mass of people, for whose security we work and for whose betterment we labour.

INDUSTRIAL LICENSING POLICY

NO CHANGE has been made in the basic Industrial Licensing Policy of the Government. The press reports give certain distorted versions of some correspondence that has taken

place between some of my colleagues and me. The letters addressed to me by them were confidential and I regret greatly that confidential communication should be published in this way, removed from their context, to give a wholly incorrect idea. The correspondence dealt with the need for maintaining and accelerating the rate of industrial growth in the country and some dissatisfaction was expressed at the slow rate of growth. It is not correct, however, that any disagreement exists among them in regard to the present procedure of issuing industrial licences.

The Resolution governing the Industrial Policy of Government was laid by me on the Table of this House on the 30th April, 1956. Licensing of industries is being done under the Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951 in accordance with this policy. In addition, the priorities as laid down in the successive Five Year Plans are being followed in industrial licensing. As the House is aware, licenses for industries are issued on the recommendations made by a licensing committee constituted in accordance with the rules framed under this Act. The committee is composed of representatives of the various Central Government Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission. In the meetings of the committee, representatives of State Governments also take part.

Before the applications for industrial licences are considered by the committee, they are examined in consultation with the Department of Technical Development (formerly the Development Wing), the various Ministries concerned, such as the Ministry of Mines and Fuel, Steel and Heavy Industries, Railways, Finance (Department of Economic Affairs), Department of Company Law Administration and also the Planning Commission and the State Governments. In making its recommendations, the committee bears in mind the targets fixed by the Planning Commission and gives full weight to such factors as regional distribution, possibilities of exports, avoidance of monopoly or concentration of capacity, etc., apart from the possibility or otherwise of the scheme leading to savings in foreign exchange. Where an industry is not reserved for the public sector and where

the more difficult capital-intensive industries are concerned, which call for the acquisition of foreign collaboration facilities, foreign exchange from private or semi-public lending agencies abroad and the provision of experienced managerial talent, naturally the applications from the larger industrial groups in the country have to be considered, if the Plan targets have to be expeditiously achieved. Otherwise, the policy is to prefer new entrepreneurs wherever possible.

There is also a sub-committee of the Central Advisory Council of Industries which functions under Rule 18 of the Licensing of Industrial Undertakings Rules. This sub-committee *suo moto* or on representations received from applicants, reviews all licences issued, refused, varied, amended or revoked from time to time and it is open to it to advise Government on the general principles to be followed on the issue of licences for new undertakings. On this sub-committee, there have been generally some Members of Parliament also. There is thus also a non-official agency to scrutinize the implementation of Government's licensing policy.

On the 11th April, 1963, a statement was laid on the table of the House giving an analysis of the licences issued to certain leading industrial houses during the calendar years 1960 and 1961. I have had figures collected for 1962 also. During these three years, out of the total number of 4,211 industrial licences issued, the number of licences that have gone to ten leading industrial houses was 182. These figures include not only new industrial undertakings, but also projects for substantial expansion of existing undertakings in order to ensure economies of size.

In considering Industrial Policy, we should not confine ourselves to the sector that is governed by the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act. There is, outside this, a large and growing sector of small-scale industries which collectively are of considerable economic significance. The number of such small-scale units which have been registered up-to-date runs to over 52,000. There are, in addition, a very large number of such units which function without being registered. It is Government's policy to give to this

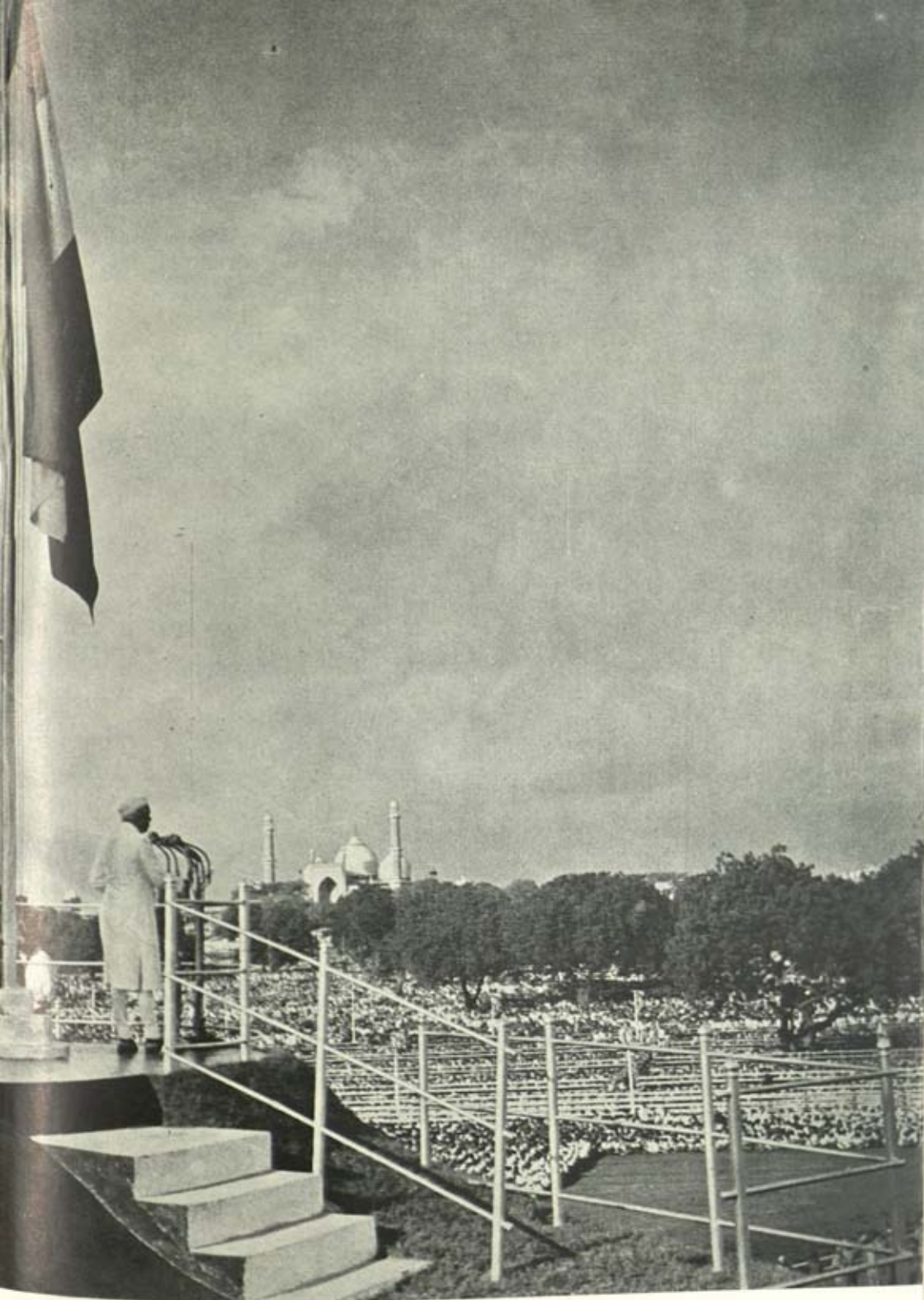
sector all possible help to make it expand, though I must admit that difficulties of foreign exchange tend to affect this sector as badly as the large-scale industries.

Government's industrial policy is clear and the machinery for its implementation by way of licensing appears to be adequate. As the house is aware, we have appointed a committee, with Professor Mahalanobis as Chairman, to study, amongst other things, the extent to which the operation of the economic system has resulted in concentration of wealth and means of production. When the report of that committee is available, there will no doubt be further opportunity to consider whether any changes are called for in the policies or procedures relating to Industrial Licensing.

THE FUTURE OF GOA

I HAVE COME HERE after long wishing to do so. In the nature of circumstances, I could not come here when Goa was under Portuguese domination. But ever since Goa joined the rest of the family in India, I have been wanting to come. But something or the other prevented me from doing so. When I did make up my mind to come here last year round about October or November, a new situation faced us. That was the aggression of China on India's borders. That was a very bad thing both for us in India and for Asia generally. Naturally, it became difficult for me to go about touring—Goa or elsewhere—when difficult decisions had to be taken from day to day and sometimes from hour to hour. The emergency which arose at that time is still with us, though not in as acute or critical a stage as it was six months ago. This situation has been created by China, and the menace of China still hangs over us. You can appreciate that it is not an easy thing to live with a great and mighty neighbour, when that country becomes hostile to us and attacks us. I think that China has behaved very

Address at a public meeting at Panjim (Goa), May 22, 1963



*Delivering the Independence Day address from the ramparts of
the Red Fort, Delhi, August 15, 1963*



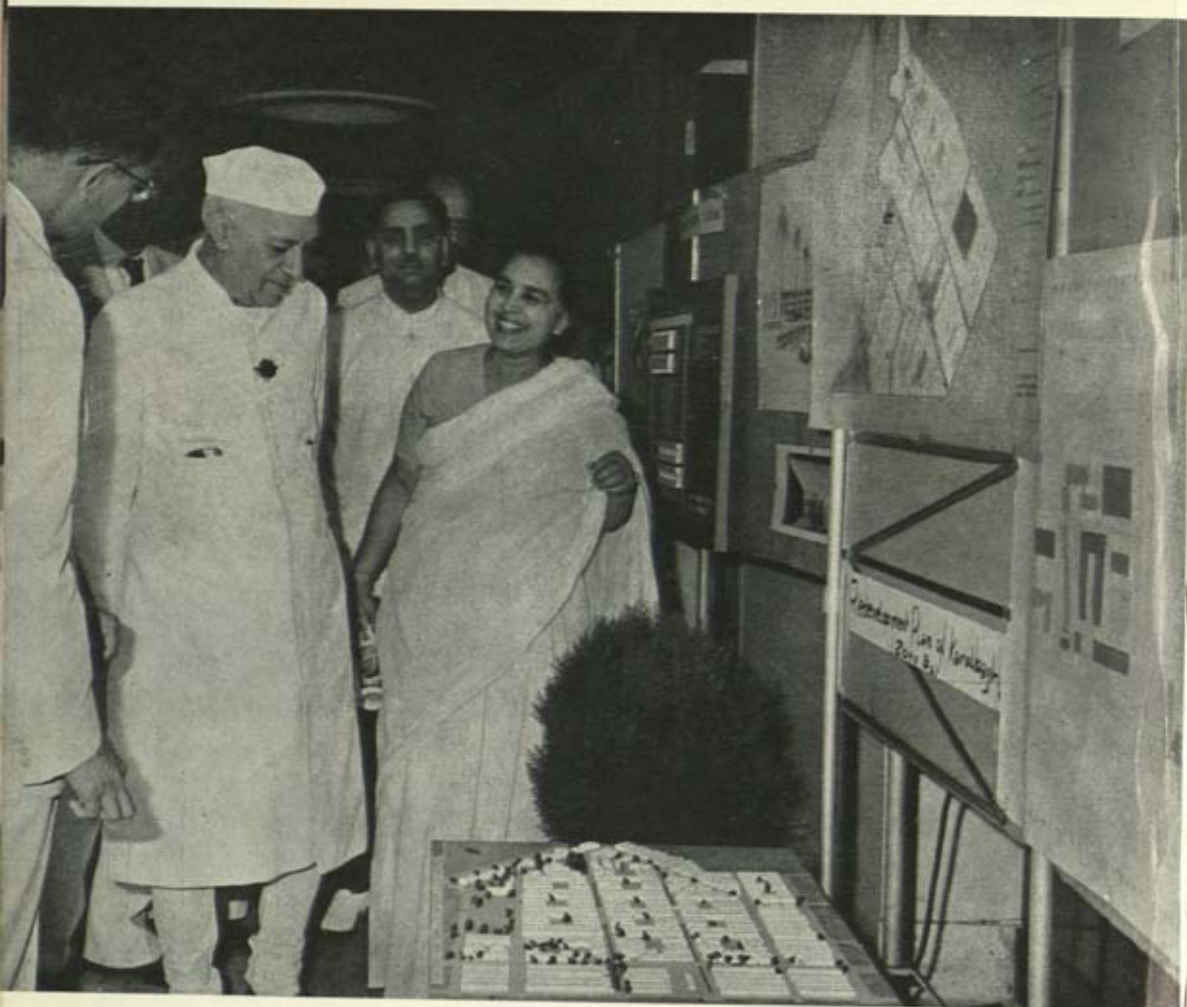
Speaking at the Mahila Mandal Udyog Mandir Technical Sc'ool at Panjim (Goa), May 22, 1963





Speaking at a reception held in his honour at Panjim (Goa), May 23, 1963

*Watching ladies spinning at a Khadi
and Village Industries Exhibition
organized at Panjim (Goa), May 22,
1963*



*Going round the exhibition organized in connection with
the Joint Session of the Central Council of Local Self-Government
and the Conference of State Ministers for Town and Country Planning,
New Delhi, September 6, 1963*

badly and wrongly. But our being in the right does not in itself help us to overcome this menace. We have to strengthen ourselves.

We have stood for peace throughout our struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership, and we have stood for peace ever since we became free. All over the world, we have gained a name for ourselves as followers of peaceful methods and champions of peace. It is a strange paradox of circumstances that we who have stood for peace for so long should be suddenly confronted by the spectre of war on our frontiers. It was a difficult test for us and some people in our country even asked, "You stand for peace; why then do you prepare for war, increase your army, air force and navy?"

I have no doubt about the answer to this question. We do stand for peace and we think that war is not a civilized way of settling questions. We think that war in the present age with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs should be especially avoided. If war occurs, it tends to spread, and it may become a tremendous nuclear war in which the world would be practically destroyed. There can be no victory or defeat in a nuclear war. It brings common destruction for all. So we stand by our policy of peace. We do not want to become a nation thinking all the time of war. We may sometimes quarrel amongst ourselves but we are essentially a peace-loving people and I hope we shall continue to remain so. But loving peace does not mean submitting to aggression and violence. We will fight if India is attacked and we will prepare to defend ourselves. If peace becomes a synonym for surrender to violence and aggression, then that peace becomes disgraceful. Peace itself must derive from strength.

There can be many kinds of strength. There was the strength of Gandhi, a frail thin man with no physical strength but with a will and a mind and a heart which were amazingly strong. Gandhi was the bravest man I have known. His strength lay in his mind and his will power. We will not submit to evil, to aggression. In that event we will defend ourselves. We have been compelled to prepare to defend our frontiers from China or from any other nation

which might want to commit aggression on us. We tried our best to avoid conflict with China by friendly approaches to that country. We thought it would be a dangerous thing that two great countries in Asia—China and India—should be hostile to each other. We still think the same way and shall always be prepared for a peaceful end to this conflict. You all know that we made several proposals to that end. We offered to refer this conflict to the Hague Court of International Justice, or to eminent arbitrators, but China has not agreed to this. So, while we shall always keep the door for a peaceful settlement open, we shall prepare to strengthen ourselves and resist armed aggression to our utmost. Mere expression of the will to resist aggression is not enough. We have to be prepared to do it, we have to be prepared with armed strength, a high morale and economic strength.

Unhappily, just at this time when China is hostile to our country, Pakistan also, our other neighbour, has begun to threaten us. In this conflict with China, which is as dangerous for Pakistan as for us, Pakistan has thought it profitable to use this conflict to bring pressure on us, and in fact to blackmail us into agreeing to all kinds of demands in regard to Kashmir etc. We know that Pakistan's demands in regard to Kashmir are completely without foundation. They are the aggressors in Kashmir. Still, we have treated them, and we want to treat them, as friends and brothers, and live in co-operation with them. We have gone all out to come to terms with them, but they have not agreed. Their hostility has now grown very much because they think this is the moment to profit by our difficulties.

Whether India is militarily strong or not, India is a great country, great not only in size but great in will. Whether it is China or Pakistan or any other country, they can get a great deal out of us through friendly approaches. But if it is a question of threats, we will resist them to the end. We have repeatedly offered to sign a No-War Pact with Pakistan, but they say that India is preparing to attack them. They object to our getting help from America and from England and other countries to strengthen our defence forces.

We are getting this help because of the menace of China, but Pakistan thinks that it may be used against her. We have assured her and also America and England that we will not use this against Pakistan. Further, we have repeated our offer to Pakistan to sign a No-War Pact, which would mean that on no account whatever India and Pakistan would go to war with each other. If we have problems between us, as we do have many—not Kashmir only, but many other problems besides—let us discuss them and solve them peacefully even though that might take some time. This might take a few years, but it is better to do that than go to war with each other. But they have refused to sign a No-War Pact. On the one hand, they tell us and the world that India is preparing to attack them. On the other, when India offers them a pact with an absolute guarantee that no such attack will take place, they reject it. This seems quite extraordinary! They should stop talking about India attacking them. Of course, India would never attack them, pact or no pact. In fact, we told them some years ago that whether they sign a No-War Pact or not we, for our part, will not go to war with them unless they attack us. So, we have in a sense given our unilateral consent to that pact.

We have to face these dangers on our frontiers just at a time when our mind is taken up, as it ought to be taken up, by the big problems of economic development, living standards of our people, removing the curse of poverty and unemployment and all that. This is a big task. India is a big country, as you know, with four hundred and forty million people. It is a poor country in one sense, but a rich country in another sense—a potentially rich country which, given the time and opportunity to develop properly, can do away with poverty of the type we have known, and where employment would be available for everybody, health and education would be open to everyone and where we can take full advantage of modern science and technology to develop our country. For the first time in the world's history, science and technology have given us the means to fight poverty, disease, ignorance and all that. It is the failings of human nature, as when we go to war or get into

international troubles, that stand in the way of our achieving this. Ever since we became free, we have been absorbed in this major war against poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and all that.

You will remember that right from the beginning we started national planning and we have our Five Year Plans. What does that mean? Planning simply means that we make a well-thought-out approach to solve our problems. When you have a problem, you must first make it clear to yourself what you are aiming at. What kind of society do you aim at? We said that we want to aim at a society where every person in India—man and woman and child—will have full opportunities to grow and prosper. At present, this is not so, we must admit, although opportunities are widening. There are plenty of people who do not have the opportunity to live a happy life. A few have great opportunities and a few have none. Education is now spreading very fast. I think on that front we are making good progress. But real opportunities come only when economic conditions improve. Big differences between the rich and the poor will then gradually be narrowed. I hope a time will come when they will almost disappear.

We cannot make all men equal because men are made differently. Some people are able and some are not so able; some are strong, others are weak; some work hard, some are lazy. But everybody should have equal opportunities to progress. That is our aim. We want to avoid large concentrations of wealth in individual hands. Such a concentration is bad for society even though that wealth may sometimes be used for good purposes. Large concentrations of wealth are not good because wealth may be used for wrong purposes also, as it has often happened. Broadly speaking, we laid it down that we want a socialistic society not in a dogmatic or doctrinaire sense, but where opportunity will be open to everybody, where differences between individuals will not be great, and where social life will be largely based on co-operation. We stand by that objective. This is a difficult task to accomplish in a big country like India because that would mean not merely laws passed by Parlia-

ment but changing gradually the nature of human beings. When we project this attitude to international affairs, our policy would have to be one of being friends with all countries. We may not necessarily agree with their policies. We have tried to be friendly with the capitalist countries as well as with the communist countries. That does not mean that we should change our policy to please them. It is good to be friendly with all and this desire is the basis of India's foreign policy.

In spite of the great burdens thrown on us by China's invasion and Pakistan's aggressive posture, we have decided to continue with our Third Five Year Plan because that is essential for our economic well-being. Now Goa's amelioration and economic betterment becomes naturally a part of our Third Five Year Plan. I realize that the kind of society that you had here during these long years of Portuguese domination, has been upset. This was inevitable with a system that had become out of date, apart from the fact that it was a product of imperialism. It became incumbent on us to liberate Goa from colonialism because India's national revolution would not be complete with Pondicherry or Goa remaining in foreign hands. The Portuguese in India and, if I may say so, to some extent in their own country, have developed a society which is completely out of date in the modern world. I admit that our society in India is also out of date, but in a different sense. We have to change it. We do not want any change to occur which causes harm or injury to the people, but sometimes such a thing cannot be helped. For instance, one of our major reforms has been the ending of the landlord system or the Zamindari system. We thought that perpetuation of this system was bad for the peasantry and for the country generally. But in removing the Zamindari system the poorer Zamindars might have suffered. So, we gave them compensation, but they said that it was not adequate. They were dissatisfied. When there is social change, such a thing has to be faced. One can only try to minimize the inconvenience or suffering to the affected persons, but the change has to be made for the larger social good. The Government want to leave it to you, the people

of Goa, to work according to your wishes so that this change-over is quiet and smooth and is of benefit to large numbers of people.

I have felt for a long time that Goa had a distinctive personality, and it would be a pity if anything were done to take away that personality. It may be that gradually time and other factors will bring about changes, but it is not for the Government to enforce changes that will affect Goa's personality. Therefore, we have decided, and we hold to that decision, that Goa should remain a separate entity in the Union of India. This should be understood by all and there is no point in trying to agitate against this decision. Why should there be any agitation for Goa to be merged with this State or that? I don't understand this. Goa can develop as it likes within the framework of India and thus add to the richness of India.

The people of India have retained, from ancient times, a concept of unity though the country has been divided politically many times. For two thousand or nearly three thousand years, India has been described as the land stretching from the Himalayas to the southern seas. It has been a concept of unity in diversity. We have always laid stress on preserving the unity of India along with its rich diversity. We have always laid stress on the principle of co-existence of religions. As I said at Panjim recently, Emperor Asoka said the same thing in the 3rd century B.C. Addressing his people—and, mind you, his empire stretched right down to the south and as far north as Afghanistan and Central Asia—he said, “Honour your neighbour's religion as you honour your own”. You can read this admonition even now, which he got engraved on stones. He said that that religion is noble which ennobles you, which makes you behave better towards your neighbour and not urge you to break his head. If you respect other people's religion, they will also respect yours, in turn. If I may say so, a religious war is much more a European or West Asian concept than an Indian concept. There are various religions in India, all old and established religions. Hinduism, of course, is thousands of years old; Christians came to India nearly two thousand years ago, long

before they went to Portugal or Europe. Portugal is therefore relatively new to Christianity. This religion came to south India in the first century after Christ, and it was welcomed. It is now a religion of India. Islam emerged thirteen hundred years ago, and was welcomed here. The conflicts with Islam in north India specially were not religious conflicts, but political conflicts of kings wanting to conquer India. Religious conflicts were hardly any and Islam also settled down as a religion of India. Apart from Hinduism, Buddhism is a mighty religion. It originated in India and spread to other countries. Jews and Parsees also came from outside long ago. So we are a country of many religions.

India has always been noted for religious tolerance and so it was quite natural for us, when we became independent, to decide to be what is called a secular state. A secular state does not mean an irreligious state, it only means that we respect and honour all religions, giving them freedom to function. This has been the basic attitude of India throughout the ages. There may have been exceptions by way of individual misbehaviour, but a basic attitude of tolerance has been there all along. This is the quality of a worthy mind. This attitude should prevail all over the world. In Goa, you have differences of religion. You have a large number of people who belong to the Christian religion. There are large numbers of Hindus, some Muslims, and I suppose others, too, like Jews or Parsees who came to India and were welcomed. This tolerance is a sign of a cultured people, a people with a long history who have seen many ups and downs and acquired the basic qualities of a great race. We must preserve this quality. Goa is a place where these religious differences are to be found and, therefore, you have to maintain this quality of tolerance. Apart from the Indian heritage, which you share, your own Goan heritage also teaches you this lesson of tolerance. It would be wrong to divert your energy to anything but the task of building up Goa, building up India, and thus bequeath a great heritage. All your energies should be directed to building up Goa, and raising your living standards, exploiting not individual human beings but natural resources

and thus working for your own betterment. To spend one's energy over quarrels on language or such other issues would be wrong.

So far as language is concerned, every language in India has freedom to function. We have great linguistic areas. We must not impose a language on anybody. In fact, we should develop our languages. They are all national languages and they can enrich one another. I am the President of the Sahitya Akademy. That is an all-India literary institution and as the President I have to deal with all the languages of India. It is our policy to encourage all of them, and to have translations made from one language into another so that they might grow in association with one another, and also in association with foreign languages. We don't want to live in a narrow groove. We are encouraging English to become more or less a compulsory second language to be taught in schools and colleges. It is absurd to think that English can become our national language. We cannot expect four hundred million people of India to be proficient in English ; but we do want English to flourish in our country so that we can be in touch with the modern world. We want people to learn also French and Russian and German and other modern languages, but specially English because many of us know it already. If we want to progress, we must have our education in our own languages. Only that way can we reach the people. In a democratic state it is the people who count.

In Goa, your language, whether it is Marathi or any other, will continue to function in full freedom. In common use among the people of Goa is the Konkani language. It would be quite absurd to set up Konkani against Marathi or Marathi against Konkani. Any attempt to suppress a language would be bad. Therefore, I think that while all the languages are allowed to flourish here, particular attention should be paid to Konkani which is the common language of the people. Gradually, all differences will get composed as the nation advances and adjustments take place.

We have to face, not only in Goa but also in India and the world, mighty problems. The whole world is changing

and we live in a revolutionary situation. Revolution does not mean petty riots. The whole situation is revolutionary in the world today. In India also we are changing. We should tie ourselves up with major causes, the major tasks that await to be done to strengthen our country and raise our living standards. That is the only way to strengthen our country so that we can meet any situation that may arise. As an individual is, so a nation. You can distinguish an individual or a nation by what he or she is thinking of. If a nation is thinking about petty things and quarrelling about petty matters, then that nation is a petty nation. If it thinks of big things, it has the quality of a big nation. Bigness does not derive merely from extent of territory, or number of people living in it. These things may help. If India was big in the past even when she was under foreign domination, it was because she thought in a big way. Her philosophy made her big, although she might not have always acted up to her philosophy. Even a small country can become big if it acts in a big way.

We want to build up every human being in our country and make him capable of governing himself. That is why I told you sometime earlier that the panchayats which constitute the lower rungs of democracy are important. We should not think always in terms of big officers or big people governing us. Every man should have an opportunity to govern himself to some extent. That is how we should lay down the roots of democracy. Then you have your Assembly in Goa—an elected Assembly which will be directly responsible for the Government of Goa. Your representatives will also participate in the great Parliament of India and thereby in all the developments that concern the nation. We grow by such participation and develop an intimate sense of belonging to India of which you are a solid part. Goa, like every other part of the country, has its special problems and we shall no doubt deal with them. But remember that India is a very vast and varied country. From the high snow-covered Himalayas where it is terribly cold, down to the south where it is always warm, there are differences of climate and such differences in climate bring about other

differences also.

India is like a beautiful carpet the texture of which brings out the skills of different craftsmen working on it, but it is one whole thing of beauty. We must continue to go on weaving this beautiful carpet of India with our ideas and our actions, but always remembering that there is a unity of design in it which maintains the beauty of its individual parts.

THE NEW PILGRIMAGE

OUR POLITICAL revolution is over, now that Goa and Pondicherry have come into our national fold. Our task now is to bring about an economic and social revolution in India. We do not want war, we do not like war. We are a peace-loving people; but there is one war which we shall have to carry on. That is not a war against any person, any country. It is a war against poverty. We must fight it and bring about an economic revolution. We have the Five Year Plans to carry on this fight against poverty and we shall remove it from this country. But ours is a big country and therefore the task is big. It will take us quite some time to complete it.

What do we aim at? We aim at an India which might be called a Welfare State, in which all the people are comparatively well off and nobody suffers from poverty or unemployment. Every one should have an equal chance to go ahead. People are not all equal. They are different, but every one should have equal chances of growth whatever his religion, whatever his caste. So we want what I call a socialist order of society, where there may not be a very great difference between the rich and the poor. There may be some little differences because some people may work

Speech at the inauguration of the Bharat Sevak Samaj Convention at Mapuca (Goa), May 24, 1963

harder than others or somebody may be abler than others, but otherwise the differences should be little. We shall all have to co-operate to advance the cause of our country, the cause of each individual and, if you like, the cause of the world.

That is what we are aiming at. In order to do that, many changes are necessary which we are gradually bringing about. But the first change is to bring the industrial revolution to India by taking advantage of science and technology. What took place 150 years ago in Europe we have to bring here now, and we are doing it. It is already coming fast, bringing with it new methods of production and, as a consequence, people will get better off.

All this can only be based on education, because only through education can you do this. Therefore, education is very important—mass education as well as specialized education of people in higher grades of technology and science and other things. So we have started on this new pilgrimage, a great pilgrimage. I invite you to come and join this great pilgrimage. We have carried out one pilgrimage to Swaraj and we have succeeded in reaching our goal. Now we have taken up this new pilgrimage and I am sure we will reach our goal, though it may take a long time. So I invite all of you, men and women, and more specially the boys and girls, to devote themselves to this great task. Whatever you do, do it well, do it competently and efficiently and you will be helping the nation.

A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. SPEAKER, FRIENDS, you have heard an eloquent eulogy of me from the Speaker. It is very kind of him to say all that he said, but it has rather put me off the track because I had hoped that we had not met here merely

to praise each other but to consider how best we have to face the problems before this country. Let us be clear about what we have done and what we are supposed to do to solve the problems that face us.

I think it would be true to say, looking at our records for the last 15 or 16 years, that we have a large number of achievements to our credit. Comparing our country to any of the countries round about us in Asia, we stand out for what we have been able to accomplish. There have been many changes, *coups d'etat*, military dictatorships and happenings of that type in other countries. But in spite of occasional shouting at each other, we have carried on in peace, and according to our Constitution. That might perhaps seem to be a humdrum way of living; but it is no small achievement to have done so. At any rate, an outsider who looks at India and also at other countries round about is impressed by this fact alone, apart from what we have done in other fields. We must remember that democracy which we profess and practise has not substantially grown in most countries. Even in Western Europe it is undergoing some changes. The kind of democracy which we established was largely taken from the British and partly from the American practice. The American Federal structure gave us some ideas but the Parliamentary form of Government that we have adopted is essentially British. To imagine that this was automatically the right thing to do is not necessarily a correct conclusion because it has not succeeded in many other countries and one does not quite know what the future holds for it in other countries. In India, I think we have, by and large, succeeded. I dare not say that we shall succeed always, but we have succeeded so far and laid fairly strong foundations.

Essentially, the Parliamentary form of democracy is based on laws and conventions. Even more than the law of the Constitution, it is based on conventions, and the behaviour of the people who participate in its working. The best of constitutions can collapse, as it has happened elsewhere, if the people who function under it do not behave properly. So we have always to be on the alert and see

that wrong tendencies do not get hold of us. We stand for democracy and for socialism, not necessarily in any doctrinaire sense, but in the sense that we stand for some basic principles of socialism. I do not know if all of you sitting here would care to join me in saying that we stand for democratic socialism; perhaps some of you do not. But, broadly speaking, most of the political parties in India which may differ in other ways say that they stand for democratic socialism, though some do not. It is important that we should be clear about what we stand for. Because unless we are clear about that, we might get into difficulties at every step.

Take our foreign policy. What do we stand for? Well, broadly, we stand for peace and friendship among nations. We stand for the end of colonialism and for non-alignment. That means we do not attach ourselves to any power bloc. By attaching ourselves to a military bloc, we may gain some advantages but we also acquire many disadvantages and our capacity to work for peace will become tremendously affected thereby. Broadly speaking, this non-alignment has been accepted by almost every party of the country, if not all. Some who accept it do not go to its logical conclusions and want us to follow non-alignment of a particular kind while some others want us to be literally non-aligned and not in spirit. Also, things happen which put great pressure upon us and try to make us do something or the other in a particular way. All these problems have arisen recently.

We live, as you all know, in extraordinarily revolutionary times—revolutionary in a basic sense. I do not mean that we live in riotous times. The shape of things is changing—the people, the way they live, etc. That is a real revolution which changes the texture of our lives, principally due to technological changes. Technology and science are changing the world we live in before our very eyes. The changes come fast and perhaps we do not realize their significance because we are living through them. We see small changes, coming in step by step, and we get accustomed to them. Although India is still backward in technological improvements, we take these for granted. As I look back, for instance,

over the last 50 years of my life, it is amazing how changes have occurred all over the world, including India, of course. The pace of change is becoming greater every year. We read about them now and then and do not get much excited about it. We read about cosmonauts and astronauts going round and round the planet, or somebody aiming at the moon or Mars. We take these things in our stride. The way most extraordinary developments become commonplace shows how we adapt ourselves to changing conditions. The whole point is that the world is changing very rapidly and that affects us, too.

In India, there is another aspect to the problem, an important aspect that we have to bear in mind, namely, the growth of population. This is having lasting effects on us. There is the possibility that this growth of population may overwhelm us and upset all our calculations. We have to be aware of this danger. When all these big things are happening around us, one has to fit them into the chart of progress which we make for the country.

Obviously, everybody will agree, almost everybody, that we have to provide a good life to all our citizens. We may argue about what a good life is. But essentially a good life means certain basic material things that everybody should have, like enough food and clothing, a house to live in, education, health services and work. These are the natural things that everyone should have. How do we do that? We can only do that by producing the wherewithal to provide these good things. We do not go about giving them by loans or doles, but by the wealth we produce. We can produce them only by applying modern methods of science, technology, etc. There is no other way of doing it. In fact, the only countries in the world which appear to be prosperous today are countries which have advanced technologically and scientifically and thereby increased their wealth tremendously. We need not copy any country, but there are certain things common to all the industrially advanced countries. America and the Soviet Union quarrel a great deal with each other; they have great armaments and all that. In this connection, may I say how happy we all are at the accord that has been

reached between America, the Soviet Union and the U.K. about the test ban? This is really a very big thing. By itself it may not be so big, because the world continues to remain as armed as it was. Still, it has taken years and years to arrive at this agreement, and after hard arguments. It does show a certain change in the atmosphere of the world and we must congratulate them and hope that this first step will lead to more important achievements.

All these countries argue about ideologies and the rest. If you analyse the differences, as for instance between the United States and the Soviet Union, they need not quarrel about these differences between capitalism, communism and so on. They can live their lives and learn from each other. There is every chance that this might happen, because for the first time in human history, science and technology have, in theory, solved, somewhat, the problem of poverty. A hundred years ago or less, it was said that poverty would always be with us. We tried to satisfy our conscience by giving doles to some, and having poor-houses, orphanages and what not. These are horrid words. I think the very concept of poor-house, for instance, is disgusting. As for orphanages and the like, it is equally disgusting. Fancy labelling children who live there as orphans! Instead of growing up as healthy children, they will remember always that they are orphans and outside the normal social group.

However, it really was a difficult thing in the old times for poverty to be conquered. There was perhaps one redeeming factor in those days. Population was presumably much less. In India, we read of Ramaraj. With all respect to Ramaraj, people forget that at the time of Ramachandra the population of India was probably many times smaller than it is today. Large parts of India were covered with forests mostly. There was no dearth of land, and any hard-working person could acquire land and produce enough to eat. They may not have lived a very luxurious life. But there was enough for all because there were fewer people relatively. Whenever they increased above a certain number, famines came to keep the numbers down. Now the population has increased greatly all over the world and is increasing at a

terrific pace, and we have to face this problem. But, at the same time, there is also an increase in scientific knowledge for producing things that an increasing population requires—food, clothing and other things. For the first time, we can show that the poverty of the world can be solved provided we work and co-operate and do not waste our substance in wars and the like. In fact, the world's productive capacity is great. As you have seen, in spite of the last two terrible wars which nearly destroyed Europe and parts of Asia, the warring countries started flourishing again within ten years. Thanks to their productive capacity, these countries are again powerful. For the first time, the world has the means of solving all these problems of poverty, disease, etc., provided we set about our tasks in the right way, taking advantage of the knowledge in science, production, technology, etc.

What are the ills that come in our way? We ourselves are the ills; our lack of knowledge, lack of capacity to work together and our laziness come in our way. Countries which can get over these ills can go ahead. Japan is an extraordinary example of a people who deliberately got over their feudal regime and the relics and habits of a bygone age, and built themselves up into a modern nation. Even so, it took them a long time to do it. This kind of thing does not happen by some kind of magic; it takes time. When you have built yourself up to a certain stage, then even destruction on a vast scale does not matter, provided trained human beings are there to rebuild. It is this that counts most. In spite of tremendous losses after the last war, Russia, Germany, Japan and other countries were able to build themselves up again because they had trained men and the capacity to work hard. It is not the palaces and big buildings but trained human beings that count ultimately. The buildings will be put up by human beings, but we cannot produce trained human beings out of nothing. These trained persons must have specialized knowledge. Of course, there may be graduates, M.A.s and all that. They are useful in their own way, but today the trained human being is a person with specialized training. A good engineer is on the whole more important than men with general education, although they also are

important. An administrator is important too, but we seem to be in the habit of thinking that the administrator can do everything. He does not, and often he is a nuisance. He is merely an administrator and does not know any specialized jobs. So the stress is shifting more and more to persons with specialized knowledge. The specialist, on the other hand, may be very good at his own specialized job but often he has no wider experience or outlook and knows nothing about the world. So we have to strike a balance between these two.

In India, one thing forces itself on us, and that is the problem of raising the level of living of vast masses of people by giving them, first of all, the absolute necessities of life. The problems in Europe or America or in Russia are somewhat different. They have survived the initial effort to give the necessities of life to their people. Everybody has a reasonable share of the necessities of life—some more and some less. In raising their standard of living, they are facing entirely new sets of problems. In America, the problem of what to do with one's leisure has come to the fore. With automation, with the help of which they can produce as much or more than they are producing now, utilizing half the existing labour force, America faces the problem of what to do with the rest of labour force. These are not our problems and they will not be our problems for, say, a couple of generations or more. But it is interesting to see how the affluent society which they have built produces entirely new problems. That is why it is rather dangerous for us to judge our problems in relation to those taken from Europe or America. Our task is first of all to provide the basic necessities of life to our people, like food, clothing, housing, education, health and work. It is work that produces all those things.

But how do we do that? Some people thought that it could be done by leaving it to everybody to do what he liked, self-interest being the main impulse for all economic activity. They thought that when everybody worked for his own self-interest, somehow the totality of such work would lead to public good. That idea of leaving everything to chance is not held by so many people now as it used to be.

There are many other forces at play which come in the way of balanced growth and we are forced more or less to plan our economic development. If you want to achieve something, you have to do it in the best possible way. We cannot leave it to chance. Suppose there is a war; the country involved fights for its survival. It dare not take any chances. It cannot fight with a *laissez-faire* attitude, letting every man fight and do his best as he thinks fit. The general staff will have to plan the war. The country has to provide fully for the needs of the fighting forces. You cannot take for granted that everything will work itself out satisfactorily. You have the strictest controls and all kinds of things if war comes. When we are faced with real difficulties, we have to do all this. But when the difficulties are not so obvious or so urgent, then we tend to slip back. In any country which has to cover a great deal of ground quickly, there is no possible way except planning. What the plan should be like is a different matter. Opinions may differ on that. But planning means a logical, scientific and organized approach to an objective, and I cannot conceive how any intelligent person can oppose it. Yet some people do.

What do we plan for in India? We plan for greater production, of course—agricultural and industrial. In a sense, industry is essential to raise our living standards and increase our production levels; but in order to increase industrial production, we have also to increase agricultural production and this brings us back to the basic problem in India, namely, agriculture. I am all for industry, I am all for steel plants, heavy industries and all that, but I do say agriculture is far more important than industry. Because, it is out of the success of agriculture that industry comes. If you fail in agriculture, you have little to stand upon. Where do you get the wherewithal to have industry? It is out of the surplus from agricultural production that you build your industries and therefore it has become of the utmost importance that agriculture should flourish and should produce the goods and surpluses needed for industrial growth. This point is very obvious but yet, somehow or the other, it does not seem to have caught the imagination of

everybody. There are some people who do understand this. Therefore, the first thing we did, and it was an essential thing, was to introduce land reforms. But land reform is not complete yet. This is a very sad thing. How, having made a big beginning, we slowed down on the process of land reform needs to be examined. In many States, including the States where good work is being done, we have slowed down. The other day, we had a competent expert sent by the Ford Foundation, Mr. Rodivinsky. He was sent specially to examine the Package Programmes which are functioning with the help of the Ford Foundation and specially to examine the tenurial system and the condition of the tenants. This is the man on whose advice land reforms in Japan were undertaken by the Americans. On the whole, their efforts at land reform have been remarkably successful in Japan. He has written a report about India which is not very flattering. I hope that report will be available soon to most of you. I think he came to Andhra Pradesh, too, on this trip, and examined the West Godavari district. This is among the six or seven districts in the whole of India which he examined. In Andhra Pradesh it was West Godavari, in Madras it was Tanjore and so on, and he also toured some districts in U.P. and other States. He had many good things to say. But it is surprising to find that after all these attempts at land reforms over such a long time, the tenants in many places have still no security.

Punjab is a relatively prosperous State. It is prosperous in its agriculture and in its industries, specially in small and middle-sized industries. Punjab is prosperous because essentially the Punjabis are a hard-working people. They work hard with their hands whether it is in agriculture or whether it is in small industry. They do not have the mentality of sitting at a desk—the “babu” mentality. They are good mechanics. Punjab hardly has any major industry in the public sector or the private sector. But Punjab has scores of small industries and the extraordinary thing is that the hundreds of thousands of Punjabis who came to India from Pakistan after the Partition have done remarkably well, because they are hard workers and they have

prospered wherever they have gone and established themselves. If they have settled down in a town in U.P., that town has been changed in its appearance. This man Rodivinsky examined the Ludhiana district and he criticized it from the point of view of tenancy laws. He recognizes that there are very few tenants there. But he also told me that it was an exciting thing to go to the Ludhiana district. He felt there exactly as he had felt many years ago when he was in the Middle West in America. He saw the strong impact of the industrial revolution coming. The place was fast changing under the impact of industrial revolution.

There is nothing extraordinary or new in Punjab except that the people there work hard. Change is coming over the whole of India, to a greater or lesser extent. But there is no doubt that in Punjab it is coming up fast. Even now, you know that probably of all States in India, the highest *per capita* income is in Punjab. I am only mentioning Punjab because I have known about it. Even in the South there are places where this industrial revolution is coming in at a fair speed.

So we are going through this changing period and the problem is how we are to expedite this transformation and at the same time preserve the basic things that we stand for. After all, life is something more than eating and clothing oneself. It has other important values. But those other values do not come into the picture unless you have enough to eat and of other necessities of life. You cannot have a starving person listening to discourses on cultural values and the rest. We have to give him food and work. That is our problem today. Maybe, ten years or twenty years later, our problems will be different. They will change with a changing society.

In Europe—and I have known Europe for more than half a century—we see rapid changes taking place. It is difficult to say whether the changes are all for the better. In some respects they are not, and in some respects they are. We have to face similar changes in India also. Such changes will be of far greater significance to India because we have still to get out of centuries of static conditions. We have

to adapt ourselves to these coming changes.

In adapting ourselves to the coming changes, one of the essential requisites is a stable administrative or governmental structure. If the Government keeps changing all the time, as we have seen it happen in other countries round about India, it becomes difficult to settle down, to progress to any definite extent. One of our important achievements in India has been that in the last 15 years we have given the country more or less a stable administration, although that administration has been often not up to the mark. There will, no doubt, be many things to criticize but this administration has functioned, and as a result we have moved, I believe, considerably in the direction of progress. You can criticize our planning, but the fact that we plan and try to achieve results is in itself a great thing. It keeps things moving on to a better state. Therefore, we have an important basis for constructive work and we can improve it greatly.

Nowadays, we hear a great deal about corruption. Of course, corruption is something that can destroy any set-up. It is bad from every point of view—morally, ethically, administratively. We must try to put a stop to it completely, whether it is corruption, nepotism and the like. I must say that in India this cry of corruption and criticism against the Government has become a major industry! I remember an American expert who came here some seven or eight years ago on our invitation to report on our administration. He came again two years later and he criticized many of our governmental procedures. He said that we are too tied up with the past, the British times, and that we have not got out of them. We are slow-moving. The administration which we inherited was built for the slow movement of the British times when there were no social changes taking place. Now that we are aiming at social changes, the old system, this bureaucratic procedure of ours, is out of place. I think his criticism was right and is right even today although we have made some changes. But he remarked that one of the most flourishing industries he found in India was criticism of Government! Everybody, including

Government supporters, does it. It is right that there should be criticism but the abundance of criticism in India was astonishing. I think it is essential for any kind of Government to have the critics, the opposition. It helps the Government to maintain healthy standards by pointing out many defects and pitfalls which are not visible to Government; but one can overdo that kind of criticism and it appears to me that it is somewhat being overdone in India. I am not referring to criticism as such but the spirit of running down the Government, possibly for political reasons and for other reasons. It is very easy to criticize. I think each one of you can sit down and criticize much that is happening in India. I can, and often I do criticize it in public, too.

One rather unfortunate tendency that one sees gradually taking shape is a certain lack of decency in our public life. That is a very unfortunate thing. Apart from the fact that it reduces the level of our public work very greatly, it degrades us, our institutions, our Parliament, our Assemblies. You know that in our Parliament and Assemblies there are all kinds of rules to regulate the conduct of Members. They have to normally use certain courteous phraseology, the "honourable member" and the "learned member", etc. All these are deliberately followed in order to keep the temper of the House low, and not start cursing each other as sometimes we do. They are good rules. There was in the British Parliament—I do not know if it is still there—some distance between the Government benches and the Opposition Benches. I was told that that distance was deliberately kept in the old days so that they may not be physically too near to be able to hit each other. But all these conventional phrases and fine customs and the decorum which the Speaker seeks and is entitled to, are meant to discipline ourselves and conduct our business decently, even if it is an archaic way of doing it. Now some people ask why we should have all these formulas which have no meaning. The Speaker, for instance, may be forced to order out some Member and this may happen in the best regulated of Parliaments. If you are in Parliament, you must listen to

the Speaker, for otherwise you cannot function. Otherwise, there would be confusion, chaos. That is exactly what is happening now. There is a certain chaotic tendency. I will not go into details but you can yourself see this kind of thing happening. This is very bad. It betrays a certain tendency towards fascism—I have no better word to describe it—which we know existed in Europe and played havoc. Outside the Legislature also, such behaviour is a bad thing, and it is much more so in the Legislatures. Democracy has failed in many countries of Europe because of such tendencies coming up. When one party behaves in a fascist way, it incites the other parties to behave in the same way, and so all parties lower themselves and the prestige of the whole country is lowered and democracy goes to pieces. Therefore, I would like you to be wary of such developments. I am not afraid of the future. I think we shall pull through, whatever happens, but the fact remains that we have very difficult problems, of which the major one is the problem of economic growth.

OUR POLICIES JUSTIFIED

MR. SPEAKER, SIR, for four days we have had this debate, and I believe 40 Members have spoken. I am the forty-first. I have tried my best, respectfully and with patience, to listen to them myself and follow them. Sometimes it was a little hard to do so but, on the whole, I believe I have succeeded.

It has been a strange experience to listen to these varied Opposition voices. Just now we heard a representative of the Muslim League, a little before that, of the Hindu Mahasabha, and a little earlier still—yesterday, I think—of the DMK of Madras, all in serried ranks behind Acharya Kripalani and his fellow-generals. In fact, they are all

generals; there are no privates in his army !

A no-confidence motion aims at or should aim at removing the party in Government and taking its place. It is clear in the present instance that there was no such expectation or hope. And so the debate, although it was interesting in many ways and, I think, profitable too, was a little unreal. Personally, I have welcomed this motion and this debate. I have felt that it would be a good thing if we were to have periodical tests of this kind.

I have listened, as I said, with respect to the speeches of the Opposition Members, and tried to understand what troubled them. What has brought together these various Members in such a curious array? It is obvious that what has brought them together is a negative, not a positive attitude, not only a dislike of our Government, but—I am sorry to say so—perhaps a personal attitude against me, both as leader of the Government and otherwise. I do not mean to say that everybody feels that way. This personal factor takes away a great deal from the strength of the Opposition. What are they after? It might be that they want to remove this Government, but that could not be within their expectation. So, it all really amounts to this that they were too full of the feelings of anger and dislike, and they wanted to express themselves in forcible language.

I must confess, and I say so with all respect, that the Members, the leaders of the Opposition, including, of course, the Hon. Member who sponsored this motion, have not done justice to this motion, nor to themselves. I have been rather disappointed at the charges they have made. I do not mean to say that all the charges they made had no substance. You might divide their attack under four heads, namely, domestic policy, foreign policy, defence, and general corruption. I am not prepared to say, and nobody can, that corruption is not a most serious matter to be inquired into, to be eradicated. There is no difference of opinion about that. There may be a difference of opinion as to the extent of its prevalence. Possibly, it is exaggerated, thereby creating an atmosphere which instead of putting an end to corruption gives it a certain licence.

We have been debating a matter of high state policy. Whether this Government stays or goes, the matters we have debated are important matters for the country. I should have thought that most of the debate would deal with high matters of State policy. Sometimes, they have been referred to, undoubtedly. But, generally, the debate has proceeded on rather personal grounds, personal likes and dislikes, personal criticisms and attacks, which have taken away much of the force from it. The persons concerned have felt irritated.

That is a different matter. This is an important moment in the history of Parliament. As a parliamentarian, apart from being a Prime Minister, I had hoped that we would rise equal to that occasion on both sides of the House and deal with the great matters that confront our country and also incidentally deal with the Government that is in charge of many of these matters ; but, concentrating on the failings of individuals seems to bring the debate down to a lower level.

The three Hon. Members, the three newcomers, whose speeches I have listened to with great interest and care, Acharya Kripalani, Mr. M. R. Masani and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, were perhaps a little excited still with their victories in the by-elections and seemed to think that they could make a frontal attack on this Government and all those who are part of it.

Dr. Lohia did the honour of referring to me repeatedly. I do not wish to argue about myself; it is unbecoming of me to do so, and it would be wrong. But they did bring the debate down to the singularly low level of the marketplace.

I have met Dr. Lohia here in Parliament, I believe, after seventeen years. My recollection of him was such that when I heard him here I was singularly disappointed. He did not do justice to himself. I expected better of him than merely clever phrases and personal attacks.

We were dealing with the future of India, not of Jawaharlal Nehru or Morarji Desai or somebody else who happens to be for the time being in post in the Government.

We might go, of course; even if we do not go because of this motion of no-confidence, we might go otherwise. In course of time, we shall go and others will take our place. It may be that other parties will come in. I felt that at a moment like this, to talk in this petty and small-minded way was not becoming of anyone. However, it is for each Member to choose how he should speak, and how he should present his case; but it does affect the major issue. When we are talking about what really matters for the future of the country and all that, to bring down the level of criticism to this low personal and abusive level is not good.

Sometimes, in the course of this debate, Members have been rather excited. It will be my endeavour to avoid saying anything which might have the result of exciting people. I have no desire to carry this debate to the end on a note of resentment and anger.

So, one of my disappointments on listening to this debate which otherwise was helpful in many ways has been that it showed an absence of a larger vision to which we as a Government were expected to come up. That would have raised the level of the debate. There was hardly any reference to any such vision.

When many years ago most of us here, not only on the Government side but on the other side of the House, too, were participating in the struggle for freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji, we had that larger vision all the time—not only of freedom but of something more. There was a social objective, a vision of the future which we were going to build, and that gave us a certain vitality, a certain measure of a crusading spirit. Now, most of us are perhaps lost, or are tied up in humdrum politics and petty matters of the day. Whether we are in the Government or in the Opposition, we are both tied up that way, and the larger vision escapes us, or we have glimpses of it only sometimes. And yet, if India is to go ahead, as we all want her to, we must have a vision of the future, and should always judge our present conduct by seeing how far it comes up to that vision. A country which has no vision gradually goes down. A country which has a wrong vision inevitably goes down.

but a country which has no vision at all will gradually lose its vital energy and perish.

I do not think India is going to perish. It has not perished for five thousand years or more, and it is not going to perish now or in the future. But, I do not want India merely to exist; I want it to live a full life. I want the people of India to flourish in every way, not only in the physical, material sense, but in cultural, intellectual, moral and other senses. It has much to learn from the world and also to give something to the world, because I am convinced India does possess something which it can give to the rest of the world, although it has to learn much from the rest of the world also. Looking at things in perspective, or even only from the economic aspect, is the very essence of planning. Where do we go and how are we going?

Mr. Masani gave expression to his views about economic affairs, and I am astounded that he should have talked in the way he did. He asked: "Why have a steel plant?" What does he want? Should we have small industries? I am all for small industries. Does he mean that we should have no capital-intensive works that take up too much capital? Where do machines come from for the small industries? Do we keep on getting them from Germany, Japan, Russia, wherever you like, and go on paying for them? Is this our conception of industrialization of this country? No country has been industrialized that way. If you want industrialization, as we do, it is essential to have an industrial base. It is essential for our economic and defence strength to have an industrial base. That is the problem we have today. We do not lack stout and brave men. But in themselves they are precious little good without modern weapons, modern industry and all that. Therefore, you cannot even remain free in India without an industrial base. An industrial base means basic industries, mother industries, heavy industries and the like. As soon as that is established, smaller industries flow from them, and the rate of progress becomes fast. If you do not establish such a base, you cannot advance fast but remain tied up to other countries which are economically dominant and have the power to

prevent or lower your rate of progress. That is not a prospect which I look forward to, and I imagine that is not the prospect which this House will welcome.

We want real freedom. Real freedom is not merely political freedom; it is economic freedom in two senses. One is that you do not have to rely on other countries. You are friends with them, you co-operate with them, you take their help, but you are not dependant on them to carry on either for defence or anything else. And the second sense of freedom is economic freedom for the vast masses of our country—their having higher standards of living and putting an end, in stages, if you like, to gross differences in wealth and opportunities.

It is difficult to remove these differences suddenly. Remember that we in India have had a bad social background with caste and other tremendous differences, and this has soaked down to millions and millions of our people. That is why one of the big things that we have to do is to uproot that background, change the way of thinking, of living. All this is changing, I know, and will change. But we must have some idea of the serious handicaps we have to contend with. The problems are much more intricate and deeper in India than possibly elsewhere.

So, in our domestic field, not today but years ago, the Congress organization at its Karachi session—and many of the Members sitting opposite were members of this organization—took a step which national organizations seldom do. It formulated a policy of land reform and social justice, and took some steps towards the formulation of a public sector. The whole philosophy of Gandhiji, although he did not talk perhaps in the modern language, was not only one of social justice, but of social reform and land reform. All these concepts were his.

It was inevitable that Congress should begin to think that way because we became a party of the masses. Gradually these ideas took roots and ultimately we came to Independence and we gave ourselves a Constitution. This Constitution talks of social justice. It does not talk of socialism but practically it provided a basis for socialism. Later, this

Parliament definitely adopted the ideal of socialism, and so did the Planning Commission. If any Hon. Member on the opposite side criticized us for not having gone fast enough on the road to socialism, I would accept that criticism. We have been slow for a variety of reasons, some of which were within our control while some others were not. But I am convinced that there is no choice for India. No party, whatever it may feel, can stop this country's march to socialism. I do not know of any country where an attempt has been made to achieve this ideal of social democracy through planning.

Planning has, of course, been done in other countries; but not through democratic processes. Other countries which are democratic have not accepted planning. But the combination of these two concepts is rather unique. Planning is a thing of which everybody now talks about. But planning in the sense of an organized, well-thought-out method of growth is a scientific process, rather complicated and difficult. Some people think that planning means putting together a number of schemes and proposals. That is remote from planning. Planning is something which leads you from one step to another and ultimately to the goal. Planning may not always be quite accurate because conditions vary and there are many factors which influence its success, the biggest being the human factor which you cannot wholly control. Parliament cannot, by any law, lay down how 440 million of our countrymen will work. It may create conditions for work. You cannot force them to do something, at any rate in a democratic system.

When India took upon herself this tremendous adventure, she attracted attention all over the world, specially in view of her social background with caste and other differences. We have been at it now for a dozen years or more; we have also progressively learnt more. I think that we now know more about planned development than when we started. We have had the good fortune to discuss this matter with people from almost every major country in the world, certainly the countries of Europe, America, Russia, Japan, including at one time, I believe,

some Chinese specialists, Scandinavia and Yugoslavia. Although they differed in their ideological outlook—I use a word which is so often used—when they came down to hard facts of the Indian situation, it was extraordinary to see how much there was common in them. Being economists, they usually took up a problem and in the process of finding a solution arrived at perspective planning, laying great stress on heavy industry and, of course, light industries. Power, perhaps, is the most important thing of all. If I could, I would concentrate on producing power all over India, because with the coming of power other things would follow.

The first thing that we realized was that it was no good copying America or Russia or any other country. The problems of India are her own. We can learn from America or Russia, as certainly we should. But the economic problems of India are different. I do not know now but, some years ago, books on economics produced in America and England were taught in our colleges and there was little use for this knowledge because those countries were thinking more or less of an affluent society in which they lived. These books discussed the problems of an affluent society whereas we were a poverty-stricken people. I believe that now economics is being taught from the point of view of India and not from the point of view of America or Russia. We learn from them, of course, as they have acquired great experience. We always realized that the fundamental factor was growth in agricultural production. Agriculture is basic to us because however much importance we attach to industry, unless we have surplus from agriculture, we cannot progress in our economy. We cannot live on doles from other countries.

Though we attach the greatest importance to agriculture, we realize that by agriculture alone India will not go forward. Industry has to come—industries of various kinds. Heavy industries are the base, and we need industries even for agricultural implements—we need small industries which could be allied to agriculture. In India, it is very impor-

tant that you should have some auxiliary industries which should fit in with the agricultural process. I am not at the moment thinking of what Gandhiji had said about hand-spinning and the like; though I am not saying that hand-spinning is no good at all in the modern age—it is useful under certain conditions, in certain parts of India, as things are—I do not say what would happen fifteen or twenty years later. What I was referring to was some village industries, preferably with electric power and modern techniques, because whether you take small industry or big, you must use the latest techniques.

We have tried to proceed on this line of thinking. There was the First Five Year Plan and then the Second Plan. We have acquired more knowledge, more experience and also more heart-breaks. We are now in the Third Plan. We started with difficulties but are now carrying on a little better than we expected. The Second Plan was on a bigger scale than the First and it also achieved more. In spite of the difficulties we have had, the Third Plan will, I think, improve conditions in the country more than the Second Plan did.

If you look at this broad picture, it is not something that produces defeatism; it is an optimistic picture, in spite of the vast difficulties in India and in spite of the population problem on which Mr. Frank Anthony laid great stress. I am quite sure we shall succeed.

But the basic problem facing India is that of the peasant. How do we change his mental outlook, how to make him use modern tools and modern ideas in a certain measure, and get him out of the rut in which he has been living since ages past? We started the Community Development programme with that end in view. We succeeded to some extent but then this too has fallen into a rut. The people of India have an enormous capacity to fall into a rut! I may confess that even Governments have that habit, and the Opposition have it even more! Not that the Government are better than the Opposition; of course not. The Government, after all, have to deal with day-to-day problems which compel them to think. The Opposition does not have

to think of them, and so they think in terms of slogans and criticisms.

My colleagues, the Finance Minister and the Minister of Food and Agriculture, have spoken of their respective departments with ability and given statistics. I do not propose to trouble the House again with those points.

I have ventured to speak on the main approach of the Government in regard to domestic policy. Of course, there may have been deviations from it, many mistakes and faults. I cannot go into all that. But I do submit that essentially our problem was an economic and social one and we have tried to look at it in perspective. We are thinking in terms of fifteen years ahead. Because Acharya Ranga does not believe in planning, he thinks it is *laughable* for us to look at it that way.

Planning involves very important aspects. There is education which is essential. People grow through education and other social measures. One of the happiest things that has happened in India recently is the growth of education. At present, 70 per cent of the boys and girls of school-going age are going to school and it will be 76 per cent in two years' time. Unfortunately, this Emergency and the menace of China has, here as elsewhere, slightly impeded the progress we are aiming at. If you look at India, you will see many things which may break one's heart—poverty, misery and all that—and yet you will see something which is heartening. All stagnation has gone, or is going, and a certain dynamism has come into being in India. I do not at all wish to miss the fact of poverty and other horrors of the Indian scene, but things are changing. That is the main thing. India has got out of the old rut and, I think, it will change pretty soon. The rate of change is bound to become faster than in the past.

All this has been accomplished with a democratic structure of Government. If I may say so, with all respect, the very fact that we are debating this no-confidence motion today is proof of that structure. It will be a good exercise for us to look around at the other countries of Asia and elsewhere, specially the newly independent countries, and

compare our record with what they have done or are doing. A few of them have maintained democracy. But, even apart from that, let us see how far they have progressed on the economic and social planes. I am not going to compare India with China now, partly because I do not know enough about China, about the progress made by China. The reports are often conflicting. But I do know that the cost that they have paid for their economic progress has been heavy in terms of individual and personal liberties. When we compare ourselves with other countries, excluding China, the rate of our progress has been heartening.

Mr. Masani talked of the miracle of Germany. It is no good comparing our rate of progress with, let us say, Germany, Russia or Japan. It is all very good to speak about the miracle of Germany, but Germany was a highly industrialized state before the War, with many engineers and other trained persons. So, when they started to build up after the War, there was a base on which to build up. Japan did the same. Russia, which is a communist state did almost the same, because it had the background, an industrial complex behind it and the trained people. We suffer because we do not have such a technological complex. We are trying to build it, and we have built it up partly.

So, I would submit that in spite of the poverty in India—it does not call for much statistics to see it—there is greater welfare in India today, except in some pockets, than ever before. We can see this in the food they eat. In fact, they eat more and they eat better food. They wear more clothing: they had precious little previously. They have better housing. Schools are growing everywhere and health facilities are growing. Some people have even gone to the extent of talking about the "miracle of India". They quote the foreigners who vouch for the changes in India in these last dozen years during which time the base for future growth has been laid.

We have always to choose between benefits accruing today, or tomorrow, or the day after. From the country's point of view, if we spend the money we now have for some petty immediate benefits, there will not be any permanent

benefit. One has to find a healthy balance between the immediate benefits of today and the long-range benefits of tomorrow. All the money we have put in heavy industries is for tomorrow's benefit, though it brings in some benefit today also. It will take some years before this investment yields fruits.

So, our strategy of economic development is essentially modernization of agriculture and the training of our rural masses in the use of new tools and new methods. At the same time, it seeks to lay the foundations of an industrial structure by building the basic or heavy industries, above all by producing electric power. Middle and small scale industries will inevitably come in their train.

If you visit parts of Punjab today, you will see the industrial revolution coming on. The revolutionary change that is coming over Punjab is amazing. Punjab at the present moment is the most prosperous State so far as *per capita* income is concerned. It is not I, but Americans coming as tourists, who say that it is remarkable how this industrial revolution resembles what they have themselves seen in some parts of America.

We have to lay great stress on people who do not even have the desirable minimum standards of living today. This is a complicated question. Some of our advisers have told us: "Forget today, think only of tomorrow." That cannot be done. On the other hand, if we think only of today, we cannot make any progress in the future.

The broad picture is that the rate of progress has increased after every Plan. I have no doubt that the progress of the Third Plan period will be substantially higher than that achieved in the Second Plan. In terms of the key growth potential, that is, the infrastructure, the progress has been creditable. National income over the ten-year period has risen by 42 per cent as against the growth of population by 21 per cent. *Per capita* income has increased by 16 per cent. That is not enough, I admit, but it is not so bad as some would think.

I think Mr. Anthony talked about production being overwhelmed by the growth of population. But the principal

thing is that foundations have been laid now for a more rapid rate of growth in the future. I hope that by the end of the Third Plan or in the Fourth Plan, we shall progressively approach that stage when we start growing by ourselves if I may say so, without too much pushing from outside.

The Hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture has said that foodgrain production has gone up from 52 million tons to 80 million tons and I expect it to go up in the next three years to 95 million tons or even to 100 million tons. Industrial production has shown remarkable progress. There is no doubt about that. So have transport and power.

In technical education, the intake at the degree level which was 4,100 in 1950-51 is nearly 14,000 now and is likely to be over 21,000 in 1965-66. At the diploma level, the intake has risen from 5,900 to 25,000 and will be 46,000 and so on.

Mr. Anthony said that we should follow Japan's example and encourage abortion. I might mention that even in Japan this has not been looked upon with favour as it is found that this method adversely affects the health of the mother. After examining all the evidence, the Lady Rama Rao Committee definitely gave its opinion against abortion as a method of population control. As a matter of fact, other methods are being increasingly brought to use in India. There are at present over 3,000 family planning clinics in the villages and in the towns. The progress of voluntary sterilization has been much more than was expected. Till February 1963, 3,34,477 persons are reported to have been sterilized. This may not appear to be a big number, considering the population, but it is a steadily growing number. We think these methods are safer than abortion or anything like that.

I do not think I need say much about non-alignment. It has been adequately discussed and Mr. Krishna Menon spoke a great deal about it with ability. But I would ask Acharya Kripalani to consider whether he was right in saying that Panch Sheel is "Panch nonsense". I was surprised to hear him use the word 'nonsense'. I submit that Panch Sheel is the only basis for international relations. Anything else is not civilized relationship and will lead to trouble,

conflict and war. The fact that China after subscribing to Panch Sheel breaks it and attacks us does not make Panch Sheel wrong. Obviously, the fault is that of China. But the Panch Sheel principles underlying international relationship are not wrong.

MR. HEM BARUA: There cannot be only unilateral interpretation of Panch Sheel.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am only submitting that Panch Sheel is a right principle. Its implementation, one side or the other, may be wrong. To some extent, the present major conflict between Soviet Union and China is based on the difference in their approach to the idea of Panch Sheel. China does not believe in peaceful co-existence. Of course, behind this lies national conflict between the two.

There is one thing more. Acharya Kripalani as well as others said that I hid from Parliament the fact of Chinese aggression for a long time. I have dealt with this in Lok Sabha previously and I do not want to go into it again in any detail, but I do submit that this is entirely a wrong idea. What happened was that late in autumn in 1958 we first heard of the Aksai Chin road being made. We did not know where it was exactly. We sent two sets of people separately to find out where it was, whether it was in our territory or not, because Aksai Chin road spreads out behind that. It took months for them to come back because all these are real mountaineering expeditions. One of them came back after some months and the other was captured by the Chinese. We wrote to the Chinese to say that we had sent some people on our territory, that they had not yet come back and whether they knew anything about them. Thereupon, they replied, "Oh, yes. They transgressed our territory and we arrested them. But now, as we are friends with you, we are releasing them." That was the first regular information we had about Aksai Chin road having been built in our territory. That was in 1958.

In October 1958, I think, we sent a protest about this matter to the Chinese Government. About this time—end of 1958 or beginning of 1959—the Tibetan rebellion took place against the Chinese rule and our attention was

rather diverted. People came from Tibet. Later, the Dalai Lama and many refugees came. And in our subsequent communications to China, these developments took the first place. But reference continued to be made about this Aksai Chin road.

We first informed Parliament about this in 1959—I forget the exact date. It might be said that we might have informed them three or four months earlier. We must have been waiting for that reply from the Chinese; and as soon as the reply came, the Tibetan developments also took place, and we informed Parliament about them. There was no longer any delay in it, and there was obviously no desire to hide anything from Parliament.

Acharya Kirpalani has said that we should cut off diplomatic relations with China. He asked: "Why don't we declare war?" All I can say is that it would be very unwise for us to do so. It may be a brave gesture, but unwise; it will not help us in any way, and it may hinder us in many ways. Nothing comes in the way of strengthening our defences, as we are trying to do now, to the best of our ability, and at the same time trying to keep the door open, whether it is in regard to Pakistan or in regard to China, for a peaceful and honourable settlement. Now, Acharya Kripalani said something about our defence, and I asked our Defence Minister to give me a note on this question.

In his note he has said that the allegations made by Mr. Kripalani are absolutely without foundation. Decision on important matters with regard to the attitude to be adopted in case of attack by China was an important matter and could only be taken at Delhi. Those decisions were taken by Government in full consultation with the Chiefs of Staff and other senior Army officers concerned, and in the light of their expert advice. This applies particularly to the decision that the Army should not withdraw in October-November 1962 from its forward positions in NEFA. While decisions of a certain nature can only be taken ultimately by Government, it is incorrect to say that decisions were taken without consulting the appropriate Army authorities. It was on my way to Ceylon that I was asked by the press

correspondents about the frontier situation. I said that we intended to push them out. I do not see anything wrong about it, and that, as a matter of fact, was our military decision. The time had not been fixed. That was the only thing that I could say at that time.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: The press report was that Government had ordered the Army in NEFA to push them out, not that it was intended to push them out, but they had ordered them to push out.

THE PRIME MINISTER: That may be so. We had told the Army to push them out.

MR. J. B. KRIPALANI: You had issued instructions to the Army.

THE PRIME MINISTER: My point is that that decision was not a sudden inspiration. It was the result of talks with the Army Generals and others.

Mr. Krishna Menon said something about the kind of Army that we had inherited. Ours was a good Army but it was not a fully modern Army. All our efforts have now been concentrated on gradually modernizing it. The modernizing process is fantastically expensive. It is always difficult to spend such large sums except when you are faced with a war situation, when the country and Parliament and everybody thinks differently. That is what has happened now. The additional taxes that the Finance Minister has now imposed would probably not have been there had not this war or semi-war situation been facing us. The process of modernization has now been given some start.

There is one thing that I must say. I am surprised at Acharya Kripalani talking about the Army having had no clothes and shoes, as though we had sent them naked to the field. I do not understand this. I think my Hon. friend said in his speech that they did not have shoes or boots.

MR. J. B. KRIPALANI: I said that the Army did not have shoes for those altitudes. I was referring to mountain-boots with which they can work in snow.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Everyone had stout boots. Everyone had blankets, shoes, clothing, etc. What happened was this; they did not carry more blankets with them because

they had wanted them to be sent to them by air afterwards.

I have not yet said anything about Pakistan. In fact, very little has been said about Pakistan by Hon. Members who have spoken, except that some reference has been made to Mr. Rajagopalachari's kind offer of Kashmir to Pakistan. Our policy consistently will be, will continue to be, to seek some settlement with Pakistan. It is a question of settlement which removes our bitterness against each other and creates co-operation between the two countries.

One of the Members of the Opposition Parties talks, I am sorry to say, very irresponsibly about things like *Akhand Bharat* and the like. It is not merely folly to talk like this but it does harm, because it frightens the people in Pakistan. Nobody here wants to upset Pakistan and it would be extreme folly if India ever tried to do that; it would ruin India, ruin Kashmir and ruin Pakistan.

We may have been wrong in minor things. But I think that throughout these many years since Pakistan came into existence and the Kashmir trouble arose, we have always looked forward to a settlement of this problem. But a settlement does not mean our doing something which is completely wrong from our point of view or the people of Kashmir's point of view. Indeed, I may also say that we shall always leave the door open for an honourable settlement with China, whenever it may come. It may not come soon, but it may come later.

I may submit that it is no small matter that in our foreign policy we have succeeded not only in earning the goodwill but the active help of great powers like the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been helping us in various ways and, as the House knows, in regard to Kashmir, it has been our staunch supporter.

Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri delivered a 15-minute address to the House in which he managed to put in as much condemnation and vituperation as it was possible within 15 minutes. I was surprised and pained to hear it, because many of the things he said had no basis. But he was evidently angry and he expressed himself. It is obvious nobody here can have any two opinions about corruption. It must be rooted out

and we are dealing with it.

Corruption is, if I may say so, a result of the democratic process, and I am a little afraid that as this process grows, corruption is going down to the villages. We have been trying to deal with it, and we have dealt with it. Hon. Members are probably hearing a lot about Ministers and the like. Many of these complaints come to me and we, first of all, have them thoroughly examined. The procedure adopted is to get some kind of explanation from the person concerned and if there is anything *prima facie* worthy of an enquiry, we first make private enquiries. Thereafter, we decide whether any other enquiry should be made or not. As a matter of fact, most of these complaints that have come, and which are talked about in the newspapers, have proved to be groundless after examination. They are exaggerated stories.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Was it an impartial examination?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Impartial, of course. The man who examined was impartial. Some are still under examination, some I am examining myself, having got reports from both parties concerned.

There is the Serajuddin affair. There has been, of course, Mr. Das's enquiry, but apart from that, there are four or five cases that are going to the courts, or have actually gone. The court will deal with all the Serajuddin affairs.

Then there is the question of some connection of some people in Orissa with Serajuddin. As a rule, these matters should be dealt with by the State, but we, nevertheless, sent for papers etc., and my colleague, the Finance Minister, and I, examined many of them. Some of them have been, I think, referred to the Public Accounts Committee. First, they were referred to the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and the Leader of the Opposition. After accepting that work, he declined to proceed with it. Later, it was sent to the Public Accounts Committee as a whole, and I think the Public Accounts Committee is a very suitable body to go into this matter. It contains Members of several Parties, and the Accountant-General is there to help them.

For instance, the present Deputy Chief Minister of Orissa, right from the beginning, almost *suo moto*, sent me and the Home Minister a long list of moneys he had received from Serajuddin. He was not a Minister then, and he said that he had received these amounts for the Congress organization. Every month he had received Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000 or something like that, and he had spent it for two purposes, for Congress and for giving scholarships to poor students. There it is. This matter has been examined, and it compared with some entries in Serajuddin's books, too. There was nothing to examine because he had admitted to receiving these amounts and he had not been a Minister at that time.

So, all these things are being looked into as far as we can, but the main question is what process we can devise to deal with this major problem. It is not an easy matter and I hope we shall devise some method. In so far as officials are involved, the special police establishment is of course there to deal with corruption. Every month I receive a report from them giving me a list of cases examined, cases started in a court of law or cases in which departmental action has been taken. Quite a number of people are punished that way.

But, as I pointed out, something more has to be done. In this matter, we naturally want the co-operation of the public and of Members of Opposition and others.

Before I finish, I should like to say one thing. We have very hard tasks before us, not only internal ones, but also the external menace, and we must stand up to them, face them and strengthen ourselves. But everybody knows how strength in such matters depends not only on arms, armies and armaments but on the morale and unity of the people. We saw some evidence of this unity and morale in November, December and January last. I would beg of the Hon. Members to consider how far this morale and unity are strengthened by this motion of no-confidence or by the strikes that have taken place in Bombay. The Chinese Press, about which I get reports every day, gloats over these things. I believe one of the reasons, perhaps a major reason, for attacking us last October was the feeling in the minds of the Chinese that India was faced with many disruptive tendencies,

and if they gave us a blow, we would split up into fragments. They were mistaken, of course. The opposite has happened. Apart from what they might think, we must ponder on what effect it might have on our Army and our own people if we quarrel too much among ourselves; it will demoralize them.

GRASS ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY

WHEN I FIRST heard of this joint conference, I was for a moment rather surprised at the two subjects being tackled together—Local Self-Government and Town and Country Planning. Yet, almost immediately, I realized the intimate connection between them. It seemed to me a good thing that they were being taken together. It is, of course, difficult to divide up our life, our community's life, into separate compartments. Life has to be seen as a whole, as an integrated whole. More particularly, Local Self-Government and Town and Country Planning seem to be intimately related. And so I have come here at your bidding to give you my good wishes and hope that you will in your deliberations not only consider major plans but also take up and accomplish something which might not seem very striking, even though it affects the common people immediately.

Often our difficulty has been that we take up large schemes and talk rather big, but in implementing them we lag behind. This is not a good thing. It is better to take up small schemes and complete them immediately. We want dynamism in our activity, in our implementation, not eloquence in our resolutions and in our discussions. At the present moment in India, we have to get going in certain directions. We have to move fast and our activities have to be efficient and co-ordinated. I do think that the Five Year Plan is a well-thought-out approach to our problems.

Speech at the Ninth Meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government, New Delhi, September 6, 1963

I do not say it is perfect, but it keeps on improving. It is a good Plan and if given effect to, it will take us some considerable way along our journey. Difficulties and delays arise in implementation, and we may not succeed to the extent we aimed at. But I believe we are gradually moving in that direction.

It is fairly easy to plan for a steel plant which is limited in scope. But when you are planning for, let us say, our countryside with 5,00,000 or more villages, it is far more difficult. When you are planning for improving 440 million people, it becomes a big job because ultimately it means raising them and making them do things for themselves. Of course, the organizations set up by Government for the people are important because they set the pace. Local Self-Government and Town Planning is of high importance because it sets the framework in which work can be done. We have the Panchayati Raj. The concept behind Panchayati Raj has attracted us and we have given it the utmost importance because the test of success in India is not the construction of a few buildings but how human beings grow. The whole object behind the Community Development Movement and the Panchayati Raj is to create opportunities for human beings to grow, to be able to think, to be able to act, to be able to co-operate with each other and act together.

We say that our aim is a socialist pattern of society. That is no doubt our aim, and that is the only aim which ultimately any civilized society must have. It is not a dogmatic socialism but something which affects the whole community, helps all the people in the country to raise their level of living and reduces the big differences that may exist. Today there is, in India, a certain vulgarity about the difference in people's standards; there are the very well-to-do and the very poor. It is inherent in the circumstances. You cannot get rid of that by simply cutting off the heads of the tall people. You want people to grow, you do not want to shorten all of them.

Municipalities, by and large, are not shining examples of efficiency in doing any kind of good work. A very

dangerous situation confronts us now when we have also the Panchayati Raj and new councils and Parishads have been elected. Are they also going down the drain like our third-rate municipalities? It would be a terrible thing if that were to happen. We have to pull them up and make them set an example to the people. I am quite sure that if the Panchayati Raj institutions flourish properly, everything else, including the top institutions, all your State Assemblies and your Parliament, will function rightly. They are the base, and if the base is strong, the upper structure will largely be conditioned by it. But if the base itself is not good, then we do not make much progress. Ultimately, the improvement of that base will come about through education. Fortunately, education is spreading—not perhaps of an ideal type—but still it is some manner of education and it is doing a lot of good. It is bringing discipline, some knowledge, some habits, and if we pay more attention to the schools, it will give a strong basis for the new community that is growing up.

In our Local Self-Government we see the grass roots of community life. I would wish that all our legislators who come up to Assemblies and Parliament are made to serve for some time in this type of Local Self-Government before they are allowed to stand for higher bodies. That would give them knowledge and experience, and in every way it will give them good training. Whichever way we look at things, the importance of this foundation is very great, whether it is in the rural or in the urban areas.

You know how attached I am to the concept of planning. What is planning? Planning is the application of your intellect to a logical, reasonable and better way of doing things. It passes my understanding how any person with a grain of intelligence can object to planning, because such an objection amounts to objecting to an intelligent approach to things. Whether it is in economics or politics, or anything else, planning is essential.

In the India of today, the growth of cities, big and small ones, is quite anarchic. It is ugly, it is horrible, in fact, it is painful to see it. I am surprised how it is tolerated by great

corporations and city municipalities. The same thing applies, in a smaller sense, to the small towns and the larger villages etc. You go to any of these big cities, even the good ones. You find their outskirts growing as if there were nobody to govern it. The corporation is busy dealing with the heart of the town, and not with what happens on its outskirts. No road should be built in the edge of a town which is not wide enough to contain all the traffic in the next 50, 60, 100 years, if you like. Sufficient room should be left for a widening of the road on either side. Nobody should be allowed to build there.

This is a very minor instance that I have placed before you. Town planning is becoming more and more important in India, not only planning of great cities like Delhi or Calcutta, which is very important, but smaller cities and smaller towns. Planning now means not only producing something more livable but possibly doing away with many of the difficulties and dangers that may come later. You must think of that. You must build for the future. Build for the present, by all means, but build also for the future with schools and hospitals and playgrounds, markets and roads. All these things do not cost much except a little extra labour and thought. I am afraid the habit of thought is not particularly obvious among our Municipal Councillors. They are so busy with their day-to-day difficulties that they seldom think of the future. Planning means thinking of the future, and I think it is very important that in your conference you should give thought to the future. You have to think of what you want your towns and villages to be like, so that gradually you may approach the ideal. You cannot accomplish it quickly.

The Delhi Master Plan has taken us about six or seven years to prepare, even with some of the most competent men that we could obtain. They worked hard for the planning of Delhi and they have produced a plan. Naturally, they cannot write on a plain surface. They have to accept Delhi city as it is and then plan for its future. That limits one's efforts but they have produced a plan which I think is a good plan and they expect it to be given effect to in the

course of the next 15 or 20 years. We must work to that end as far as we can and gradually it will take shape. Of course, you can make changes in between, when you want. Whatever the Corporation and the Municipality do must fit into that plan.

I would suggest some things which you must concentrate upon at all costs. Water supply is very important. Water supply for villages is even more important than for the towns and important cities. It is astonishing that there are still areas in India where good water is not available and men and women specially have to go long distances to fetch a little water. Good water and clean surroundings will probably do more for the health of the country than all the medicines and other things that you may import or manufacture here. So I would suggest your making a special effort to ensure such things.

Houses suitable for the villages should be so designed that they can be built with local material. This will not be difficult, and it is being done in some places. You can't have any great housing programme for villages with imported material. But the planning of the houses and that of the villages can be given some thought, keeping always in view that the population is increasingly impinging on other villages and towns and cities.

There is another point with which you may not be concerned in this conference—the question of family planning which is a very important thing. It has to be faced, otherwise, all your efforts at improving the living conditions will fail. Therein comes the role of the so-called organized authority, whether it is Government or Corporation or Municipality or Panchayat, or whatever it is. In order to do that, we constitute this organized authority from those elected by the people. It casts responsibility on the people. That is the democratic method. It has its failings. Ultimately its success depends upon the quality of the men. If that quality is bad, the best of methods will fail. If it is good, it will succeed wonderfully. That is how we try to create conditions for good civilized living. At present, those conditions are totally lacking. Oddly enough, we see the

lack of civilized living at both ends of the social scale. The very poor—it is obvious enough. The very rich—it is also equally obvious. Flaunting their wealth in front of other people's poverty is vulgar, it is not a civilized thing. Both these have to be improved, and conditions created in which neither of these things is tolerated, but everyone has a chance according to his quality, according to the work he does, according to what he contributes to the community.

Good life is more important possibly than what all the Assemblies and Parliaments do. Planning of towns and countryside is equally important to make them good to look at, to make them yield as much as they can and, consequently, these subjects which you will consider are of basic importance for the growth of a country. I hope you will look at them from this larger point of view and lay down, as far as possible, objectives which you can achieve year by year, and not make vague, pious declarations of your wishes. Declarations are good provided they are tied up with the actual things. Let it be a definite goal that there should be no village in India where water is not available and housing does not progress rapidly.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

THE WHOLE OBJECT of development of a country is social welfare in its wider sense and not merely in the sense of aiding the physically handicapped and the weaklings in a society. In a society where even healthy people have no opportunity to get on with the bare necessities of life, the first object of the state is social welfare. What is all our planning for? It aims at improving the standards of living of the people and strengthening the country in various ways. Some people may think that the first object of the state is to make the country militarily strong. That is not our

objective. Although we want the country to be strong, ultimately, all this should result in raising the social and other standards of all the people.

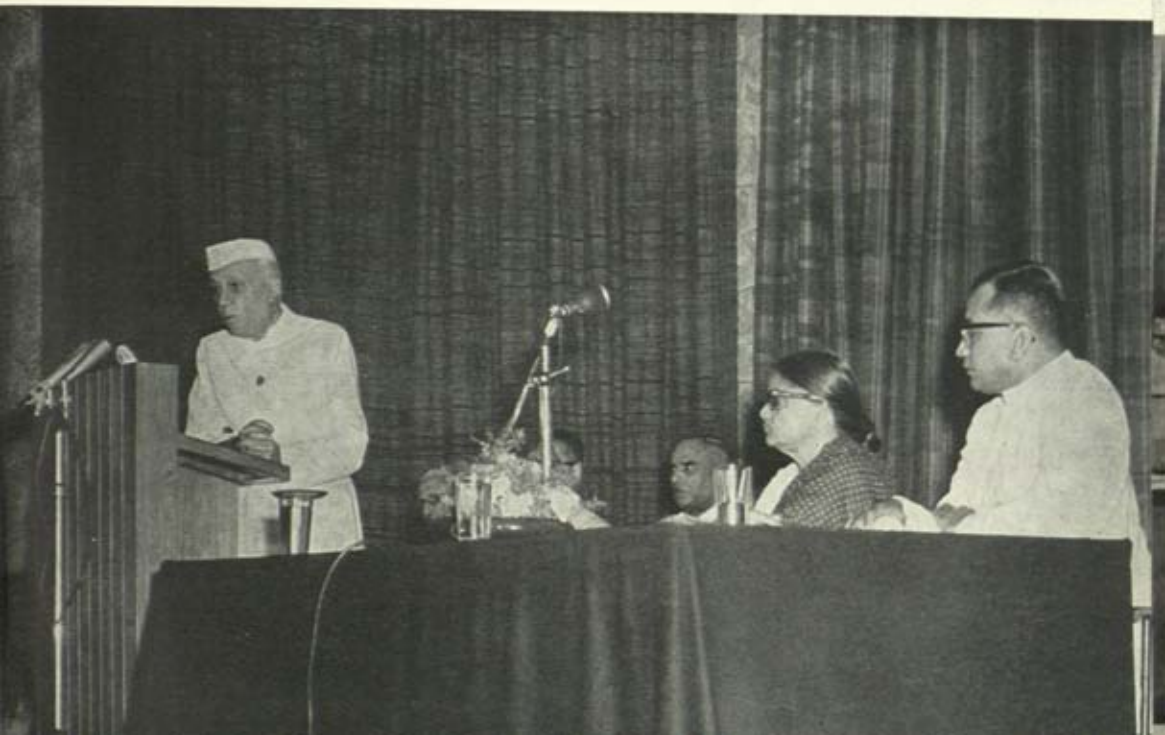
Professor Rao talked a great deal about urbanization and the problems of the city of Delhi. These problems are daily before us and daily embarrass us too, considering the slums and all that, which require all the attention we can give them. Yet the fundamental problem of India is not Delhi or Calcutta or Bombay but the villages of India, and something has to be done to raise the level of life in villages. Professor Rao is almost apologetic at the slow pace of urbanization in India. Well, I do not think we need care very much about that because urbanization is taking place fast enough and will go on taking place fast enough. In fact, there is another way of looking at it. The villages are being deprived of their bright persons who go to the cities, leaving the villages rather weak and without any educated or trained persons to help them. You may state the problem in a different way. We want to urbanize the village, not take away the people from the villages to the towns that are growing up, but to bring certain urban standards to the village, and keep the bright persons of the village in the village itself. However well we may deal with the towns, the problem of the villages of India will remain for a long time and any social standards that we seek to introduce will be judged ultimately not by what happens in Delhi city but in the villages of India.

Sitting here, I have been thinking of that specially. My mind was trying to grapple with the problem of what to do with more than 5,50,000 villages of India and the people who live there. After all, our planning is ultimately aiming at higher social welfare—I use the word 'social' in the wider sense, including, of course, economic standards for the 450 million people of India. It is intended not only to benefit the select few who are particularly unfortunate. We should help them, of course. As a matter of fact, we talk about the backward classes, the depressed classes and the scheduled classes in India, who have been given some special privileges in regard to representation, education and such other things.



*At the meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi,
November 8, 1963*

*Speaking at the Seminar on Social Welfare in a Developing Economy,
New Delhi, September 22, 1963*





*Addressing the International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi,
January 4, 1964*



*At the Conference of Scientists and Educationists, New Delhi,
August 4, 1963*

*Addressing the Education Ministers' Conference, New Delhi,
November 10, 1963*





Speaking at the Symposium on Bridging the Gaps between Boys' and Girls' Education, New Delhi, January 4, 1964

But later we decided that we should not give these privileges as far as possible to particular castes, if I may use the word, but to people who deserve them from the economic point of view. From the economic point of view, about 80 per cent of our people lack these facilities.

Now, if we are going to give special privileges to these 80 per cent, it means practically to the whole lot of our people. It amounts to this that while we do require special institutions to deal with many of these problems, it is ultimately a question of planning with a view to raising the whole level of living in the country. It involves all kinds of things, some of which we have done; many others we have not done, and we should like to do.

Agrarian reform is basic to every plan. What is the good of an institution for a few persons here and a few persons there when millions of people in the rural areas do not have a life worth living? This is the basic problem. Other problems are there, of course, that of industrial workers and such other problems. But, in India, the basic problem still remains agrarian. If we were to think purely in terms of output, all the big and important factories in India are not really so important as agriculture. Of course, from the point of view of future growth and all that, it is essential for us to industrialize, but the very basis of industrialization is agricultural progress. Forgetting the basic fact that 90 per cent of the population need to be uplifted and looking after selected people who suffer most would give us a wrong perspective, I think.

I am one of the relics of the Gandhian days. Economists like Dr. Rao used to criticize the spinning wheel. They said: "What has that to do in our age of machinery?" That criticism was right from many points of view. Yet what Gandhiji did was fundamentally right. He was looking all the time at the villages of India, at the most backward people in India in every sense, and he devised something. It was not merely the spinning wheel; that was only a symbol. He laid stress on village industries, which again to the modern mind does not seem very much worthwhile.

What is the place of small industries? We have big

plans and all that. I am all in favour of machinery. I like the feel of machinery, the look of it, but more and more, I have felt that from the point of view of balanced development, we have to lay greater stress on many small industries in our villages, make them slightly urbanized, lessen the gap between them and the urban areas and increase the facilities available to the people who live there, instead of concentrating on the towns and cities and drawing out people from the villages, thus creating problems in the cities.

Another point is that we in India live in a very mixed society—mixed in terms of development, in terms of human beings, in terms of the variety in the country and the people. You will find that many people still live as their forefathers lived a thousand years ago or more. You will also find here people who may be said to live in the middle of the twentieth century. So, you see in India a mixture of the tenth, the fifteenth and the twentieth centuries. We have vast areas in India which differ from one another. We have a large number of people whom we call 'tribal' people. Many possibly think that 'tribal people' means some kind of primitive people. Well, some tribes are rather primitive, but others are highly developed. They have a different kind of society; they do not have a market economy and do not possess many things that come with the machine age. If I may say so, in many ways, they are far better as human beings than non-tribal people like me. Because they have not developed their economy in the conventional way, they are called tribals. They are a democratic people. They are fine men and women, and possess many cultural qualities which we do not possess.

So, we have all these mixtures of human beings in India, a vast number of them and a growing number of them. How should we deal with them? Broadly, we want them to develop according to their own genius. We do not want to impose things upon them. On the other hand, unless we have some organized scheme of giving them opportunities to develop, they will not develop. Take education, for instance. That is one of the bases of social

welfare. At present, we have, I believe, about 55 million students in our educational institutions. That is a considerable number and it is growing every year. I think in two or three years' time it will be 65 million—practically 100 per cent children of the school-going age. Although our schools may not be very wonderful to look at, although our teachers may not be perfect, the mere fact that 55 million boys and girls go to school is a tremendous development. It is a revolutionary development, and this fact is changing the whole structure of our society. The children who go to school, specially the girls, influence their parents who may be illiterate, and many of whom live in the villages. Their mothers, grandmothers and earlier to them many generations have never been to school. When the children start going to school, they learn new things and tell their parents about them. They introduce little changes in their homes. There is now a very large number of young women going to our colleges.

So, I should like you to think in terms of providing the basic necessities of life to everybody in a country like India. I am ashamed to confess that even today, in spite of every effort, there are areas of India where it is difficult to get good water to drink, and people have to go miles and miles to fetch a pot of water. If I may put it so, I should think the very first thing to do in social welfare is to provide water to drink. There must be enough food, clothing, housing, education and health. If we could provide all these to every inhabitant, it does bring a certain basic standard of living to everybody. Having provided that, we can try to raise this standard.

Every country has its own problems and it is rather difficult to generalize, but in regard to India, I do feel that we should concentrate on giving the mass of people a share in the progress that India is making. We have put up very fine plants, huge plants, hydro-electric schemes and all that, and they are bearing fruit. Yet there are areas in India where no great changes or improvements have come at all. Gradually, no doubt, these improvements will seep down to them. These areas require help. Of course, such help

should be planned in a big way.

There is an important problem which comes up in planning. How should we devote our resources to the development of, let us say, basic industries, mother industries and small industries? A planner usually thinks in terms of scientific development from the base, building up a strong base and gradually extending it till the other smaller industries and plants come up. If you don't have a proper base, there will be delay in building up even the smaller industries. If you don't have enough steel or machine-building capacity, it will come in the way of putting up other industries because you won't be able to make machines and will have to import them. So, we concentrate on the basic industries. If we want electric power, we have to have hydro-electric works. But there are different opinions among our people. Some people have been telling us that we should not have spent so much energy and resources on these big industries. Basically, I don't agree with them at all, though, to some extent, I do see their point of view. I think it is impossible for us to progress without having those basic things. We simply have to have them or postpone our development. At the same time, we have to think all the time also of the social welfare of the mass of our people. We put up huge steel plants and the like, which please us and build up our morale and all that, but hundreds of millions of people cannot be asked to wait for some future age for betterment in their living standards. It is too much for them to do so. Therefore, we have to think also of other kinds of developments for the mass of our people even if it raises them only slightly.

Therein lies the virtue of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. People think that he was against machinery. I don't think he was against it. He did not want machinery except in the context of the well-being of the mass of our people. What he suggested—cottage industry—was something which immediately benefited the people, not only in regard to employment but also in production.

There is another way of looking at production. If two hundred million people of India, or whatever the number, increase their productive capacity by the smallest sum per

day, it will come to a prodigious figure when you total it up. I am not suggesting that you should all take to the spinning wheel. But, not losing myself in grand visions of a machine age, I am suggesting an approach that will directly benefit them immediately, by giving them employment. I personally enjoy such visions, but we must not lose ourselves in them. After all, we have to deal with the betterment of human beings and this aim must always be kept in view. Such a social welfare can only be brought about by State effort, no doubt helped by voluntary agencies. It was with this view that the Central Social Welfare Board was started.

It was with this view, more specially, that the Community Development Movement in India was started. Community Development deals with the villages, the rural population. It has been doing much good, but, still, as it often happens in India, things fall into a rut. We all get into a rut. Prime Ministers get into a rut, everybody gets into a rut. The early dynamism of the Community Development Movement became rather spread out. There is too much bureaucracy in it, too many Village Level Workers filling in forms all the time, instead of doing a hard job. It is extraordinary how this disease of form-filling has grown. Everybody in India wants a jeep to do social work. When I was a young boy, I never saw a jeep. Yet we did a lot of work in rural areas. I went about in ramshackle horse carts, in vehicles or on bicycles. Everybody did so. And now nobody can move without a jeep. I am not against jeeps. A jeep is a very useful thing, but this dependence on things which you cannot easily get does come in the way of work.

So the choice has to be made ultimately by the planner—it is a difficult choice—between projects which are important basically and which will lead to further growth but which will not immediately bring relief to the people and some projects which will bring relief to the people much sooner. There are some things which the people must have at all costs. I mentioned an obvious example—water. Every village must have good drinking water. There are many other needs too, like electricity. I do think electricity is perhaps the most necessary and the most

revolutionary thing which you can take into the rural areas. The moment you take electricity, all kinds of things begin to move. Petty industries grow up, agriculture is affected; everything is in fact affected. The whole life of the people is changed, they will get longer hours to work because of the lighting and all that. I wish we could concentrate on some of these things. There are, however, many pulls and one has to take an overall view of things.

Agricultural production is a most vital thing because it provides enough food and raw material for industry. If you don't have enough food, you have to import it and all your resources go into it. We must not only have food, but also surplus food. That would require not only machinery and fertilizers and the like, it would also mean dragging a few million farmers out of their old ruts. People seem to imagine that it is merely a question of providing fertilizers. You have to change the men who grow food. That is a big job.

I think we are gradually changing our men in rural areas as a result of many years of Community Development. Therefore, we have now introduced what we call Panchayati Raj. Groups of villages have been given a great deal of authority and resources. The taxes they pay are returned to them and village-elected councils deal with them. We look upon this as a tremendously educative process. As far as possible, we want to get rid of the bureaucratic element coming from the towns and cities, petty officers ordering about everything. We want the people to have the sensation of doing things for themselves. Great many difficulties come in the way. But, still, I think it is basically the right approach and it will do good. I do think that some change in the mentality of the millions of our farmers is coming. In some parts of the country, as in Punjab, it is very far advanced. In fact, parts of Punjab are today right in the middle of the industrial revolution—both in agriculture and industry. You can see it with your own eyes. Curiously enough, no big plants have been put up in Punjab. There are only small industries. People put them up. Government has helped them sometimes. On the other

hand, in areas like Bihar, where there is a concentration of heavy industry, the average farmer lives as he lived a thousand years ago. He has not been affected by it. It is rather extraordinary.

So, we have to strike a balance; we have to take on major schemes and smaller schemes. Somehow, I feel that the objective should be ultimately the development of the human being. Cities, after all, are moving and they will go ahead. But the villages require very great attention.

Now, there is another thing in our democratic system, adult franchise, in which all men and women vote. Obviously, the average person who comes into our Parliament or our State Assemblies is from the village. If the villages are not adequately looked after, these people are not going to put up with city folk pushing them about. They will insist on having their way. Sometimes that way may not be a good way, but still they may insist upon it.

This problem of social welfare might be looked at in many ways. Essentially, I submit, it has to be the point of view of the villages and the towns. Even if a small advance is made *per capita* in a village, in the totality it will amount to a big advance. If we put up big factories, they help in our production, but they do not affect too much the *per capita* income. If the village farmer increases his yield a bit, the *per capita* income immediately goes up and everything else goes up.

So, although I live in Delhi city, my mind is concerned more and more with the villages of India and how to give them the basic necessities of life, and how to make them self-reliant and capable of looking after themselves.

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

EVER SINCE the beginning of the Community Development programme, I have taken deep interest in it. It did much good but it became clear later that something else should be done to give fresh vitality to our work in rural areas.

This impetus was provided by the Panchayati Raj programme which was not only an extension of Community Development, but was also qualitatively somewhat different. It also went deeper into the roots of our village structure. Therefore, I was deeply interested in it and attached great importance to it. It struck me as an attempt to strike at the roots of our weakness, specially in rural areas. The measure of success it may attain depends on the workers connected with it as well as a large number of others, Sarpanches, Panches, etc., who are closely associated with it.

To what extent it has succeeded it is difficult for me to say without more detailed information; but I am convinced that it is working on right lines and if the people connected with it realize its inner significance, its success is assured.

On achieving independence, we inherited not only various psychologies and habits of the British times, but also an administrative apparatus which, though good in its own way for the purpose the British Government had in view, did not fit into the new order that we were trying to build. Many of our officials were well trained and good but naturally they were too much tied up with the old order.

We came to realize gradually that the whole outlook of our administrative structure has to change if real progress is to be made. In particular, it has to change in the lower ranks and in rural India. The old 'Ma-Baap' attitude was no good. It had to be replaced by full identification with the mass of our people and a growing responsibility being cast on the people themselves. After all, the main aim of Community Development and Panchayati Raj was to develop this outlook and a spirit of self-reliance amongst

the people. The fact that those people were quite often not trained and had other failings was obvious. Nevertheless, the only way to train them and to lessen their failings was to give them the chance of shouldering responsibility and learning by their own mistakes. We have to undertake many development schemes but the biggest project of all is to build men and women.

I should like to judge the success of Panchayati Raj from this point of view. Sometimes I have heard, to my great regret, that our Village Level Workers, B.D.O.s and other officials, instead of helping to change others, have been themselves influenced by the old official mentality and acted only as officials. If that is so, it means the failure of our work because essentially we have to fight that old official mentality and replace it with something entirely different. We talk of the co-operative method. That can only succeed provided it is not officialized.

Unfortunately, today the aim of the average public worker is to get elected to Parliament or State Assembly or to the Chairmanship of the Zila Parishad or as Sarpanch etc. This has vitiated public life. Little attention is paid to the work done and the results achieved. It is the achievements that should put the objectives to the test.

It is with this objective that we looked upon the Panchayati Raj as giving the millions of our people the chance to share responsibility, do good work and to grow in the process.

This must be understood not only by our B.D.O.s, Village Level Workers and others but also essentially by those who hold offices elsewhere. Indeed, we should create an atmosphere which is very different from an official atmosphere where one is always searching for posts. All our officials must realize this fully and earnestly and enthusiastically work to this end. They are in a position to lead people and they must exercise leadership not to suppress others but to encourage them also to develop qualities of leadership in their own spheres. The official, while helping in every way, must remain in the background and make the people realize that the job is theirs and that the success and failure will

also be theirs.

It is in this manner that I should like the Panchayati Raj to function. I have full confidence in its success because I have full confidence in the Indian people.

AGRICULTURE—BASIS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

WE HAVE MET after a fairly long interval since January last. The last time we met was soon after Emergency was declared in the wake of Chinese invasion. That Emergency is still with us, though it has lost some of its immediate urgency; but we have to prepare to meet the threat which is still there. It is clear that even from the point of view of the Emergency it is of the utmost importance for our development work to go on.

Emergency does not merely mean raising soldiers or getting aircraft. It means production, production for defence specially. All other types of production, more particularly on the agricultural front, is equally necessary.

We have done many things which are creditable to us. But the overall picture is not one of fast progress, specially in the agricultural domain. This is rather distressing because agriculture is the basis of all our development work. If we fail in agriculture, it does not matter what else we achieve—how many plants we put up—our economic development will not be complete.

Agriculture is more important than anything else, not excluding big plants, because agricultural production sets the tone to all economic progress. It is agriculture that gives the wherewithal for progress. If we fail in agriculture, then we fail inevitably in industry also. I am laying stress on this because in spite of the emphasis on this, it appears to me that agriculture is often considered a routine job, not deserving to be taken charge of by the brightest of the

Ministers.

Agriculture is more important by itself than any Chief Minister. You may say Chief Ministers are all-important in a Government. Of course from the point of the departments and administration, Chief Minister's portfolio is most important. I should not be sorry if the Chief Minister himself took charge of agriculture. It must be done by a man with a sense of mission, with a sense of devotion to work, with energy and enthusiasm and some ideas. That is unfortunately not so now. In any case, that is not the impression we get.

Progress has not been satisfactory even in regard to another matter, land reforms. It is intimately connected with agricultural progress and as a problem it has been with us ever since we became independent. Indeed, even before that, nothing exercised our minds so much as land reform. Most of the States, or nearly all of them, ultimately passed legislation, but in some places its progress was held up by the courts until finally it was passed.

In Japan, I believe the ceiling on land is 7 acres while the average holding is $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres. Yet, the peasantry in Japan is the most prosperous because they are competent. They know their job. They are supplied with the materials they need, whether it is fertilizer or equipment and other things. Japan grows more per acre, per hectare, than almost any country in the world. That is where we can see progress lies.

Here the fact is that in spite of so much talk, we have not quite got out of the old Zamindari mentality. We think in terms of large acres, large areas, so that even at low per-acre yields, we can get more.

Agriculture is more important than industry for the simple reason that industry depends on agriculture. Industry, which is, no doubt, very important, will not progress unless agriculture is sound and stable and progressive. I find there is a passion in many areas of India for industrial plants. Well, all good luck to those who want them. Let them have it. People seem to think that an industrial plant solves all the problems of poverty, which it does not. It has

a long-term effect on the economy, no doubt. And I have no doubt in my mind that the problem of poverty will not be solved in India except through industrial progress, industrial progress of the latest type. That is the truth. However, at the present moment, whichever way you start in India, you come back to agriculture. We dare not be slack about it, as we have been, I am afraid, in many places.

We can see today in many States in India examples of competent agriculture and of incompetent agriculture. If things can be done well in a few places, they can be done well in other places also. What matters is the emphasis we lay upon it, and the way we work for it. A slight increase in agricultural production has a direct impact on our *per capita* income. While industrial progress also makes an impact, it has a restricted and not so direct an effect as agriculture.

Unfortunately, in the last two or three years, we have had bad seasons in which floods and other natural calamities have affected the agricultural production a great deal. We hope that this year, in spite of the floods, the result will not be so bad. While we had made good progress in agricultural production about two or three years ago, we have slackened a little since then. This is not a good sign. The test of our competence lies in doing well during the bad years and not when the seasons are favourable. You know how even some highly developed countries like the Soviet Union are suffering from bad harvests and have to import large quantities of foodgrains. China has been in a bad way agriculturally in the last three years. It is a little better now than it was a year or two ago, but still it is pretty bad. Everywhere, the realization is dawning on people that agriculture is the key to all progress. I go on repeating this because agriculture is of the utmost importance. Everyone of us must realize it and not think vaguely only in terms of putting up a big plant to solve our problems.

One of our States which in comparison to others is more prosperous is Punjab where there is hardly any big plant, but there are plenty of small industries. Some States which are full of big plants are low down in the scale of *per capita* income, in spite of the development of industry,

because agriculture is not developing. So I beg of you to think a great deal more about developing agriculture and, as a part of that programme, of land reform. That programme must be completed.

After 15 years of independence, our programme of land reform has not been fully implemented for various reasons, and because of various pressures. This must be borne in mind.

I hope you all realize that this business of planning, of development, is not a thing for each State to do by itself or for the Centre alone. It is an activity in which there has to be the fullest co-operation between the Centre and the States and between the States *inter se*, because real development cannot ultimately take place in one corner of India while the other is neglected.

There is sometimes an unfortunate rivalry between States over something or the other. Healthy competition is good, but this rivalry is not a good thing and you must look upon this whole planning and developmental process as one complete whole for India, with the States and the Centre co-operating all the time.

In the last 12 or 13 years, we have gathered much experience in planning, through successes and failures. I think that, on the whole, we plan well. I think also that, on the whole, we do not implement well ! It is not good to have a theoretical plan and not implement it fully. Planned development is a complicated matter which takes you right down to the lowest rungs of the administrative ladder.

To some extent, I have a feeling that these rungs of the administrative ladder are not functioning as they ought to. We have some very good administrators but it is not a good man by himself who can do much. The whole tone of the administration has to be improved, right down to the revenue official and other officials. Sometimes there is a conflict between one department and another. Therefore, each State has to tone up its administration.

I am afraid that sometimes the Ministers are so busy with political problems that they can give little time to the administrative work. This is unfortunate. After all, they

are Ministers in charge of administration. They can do political work without also being Ministers.

One of the things we have learnt from planning these last few years—and this has been stressed in the Third Plan report—is the need for perspective planning. You cannot plan for a year, or even for five years; you have to think 20 years ahead and work up to those objectives. What happens is that we plan for five years as if we are going to start a new scheme of things at the beginning of every Plan. There is no such thing. Planning is a continuous process. If you have got to do something in the Fourth Plan, you have to begin here and now, not, of course, spending large sums of money but, still, laying the foundations for it, so that when the time for the Fourth Plan comes, it is assured of a good start.

We lose much time in the initial stages on any project. This is totally unnecessary. Therefore, I think, in your agenda there is provision for the preparation of the Fourth Plan. Those arrangements must proceed now in the middle of the Third Plan.

In the notes supplied to me, I remember to have read a statement that we are now in the middle of the 25 years of planning since independence. Twenty-five years is an adequate time and therefore half of this period is a good time to make an appraisal of the situation. I would beg of you to remember that although what you have already done is important, it is not very important by itself—an odd factory or factories or something else you put up; you have to go to the roots of the economic problem. The roots lie in agriculture and the enormous material in the form of 450 million or more people.

The other most important thing is training the people; apart from top level scientists, technicians, engineers, etc.—and we are getting more and more of them now—general training for the masses engaged in agriculture is necessary. That leads you to mass education. Education has no doubt increased. Unfortunately, I have heard that in some States the Emergency has led to a slowing down in the rate of expansion of education. That, I think, is tragic. I do not

wish to use milder terms because the whole progress of India depends on the educational apparatus from the bottom to the top. These are some of the things I should like you to bear in mind.

We are apt to err in two ways: some err by not seeing our own faults and laying stress on our achievements which are indeed considerable. Others err when they exaggerate all the commissions and omissions and feel depressed over it. Personally, I have no feeling of depression at all, but we have to avoid these extremes.

We have to make a correct appraisal and try to profit by it. In the ultimate analysis, it is the human being that counts, whether he is a Minister or an administrator or whether he is a man in the field or a factory. All the machines in the whole world do not take the place of the human being. The human being makes the machine. The machine does mould man, ultimately. It is the human being that destroyed Germany, Japan and Russia and, after the War, built them up again. In ten years' time, they again became great powers.

After all, we have been at work for the last 15 years. In this very period these countries, Germany, Japan and Russia, following different policies and with different structures of Government, faced the problem of building up a ruined country from the point of view of industry and agriculture, and they did build it up. Within ten years, they have not only become strong powers, but their production is also increasing at a fast rate. Why is it so? It is because of the trained human beings there. The average man in Germany or Japan is a trained man. They are all hard workers.

It is competent, hard work that counts and you, gentlemen, have to see that people in your States think on these lines and work without losing themselves in mutual arguments, controversies and squabbles.

This is a testing time for us, and if we fail in making good, it is not only we that fail but our failure spreads out in many directions. On the other hand, if we succeed, that will be a remarkable achievement, functioning as we do.

One thing that seems to me most unfortunate in India

is the habit, partly by those who dislike us or oppose us, of running down everything. That creates an atmosphere of depression among the people. In other countries this does not happen. As a foreign observer remarked, the biggest industry in India is to run down the Government. That is unfortunately so. We have to face all these difficulties and yet make good and I am quite sure that we can, and will, make good.

I hope that in the course of our two-day meeting we shall proceed in a business-like way. I want all of you to take this broader picture. Yesterday, some of the Chief Ministers met the Finance Minister and he has given them a picture of the financial situation. As we proceed, we should not think, 'In my State I want this, I want that', but concentrate on the larger picture of the country. Individual problems which you might have could be discussed with the Planning Commission separately. I hope that as a result of the labours of this Council we shall have a clearer idea of what we have to do in the near future and proceed to do it.

ASIAN POPULATION CONFERENCE

I AM HERE to welcome you all to this conference which is the first of its kind. We have here many representatives from a large number of Asian countries, eminent demographers and experts from various other countries.

The subjects you are going to tackle are of high importance to all of us—indeed to the world at large—but more particularly to Asia. We are looking forward to this conference and the advice that all of you may give, so that we can tackle these problems effectively.

Our country has gone in for planning for economic and social growth. But it is obvious that planning depends on whom you plan for, how many people you plan for.

Unless we have a fair idea of the population of a country as it is going to be, it is difficult to plan. Population growth becomes highly important not only for planning but for the social well-being of the country.

We in India have been trying to tackle this problem as best as we could. I confess that we have not succeeded remarkably and the growth of population in this big country is rather alarming. It is not merely a question of providing food for a growing population, although that is a primary consideration, but, generally, it is a question of providing the means for a good life, a healthy life, for all the people who live in the country. We have thus to face a kind of race between the rate of economic growth and the rate at which population grows. Obviously, unless there is marked difference between the two, there won't be much economic growth. As population grows, it rather overwhelms the efforts we make towards economic growth. However much we may try, as we do try, to increase the pace of economic growth, the fact of population growing even at a reduced pace comes in the way of any marked improvement.

I would like to congratulate the ECAFE and the associate organizations who have convened this conference. The ECAFE has recently held a very successful conference at Manila, I think, to discuss economic and trade matters. This brought together representatives of various countries in Asia and made them view the problems of this region in an integrated way. I believe very good work has been done, and I congratulate the ECAFE authorities on the success of that conference. I hope this conference will be equally successful and show the way for all countries of South East Asia. We can benefit from each other's example and take effective steps to meet these difficulties.

Although we are primarily concerned with food production, there are many other things which affect us as population growth goes on. Immediately, there is the question of schools, health measures and housing facilities which have all to be increased very rapidly in order to come anywhere near the level we want. Therefore, apart from its political and economic aspects, it becomes a social problem of great

magnitude.

It is fairly well known that countries which are under developed and which are relatively poor appear to have a more rapid population growth. I believe there is a tendency among the affluent countries also to increase their population. This policy may not affect them very much at present, but ultimately it is also bound to affect them in other ways. Anyhow, this is a problem of world importance because it will create all kinds of social conflicts, and ultimately political conflicts and the like.

Obviously, this cannot be left to take its own course because that course would bring tremendous difficulties in its trail. We have to tackle it with some foresight and with some efforts at planning. In the main, the countries of Asia are most affected by this and I suppose that all of them have their experiences and their suggestions to make.

I imagine that Japan has succeeded most in dealing with this problem. We will be glad to have the advice of Japanese experts who have come here, on how we should deal with our problem, and other countries will also profit by it.

Possibly, this conference is the first effort on behalf of the associated organizations of the United Nations, on behalf of the ECAFE, to deal with social problems in this way. They have been dealing with economic problems and they brought to bear on them the combined experience and wisdom of the countries associated with them.

Now, the importance of social problems is being felt more and more. A new advance in this direction is being made by ECAFE. I think this is to be welcomed, but economic and social problems are so intimately connected that you cannot separate them.

Therefore, I welcome particularly this conference which will deal mainly with population growth, and also other problems connected with it. After all, we are aiming at the social advancement of our people, and unless we advance as a whole, mere economic growth which might be unbalanced may not lead to the results we aim at. I trust, therefore, that this social aspect of the internal problems of all our

countries will benefit by this combined approach and we shall get new viewpoints, new approaches, new methods of dealing with it, which would be good for all our countries.

Apart from that, this meeting of the countries of the South East Asian Region specially will promote the working together of those countries in many matters. Obviously, they can co-operate in many ways to their mutual advantage. Economic co-operation between them will be good for all of them. So also co-operation in the social field will no doubt benefit them all, and a certain combined effort will lead to much greater advances than if each country were to make its own effort. It so happens that although Asian countries are very different from one another, there are certain common problems among them, problems which have come down from history and also problems of the present day. So, this fact and the fact of geography alone, that they are near each other, should help and induce us to co-operate on these common causes and ultimately the larger causes which the world has to face today—the cause of peace.

Ultimately, whatever we deal with, whether it is economic advance, social advance, or the population problem, it is connected with these world problems. We cannot escape from them, and we do not wish to escape from them. We want to play our part in the solution of these larger problems, and the more we co-operate, the more effect we are likely to produce.

It seems to me that this conference might well be a pre-runner of a combined approach of Asian countries and, of course, of non-Asian countries also, thereby producing an atmosphere of joint approach which will be good from the political as well as economic viewpoints.

I am glad, therefore, that we in India have the honour of holding this conference here. Many of you, ladies and gentlemen, have come to it from your countries with the authority of your countries behind you. Many of you are Ministers in your respective Governments and many are eminent demographers and other experts whose advice will be very valuable.

As you know, perhaps for the last dozen years or more,

we have been trying to approach our problems in a planned way. We have made considerable progress and yet even the progress we have made sometimes appears to us to be rather slow. Partly, this is due to the fact that our progress is hampered by the population growth in this country. Partly, the population growth itself takes place because of some progress we have made. Thus, the progress we make in matters concerning health has definitely reduced the death rate in this country, has added greatly to the expectation of life and thus accentuated population growth. So we have to face this dilemma that the progress we make in one direction adds to our difficulties in other direction.

Obviously, we have to progress in health, but unless we progress in other spheres too, the progress in health creates a population problem of great magnitude. And that population problem affects us in all our social activities and we have unemployment and under-employment. While we plan for giving employment to these people, the number of fresh unemployed rises, due to growth of population at a rapid pace. So all these things are connected and react on each other and unless we make rapid progress in population control, in family planning and connected subjects, we fail to reach standards of progress that we aim at. This has far-reaching consequences for us and I suppose the question is much the same in other countries, in varying degrees. These questions which you are going to deal with are therefore of the most basic importance for us, and inevitably for the rest of the world too, and deserve the closest attention and co-operation between all of us.

A BASE FOR FUTURE PROGRESS

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER, I have welcomed this debate, even though I have been somewhat surprised and, if I may say so, disappointed at the approach of some of the Members to it.

Reply to the Debate on Planning, Lok Sabha, December 11, 1963

Some Hon. Members attacked the very basis of the idea of planning. It is perfectly open to them to hold any views, however much I may think them to be without the slightest foundation.

MR. N. G. RANGA (*Chittoor*): Nobody has opposed the idea of planning from our side. We are opposed to *your* planning.

THE PRIME MINISTER: That was not what the Hon. Member's colleague, Mr. M. R. Masani, said in his speech. He said that our having a Planning Commission is opposed to the concept of all democracy.

MR. M. R. MASANI: That is true.

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is, he does not object to planning, but he does not want to have any agency for planning.

MR. M. R. MASANI: An advisory body, an expert body.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Planning Commission is an advisory agency, nothing more. Apart from that, it has been a real education for me to read—I am sorry I was not present here—Mr. Masani's speech ! It is so amazing in its lack of understanding of the whole concept of planning, the whole concept of progress. I am surprised a person of his intelligence should have made it.

Many other Members, even from this side, have concentrated on odd bits here and there. What they have said may be relevant, may be worthwhile, but the whole object of this exercise was to see the picture as a whole; in fact, not only to see this picture as a whole, but also to concentrate a little more on the last 2½ years and then decide what we should do about it.

There is no doubt that there has been failure to achieve the targets in some matters, and more specially, in agriculture. We must look into it, try to improve it and get rid of the difficulties that have come in our way. One must keep a balanced view about what has been happening.

Planned development has been going on for the last 12 years of the First and the Second Plans and now half of the Third. I think it would be useful to see generally what has happened in the whole course of the planning period.

The first thing is that during this period we have succeeded largely in putting an end to the economic stagnation that India had suffered from since 50 years or more. That is no small achievement. Our national income increased by 42 per cent, agricultural production by 41 per cent, food production by 46 per cent, and industrial production went up by 94 per cent. There has been considerable expansion in irrigation, power and transport facilities. Through our steel plants—to which more particularly Mr. Masani objects and which, he thinks, are a vicious thing for the state to have—machine-building plants etc., the foundations of industrial growth have been laid.

There has been rapid advance in education, specially technical education, and in several other fields. There has been a spectacular advance in many branches of science and technology.

In spite of a 21 per cent increase in our population, consumption levels have risen; food consumption rose from 1,800 calories to 2,100 calories; cloth consumption from a little over nine yards *per capita* per year at the beginning of the Plan to 14½ yards. Our health schemes have made remarkable progress. Malaria has been practically eliminated and typhoid is greatly reduced. As a result of this, the death rate has gone down considerably, and the expectation of life has risen from 32 at the beginning of the 'forties to about 50 now.

These developments are very significant as far as they go, and it will not be easy to find a parallel to all this change and development in any other developing country situated as India is. But the real importance of all this lies in its being a base for future progress. We have laid the foundations on which progress in future might be faster.

Therefore, while looking at this two-and-a-half year period, I would request the House to remember that nearly half that period was a period of Emergency and this has cast special burdens on us, on our finances, on everything that we do. So we must keep the whole picture in our mind. It must be remembered that although planning is a continuous process, the normal progress in a five year plan cannot be

measured as if one-fifth of the plan progress takes place in the first year, another one-fifth in the second year and so on. Usually, at the beginning of the plan, at the beginning of any scheme, foundations are laid, but the actual results are not seen till the end of the period. It is possible—I cannot say what will happen—that in the remaining two years of the Plan much of the ground may be covered. Therefore, I would beg the House to consider planning in the proper perspective, and in a balanced way.

If I may say so, looking carefully at what has been done, I am naturally disappointed at many things, more specially our performance in agriculture.

Agriculture is the toughest problem before any country, developed or undeveloped. Even highly advanced countries are suffering from many difficulties in agriculture today, as the House probably knows. You may, of course, apportion blame between the Planning Commission, the Government of India, myself and the State Governments. It is not because of blame that I am saying this, but ultimately the solution depends upon the farmer, the actual cultivator. The question is one of pulling him out of a certain rut, and giving him incentives and help and all that, and bringing about a mental change in him.

The whole object of the Community Development Movement, which has often been criticized, was to do that. I do submit that in spite of many failings, it has done and is doing that to a good extent. It has ultimately led us to Panchayati Raj. It may not bear fruit immediately, but it is a revolutionary movement which will undoubtedly bear good fruit eventually.

So, I do not propose to enter into the many criticisms made, but I am sure that all that has been said will be carefully considered by those who have to deal with it, either in the Planning Commission or in the Government. More particularly, as I said, I am very much concerned about the steps to be taken in regard to agriculture, but I would rather deal with the general approach to this question.

Planning, in fact, came in first as an all-India effort with the appointment of a National Planning Committee in

1938, I think, and that worked for two or three years.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: By Netaji Bose.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes, by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. He was pleased to appoint me as the chairman of that Committee. Unfortunately, that Committee, although it worked hard, could not work easily or smoothly because from time to time, many of us, the members, were in prison. The British Government came in the way. Nevertheless, it did a good deal of useful work.

Very soon after came what is often known as the Bombay Plan, produced by some of the top-ranking industrialists of this country. I am sure Hon. Member, Mr. Masani, remembers that. It is interesting to see what that Plan, produced by industrialists wholly, with whom he is associated so closely, said. He objects to our laying stress on two things, I think, heavy industries, and also the public sector.

I would like to dwell a little upon the approach of this Bombay Plan, the industrialists' Plan. This Plan argued for a bold approach to economic development with special stress on the growth of heavy and basic industries—exactly what the Hon. Member, Mr. Masani, now objects to—such as power, fuel, steel, machine-building plants, etc., in addition to agriculture. They are regarded as being crucial for sustaining the satisfactory growth of the economy. In fact, the need for planning was accepted in the Bombay Plan. Of course, one may object to certain types of people who do the planning.

The need for planning was accepted long ago and special stress was laid on heavy industries. The strategy of our plan has been based on this. I need not say much about agriculture because we accept that agriculture is the basic thing and it must be helped to advance. Although the results have not been so obvious, agriculture has, in fact, advanced very much and will advance rapidly in view of the change in the mentality of our peasantry. Foundations of progress have been laid and if we act upon them the advance should be more rapid. We have built up some kind of infrastructure in the field of power, transport and

technical skills which should help this process.

Chiefly, criticism has been that high priority has been given to basic industries. There was also criticism of the role of the public sector. Even the Bombay Plan drafted by the big industrialists laid great stress on basic industries, as indeed those who study the problem of development should.

It is only their political approach which makes them ignore the facts of the situation and which lead astray Hon. Members who presumably ought to know better. It is not for me to defend the role of the public sector. It has been so often discussed in this House before the policy was accepted that to go through the arguments all over again seems rather discourteous to the House.

How is the Plan produced? The Planning Commission considers all aspects in great detail. Today, it is working on the Fourth Plan which is to commence years hence. It consults all the States; the officers and Ministers discuss with them and ultimately a draft is produced and is fully considered and then placed before the National Development Council, in which all the States are again represented. Eventually, it comes before the Parliament, first as an interim draft and then as the final Plan. Before it is accepted, it goes through repeated phases of consideration at all levels.

Quite apart from the fact that we want the draft interim Plan to be considered even by Panchayati Raj organizations and numerous planning boards or planning committees, people from the universities and others are invited to consider it and send suggestions. Thus, in formulating the Plan, a very large measure of consultation takes place with public men, experts, university teachers, senior students and people from rural areas. Even so, perhaps some better method could be evolved to associate the public even more. Undoubtedly, the more we bring them into the picture, the better. But the House will realize that the Plan as evolved right from the First Plan onwards is essential for the country in spite of some people in this House not liking it. I am glad that the Hon. Acharya disclosed that he does not like the Plan; his dislike is well known. In this matter, the Hon.

Acharya and his few straggling colleagues stand rather isolated. Mr. Masani has threatened us that the whole people will rise against us and push us out of seats of authority because of the Plan. What the people will do, we shall see. But may I suggest in all humility that now or later they will not come in large numbers to cheer Mr. Masani's gospel, whatever happens?

MR. M. R. MASANI (*Rajkot*): In Rajkot they did.

MR. N. G. RANGA: In Chittoor they did, in spite of your colleague on the right.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Hon. Member has expressed his opinion, as I have expressed mine, and I too have some knowledge of the Indian people. My point is that planning has not only been accepted by the country and by Parliament once, but repeatedly, and after full discussion. It is rather odd for this basic thing to be attacked at this stage. Secondly, the strategy of the Plan is a good strategy. There may be mistakes here and there, but you cannot do without the Planning Commission. I might have often criticized it for its bureaucratic tendencies etc. I should like here and now to say that I am full of admiration for the work that the Planning Commission has done. Some things are beyond the understanding of some Hon. Members.

MR. KASHI RAM GUPTA (*Alwar*): How does bureaucracy and admiration go side by side?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have criticized the growth of bureaucracy. But, in the last 12 years, the Planning Commission, apart from such mistakes as it has committed—everybody makes mistakes—has performed an essential task; without it we could not have progressed.

As my colleague pointed out, ours is a federal structure and this has served to bring the various States together and have an integrated planning. If it had not been there, the Central Government could not have done their job. Difficulties would have arisen, and the Central Government would have been accused of encroaching on the rights of the States. The Planning Commission is an advisory body, I repeat it, and the States and the Centre can approach them and discuss things with them. Almost everything that they

have said about the States is after consideration and after reaching an agreement with the States.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: How can it be advisory when the Prime Minister himself is the Chairman of the Commission? There should be a non-official Chairman, then.

THE PRIME MINISTER: But surely the Prime Minister is also capable of advising!

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: No, no. You are yourself the executor of the Plan ... (Interruptions.)

THE PRIME MINISTER: There have been two approaches to the Planning Commission, apart from Mr. Masani's approach which we may ignore as of no importance. One group says that the Planning Commission must consist of Ministers only, and no outsiders. Shri Hanumanthaiya, I think, said that. The other approach is that it should consist of experts only and no Minister should be there. These are contradictory approaches. I think that a Planning Commission consisting of Ministers only would not serve the purpose at all. It cannot function properly, and apart from the fact that the Ministers are heavily worked, they cannot approach the States as the Planning Commission is able to do. They cannot sit down and give their whole time to it as the Planning Commission is supposed to do. If, on the other hand, you have only experts, the connection between the Government of the day and the experts would not be a very close one. Therefore, it was advised that Planning Commission should consist of whole-timers, plus two or three members of the Government, members of the Cabinet, so that this liaison should be maintained and they should be able to profit by the Government's reactions to various proposals. But, essentially, it is the permanent members of the Planning Commission, the full-time members, who are working hard.

I have been the Chairman of it. Frankly, I am invited to it once in two months to attend some policy meeting. It is beyond my capacity to deal with day-to-day problems. The Planning Commission has its own body of advisers, experts and so on. It may be the Commission can reduce the number of advisers or it may be that better people can be appointed.

But we are considering principles and not individuals.

I think that, first of all, a Planning Commission is absolutely essential. We cannot move without it, and if any Government tries to move without it, it will come to trouble.

Secondly, the composition of the Planning Commission, as it is, is broadly helpful; that is, a number of whole-time people are working in it and some Ministers are associated with it closely. Sometimes other Ministers also are invited when questions concerning their Ministries come up. The whole question of improving the working of the Planning Commission can always be reviewed. We also review it from time to time.

Here I wish to pay my tribute to the work done by the previous Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, our present Home Minister. He devoted himself to this work with extreme enthusiasm and it is he who practically built up the Planning Commission. I welcome the new Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

DR. M. S. ANEY (*Nagpur*): May I put a question? What is the precise function of our Ministers who are invited to the Planning Commission? What is the exact function of the Ministers, whether they suggest improvements or supply information or whether they try to supply them with ideas?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Apart from the whole-timers there, only Cabinet Ministers are members of the Planning Commission. Their function is exactly the same as that of others, except that they cannot afford to devote much of their time. They give certain ideas, and they listen to ideas, and on important matters they give their views or they initiate proposals. They can function like any other member. Normally, their function is limited to basic matters, that is, they do not sit down with the State Ministers and the Planning Commission for detailed discussion which would absorb a great deal of time. They join in discussions of the whole Planning Commission, just like any other member. Their views carry weight, no doubt, but they do not dictate to the Planning Commission. Obviously, in a matter involving finances, the Finance Minister's views carry great weight,

because it is not much good that the Planning Commission decides something which cannot be acted upon by our Finance Minister.

So, it should be remembered that the Planning Commission is an advisory body. But it is true that being an expert body its advice carries great weight.

I would like to point out one thing. When you plan, you must, broadly speaking, know what you are planning for, and whom you are planning for. You must have some picture of the future. Some people who object to planning are presumably influenced by the picture as it is today. There have been improvements here and there, but more or less, as things are today, the top dogs continue to remain as top dogs and the under dogs remain at the bottom—with a little more of facilities here and there. The essential point to consider is what kind of picture do we have for the future.

Of course, we can generally say we want a good life for all our people. That is a vague statement to which almost anybody would subscribe. But if you think more closely on this, it ultimately leads you—it leads me anyway and I think the great majority in this House and the country—to some kind of socialistic structure. Socialism has become, like many other words, rather a vague word. I admit it, because even now some capitalist countries talk about it in their own terms. Even Mr. Masani talks about some kind of socialism in which the present order will continue.

Therefore, to put it broadly, we want to plan for a socialist State. We want to plan for as great a measure of equality as possible for everybody in India, and we want to do all this within the democratic structure of the State. I think that we shall succeed. I cannot say how long it will take us to do it.

Meanwhile, naturally, the major problem before us is to increase production; only then can we supply the goods that people want, and keep an eye on distribution so that it should not result in heavy accumulations on the one side and lack of them on the other. These are the broad approaches.

We are not tied up to any doctrinaire view of socialism. But these are the broad approaches which I think are fundamental to socialism, and which are accepted now in the greater part of the world, even in the capitalist world. There is no developing country that I know of which does not accept them. A socialist approach is inevitable. There is no other way. I submit to this House with great confidence that if we adopted the capitalist approach, it would lead us nowhere.

Therefore, we have adopted a mixed economy. We have a private sector and a public sector, the public sector, being the more important, dominates the economic policy. Otherwise, there is no point in having a public sector to help the private sector. We want all kinds of things to be produced; we want the private sector to be helped.

As a matter of fact, what is the private sector in our economy? The whole of our land is in the private sector. Our small industries are very largely in the private sector. The whole conflict comes—not conflict exactly but a certain pull—for two reasons. Certain basic industries are in the private sector; some of the great industrialists want more of them because not only they might prove to be very profitable but because it gives them economic power. I think it is highly objectionable that economic power should be in the hands of a small group of persons, however able or good they might be. Such a thing must be prevented. That is our broad approach.

With this approach, the Planning Commission have to deal with questions of production, both in the private and the public sector, and with the question of preventing accumulations. They have not done that very effectively, I will confess. I hope they and our Government will do so more effectively in future, in spite of the difficulties that may arise from Hon. Members opposite.

Even in this report, Members have laid great stress on our failure to prevent accumulations of wealth. Mr. Masani's view of India today is a very dismal view. The planned development that we have done in the last few years—not these two and a half years only—has created an infrastructure

on which we can base our future progress in regard to power, transport and technical skills. This is a very important achievement and it has created a climate, if I may remind the House, of unprecedented buoyancy even in the field of private enterprise.

It is well known that ever since we started our Plans, private enterprise has prospered as it has never done previously, for the simple reason that they have certain assured things to look to and they have proved profitable.

But as I said, even in these two and a half years of the Third Plan, we have laid stress on some failures, but ignored the successes that we have attained in many respects.

Agriculture is a major sector where we have not succeeded in the last two years for various reasons, some of which are in our control and some are not. Agriculture still depends on natural factors, which are not wholly within our control. These unfavourable factors can be lessened somewhat. I think we should give very special attention to agriculture. That is basic.

The philosophy guiding the Swatantra Party is, I think, that of free enterprise and free market forces. The influence of free market forces is quite inadequate to reflect the true needs of a community where millions have no employment. But even if the market reflects to some extent the current demands, it does not reflect the changing needs of the future, which we desire to be greatly different from the present.

The view of those who believe wholly in free enterprise is a static view, or is a very slowly changing view. Where you require rapid changes in the social framework, it is wholly inapplicable and it can possibly produce social disaster in the end.

I should like the House to bear in mind what we have to contend against. We argue about things, but in India we have to contend with something which no other country has to contend against, namely, social habits and practices which come in the way of planning or progress. These are changing, I admit. But they are still a terrible obstruction. All of us will agree that trying to change the social habits of 450 million people is a big job. But I think we have,

through planned development in these years and through progressive industrialization and community development, tackled that problem somewhat indirectly and with some success.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Have a clean and efficient administration also.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I entirely agree with the Hon. Member, but I would say—I say so with some confidence—that all this talk of corruption in India is exaggerated.

I am not denying that it exists. I think we should deal with it with all the strength we have. But I would like Hon. Members just to compare it with what is happening in the United States of America, the richest country. I can name many other countries. I am not justifying it. I am saying that the general attitude of Members opposite is to create an atmosphere of frustration in the country in regard to planning, in regard to progress, and it is not good.

We have taken up an enormous task, a tremendously big task, and that requires public appreciation and public support. If one creates an atmosphere of frustration all round, if the Hon. Members themselves are frustrated, it is obvious that they cannot bring about any radiance in other people. They must change their own frustrated minds first.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: You referred to frustration on this side. Eliminate corrupt minds on that side first; otherwise your Plan will fail.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Here we are engaged, as everyone knows, in a tremendous task, a task which is almost unparalleled in history, partly because of the bigness of the country and the large population and also because we almost started from scratch.

After the British left, we were so low down. Hon. Members have sometimes quoted our place in the statistical tables of other countries, our annual income, and *per capita* income which is very low, undoubtedly. Why is it so low? It is because we started with this very, very low position. And with all the limitations—we have to break old conventions which come in our way—we are progressing with some rapidity. The problem before us is low income and

gross poverty.

I referred a little while ago to the Bombay Plan. I will read out a passage from it for the benefit of some Members opposite. This was written 20 years ago. Some of the biggest industrialists in India then were interested in it.

It is an important part of our proposals regarding industrial development that in the initial stages the attention should be directed primarily to the creation of industries for the production of power and capital goods. Nothing has more seriously hindered the development of India's industrial resources than the absence of these basic industries and we consider it essential that this lapse should be remedied in as short a time as possible. Apart from the importance of quickening the pace of industrial development in India, it will have the effect of ultimately reducing our dependence on foreign countries for plant and machinery required by us and consequently of reducing our requirements of external finance.

I hope that Hon. Members opposite, of the Swatantra Party, will ponder over what some of the people whom they admire greatly have said about it.

Planning, as has been said, is a continuous process. What is done today bears fruit much later. Thus, the habit of viewing the success of the Plan in relation to the target of a particular year betrays a lack of understanding of the dynamic processes of development. In the very next year, sometimes, the target may be exceeded.

The lessons to be drawn are the need for strengthening technical organizations for detailed planning and execution of projects and the necessity for advance planning to take full account of the inevitable time-lags. It is, if I may say so, one of the failures of our planning in the past that projects had not been technically examined at an early enough stage, and also that perspective planning had not been thought of as much as it should have been. To some extent, we are doing it now because, as I said, the Fourth Plan is being given the most careful consideration. It is not a question of preparing big schemes, but each scheme, each project, is being worked out in the smallest detail as, for instance, how many engineers will be employed there, what class of engi-

neers, how many scientists, and all that. That has to be done for every project.

These are the major lessons we have learnt from experience, apart from the many other improvements that we should try to make. But we must strengthen the technical organization for detailed planning and execution of projects. We plan here, at the Centre. The States' planning structures are rather not very advanced, but it is the States who have to deal with the projects that are planned. We have to try to improve the planning machinery at the States' level.

Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain referred very specially, I think, to family planning and said that only two pages are devoted to it in this report. I do not quite understand him. I am all in favour of family planning. But how this report could have dealt with it, in ten or twenty or hundred pages, I do not understand.

As a matter of fact, at the present moment there is a conference being held in Vigyan Bhavan which I had the honour to inaugurate yesterday. It is the first Asian Population Conference. This is the first conference of its kind ever held anywhere dealing with population problems. It appears that except for Japan, the one country in Asia which has gone ahead with family planning programmes, the next country which has done most in this field is India. That is one reason why they have held the conference here and many people want to know what we are doing, what success we have attained, etc. I think we have made considerable basic progress, although naturally you can measure this success only after a number of years. India is such a huge country that every work that you may do is lost in the multitude of the human beings here.

MR. KARNI SINGHI: Is the Prime Minister satisfied that the family planning message has actually reached the masses? I think very few people know about it.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have just said that in India the population is so big and in such matters people are so ignorant that most messages only reach a relatively small number, compared to the total population. But I think

the progress made here is not unsatisfactory and, if I may say so, family planning is not like putting up a factory to produce certain contraceptive devices. Any question of birth control is intimately connected with education.

MR. KARNI SINGHJI: The message of family planning has to reach the masses. They have to believe that it is wrong in the present context to have too many children.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I entirely agree with the Hon. Member. It has also to reach the people who are supposed to be not the 'masses' but the 'classes'. Even they have not fully got the message yet. What I am saying is that the essential condition for birth control is education on a big scale, which means a certain economic status for the family and indicates a certain growth in our economy.

MR. KARNI SINGHJI: Our news-reels carry no such message. There must be something in the news-reels also.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Any apparatus, any method for family planning costs about Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 a month. Can you ask the masses of India to spend Rs. 5 a month? There the difficulty arises. It has to be cheap, and some measure of education is necessary not only to understand it but even to use any method.

I would like to tell Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain that a good deal of research work has been done in India on this subject—good research work.

MR. AJIT PRASAD JAIN: That is not what the mid-term appraisal says.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not remember what the report says. But a good deal of research work has been done; maybe, it should be more. But we are one of the countries where research work has been done, apart from the Rockefeller Foundation in America and one or two other countries.

MR. AJIT PRASAD JAIN: Only on chemical contraceptives.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I should say where I am disappointed, if I am disappointed at anything. We should, of course, try our hardest. But I am specially disappointed in regard to agriculture, although I do believe that seeds have been evolved which will show rapid results in the future. Though on the whole, looking at the picture, I am

convinced that it is not at all dismal and I am not at all discouraged about it. Only, many difficulties have appeared which we had not foreseen previously.

MR. B. P. MAURYA (*Aligarh*): You may be disappointed or may not be; the Government may be disappointed or may not be, but the farmers and the landless labourers are disappointed very much.

THE PRIME MINISTER: No doubt, the Hon. Member has also contributed to that disappointment.

MR. MAHAVIR TYAGI: Is there any intention to make a villagewise survey of the possibilities?

THE PRIME MINISTER: What I was going to say was this. One thing that distresses me very greatly is that, although I am convinced that the great majority of our population have bettered their economic condition a little, with more calories and more clothes, yet, there is a good number of people in India who have not profited by planning, and whose poverty is abysmal and most painful. I do think that some method should be found to remedy the situation.

The normal planner proceeds like this; he makes a theoretical approach. It is very good in theory, but it sometimes ignores certain human factors. He says that for this item we want production, and the best way to have production is, say, to put up a factory or something at a place where it will yield most results.

The result is that they go on gathering factories and such like things at special locations. As they gather production units, it becomes easier to start still another factory there. That may be logical, and that may yield more production, but it is not a very human approach, considering the size of India.

I begin to think more and more of Mahatma Gandhi's approach. It is odd that I am mentioning his name in this connection. I am entirely an admirer of the modern machine, and I want the best machinery and the best technique, but, taking things as they are in India, however rapidly we advance towards the machine age—and we will do so—the fact remains that large numbers of our people are not touched by it and will not be for a considerable

time. Some other method has to be evolved so that they become partners in production, even though the production apparatus of theirs may not be efficient as compared to modern technique, but we must use that, for, otherwise, it would be wasted. That idea has to be kept in mind. We should think more of the very poor countrymen of ours and do something to improve their lot as quickly as we can. This problem is troubling me a great deal.

Ultimately, it is a question mostly of the agricultural masses, and I think that agriculture, unless it is allied to some other industry, will often not bring rapid results. I think that animal husbandry is one such thing which is allied to agriculture. Also, there can be small industries in the rural areas.

There are many things that can be done, and we hope we shall try to do that. But I also hope that the House would remember the magnitude of the task before us. It is stupendous, and we must approach it in the proper spirit. We should not approach it with frustrated minds. We have to approach this task with confidence, with strength and belief in our people. We should also try to put this faith across to them. If we have this faith in an ample measure, the people will also be affected by it. Of course, we should try to learn all the lessons from this report and from other sources as to how to improve this method of planning, because without planning I do not think that we shall make any real progress; certainly not the kind of progress that we desire.

IRRIGATION AND POWER

IT HAS BECOME a habit of mine to inaugurate conferences. I do not know how many I have inaugurated in this Vigyan Bhavan. But I do think that this present Conference

Speech at the Conference of Ministers of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, January 3, 1964

of Ministers of Irrigation and Power is very important.

Irrigation, of course, deals with the basic problems of agriculture which lies at the root of all our progress. Power, again, is essential for our progress and advancement. In fact, if you take power to the village, you introduce a revolutionary element which changes the face of the village. So the two are most important. The question is how to set about bringing these benefits and how to increase the economic potential with their help. You have come here to discuss that among yourselves and lay down the programme to follow.

Though we all know that agriculture is essential and basic, it has been rather neglected. I say neglected in the sense that people hoped that crops will grow by themselves and not by much effort on our part. Now, greater attention is being paid to it and I hope this will bear results. There are all manners of things that go into agriculture. We have large irrigation schemes, but it takes a long time for us to take advantage of them fully. We first spent a lot of money and energy in building them, and then started thinking of how best to use them. Between the two there has been a long gap. We should plan for their full utilization in advance. The other problems of agriculture, of irrigation, etc. are given in this book which has been circulated and you will no doubt discuss them and come to your own conclusions.

As for electric power, the more I think of it, the more I feel the importance of it. It does not matter how much electric power you have in India, it will always fall short of the demand, and there is no question of your exceeding the demand. Possibly, we are going to get over this shortage of power sometime, through power obtained from atomic energy. That is a new source of power and it is good that we are getting it, because I believe that its cost of production will gradually lessen and we may have to go in for more and more atomic energy civil stations for power supply. For the present, we are planning for three, but they will take several years to yield results.

THE VALUE OF MUSEUMS

TEN YEARS AGO, I visited this Museum and in a sense declared it open to the public. Trying to go back, my first impression of it was that of a fine collection of a large number of articles of considerable beauty, rather mixed up, things of great beauty lying together with many other things not of such great beauty. The second impression was a lack of impression, I mean the whole place being so crowded up that it seemed to me that all the beautiful objects in the museum were largely losing their merit by being placed together, one on top of the other, as it were.

An essential part of the museum is space, display ; things must not be jumbled up. It should show not only that you have got so many things but also that each thing is capable of being viewed properly in space, in measure, and in time, so that you not only admire it for what it is but, to some extent, are able to absorb the atmosphere of the time when it was produced. So, I am very glad that a new building is being put up and I hope that there will be no such crowding here, even though it were to mean that you display only half the things. It is no good putting one object on top of another, rubbing shoulders with other objects till you are confused, and cannot admire or absorb anything. That is most important.

I do not know much about museums except that I have seen a good number, but the one thing that has impressed me in good museums is the space provided for display, with no crowding of objects. I hope that will be borne in mind here. I do not know what most people think of museums. In my childhood we used to call them *Ajayabghar*, but that is a wrong word to use for a museum. A museum is not a place for odd things. There will be odd things, of course, but, in a museum, things of beauty are

Speech on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone for the new building of the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, July 23, 1963

collected and displayed, more so of the past, of the past activities, of past thinking, past human endeavour and so on. It gives us glimpses of the past such as no history books give. It should give us glimpses of the life of those people so that their work comes up before us. We can judge their culture through a museum much better than through reading a dry history book. It is important, therefore, that a museum should be made to give that impression to us and it should be displayed in such a manner as to convey something of that past to us.

Further, a museum should not only give us the past of a particular place but also of other parts of the world, as this museum is likely to do. After all, all of us who live today are the outcome of that past. We are the bits, conditioned by past ages into what we are today. We are, in a sense, the real museum-pieces of today. And it is desirable that we should know something of that past. Of course, the museum gives the high points of that past. That is as it should be, and if we understand the past in its proper setting, we learn much from it. We learn much about ourselves, what has conditioned us and what to some extent will continue to condition us. So, I think, a museum is of great importance, not only because it gives us pleasure, some sense of appreciation of beauty in its various forms, but as it also enlarges our vision and our outlook. It is of particular importance, therefore, from the educational point of view. Children in schools and colleges should certainly go there, and it must be an essential part of their education to visit museums.

Many of the art pieces in India are not such that they can be moved about and put in a museum. You cannot take away Ajanta and Ellora and put them in a museum. You cannot bring Taj Mahal to a museum. In the old days, while there was a kind of palace art meant for display to selected people who visited the palaces, there was also a public art, whether in temples or mosques, which everybody could see. The greatest statues of the past in India are part of the entire building. Take Ajanta, it is part of a huge hill, not something which you hang up on your walls.

It is a curious habit today, encouraged by people who cannot be considered to be high priests in art or in its understanding, to tell an artist, let us say, to fill up a 20 feet by 10 feet wall in a public building. What he has to fill it up with has no relation to the building, to the background of the building or to the future of the building. It is just some kind of decoration for that empty space. That is not a particularly happy approach to the problem of using empty spaces, filling them up with paintings or sketches. The thing should grow, like our temples, as part of the surroundings. They grew out of a mountain or something like that, and so also art has to be part of the whole idea behind the building. In fact, the proper way to do it is for the artist or sculptor to be associated with the putting up of the building; not that the engineer puts it up and tells the artist to go and paint, or draw something on the empty space of a wall. That is a very crude way of doing things. Unfortunately, we follow the crude way usually. Often enough, engineers who put up a fine building do not think very much. They are not made to think very much of the wider question of perspective or of town planning and such other points of view. Life is an integrated whole, and unless you think of all these aspects, you do not do full justice to what you may be building.

Anyhow, looking at the plans of this museum, they seem to be impressive from the outside. I am more interested in the inside of it than the outside. The inside should be such as to do justice to the things displayed, to provide an atmosphere. Museums are getting more and more important. Museums of articles of beauty from various parts of the world are important. However, museums have a wider scope nowadays. Science museums and other museums of that kind which teach us something about life, something about the development of life, the history of civilization and all that, are essential. They touch a subject of great importance. In the history of civilization, all these things of beauty come in, but something more important also comes in along with them, that is, they develop interest and curiosity in human beings and provide some kind of a

view of the process of human development. That is a big objective and I do not suppose any one museum can do it. But perhaps each museum, however limited in scope, might have this viewpoint before it, so that it may fit into the larger scheme of things.

This Salar Jung Museum is the outcome of an extraordinary effort by the late Salar Jung, who was one of the greatest collectors of things of beauty. It has got valuable material. Some of them are not so wonderful, no doubt. But I suppose this Museum will be organized with a proper display and will develop on the lines I have suggested. I think it is a great good fortune of Hyderabad city to have such a fine museum which will attract people from outside, too. I congratulate you on starting a new building for this museum, and I hope very much that this museum will not be merely a show-piece but will enter into the minds of people, specially the children, so as to condition their minds to some extent.

Unfortunately, we have been too narrowly conditioned in the past. We have confined ourselves to our own sphere of life and not cared to understand the rest of the world. That can no longer happen. We have to understand the world, if we are to understand ourselves. I was interested to learn from the Governor's Address that they are going to have some mobile exhibitions. I do not quite know what it will be like, but it is a good idea. It might mean some statues and such other things being sent round, but it should be something more. What I mean is that a museum should almost become a University in some ways ; a museum should provide a regular course of lectures for people—for boys, girls, and grown-ups—anyone taking up a course of lectures, on one phase of history, of the past or the present, illustrated with these actual specimens. Thus, you can do great good through museums to those people who care to learn and all this should be done in a way that it attracts people. That is the duty of a museum today.

The science or art of museology has grown greatly, so I understand. I know not much about it. But having been to many big museums, I will repeat what I have already

said: it is of the utmost importance to display things in the proper way. In this way it can become a true centre of education, and it may be that some suitable exhibits could be taken round to villages and towns to tell a connected story. I do not know how that can be done properly, but I am merely putting it forward to the experts who might think about it.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

I AM GRATEFUL to you for inviting me here today, though I rather doubt if I can help you very much in your deliberations. All I can do is to encourage you and to express the goodwill and the earnest desire of the Government to see that science flourishes in India, and scientists have every opportunity to do good work. Dr. Kabir has surveyed the field of our work here fairly comprehensively—what has been done, what is being done and, to some extent, what he hopes will be done. Largely, I agree with what he has said.

A little more than five years ago, we passed the Scientific Policy Resolution. I was reading it today and I felt that it was a good resolution. If we had to sit down to draft it today, probably it would not be very different from what we did then. The question that arises now is how far have we lived up to it. We have perhaps not implemented it as fully as many of us had hoped.

I think there is a general appreciation in India of the importance of science and technology. Its importance is, no doubt, growing in our universities and special institutes. More and more students are taking to the study of technical and scientific subjects. Yet, I do not suppose it will be true to say that the background of general thinking in India is governed by the scientific approach. Nor can this be done

by some mandate of Government ; that has to come out of the educational process, and the industrial and technological changes that are coming about in the country. As a matter of fact, the two are closely allied.

There is one criticism that is often made about the financial resources that are made available for scientific work. Although we are now spending more on scientific work than previously, it is, I suppose, true to say that we are rather slow-moving in that direction and some of our scientific work has suffered because of lack of money. Some months back, a Committee was appointed, I think, with Dr. Homi Bhabha as Chairman, to look into this matter and to recommend what more could be done to help scientific research, and also where it is possible to economize.

The object of that Committee was really to encourage useful and profitable expenditure for scientific research. We did not want merely to say that so many crores of rupees would go into scientific research, but rather to have it examined how it should be done. That Committee, so far as I know, has not yet produced any report or recommendations. But I wish to assure you that in spite of our very considerable difficulties at the present moment, because of the Emergency and for other reasons, Government will not hesitate to supply more funds for scientific research, provided some kind of a reasoned approach is made. It is not enough merely to say 'give more funds', but if it is explained where more funds are required, I am sure, and I have, in fact, been told by our Finance Minister, that he will certainly meet such demands wherever necessary.

Ultimately, it is the educational apparatus behind all this that counts, specially universities and specialized technical institutions. They are growing—I hope they are growing both in quantity as well as in quality—and behind that, again, the general level of mass education is also improving. During these days of Emergency when very considerable defence burdens were cast upon us, we decided, in spite of those burdens, that we must not slacken in our efforts at development, because such a development was itself basic to strengthening the country. Any attempt to

cut down on that would ultimately weaken the country. In that scheme of development, I attach the greatest importance to education. Some people seem to think that, useful as it is, education is not so important as putting up a factory. I might sacrifice any number of factories, but I will not sacrifice human beings and their education, because it is the human being who sets up the factories and produces the things we want. Factory, by itself, is very useful and desirable, but unless it makes that impact on the human being, it will not be useful. After all, what is our purpose in life? There are certainly many purposes—raising the level of living and all that. I would put producing good, trained human beings as the main purpose. It is the trained human being that produces the rest. If you do not have trained human beings, then you get a lopsided growth and you do not make such progress as you should. It is not merely technology you impart to the human being, but also other kinds of training which enable him to think and lead what might be called a good life.

Science is most important, as was stated in that Scientific Policy Resolution. But it is not complete by itself unless you use the term science in a much wider sense than mere technology. Today we see enormous changes being brought about by science. The whole context of life is changing. As a matter of fact, looking back at the last half century with which I have been more or less connected—and some of you also—we see that enormous changes have been brought about chiefly by science and technology. This pace of change is growing and I have no doubt that another fifty years or even twenty-five years hence, you will see even greater changes—not merely in space research, but something affecting human life. In order to participate in this movement, you have to build yourself up in the scientific and technological spheres.

There is always a possibility that this rather mad race may end in disaster, and because of that possibility people have sometimes condemned the advance of science in that particular direction. Well, we try to avoid such a disaster. It is a very happy sign that a step—not a very big step but

a very important step—has recently been taken with the agreement between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom in regard to a partial ban on nuclear tests. By itself, it does not take one very far, but it is almost what might be called the crossing of a watershed in the direction of disarmament and peaceful progress. We have, therefore, welcomed it very much and we hope that other steps will follow so that science may progress more normally and not be tied up to the wheels of armament race.

So far as we are concerned, we are definitely committed to encouraging science and technology, encouraging it not only in its various technical fields, but to build up the scientific temper, a scientific approach to life's problems. Unless we gradually start to function more and more according to the scientific temper, the advance we make may not be wholly good. Science is not merely training to do a job but training to think in a particular way. That is highly important. It is not unusual for a competent scientist to be not so much of a scientist outside his field of knowledge and not to apply the scientific temper in other aspects of life.

Science is not limited to any particular nation and any benefit that comes from it should be enjoyed by all. Nevertheless, there is a special importance for science in a country which is not to be wholly dependent on other countries, and which has to build some capacity for self-growth, self-reliance. We are developing that, I believe, in this country. We have to develop that spirit in other ways, too, in industry and technology, so that we may not be merely dependent on others.

I hope that our science will be, and all science will continue to be, international. But internationalism does not mean being dragged about hither and thither by others. We co-operate with others, we get the benefit of what they have done, and give them the benefit of what we do. That applies to every activity, whether it is industry or science or technology. Here comes in the question of our educational approach, and of the opportunities to be given to our people to develop themselves, think for themselves.

It is rather a common thing to say that we are in a transitional age. We are always in a transitional age. But, I think it is more true today than perhaps at any other time. What we or others do in this age, in this generation and in the next, will make a tremendous difference to the future of our country and the world.

Well, we talk about the world and it is right that we should do so. Of course, we are not shaping the world. All we can do is to try to shape our own country. In doing that we help the world too and in trying to work along these lines we have to keep certain ideals in view. After all, as I said a little while ago, the main thing is the human being, and not what plants or factories we put up. Human beings are not there to feed the factory but the factory is there to feed the human being. Therefore, the human aspect has always to be kept in mind, the growth of the human being, and all our social, scientific thinking should be governed by this consideration.

In India, some parts are going through a fairly rapid change—industrial and even agricultural, to some extent. In other parts, we live in the distant past and our people are very backward. There is always this problem of concentrating on the more prosperous areas and thus getting good results out of them. We have to think a little more of the backward areas. I do not suppose you can solve this problem by any theoretical approach. You have to do both, to some extent, specially in a democratic set-up. You cannot afford to have areas which are very backward, where human beings suffer much. It is painful even to think of it. To satisfy yourself by saying that some big job is being done somewhere does not take you very far. We have to try to do both and, in considering this problem, the scientific approach will help, indeed.

We talk about planning. What is planning? Planning is a scientific approach to the national problems that face us, not leaving it just to chance and circumstance or the desire of individuals, each person pulling in a different way. Of course, there are some uncertain factors in it—the human being himself is an uncertain factor. Essentially, it is the

scientific approach to life's problems, national problems, that constitutes planning which we have undertaken to do. That planning must have an ideal before it, some kind of an objective, a social objective—not a rigid one—towards which we go, profiting by our experiences.

We are committed to the ways of peace and peaceful development. Unfortunately, we are being pulled more and more by dangers to our country, external dangers which necessitate our thinking more and more of defence. We have to do it because a country which cannot defend itself can do precious little otherwise. Nevertheless, we must realize that our real aim must be peace, peaceful settlement of problems and peaceful co-operation in the world, because there is no other hope for the world or for our country.

It is a good thing to keep these broad aspects in view even while you think of the more specific problems that confront you because, after all, all of us are engaged in a great adventure. We may be small parts of that enormous machine that is moulding India. But if we have a conception of being parts of that big thing, then, perhaps, the work we do will also acquire greater significance. Those of us who have had the benefit of some training, scientific, technical, etc., have a greater responsibility than others because, after all, this is a scientific and industrial and technological age, and we have to utilize our opportunities. We have to give back to the country what we have received from it in the shape of training and education and other things, so that the heavy debt that we carry is paid back to our people. I hope scientists in this country look upon their work from this larger viewpoint, and more in the sense of a crusade than just a profession.

EDUCATION—THE PRIME MOVER

EVERYBODY is interested, I suppose, in education. All of us want education to grow quantitatively and qualitatively in India. The question is how exactly to do it. All I can do is to lay stress on my own desire and, I think, the Government's, on the importance of the spread of education. We talk about Five Year Plans and development schemes. I am quite convinced in my mind that our first plan should be for universal education. Everything else, whether it is industry, agriculture or anything else which is important for us, will grow adequately only if there is the background of mass education and, of course, specialized education at higher stages. So the problem is how to bring this about.

Two things come in the way of achieving this goal—lack of trained teachers and lack of money. Both are formidable obstacles. The only way to remove the hurdle is to train and produce enough competent people to be able to do this job. As for finances, it is a very difficult question. I was much pained by the fact that owing to this Emergency, education has suffered some setback in some States because they were trying to save or divert money to some other object. I think it is not a very happy outlook to think of education as less important than anything, including soldiering. Today you want even a soldier to be educated. We don't want an illiterate person to be a soldier.

But I am sure there are many ways of reducing the cost of education in so far as buildings are concerned. I do not want reduction in the cost of teachers' salaries and the rest. I think their emoluments should progressively go up if we are to get competent men and women. But I do think, more specially in regard to primary education, that much can be done in regard to construction work to save money. You can save money by adopting more modern methods. The traditional methods, in so far as I know, have a remarkable way of being costly and also looking

horribly ugly. The average schools are not things of beauty and they cost much. I do not know from what period this practice has come down to us, but we still follow these old methods. Today, schools can be put up more rapidly and cheaply than ever before by pre-fabricated methods, or even traditional methods applied in a wiser way.

I came here this morning after visiting a large colony which is growing up near Delhi. It happens to consist of residential houses and government offices entirely constructed of pre-fabricated material from the Delhi Housing Factory. They are considerably cheaper and swifter to build than the other houses. I believe schools in Delhi are largely made of pre-fabricated material. So, that is a matter which requires consideration because our housing programmes have become bigger and bigger not only for schools but for everything. It is very difficult to keep pace with them unless you adopt some methods like these, like having pre-fabricated materials, production of which will both be cheaper and speedier.

There can be such a thing as a school without a building and it is far better to spend money on teachers' salaries than on bricks and mortar. You want some kind of shelter, certainly. I once saw some plans for a school which had provided only for a small central building. A small building is perhaps a big word for it. Actually it is a small structure, diagonally divided into four, each side having only a platform. This little structure was really meant to keep the books, charts and equipment of the school. People could sit on the cement platform in front. They could add to the structure whenever they had the opportunity or the resources to build. The structure I referred to is not very good against monsoon rains, of course, but would certainly be all right for the sun. They are very temporary structures, similar to those they have in the South, and artistic too, and can be easily built.

I really don't know how we can go ahead fast enough in primary education, specially in the rural areas, if we have to shoulder the burden of costly construction in a big way. I am sure there are many ways of facing this if you would be good enough to apply your minds to it and not think of

education as inevitably connected with costly buildings. In Santiniketan, as you perhaps know, most of the classes are held under the trees. Although they do have buildings, they prefer to hold them under the trees. They hold their Convocation in a mango grove. Once or twice they reverted to a hall and everybody disliked it so much that we went back to the mango grove. I do think much can be done if we could get out of certain grooves of thought. Apart from the artistic element in it, I think the effect of lovely surroundings is great on the mind of the student. The cost element is very important in our education plans.

Prof. Kabir said something about quality. It is obvious that mere quantity minus quality is no good at all. If there is no quality, it may lead to trouble.

Then there is the question, apart from mass education, of the higher grades of education. There you come across the poor student not having any place even to sit, and practically no home surroundings. How can you expect him to study hard without a place where he can do some work properly?

I think we could have day hostels serving hundreds and hundreds of students who would come there, sit and study and have some rest. That will be a better way than trying to build regular hostel facilities for everyone, although the latter will be good. But I am merely suggesting this to get over the difficulties of providing accommodation quickly to large numbers of students, because the numbers are likely to grow and they are growing rapidly.

STUDY OF THE PAST

MR. PRESIDENT AND DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, I am somewhat embarrassed at this moment, specially after hearing what Prof. Kabir, the President, has said about

Speech at the International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, January 4, 1964

me. I must confess to you that I do not claim to be a scholar or historian. What I am, it is difficult for me to say—a dabbler in many things—but I certainly feel a certain feeling of embarrassment standing before this distinguished audience of Orientalists because, apart from dabbling in many things, I have not studied carefully the work of Orientalists. I have always thought their work important and occasionally I see what they have done to understand what the past has to show to us and to relate it, so far as that was possible, to the present. That does not entitle me to speak with authority before this audience about subjects that interest you.

Why is a person an Orientalist? I suppose the very idea involves people from outside the "oriental" sphere, as it may be called, looking into the ancient lives and thoughts of those who lived in this part of the world. I have been a resident, born and bred here, and I can't look at these things as an outsider can do. Of course, even looking at it from inside, the mind can be adapted to look at it from the point of view of an outsider also.

I suppose that the original study by western scholars of oriental lore was conditioned chiefly by intellectual curiosity. And I feel grateful to the many eminent scholars in Europe who have studied these subjects and shed a great deal of light on them, studied them from the point of view of modern scholarship and criticism and not merely as an Indian is likely to do in regard to India, being over-burdened by, shall I say, the very thoughts and feelings of our forebears. Many of our people also are now adapting the modern scientific methods to study them.

But what is the object of the study apart from curiosity? It is, I suppose, to learn how people thought and acted in the old world. It is extraordinary how in some countries, and one of them is India, these old ideas and thoughts have clung to the people through the ups and downs of history and still continue to affect their lives.

I would say that there is something important, something lasting in those thoughts, which have lasted in spite of all manner of events that have happened not only in India but in other countries, too. At the same time, those

thoughts have got tied up with many others that certainly are not of permanent value, such as the various customs and attitudes which we find a little difficult to discard, although they have no particular virtue and may have many disadvantages attached to them. But it is for scholars to distinguish between the real thing and the dross attached to it, which has grown round it through the ages.

India is one of the few countries which have had a more or less continuous tradition over a long time. That tradition is based on the thinking which was current in India a long time ago. It is also based on all manner of customs that have gradually grown and covered our lives, and which we now find it difficult to get rid of.

Among the other ancient countries, whose ancient history you study, there has been a definite break with that ancient period. That break, I think, has not yet fully come about in India. India is different from what it was, of course, but there has been no serious break, as in many other countries, and so India offers a peculiar ground for study. How these old ideas and thoughts have continued and influenced our people and what among them may have some application today deserves study. We have to find some way of evolving a certain synthesis between the old and the new.

We cannot entirely discard the old and uproot ourselves from it. I do not think it will be desirable to do so. Undoubtedly, if we want to give it up, or circumstances force us to give it up, we become rootless. We have to live in the modern age, adapting the past to our ways.

Many of you, ladies and gentlemen, are interested in finding out facts about the old and the very old from various points of view. The chief concern that fills my mind is how to find a synthesis between the old and the new, because I do not find it good enough entirely to discard the old and, obviously, I cannot discard the new. The two have to be brought together. Maybe that the new as we know it, important as it is, lacks somewhat of the depth of the old. I am not talking of India only, but of other countries, too, with ancient civilizations.

There was a certain depth in the traditional way of

living, a certain something that even now has a meaning. With life today, with its rush and hurry and technical developments which are, of course, very important in their own way, we are apt to lose something of the depth that the old civilizations gave us. And that is why I have tried to think of how the two can be harmonized. Possibly, when I talk of the old world, I talk about some writers and thinkers only, and not of the mass of people in the old world. But I suppose even the masses were to some extent governed by the thinking of the age.

I suppose we live now, as we always live, to some extent, in a transitional age. Only, today the transition is much more rapid due to the enormous advance that science and technology have made and are making. That makes it still more difficult for us to adapt ourselves continuously to the changes that are going on all the time. Perhaps I am thinking of this problem, living in this new world, and also in a little of the old world. This sort of thing helps us to keep our balance and not become something without roots.

Well, you, ladies and gentlemen, are interested in discovering the ancient past of various countries and finding out what they stood for. That is interesting, of course. Why is it interesting? What was there in the thinking of the old which has still some meaning for us? Whether it was Plato, let us say, or somebody else, or some of our ancient sages or old people of China, Confucius and others, what is it which they said and is of value to us today? That I suppose is one of the chief aims of these studies.

Sometimes, I find that the specialists in these studies look upon them as museum pieces unconnected with life's everyday happenings, or they lose themselves in them.

How can you bring about this connection between the two? It is a strange world we live in, ever changing, and opening out new avenues. But all the progress which we make is essentially in our knowledge of the external world and the forces that control it, in technology and science, and not very much, I suppose, in the knowledge of ourselves. We go back to our ancient saying, whether Greek or Indian or of any other country, which always laid stress on a person

knowing himself before he seeks to learn about the world. Well, the ancient way of thinking really concentrated on knowing oneself, but neglected to learn about the external world in which one lived. Today, we concentrate on the external world, which is very necessary and very good, but we perhaps ignore the individual, and do not know enough about him.

These two approaches, the external approach and the internal approach, have to be, I suppose, combined in order to make us realize what we are and how we are to face our problems. This is what I am suggesting to you, though I am not sure if it is outside the scope of the Orientalists who are here ; but I do suggest that it is desirable for us to learn something of ourselves, apart from learning something of the outside world about us. Perhaps in this era of tremendous changes and of confusion, it would be helpful if we thought quietly about ourselves and of the world at large, and not merely in terms of the atom bomb and how to escape from it. Of course, we all want to escape from the atom or hydrogen bomb. We all want to have peace without which there can be no progress. But, in addition to that, it may be necessary to think a little more deeply—what we are, what the world is and where our life is leading us to.

I am a politician tied up with day-to-day occurrences and have little time to think of the deeper things of life. Nevertheless, sometimes I am forced to think of them and to wonder what all this is about that we indulge in and whether it is worthwhile our doing many things that we do. Yet, I do believe that there is some force which fashions our destiny, which in spite of all these dangers leads us forward. Perhaps the human race is as a whole going forward, not in the merely material sense, but also in other ways, and out of this tremendous confusion of today something better will arise. It is in the fashioning of that better world that, perhaps, the old thoughts of our forebears could help us. And, therefore, a study of them in an understanding way ought to prove very useful to us.

In India, there is a wealth of ancient material to be studied. I do not know how many, but I was told there are

still in Sanskrit alone about 50,000 or more books listed in catalogues—many of them not seen, nor read or considered carefully. This is apart from the other visible evidence of the ancient thinking in the form of temples and other structures. I suppose it is the same case in other countries also. And so a study of these must throw some light not only on past thinking, apart from the past way of life, but also help us in the present, because after all our history is a very short one, going back a few thousand years and in these few thousand years all these changes have taken place. If we could discover the essence of things from a study of the past and the present, we might be able to serve the cause of the future a little better, and not leave it to take whatever shape it chooses.

You will realize, distinguished delegates, that I have nothing specific to say to you. Therefore, I am rambling on various odd things that strike me. I think the subjects in whose study you are engaged are highly fascinating. There is still, I believe, the question of the script of the Mohenjodaro period which has not been solved and the solution of which may throw further light on that period and subsequent periods. Those are interesting pursuits, no doubt, but, for me their interest lies chiefly in the light they throw on our knowledge of the development of the human being.

The work of Orientalists, which, perhaps, some consider as not very useful from the point of view of the modern world, seems to me of extreme importance because it throws light on our past thinking and past action. So, I hope that your labours at this conference and elsewhere will lead to more and more knowledge of our past, which will help us to see the present in a proper perspective and not as something cut off from the past.

CATCHING UP WITH GIRLS' EDUCATION

I BELIEVE EDUCATION is spreading fast, though the gap between boys' and girls' education is still marked. But it is spreading undoubtedly. Possibly in a few years time, perhaps four or five years, it may well include every boy and girl in the country. By the end of the Fourth Plan, that might happen.

Now, the reasons why girls' education has lagged behind somewhat are fairly obvious—social customs, and other factors, too. I do not think those reasons apply with the same force today as they used to, and I have no doubt that this trend will go up. Now it is really for expert educationists and others to suggest what should be done in this matter, and not for an amateur like me who with all his goodwill for what you are aiming at, cannot speak with any authority on the subject. I do not have the figures before me regarding girls' education, but I should think that on the whole they are encouraging, although not so much in comparison with boys' education. Intrinsically, they are satisfactory.

There is one thing that struck me as illustrating the great need for girls' education. You will find that in the past, wherever girls' education was encouraged in India, there was progress. I suppose Punjab is one of the places where girls' education had an earlier beginning than elsewhere. In many respects, Punjab is one of our progressive States. I suppose that might be true of some other places, too. So girls' education is not an end in itself but is intimately connected with the social fabric and with advance along other lines, too.

Therefore, girls' education is very important. Now, of course, conditions are such that they are compelling the advancement of girls' education, irrespective of my desire or your desire to do that. Therefore, whatever you may do or not do, girls' education is bound to advance. I suppose the only difficulty arises in certain rural areas. In towns, the need for girls' education is accepted. In rural areas, too, difficulties

largely arise from the location of the school. It is difficult for them to walk long distances to go to school. These are the difficulties which have to be got over by the education authorities there. They are not difficulties which cannot be overcome. There is very little opposition to their education, though there may be a lack of enthusiasm for it here and there. That too will disappear.

So, all I can say now is to express my good wishes and support for the object of your Seminar and wish you success. Success is bound to come to you because girls' education, as I said, will go ahead in spite of everything. So you are really working for something which is bound to happen. You can expedite it and help it to march ahead in a more organized way.

You are, I suppose, thinking of girls' education in the primary and secondary stages. In the later stages, in university stage, girls are fairly successful not only in terms of numbers who pass, but otherwise, too. They are doing fairly well. Ultimately, the future of girls' education depends on the openings available for them in professions and other jobs. Those openings are now increasing daily.

Of course, looking at the mass of the womenfolk, there is no doubt they have been working. They work in the field, they work in the factory. The problem is really of the middle class. Others too have their problems, but different reasons apply to them. But nobody is against education for girls. It is only a question of providing facilities. If facilities are there, they will join schools and colleges in greater numbers.

INDO-PAKISTAN TALKS

AS THE HOUSE is aware, the Government of India have always been anxious to reach a settlement on our various differences with Pakistan, including those over Kashmir, and to do everything possible to realize our main objective of having friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan so that India and Pakistan can live side by side in peace and friendship. My colleague, Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for Railways, who has been leading the Indian delegation, has pursued this objective with admirable patience in the Indo-Pakistan Ministerial-level talks during the last few months. Despite difficulties caused by provocative statements on the Pakistan side, he has conducted the talks with perfect calm and coolness and has not allowed occasional difficulties and setbacks to interfere with our objective to do everything possible to promote friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan. That the five rounds of talks should not have yielded any useful results and that our differences with Pakistan still remain is a matter of serious regret to us. We are, however, determined, despite setbacks and difficulties, to continue our efforts to resolve our differences and to promote friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan.

I would, in this connection, like to draw the attention of the House to our repeated offers of a No-War Declaration to Pakistan in pursuance of our sincere desire to have peaceful and friendly relations with them. These offers have so far met with no response. In my letter to President Ayub Khan last October, I had pointed out that we have to build up adequate defence potential to meet the Chinese threat, but this new defence potential cannot and will not be used for any purpose other than effective resistance against Chinese aggression. I had also assured him in this letter that the idea of any conflict with Pakistan is one which is repug-

nant to us, and we on our part will never initiate it and expressed my conviction that the future of India and Pakistan lies in their friendship and co-operation for the benefit of both. I am sure the House fully supports me in my reiteration of these sentiments.

CHINA'S INTRANSIGENCE

MR. ALI SABRY, President of the Executive Council of the U.A.R., arrived in Delhi on his way back to Cairo from Peking on the night of the 26th April and left on the night of 27th/28th April. Mr. Ali Sabry gave us, during his visit, his assessment of Chinese thinking based on his discussions with the Chinese leaders in Peking. We understood from our talks with Mr. Ali Sabry that while the Government of China were not prepared to drop their reservations on the Colombo proposals, and therefore not willing to implement the Colombo proposals, they were prepared to enter into discussions on the major issue of the differences regarding the boundary on the basis of their acceptance of the Colombo proposals in principle. In effect, this means that the Government of China are determined to maintain the unilateral situation on the border that they had created by their aggression and massive attacks and subsequent ceasefire and partial withdrawals from Indian territory, and are not prepared to agree to the restoration of the presence of both sides in the demilitarized zone in the western sector as recommended by the Colombo proposals. All that the Government of China seem to be interested in is a negotiated settlement on our border differences on the basis of the altered situation on the border created by them as a result of their aggression.

It is obvious that we cannot enter into any talks and discussions with the Government of China on the major issue of our differences regarding the border till they accept

Statement in Lok Sabha, May 7, 1963

the Colombo proposals without reservations and the recommendations made in the proposals are implemented on the ground. We had made constructive suggestions in this regard in a Note we sent to the Government of China on the 3rd April. I am placing a copy of the Note on the Table of the House. There has been no specific reply to this Note so far.

The assessment of Chinese thinking given by Mr. Ali Sabry is confirmed by a letter dated the 20th April that Prime Minister Chou En-lai sent to me. I have replied to this letter on 1st May. I am placing copies of these letters on the Table of the House.

In view of the experience we had last October and November, the continued intransigence of China on the Colombo proposals and the constant venom of anti-Indian propaganda that is being poured out every day—I am placing copies of a Chinese note dated 27th April and our reply to illustrate this—we have to be prepared for any eventuality. The strengthening of our defence potential against a renewed threat by China is, therefore, a matter of vital importance. And this has to be followed up with determination and single-mindedness of purpose.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Chinese Government is surpassing its own high record in vituperation. In the last few days or few weeks, they have concentrated their attention on the Chinese who have been repatriated to their country, and all manner of charges have been made in connection with the repatriation of those who were in Delhi. It is an amazing charge that we sent them there in order to torture them. This has arisen from the fact that quite a number of Chinese there were not prepared to go to China. They said they would rather stay here—they would either go back to their homes in India or stay in Deoli

camp. We have said that everybody could go back, except those who were unwilling and we were not going to force them. The Chinese propaganda—the daily spate of falsehoods, vituperations—is extraordinary in the light of these facts. Some of the Chinese who have gone out of India have been produced on the public platform to give first-hand evidence of their treatment at Deoli.

QUESTION: The Colombo proposals continue to hold the field indefinitely? How long do you propose to wait for China to accept?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It is not a question of fixing a date. Acceptance or non-acceptance, the proposals are there.

QUESTION: Have you received any suggestions from any of the Colombo Conference countries with a view to ending this stalemate?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No. I do not remember having received any suggestion. Some letters have come, but no specific proposal to that end has been made.

QUESTION: Any suggestion that there might be official level discussion on the basis of the Colombo proposals even when China has not accepted it without reservations?

THE PRIME MINISTER: In other words, before the Colombo proposals are fully agreed to? That is more or less the Chinese position.

QUESTION: Have any of the Colombo powers suggested it?

THE PRIME MINISTER: They have not suggested it precisely like this, but I think some time ago one of them suggested our considering this question—whether it would be possible or not.

QUESTION: According to the reports, the Chinese have set up more than 20 check-posts in the so-called demilitarized zone on the Sino-Indian border. Have they communicated to you the locations of these check-posts? Does this not amount to a violation of the Colombo proposals?

THE PRIME MINISTER: So far as I remember, they have indicated no such thing to us. In fact, one of our protest notes about these check-posts has gone to them.

QUESTION: Do you accept the Chinese position that they

have returned all the prisoners of war that they took from India? If so, what do you think has been the total figure of casualties on the Indian side?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I cannot give the exact figures. I have not got them. I think the prisoners of war returned are about 3,000. And the total of the others was about 2,000 to 3,000 also. There is a number unaccounted for, which probably may be considered to be dead. Many bodies have been recovered, both by the Chinese and ourselves, from the snow.

QUESTION: There is a report that the Chinese were not returning Indian soldiers of Nepalese origin. Is there any truth in that?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, they have returned them.

QUESTION: Is it possible to know the way our prisoners were treated by the Chinese, and if there was any attempt to indoctrinate them?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The word "indoctrinate" has a special significance. It almost means holding classes. Obviously, attempts were made to create a good impression upon them about the Chinese. If you call that indoctrination, that was done.

QUESTION: What is the reason for our not having been able to have any Chinese prisoners?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The reason is obvious. In the nature of things, in the way this fighting took place, our army was made to retreat; it was surrounded and made to retreat. It was as much as they could do to hold together. There can be no question of our taking prisoners in the circumstances.

QUESTION: You kindly mentioned that some people have suggested to you to consider holding talks at official level even if the Chinese do not fully accept the Colombo proposals. Since then, these check-posts have been re-established by the Chinese. In such circumstances, what are the prospects of these talks?

THE PRIME MINISTER: At the present moment, there is no question of our talks with the Chinese. I have been informed that of these 26 Chinese check-posts, seven are in

the Ladakh demilitarized zone, three on the Bihar-U.P.-Tibet border, and sixteen on the NEFA-Tibet border. Of them, those on the NEFA-Tibet border and near U.P.-Bihar border are both on the other side of the international frontier as we claim it. Therefore, only in Ladakh they remain, and of these, one is beyond the international frontier and six are within the frontier claimed by us. So, in the main, the question arises about these six.

QUESTION: Since the establishment of check-posts was supposed to be done only by mutual agreement under the Colombo proposals, would the establishment of the six check-posts unilaterally by the Chinese create further difficulties in the beginning of the talks?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Well, the question of talks is not there at the present moment, but the establishment of these check-posts does appear to be against the Colombo proposals.

QUESTION: Does India propose to have its own check-posts in the demilitarized zone?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I think, according to the Colombo proposals, we could have the same number of check-posts as the Chinese, by mutual agreement in that area. These posts are supposed to be civil check-posts.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the Chinese are thinking of a new move?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Your question is really about my assessment of the Chinese and the possibility of a Chinese attack.

QUESTION: That is the first thing. Do you know what the Chinese are aiming at by villifying India on the question of repatriation and in other spheres, by personal attacks upon you, for instance?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Vituperation usually shows an intention to denigrate a country or a person. Apart from India and the Indian Government, they are particularly displeased, if I may use a mild word, with me. The Chinese have written long theses about Nehru's philosophy or whatever it is, and carry on their propaganda which is very efficient and very widespread. In a way, it amazes me because of its lack of any semblance of truth. I suppose they think

that India is an obstacle in their way and therefore they want to remove that obstacle or make it less of an obstacle.

QUESTION: In their way of what? Domination of Asia?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Do not talk of domination of the world or domination of Asia. These are big terms. It is not an easy thing to dominate Asia, much less to dominate the world. I meant their attempt to increase their influence over other countries. Whatever their ultimate aim might be, these things, if pursued, would inevitably bring about a major conflict. The Chinese are a military-minded nation, always laying stress on military preparedness. The result is that they do not have to make such a fuss about the defence preparedness as we have to make. We function with a different outlook and on a different plane. Right from the beginning of the present regime there, the Chinese have concentrated on the military apparatus being stronger. It is really a continuation of their past civil wars. They are normally strong and they only make dispositions of troops here and there. Therefore, it is difficult to say that they are specially making military preparations for an attack. They are normally of that frame of mind and disposition. But as far as statements are concerned, they have stated repeatedly that they do not propose to have recourse to fighting on their part. Let us take it for what it is worth.

QUESTION: You have been talking about military concentrations on our northern Tibetan border. Would you make it clear as to what extent they have increased their military concentration?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The whole of Tibet is a major military concentration. Because they have built plenty of roads there, they can take their troops into Tibet, to any border, with considerable ease and fairly quickly. They need not keep their troops perched on the exact border.

QUESTION: Would you care to comment on the state of the Sino-Soviet relationship as it stands at present?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It is rather difficult to comment precisely. It is obviously not in good form; and you probably know that next month they are going to have an argument about ideological differences. There is a fairly

wide gap between them. I cannot say where it will lead to.

QUESTION: There have been reports of actual clashes—not between armed forces, but clashes in disputed territories—between the Soviet Union and the Chinese.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am not aware of it.

AWAKENING IN AFRICA

MR. PRIME MINISTER, EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, the twentieth century has been an exciting one. Perhaps we feel the excitement very much because we have lived through part of it. It has seen two great and horrible wars, the development of the atom bomb and the use of it and the continuing development of nuclear weapons casting horror all over the world. We have seen the development of science and technology at a tremendous pace and many other changes. We have seen some of the old countries of Asia, including India, attain their freedom. But, perhaps, in the long list of events, I think the most exciting happening in the twentieth century is the awakening of Africa. In the 19th century, we did not see but read about the rape of Africa, the grabbing of parts of Africa by imperialist countries. Somaliland was itself divided up into what was called British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, as if the Somalis had no individuality of their own. They were given individualities according to the nations that grabbed them and ruled over them. This happened in many other parts of Africa and elsewhere.

Now, we see this remarkable occurrence, the renaissance or the awakening of the African countries. It is a major event in history and, what is more, it is going to play an ever-growing part in the coming years. We in India have naturally welcomed it. We welcomed the freedom struggle in Africa and we welcomed the success of their movement.

Speech, proposing a Toast to the Prime Minister of Somali, at a dinner at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, August 12, 1963



Proposing a toast at a banquet held in honour of the visiting Prime Minister of Somali, New Delhi, August 12, 1963

Addressing the first All India World Federalists' Conference, New Delhi, September 4, 1963





Addressing a gathering at the United Nations Day celebrations, New Delhi, October 24, 1963



Relaxing with his daughter during his last holiday trip to Dehra Dun



*Being welcomed at Delhi on return from his last visit to Dehra Dun—
believed to be the last photo taken while he was alive*

There are still some parts of Africa which await their freedom. There are still other parts of Africa which are notorious for their racialism. But a great part of Africa has attained freedom and is now facing the problems which freedom brings.

We think that this awakening of Africa is of historic importance not only for Africa itself but for the whole world. We were happy some time ago when a Conference of African Heads of States was held in Addis Ababa and the remarkable success of that Conference was most pleasing and heartening. It indicated the way African nations could co-operate and pull together and help each other. So I do feel that among all the great and big things—good and bad—that are happening, this change coming over Africa is of the greatest importance.

We welcome you, Mr. Prime Minister, as representing that great movement of change in Africa and we wish you all success in it and more specially in your own country. And we offer you all our goodwill and good wishes and our hand of friendship and co-operation in this great task in which you are engaged. Ever since our freedom, we ourselves are engaged in the big adventure of building up a new India. Not wholly new, because we are very old and we value our past and cherish it. Nevertheless, we have to put on a new garb, understand the new world and function in it, the world of science which brings with it opportunities of development, of welfare for all our people, because ultimately freedom means for the people not only political freedom but economic freedom. We are engaged in this task of developing India and trying to give the fruits of freedom to hundreds of millions of our people. It is a tremendous and a very difficult task, but I think we have made good to some extent, laid the foundations for it, and we have every hope and belief that we will go along this path progressively, succeeding in our endeavours. I have every hope and belief also that the countries of Africa too will develop and increase the welfare of their people.

It is for each country to determine the best way to do it. There are some things which are common—common prob-

lems in your country and ours—and some others are peculiar to each one. We believe that each country should solve its own problems, develop its own genius, its own particular background, and all of us would help the others in doing so.

We do not believe in any country dominating, in the colonial or economic or the cultural sense, other countries. We believe in each country developing according to its own light and genius. But, because there are common problems, there can be a great deal of co-operation and help and we believe that this will take place. At any rate, so far as we are concerned, we shall certainly endeavour to the best of our ability to co-operate with the countries of Africa and your country, Mr. Prime Minister, and give it such co-operation and help as may be beneficial to both countries—yours and ours.

We live in a world which is a peculiar mixture of horror and of hope. The horror comes from fears of war, fears of conflict, racial conflict and world conflict. Fortunately, there has been some tendency in the recent past to lessen this fear of war. The recent partial Test-Ban Agreement by itself does not go very far—I refer to the Test-Ban Agreement between the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, which, I understand, your country is also signing. We have already signed it, along with many other countries. As I said, it does not put an end to all fear of war. The dangers still remain, but it is a historic step forward, a step away from the continuing race for armaments and the ever-increasing danger of war.

Therefore, we welcome this as a great, historical step and something which may lead to many other improvements which may ultimately lead to complete disarmament and help nations to devote their resources to the betterment of their people and co-operation with one another. Since we became independent, we have striven for peace all over the world. Even before that, during our struggle for independence, under our leader, Mahatma Gandhi, we thought and worked in terms of peace. Naturally, that ideal persists in our outlook.

Unfortunately, such have been the strange happenings

today that we have to devote ourselves to preparations for the defence of our country. Every country has to do so if it is menaced or aggression takes place. Nevertheless, our basic outlook of peace remains, and we shall always strive to solve our problems and our conflicts by peaceful methods, because no other methods are enduring.

That is the lesson which history teaches us and which has been the central thought of India's thinkers. We shall continue to strive for peace in the world and peace even with those who may be opposed to us today. I hope that ultimately we shall succeed because any other course will lead to disaster. In particular, we look forward to co-operating with those great countries of Africa which, though separated from us by the vast ocean, are in fact our neighbours, because the sea that separates us also connects. So I hope we shall have good-neighbourly and co-operative relations. In so far as one can help the other, that help should be given, because it will be advantageous to both the countries or all the countries concerned.

So we are very happy about your visit, although it is a rather short one. I hope it may be possible for you to come later for a somewhat longer stay and see the India of today which is a strange mixture of the ancient past and the present, and even, if I may say so, of the future. I can assure you that as you have been welcomed in Delhi, you will be welcomed in whatever part of India you may visit. I express my gratitude to you for having somewhat changed your programme at the last moment and included a visit to India, and I wish you and your people, Mr. Prime Minister, all happiness and welfare.

I ask you, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Somali.

CHINA'S AGGRESSIVE POSTURE

SINCE I PLACED White Paper No. VIII, containing notes, memoranda and letters exchanged between the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China, on 23rd January 1963, further exchange of a large number of communications has taken place. I am placing on the Table of the House White Paper No. IX containing notes, memoranda and letters exchanged between the Governments of India and China between January and July 1963.

When I last spoke on the subject of the India-China conflict on 7th May, I placed copies of the Government of India's note of 3rd April, in which we had suggested a series of constructive steps to be taken for the settlement of the Sino-Indian border differences, and of my letter to Prime Minister Chou En-lai dated 1st May, which reviewed the events of the last few months since the massive Chinese attack and reiterated our desire for a peaceful settlement of our differences with China and referred to the constructive suggestions we had made. There has been no response to these communications from the Government of the People's Republic of China so far.

Apart from the fact that there has been no response from China to the constructive suggestions that we had made for peaceful settlement of the differences, some alarming developments have since taken place along the India-China border areas, which have been causing us concern. The House will remember the hostile and negative attitude adopted by the Chinese Government to the Colombo Conference proposals. The Chinese, in total disregard of the Colombo proposals, proceeded to implement their so-called declaration of unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal and set up 26 civilian posts in the demilitarized zone in the three sectors, ostensibly "for normal movement of border inhabitants, prevention of the activities of saboteurs and maintenance of public order along the border". Seven of these so-called civilian posts were set up unilaterally in the demilitarized zone in the Western sector in violation of the Colombo proposals which laid down

that there should be civil posts of both sides in this demilitarized zone. In the demilitarized zone in the Eastern sector, in which there were to be 16 civilian posts according to the Chinese unilateral declaration, there are today as many as 52 combined military and civil posts and even the pretence of the posts being civilian in character has been given up. There is, apart from these posts, considerable patrolling and probing activity along the borders, particularly in the Eastern sector.

For our part, the Government of India have not only scrupulously observed the Colombo proposals but also refrained from impeding in any way the declaration of unilateral cease-fire and withdrawals made by China. We had hoped that the friendly advice of the Colombo countries would exercise a moderating influence and the Chinese would accept the Colombo proposals. We expected that they would, in any case, adhere to their unilateral declaration. This hope has been belied as the Chinese have acted not only in violation of the Colombo proposals but in violation even of their unilateral declaration by establishing a large number of military posts in the demilitarized zone and resorted to offensive patrolling and probing in the border areas.

This is not all. They have inducted fresh troops into Tibet and augmented the strength of their forces along the border. The strength of the Chinese forces along our borders today is larger than what it was at the time of the unprovoked massive attacks in October 1962. Apart from this augmentation of Chinese forces, a further development has been the forward movement of these troops to camps and strong-points nearer the Indian border than they were last October. There has been, during the last few months, considerable activity by way of construction of barracks, gun emplacements, storage dumps and air-fields near the Indian border. There has also been great activity in the construction of roads, laying of underground telephone lines and construction of inter-connecting subterranean trenches along these border areas. Chinese land and air intrusions into Indian areas and Indian air space have also increased considerably, particularly during the last few months.

All these activities make it clear that the augmented Chinese forces are consolidating their position immediately to the north of the Indian border with a view to maintaining a state of permanent tension in these areas. They might even be contemplating using these forward bases that they have consolidated for another thrust into India.

It is difficult to gauge Chinese intentions. That they are not exactly friendly is, however, clear. We understand that on 17th July the Chinese Government presented a memorandum to the Heads of the Missions of the Colombo Conference countries in Peking citing the so-called military provocations by India. It may be that, consistent with their past practice, this might be a move to justify their renewed aggression against India on the specious ground of "counter-attacking in self-defence". We have brought these developments of Chinese aggressive activity along our border to the notice of the Governments of the Colombo Conference countries.

The militant and aggressive attitude of China has been much in evidence in recent months, not only *vis-a-vis* India-China relations but in the wider field of international relations, including their attitude to the recent partial Test Ban Treaty which has been acclaimed by almost all countries and people of the world as a significant first step towards a relaxation of international tensions and a promising move towards purposeful measures of world peace and disarmament.

We hope wiser counsels will prevail and China will revert to the paths of peace. We want a peaceful settlement of our border differences with China and we have repeatedly made constructive suggestions regarding the series of practical steps to be taken to this end. The Chinese authorities, however, have not only not responded to these constructive suggestions but intensified their aggressive preparations along our borders. In the context of unprovoked massive Chinese attacks to which we were subjected last October-November, we have to take note of these aggressive developments, face the facts of the situation and calmly and resolutely intensify our defensive preparations to resist any further threat to our territorial integrity.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHINA

A SHORT WHILE ago, I made a statement in this House which represents our position, and I also placed on the Table a new White Paper on the Sino-Indian conflict. The Chinese Government, as one could see from the White Paper, has carried on a virulent propaganda against us in a large number of countries and, more specially, in China itself. Even the messages we receive from them are couched in offensive language, often departing greatly from the truth. In spite of this, our policy has been, and continues to be, one of solving the problem, in so far as we can, by peaceful methods, and at the same time, naturally, to strengthen our defensive apparatus to meet all contingencies. There is no conflict between the two policies. If we give up the first and rely only on military means to solve this problem, that will be not only opposed to our general approach to world problems but also possibly be harmful to us, ultimately.

On the 3rd of April this year, we sent a Note to the Chinese Government (given in White Paper No. IX) where we laid stress on five points. I shall read those five points.

- (i) The Government of China should accept, without reservations, the Colombo proposals just as the Government of India have done.
- (ii) The acceptance by both sides of the Colombo proposals can be followed up by a meeting of the officials to arrive at a settlement of various matters left by the Colombo Powers for direct agreement between the parties and to decide the details regarding implementation of the Colombo proposals on the ground.
- (iii) The officials of both sides concerned can then take action to implement these proposals on the ground so that agreed cease-fire arrangements are established on the ground.
- (iv) Thereafter, in the improved atmosphere, India and China can take up the question of their differences on the boundary question and try to reach a mutually acceptable settlement in one or more than one stage. If a settlement is reached, this can then be implemented in detail on the ground.
- (v) If a settlement is not reached in these direct talks and

discussions between the two parties, both sides can consider adoption of further measures to settle the differences peacefully, in accordance with international practices followed in such cases. Both India and China can agree to make a reference on the differences regarding the boundary to the International Court of Justice at The Hague and agree to abide by the Court's decision. If this method of peaceful settlement is, for any reason, not acceptable to the Government of China, both parties can agree to some sort of international arbitration by a person or a group of persons, nominated in the manner agreed to by both Governments, who can go into the question objectively and impartially and give their award, the award being binding on both Governments.

On the 1st of May, I wrote a letter to Prime Minister Chou En-lai in which I referred to this Note of ours to the Chinese Government and I emphasized:

Despite the crisis of confidence created by Chinese aggression and massive attacks, the Government of India is determined to seek all peaceful avenues of settlement of the Sino-Indian differences on the border question as indicated in the Government of India's Note dated the 3rd April, 1963. While taking necessary precautions against the repetition of the events of October-November 1962, it continues to follow the policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and development in peace and freedom for the betterment of the conditions of the 450 million people of India who stand united in their support of the Government of India's firm resolve to pursue these policies.

In spite of that Note and this reminder, no answer has come to us yet to these proposals, although many Notes have come from them in regard to other matters and they are continuously carrying on propaganda that it is they who want a peaceful settlement and that we come in their way by bringing in the Colombo proposals and the like. The method of Chinese propaganda is quite extraordinary. It is extraordinary in two ways; firstly, the great departure from truth and, secondly, their offensive language. We have been used to some offensive language from other countries also, occasionally, but nothing approaches the attitude of the Chinese Government and the press in regard to India.

In accordance with their past history, whenever they have been rather strong, the Chinese have been expansive.

Evidently, they think that we come in their way of expansion. They have given us trouble on our borders and yet probably it does not seem a mere expansion of their vast territories that is behind this move. It is stated, as one reason for this action they have taken against India, that it was not connected with India directly but rather connected with their growing conflict with the Soviet Union. They have been deeply annoyed at the fact that the Soviet Union has ceased to help them, technically, financially, with credits and otherwise. An important thing that has happened in recent months—but it took some time to grow to that extent—is the strained relationship between the Soviet Union and China. It is a matter of importance not merely to those two countries but to the general situation in the world. It is clear now that the quarrel has reached a critical stage, and this also affects us. Though we are not anxious to see other countries falling out among themselves, anything that increases our good relations with the other countries is welcome. Even otherwise, it has an effect on the Sino-Indian conflict.

The Soviet Union have withdrawn their technicians and those people who had gone from the Soviet Union to China and laid the basis for the rapid industrial growth of China. It was quite impossible for China to have made the progress it has made without the help of the Soviet Union. Even though the Soviet Union helped them, they criticized the Soviets for helping other countries like India. Possibly, according to their thinking, they hope to prevent such a thing in the future by the kind of action they took against India. It is no doubt a curious argument and I do not say it is wholly a correct one. I am merely mentioning that some competent observers think so. It may be observed that no country in the world is keener than China on showing that India is not non-aligned.

China does not want India to be non-aligned. Our being non-aligned, and our talking about peaceful co-existence, according to them, goes against their policy completely. They believe in a country being with them or against them. They believe in no middle course, and that is one of the reasons

why they have fallen out with the Soviet Union. They think that by creating conditions when we cease to be non-aligned they could produce an effect on Russia and would show that their policy is wrong. According to their thinking, there cannot be any peaceful co-existence or any real non-alignment with countries which are not with them. The Chinese policy dislikes the presence of any great country next to them, particularly a country which adheres to a different structure of government and economic policy.

In that sense, the whole conflict between China and India takes this wider international aspect. Of course, China has been, and is, trying its hardest to increase its strength, to become powerful, industrially, militarily, and otherwise. As it is, it is a country probably with the biggest army in the world. In spite of that, it has suffered a great deal lately by its development being checked by various factors, some perhaps due to the policy it has pursued, and some due to climatic reasons and natural disasters. There is a feeling of anger and frustration at anything that comes in their way and the possibility is that because of this feeling of frustration they may indulge in adventures which ultimately may not do them any good, though for the moment they might.

There is a question frequently asked as to whether China is going to attack India in the near future. The answer can be given only by the Chinese. The fact that they have undoubtedly gathered and concentrated not only large numbers of troops but supplies etc. in Tibet, more especially on the Indian frontiers, can only be interpreted as some action which they contemplate. They have to bring these from 3,000 miles, from China. Why should they indulge in this expensive process unless they have something in their minds? On the other hand, their political declarations are opposed to such action and other factors too seem to be opposed to it. Anyhow, we cannot take a risk about that and we must prepare ourselves with all our strength to meet such contingencies as might arise.

BACKGROUND OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

I AM GRATEFUL to the House for the discussion that took place yesterday. I listened with care and with respect to the various criticisms and suggestions made. A little later, I hope to deal with the background of our foreign policy as it affects our relations with China and other countries. First of all, I shall refer to some particular questions that were asked and to some criticisms that were made.

Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha said that we had accepted the Colombo proposals too quickly. I do not quite understand how he measures the quickness of a decision. Normally, I would say, any decision that we have to make will have to be made quickly. The Government of India has a reputation, not in this case, but in some cases, for delaying decisions. This is the first time I have heard of this criticism being made.

MR. GANGA SHARAN SINHA: When a quick decision is needed, we hesitate, and when it is not needed, we perhaps take decisions unnecessarily in haste.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Well, here were proposals made to us and to China by the Colombo Powers. China at first said that they accepted the principle underlying the proposals or the proposals in principle, whatever that might have meant. When it came up before us, we had to give an answer the next day, if not that very day. We could not have postponed an answer for long, nor could we have prevaricated about it, because the whole idea was that we should accept or not accept it, as the case might be. We could not say that we would accept it subject to certain conditions or changes. That would have meant not accepting them, which, in fact, China has done.

If Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha wanted us to follow the Chinese example, I think it would have been completely a wrong thing to do from every point of view. The effects it was likely to produce would have given an advantage to China. We could not have criticized China for having put

forth conditions for acceptance if we also had done likewise. As a matter of fact, our acceptance of these proposals has been very much to our advantage.

Now, what are the Colombo proposals? They are not proposals for a settlement. There is no settlement involved. They were proposals meant to create an atmosphere which would enable us to meet and consider the problems before the two countries, which might or might not have resulted in settlement. So, it was not a question of accepting certain proposals for a settlement quickly or otherwise; we were trying to help in creating an atmosphere for discussions which might lead to a settlement. For us to say that we were not prepared to create that atmosphere would neither have been in consonance with our policy nor good from the practical point of view.

Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha referred to the Sino-Pak air treaty and asked whether these two countries would be permitted to fly over Indian territory. Well, firstly, neither country has approached us for permission to fly over Indian territory. Secondly, so far as China is concerned—quite apart from this treaty—our policy has been and continues to be not to permit their aircraft to fly over Indian territory. As for Pakistan, we have arrangements with them to fly over each other's territory and possibly some clauses of this treaty may fall within our mutual arrangements for overflights. However, thus far this question has not arisen.

South Vietnam was referred to in the debate. I think Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha said that it would be improper if China were invited to a Buddhist conference, and that presumably we should not attend that conference. We were criticized somewhere, perhaps in this or the other House, for not having come forward with our views in regard to these disturbances in South Vietnam. I read a statement both in the other House and in this House in regard to what had happened. We have been greatly concerned with these developments and we have done whatever we could, informally. We thought that it would not be right for us to make any formal move in the internal matter of another country. In regard to a possible conference of Buddhist States, our answer

would certainly be that if it is held, and if we were invited, we shall attend it. Whether it is going to be held or not, I do not know. We are not the sponsors. Some Buddhist country will sponsor it and it will be held presumably in some Buddhist country. Whether it will be Ceylon or Thailand or some other place, I do not know. For us to tell the sponsors whom they should invite and whom not, would be rather odd and improper. This comes within their discretion, whatever we might think as to who should be invited or not. If they happen to invite some countries like China, whose invitation we might not wholly approve of in the circumstances, I do not think it will be at all proper for us to tell them that because of this we would not attend that conference. That would only create ill will for us in other countries and it is a bad precedent to interfere in the choice of those who are invited by the sponsors of the conference.

Here in India, sometimes international conferences are held to which countries are invited with whom we have no relations. The question has arisen in the past as to what we should do in such cases, that is to say, when a conference is held in India, not under our sponsorship but under the sponsorship of an international association. We found that we could not object to any country being invited, whether we recognized it or not, so long as the sponsors invited them and they happened to be members of an international organization. Take, for instance, Formosa: we do not recognize it and we have no relations with it. But we cannot object to their being present in an international conference of which the Taiwan Government is a member, and they are invited to it by the international sponsors. A special means has to be devised to enable them to come here because we do not recognize their passports. They come with some kind of certificate, just an identity, which is recognized for the purpose of their entry and their participation in the conference. So, I submit that it is entirely for the sponsors of the Buddhist conference to decide whom they will invite and whom they will not invite.

Something was said about the VOA transmitter agreement and the difficulties in regard to breaking the agreement.

I recognize that breaking an agreement causes some difficulties, although barely within three or four days of this, this point was brought up. The whole point is that adhering to the agreement raises infinitely more difficulties. We have to choose between the two, and we have come to the decision that the agreement should be revised radically, and if it cannot be revised, then we shall have to do without it.

About the joint air exercises also, I have made a fairly full statement and we propose to adhere to that. I do not think that these joint air exercises have anything to do with the consequences pointed out, as though a foreign base was to be set up in India. There certainly is going to be no base of any kind. Foreign aircraft will come here chiefly for the sake of radar installations that are being put up here and to train some of our people in the use of these installations.

I do not think that these exercises will affect our policy of non-alignment in the slightest degree. This policy will continue. I do not know how some Hon. Members interpret non-alignment. For instance, I think the Hon. Member, Mr. Vajpayee, asked us where this non-alignment was when we defined our attitude to Israel, or to the events in Hungary. Neither the case of Israel, nor that of Hungary, has the slightest thing to do with non-alignment. We may have been right or we may have been wrong in these cases ; that is a different matter. Non-alignment means that we do not join military blocs which have created a lot of trouble and tension. We did not join any of these blocs. Non-alignment gives us freedom of action, freedom to function as we think best, which is a part of our independence. Whether we use our independence wrongly or rightly is a separate matter and this we can discuss, but this has nothing to do with non-alignment. We feel that these joint air exercises are for our benefit and they do not at all affect our policy of non-alignment. Circumstances have changed since the Chinese invasion and these have led us to ask for large-scale aid from foreign countries to which many have responded. This is something which normally we would not have done previously. Previous to this aggression, we had not asked for

aid of this kind. But, under pressure of events, we have done so on the clear understanding that this will not affect our policy of non-alignment.

Mr. Vajpayee said something about the Soviet Union not helping us as much as they could have done, and something about some notes being given back. I have not quite followed his criticism—whose notes or what notes. The papers that we gave back to them on training contained details of our requests for what we wanted.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE: I referred to the training of our airmen in Soviet Russia. Though they went there to have training in flying MIGs, they were not allowed to bring their notes with them.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have not heard of this, Sir. I do not know. It may be because the Russians are anxious to keep their secrets, as indeed many other countries are. The Americans are equally anxious that their secret papers or instructions should not be conveyed to any one else. It may be that because of this they might not have given them any special papers to carry. I do not know the details about it and so I cannot say very much.

As regards the Colombo proposals, Hon. Members on the other side have repeatedly said: "When will they end?" I do not understand this question. I wish they would understand what the Colombo proposals are. There is no question of their ending or not ending. Colombo proposals are proposals by the Colombo Powers to create certain conditions which would enable us to go further and discuss matters ourselves. They are not specific proposals for a settlement of our problems. They are just meant to create certain conditions. If the Chinese do not accept them, well, these conditions are not created. Where do we come in?

It is asked if the Colombo proposals cease to exist now. When the proper conditions are created, whether on the basis of Colombo proposals or something else, we intend to take advantage of that atmosphere to consider the matter in a different light. It makes no sense at all to say that the Colombo proposals end by such and such a date and after that date they would not be applicable. They are not appli-

cable because they have not been agreed to by the Chinese Government. Such a question would mean that after a certain date that we might fix, we will not agree to abide by the Colombo proposals, even if the Chinese Government agree. That, I think, is an absurd suggestion.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE: We never said that we should fix a date.

MR. A. D. MANI: Since I raised the point, I should like to mention here that under the Colombo proposals a demilitarized zone has been created. The Chinese have entered the demilitarized zone and set up civilian posts. When we say that the agreement is not binding, we reserve to ourselves the right to take action by entering the demilitarized zone and setting up our check-posts there. That was my point.

THE PRIME MINISTER: There is nothing to prevent us from exercising that right today. Because the other party has not fully agreed to them, we may also take similar action at any moment, if it is considered practical and advisable by our Army authorities and others. Whether we do it or not depends upon us and not on what the other party might say or do. Therefore, to say that the Colombo proposals be ended would simply mean that a door that might lead to some step forward be closed. Now I am free to confess that even if we discussed this matter with representatives of the Chinese Government, the chances of agreement seem rather slim because of their general attitude; but that is a different matter. To close the door and say that we will never have a settlement with them is, I think, completely wrong in principle and in practice. Therefore, I have repeatedly stated that we shall always keep the door open, whatever happens. Even if an active war is taking place, the door will be kept open because, ultimately, every country, after the bitterest and bloodiest war, comes to some agreement with the other country. It is absurd to say that we will never agree. It all depends on what the agreement will be like and under what circumstances it is made.

I remember that an eminent gentleman, Mr. De Valera, said in the League of Nations—I happened to be present there and I remember that he was then presiding over the

League of Nations at Geneva—"After every war, however bad it might be, there is some kind of a peace". "So", he continued, "why not have the peace before the war takes place?" It may not be possible always to achieve it but it is a sensible proposal. So I think it is right that we should, looking at the conditions in the world and in India, and specially in regard to the Sino-Indian conflict or, for that matter, our difficulty with Pakistan, always keep the door open. Of course what we do in such an event depends upon circumstances. Any understanding should be according to our honour and integrity. That is admitted; but to say that we will never keep the door open is, I think, Hon. Members will forgive me for saying so, infantile. It smacks of an attitude which might have been taken in the Middle Ages, and not in the world as it is today.

Yesterday, I ventured to read from a Note that we sent to the Chinese Government—I think on 3rd April—in which five points were put down. Point number one was the acceptance of the Colombo proposals by both parties. Point number two was that on the basis of that, officials of both parties should work out the implementation of those proposals on the ground. Point number three was—I am sorry, I do not correctly remember it. Then a meeting of the representatives of the two Governments could be held to consider further what should be done. And the last point, I think, was that if this meeting failed to achieve anything, we could either refer the case to the World Court at The Hague or, if that was not agreeable, to arbitration by someone agreed to by the parties.

So, at the present moment, nothing has arisen for us to do beyond this. The Colombo proposals do not come in our way of doing anything that we want to do. Yet we keep the door open for further talks between the two Governments, and it will be improper not to do that at any time, specially at the present time in the context of world happenings.

Mr. Mani made a very remarkable proposal—well, at least I consider it remarkable—when he said that we should support Formosa in the United Nations. I was rather taken

aback by this proposal which not merely supports Formosa, but upsets everything that we have said and done in the last 13 years. In this quiet proposal lies the uprooting of everything that we have said and done in international affairs and, if I may say so, making fools of ourselves, with no policy, no firm views and generally drifting about from position to position. I am surprised that anyone, whatever his views may be, should propose that to us.

In the United Nations, China is acknowledged as a founder-member, as a permanent member of the Security Council and other Councils. There are no two Chinas acknowledged there. The only question that has arisen repeatedly in the United Nations is, "What is China?" It is patently wrong to say that the Island of Formosa, however good it may be, is China. And the whole trouble has arisen from this phraseology and from our thinking in a way that has no relation to actual facts. What may happen in the future I do not know, and it is for the two different parties to consider. If they come to an agreement between themselves, we shall also naturally agree. We have no other desire. According to the Charter of the United Nations, the only country that is China is China and not some other country.

Some criticism was made about our attitude towards South Africa. I do not quite understand it. When the I.L.O.—the International Labour Organization—held a conference recently, there were questions raised about South Africa and Portugal participating in the conference. A number of African countries raised these questions, and our instruction to our representative there was to support throughout the African countries' proposal in this matter, and they did support it. In fact, we also walked out with them at one stage. At another stage, when there was a suggestion by them to expel South Africa and Portugal from these meetings, we had pointed out that constitutionally and according to the Charter of the United Nations, it would not be possible to do so. Ultimately, the resolution put forward asked South Africa and Portugal not to participate, which in fact South Africa and Portugal did; they walked

out and did not participate. But to say—apparently it was hinted at—that we took up an attitude opposed to that of the Africans is not right. That is, our instructions were that South Africa should withdraw till they conformed to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations against racialism.

The Hon. Member, Mr. Ruthnaswamy, was pleased to ask: "Why not accept armed forces from the West to help us?" Of course, why not do many other things? Why not hand over India to somebody else? Why not put an end to India's independence? Why not confess to the world that we are too weak to defend ourselves?

MR. M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): It is only to the extent of saving our country that we want armed forces from elsewhere.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Obviously so. The Hon. Member's explanation is obvious. I knew that his intention was to save our country. To save our country by handing it over to somebody else to save?

MR. M. RUTHNASWAMY: We want only help and as soon as that help has fructified, we will ask them to go out.

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Hon. Member is a learned person. He must know something of the history of India, or of other countries. Such help fructifies with a different result. But what is even more important is that this kind of attitude creates a feeling of helplessness in the country. That would be fatal to any country. I am sure nobody in this House wants this country to have a feeling of helplessness. It is one thing to take help from others, but to create a feeling that other people have to do our job of protecting our independence, would be fatal. We would then actually lose, psychologically and emotionally, the sense of independence, and this will be followed by losing independence itself.

MR. M. RUTHNASWAMY: We want assistance, not substitution of our troops by foreign troops.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have caught that point. May I say that the greatest countries in the world, the greatest powers in the world, cannot give us that help? They will

give us arms, not men. And they will be helpless and useless for us. Let the Hon. Member think a little on how battles are fought and wars are conducted, and who conducts them.

MR. M. RUTHNASWAMY: I have been thinking all the time. . .

THE PRIME MINISTER: May I suggest to him that there is no country in the wide world which has, strictly from the practical point of view, men who can function better in these mountainous areas than the Indian soldiers? I am not praising the Indian soldiers because they are Indian, although they are entitled to praise. Modern warfare is more and more based on very intricate and sophisticated weapons, from the air specially, and otherwise too, on all kinds of missiles and such other things.

In this field, obviously, we cannot compete with the most advanced nations. We may get some weapons from them and we may use them ourselves. But, as man to man, we can compete with anybody. In this warfare, in these mountains, certainly. We can use sophisticated weapons but, ultimately, we have to depend on men. We have had an experience of this. I do not say so with any disrespect.

We had the conflict in Korea where the American army had the latest weapons while their opponents had primitive weapons, and it was not very advantageous to the allied armies. So, if you have to fight in Ladakh or NEFA at the altitude of 15,000 ft. or 18,000 ft., you will be helped, of course, by the weapons, if you have good ones, but the best of weapons will fail if you do not have human beings who are used to hardship. The sophisticated countries are not used to too much hardships, if I may say so. They are used to high weapons.

Of course, I would absolutely rule out any foreign soldiers coming to India. If they come, they come as enemies, as the Chinese came, and we have to meet them on the ground and fight them. That is a different matter. Foreign soldiers cannot help us and, also, they will not be sent, I tell you. They are not so foolish as to send their people to fight in the high mountains and get into trouble. Even if we ask for them, they would not send them. Also, we should

not receive them. This attitude is something that has been carved out in our hearts. Our history has taught us how people have come to help us, but stayed on and, subsequently, imperilled our independence. This should be ruled out completely, whatever happens.

In this country, we have no lack of good men who can become trained soldiers. At the most, we can say that they are lacking in tools, the latest weapons. This we are prepared to take from anybody, and we are taking some. Also, I would submit that trying to get the latest or the most sophisticated tools is not always desirable, for various practical reasons.

Somebody pointed out, I forgot who, that there had been a slant in our minds that China would not attack us. It is perfectly true. There had been a slant in our minds in the past, not completely, but partly. I should like to go back a little to state how our foreign policy and, to some extent, our defence policy, as a part of our foreign policy, has grown.

Immediately after independence, we succeeded to an army. It was a competent army, a good army. Nevertheless, it had been always a small part of the British army, useful, apart from meeting local troubles, to be sent also as expeditionary forces in case of a big war, to help the British. They did well because they were brave men and competent men. All our policy was being laid down in Whitehall. There was no policy-making body here. Our officers—till then there were hardly any senior Indian officers, I believe, a few Colonels and a Brigadier or two at the time of independence—most of them were trained in British methods in England and looked up to it for inspiration. We got all the material for our armed forces from England.

We had to get out of this habit of dependence. We had to think for ourselves. We had to build up our own Army Headquarters and Air Headquarters. It was not an easy matter—not that the men were not competent, they were very good—but they did work in a rut created by the British. Soon after independence, we had trouble with Pakistan on the Kashmir borders. As it was, both the Pakistan and our

armies had more or less the same background, the same training, the same type of people. If we had failings, they too had the same failings, because of the same training. After a year of that, a little over a year perhaps, there was cease-fire.

If Hon. Members will try to think of the whole background in which we developed in the past, they will see that we were anxious to save money on defence. We had been criticizing for long—the Congress and every public man in India had been criticizing—heavy expenditure on Defence and on the Army. We were anxious to use all the resources we had for economic betterment, for industrialization, and all that. We were anxious not to spend too much on the Army—I am talking of about 10 or 12 years ago. We realized that the real strength of the country, even from the defence point of view, was the industrial apparatus behind it, the industrial background. In times of crisis, we cannot depend on getting arms etc. from abroad. We have to produce it ourselves. If in a crisis you have to rely on everything to come from outside, then even if things go wrong in small details, you cannot use these tools, because you have to get spare parts from outside. Therefore, we thought that even from the point of view of the defence of the country, we should industrialize. No country that is not industrialized is militarily strong today. A few guns or a few aircraft that we may get from abroad would be useful for the time being, but not for long. We would then go back again to the old position of weakness.

Therefore, we decided then to save money on defence and apply it to the schemes of development and industrialization, including, of course, plants essential for defence, and on becoming scientifically advanced. There was no other way of making India strong, politically or in defence matters. We hoped that the cease-fire in Kashmir would result in some kind of a settlement and we saw no other country likely to attack us, and so we decided to reduce the strength of our Army. Slowly we did it, maybe for about a couple of years. Then we saw that instead of coming to an agreement with Pakistan, as we had hoped to, there were constant threats

from Pakistan. So we were advised, and we accepted the advice, that we should not reduce our Army too much in view of these threats. The only obvious, possible adversary that we saw was Pakistan then.

China was not in the picture. It came just a little later, in Tibet. So we stopped the reduction of the Army after that, but the question still remains—and a big question—of modernizing the Army. Our Army was not a modern army as armies go. Even in the last War, though it was a very good army, it did not have probably modern weapons. After the War, many developments have taken place in weaponry and other things, and obviously our Army did not have adequate equipment, including transport trucks, lorries, etc. We were still managing with the left-overs from the last war. We bought some, of course, but not enough. Our equipment was deficient in that respect. We were thinking of building it ourselves. That was the only way to do it. We cannot import large numbers of lorries and trucks, spending vast sums of money without any economic benefit and without the assurance that we would have them when we want them.

So the schemes for defence factories to meet our defence needs, such as trucks and tanks, started. These schemes take a long time in maturing. Take, for instance, the question of automatic rifles, the one thing which has been talked about so much. The scheme to manufacture them was started several years ago. It was discussed repeatedly at our Army Headquarters. The principle having been agreed to, it was a question of where to get them from and how. This was discussed and some people were of the opinion that we should buy them from abroad and not make them. Others, in consonance with our policy, thought that we should try to make them ourselves, for otherwise we would not get them when we needed them, apart from having to spend a lot of money on their purchase. It would then be fruitless and we would not get the full return for its value. Ultimately, therefore, we decided to make them ourselves. Which country should help us in this? We approached, I think, a big firm in Belgium. There was a controversy about whether we should go to that firm or not. While the controversy was

going on, that firm got involved in a big scandal in Belgium itself. Naturally, after that we gave up this idea. We had to go to some other firm and all this resulted in delay.

The decision to have automatic weapons was taken two or three years, I think, before this Chinese invasion. The fact that we are making automatic weapons today is due to the fact that we had started this process long before. Now, of course, we are making them in some numbers and the capacity is increasing day by day ; but if we had not started two or three years earlier, we would not have been able to do this. All this takes a great deal of time. Even in England, where they adopted the automatic weapons fairly recently, it took them some time to decide whether they should take to them or not, and what kind of thing to take to.

So, it is perfectly true that because of our shortage of foreign exchange and due to a desire to reduce expenditure, we were very stingy about defence spending. Many a time, our Army Headquarters pointed out to us that they wanted large numbers of lorries and trucks and other things. Well, we argued with them, and told them that while we realized the need for them, we were hard up for resources and unless there was an immediate necessity, we would rather apply our resources to some steel plant or something like that. This was because we did not expect any attack from China at that time. Even after their coming into Ladakh, we did not expect any major invasion of this type. We wanted to expedite the processes that go towards making these things ourselves, rather than wait for purchases from abroad which are never very satisfactory. If the smallest spare part is missing, you lose the whole thing—gun or aircraft or whatever it is. That was the position.

Many a time, when our senior Generals came to us or wrote to the Defence Minister to say, "We want these things", I remember the Defence Minister told them: "Of course, we must have them. Put up your proposals before our Defence Committee." Well, at that stage, we possibly agreed to about one-tenth of what they had asked for, and nine-tenths we did not agree to. Hon. Members will remember that it is one thing to want to modernize the army, as of

course it should be done, but a different matter when it involves vast sums of money. We know now that it involves not hundreds but, when seen as a whole, thousands of crores. It is not an easy matter. Of course, when you are faced with an emergency like the Chinese invasion, you have to do it, whatever happens. This is a different matter. You can get credit too from friendly countries; or you can tax your people much more than you normally could, but imagine how far you can create that atmosphere in peace time when people would have to bear these very special and heavy burdens of taxation. It is only when the danger shakes you up that you can get more money by taxation, by loans, by credits, or by gifts from outside.

It was a peace-time atmosphere when we had to consider these things and this danger had not yet come, although we were apprehensive of what the Chinese might do in the future. It was, however, not an immediate trouble, and we thought that the more we built up the industrial background of our country, the better it would be. That was the most important consideration. You cannot just have a factory to produce aircraft. The whole process is correlated—a powerful defence apparatus with scientific apparatus. So we spent some time in building up a scientific apparatus, and I think it has grown rather well. I do not compare it with those of the major countries, but it is a good scientific apparatus employing about 2,000 to 3,000 good scientists in the Defence Science Organization. We also built up other activities.

I should like Hon. Members to keep this background in mind. We criticize our Army Headquarters or Chiefs of Staff or other Generals. Some of them may be worthy of criticism, but we must realize the circumstances they worked in. They are competent people, as good as any other Generals. They have had 30 to 35 years of service, but they have to face a situation which is almost entirely novel to them. The terrain is novel, the condition is novel, and the method of the Chinese warfare is novel. It is very easy for us to say now that they should have learnt this and prepared for it. First of all, preparing for it by itself would have cost us

vast sums of money.

Apart from the equipment, all our frontiers were hundreds of miles away from the roads, and roads were to be laid over the most difficult terrain in the world. We had taken this up in hand. We created the Border Roads Organization. They had made hundreds of miles of roads, but still they are incomplete. They are making more and more of them and the Border Roads Organization has done good work. There have been complaints about it, and suspected persons have been tried ; but please remember that the Border Roads Organization was operating not just in one place in the NEFA. Its network spreads from U.P., Himachal Pradesh, to Ladakh. There are different units, and from almost all these units we have received reports of good work. The one unit of which we did not have good reports was unfortunately of Bomdi La, the Tusker Unit. We enquired into it. Many of the charges made were found to be exaggerated. Some were found to be correct and we are proceeding against the persons, officers and others, who were involved. But, as a whole, the Organization has done well and made roads all over the Himalayas—right up from the borders of Nepal and U.P. to Ladakh. It is an enormous job and they are doing it pretty well. It is also a tremendously long job with thousands of miles of roads being made. I am just pointing out the circumstances in which we are functioning, and which condition our thinking. Some Hon. Members may think that we were careless with our defence. Of course, it is always possible that if we had had foresight and had known exactly what was going to happen, we might have done something else. But, in the nature of things, we could not have done very much more. We could not have produced the roads, unless we had built them. It takes much time to modernize an army and we would have to spend vast sums of money. That was the problem before us.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE: Could we not have provided at least the equipment for the purpose of training?

THE PRIME MINISTER: As a matter of fact, I believe, there was enough equipment, but the equipment was rather spread out all over India. It may not have been available

at a particular place, because we had to face the situation rather suddenly and we did not have time ; the climate was changing. Well, I am not going into details. I am just venturing to give the House the background to the situation that our Army Staff had to face. First of all, right at the beginning, after our independence, there was the general background of our not spending too much on the Army. Of course, we wanted to keep a competent army without increasing it—and we actually reduced it, but later we had to increase it. Secondly, although we tried to modernize it, the process was rather slow, because of the cost involved. We thought of modernizing it to the extent that we ourselves were producing the things we needed ; some things we did import.

All these factors tended to lessen the equipment with us and gave tremendous advantage to a country like China with an army which has been in active fighting trim for, I think, roughly thirty-five years. Not all of this army, but the core of it, have been like that right through the 'thirties, the 'forties and the 'fifties, apart from their participation in the Korean War, their original fighting with the Kuomintang troops and their internal troubles. Then they came to Tibet. So they are a hardened, tough people, concentrating specially on mountain-warfare and living in high altitudes. That was a very important factor affecting us—our troops being sent from sea levels of 500 ft. or 700 ft. suddenly to 15,000 ft. No doubt wise people would have thought of acclimatizing them and making them accustomed to high altitudes. But when a crisis comes, we have to meet it and we sent our troops immediately there. It is absurd to say that they did not have shoes and all that. They had shoes and they took their full complement. They did not want to carry as many blankets as they were entitled to get, but they were given them. They took two blankets with them, though they were given four each. Others were air-dropped.

One more difficulty was that we had no proper communications. There were no roads there. We took on this battle in a place which was disadvantageous to us and very advantageous to the Chinese. They had roads right up

to the other side of the border and they just came over and met us. We had to supply our people from the air and at that time the snow started falling and many of the things that were sent were lost in the snow or went down the *khud*. These are mistakes, no doubt, lack of experience, of doing things in a hurry. But I would venture to say that it is slightly unfair to run down our Army Generals, because they had to face conditions for which they were not at all prepared, and they could not easily prepare. I could cite a good many similar examples. In a sense, the French Army is one of the finest armies. It used to be the finest army in the world, but it could not hold on against the guerillas in Indo-China. The result was the Geneva Conference. All the training that an army usually gets is to meet armies of its own type. They did not get much training for guerilla warfare and in the last great war the Japanese simply swept over South-east Asia. Malaya, Indo-China and all those South-East Asian areas were swept by the Japanese, because the Japanese also are a tough people who had been trained in that way, and the British Army training did not help them there.

The aggressor, especially an aggressor with a new type of warfare, has a tremendous advantage. In the last War, Hon. Members will remember, there was the sudden collapse and disappearance of the British Army, at Dunkirk. But it was, nevertheless, a good army and it made good after learning the lessons. We must see these things in their perspective and not blame individuals who were caught up in these difficulties. I don't mind Government being criticized. The House has every right to criticize the Government, but I do feel that we should not be unfair to our officers who generally did well; there were one or two who did not, but that is a different matter. Broadly speaking, they did well, and they had to face a situation which was formidable.

So it was that our foreign policy grew in this background of difficulties. Right from the day the Chinese came into Tibet, we felt that a new danger threatened us, though not immediately. The fact that a great and powerful

country had come right up to our borders which had been, more or less, dead and peaceful, was a great change. We realized this possible danger and we thought that we should gradually prepare for it, in the main, by building roads. Roads are essential for reaching our border. Then many things happened. They came to Tibet in a bigger way and later, two or three years later, there was the Tibetan revolution and the Dalai Lama came here. All these were warnings to us that things were happening there, and we took that warning; but that warning did not and could not lead us to assume a bellicose attitude towards China, because that would not have helped us at all. To threaten China or to have a pugnacious attitude towards China was merely not to our advantage at all from any practical point of view. It would have created the very situation which we are trying to avoid or postpone. I should like all these facts to be borne in mind.

Today, we have got to face, as we had to face, first, Pakistan's threat to us and its bellicose attitude and, then, the Chinese. We have to face both of them, possibly together.

I do not wish to apologize for what the Government has done or not done. There was a certain compulsion of events and no Government, however much it may have differed from our way of thinking, could have functioned very differently from what we did, keeping in view always the fact that the real thing before us was to strengthen India industrially and not superficially, by getting an odd gun or an odd aircraft. Raising the economic potential of the country is very important because no country can fight unless the economic potential is fairly good.

There are problems like that of Kashmir, and people say that it has been there for fourteen years and still not settled. There are many problems like that in the world. Hon. Members know the problem of Germany and Berlin which has been pending ever since the last War and it has not been solved. Why? Behind this problem are fears, suspicions, hatreds. Behind the Kashmir problem—it is not a simple problem of Indo-Pakistan relations—is the background of hatred, suspicion and fear, and until we get rid of

these, it will be difficult to solve this problem. Now that Pakistan appears to have taken a step to line up with China, naturally, that background becomes still worse. That is why it was suggested by us several years ago that we should have a No-War Pact, without freezing any question. All the questions would remain to be considered, but such a pact would remove the sense of fear and make it much easier to solve all these problems.

So far as Kashmir is concerned, the House knows very well that legally and constitutionally Kashmir is completely a part of India. There is no doubt about it, and nobody can challenge it; also, looking at it from the practical point of view, it is obvious that any change in Kashmir would have disastrous consequences, disastrous for the people of Kashmir, disastrous for India and Pakistan. Therefore, it is no good people telling us, as some do in some countries, that we must be generous about Kashmir. Generous at the cost of whom? At the cost of the people of Kashmir? At the cost of the people of India? It is quite absurd! Kashmir is a State of the Indian Union, as autonomous a State as other States are, and something more than that. Any attempt to alter this situation would, I think, be very bad for us. Of course, there are limits to which we can go in trying to settle the question and we went far enough; but, here again, we cannot do anything more than what we have done, whatever the consequences. This must be realized by all concerned.

Some of our friends in India talk loosely as if Kashmir could be placed in a platter and handed over to Pakistan. To do so would be the ruin of India and the ruin of Kashmir. The whole attitude, if you put it that way, may mean that we may also hand over a good deal of India to China. Either you have the mentality to fight and preserve your independence, or you lose all strength and rely on outsiders by pleasing them. I do not think India will be worth living in if it loses that sense of freedom and independence.

May I say a word here? Some Hon. Members referred to pressures from the United States of America and the

United Kingdom in regard to Kashmir and hinted that their help to us, arms etc. were conditioned to some extent by our readiness to come to terms with Pakistan. That is not correct. There is no doubt that the United States and the United Kingdom have been anxious and continue to be anxious for a settlement between India and Pakistan on various issues, specially about Kashmir; but at no time did they tie this up with any aid they were giving us. In fact, they made it perfectly clear that the help given had nothing to do with this. They have been giving aid to us, but they have also been closely attached to Pakistan by treaties. They are also close friends of ours. Naturally, they wanted India and Pakistan to come to a settlement, not realizing, perhaps, the internal and external complications arising from these questions and the background that I ventured to place before you.

MR. BHUPESH GUPTA: We would like to know in this connection whether there was any indication on their part about the nature of the settlement that we could arrive at, and whether the question of mediation was also raised? Did the Government of India make it clear that the question of the status of Kashmir would not be within the province of any such discussion?

THE PRIME MINISTER: From time to time various suggestions for talks have been made, some of which have not even been accepted for discussion.

I would beg of this House to remember that we have difficult problems to face on our frontier with China. That is difficult enough, because China is one of the most powerful countries of the world today with an army bigger than any army in this world. Although it is the biggest army, it has its own difficulties, of course, logistic difficulties, internal difficulties, etc.—that is a different matter. I am not, if I may say so, exaggerating the strength of China. We must realize how strong it is, and we must realize also how weak in some ways it is, and we must realize also our potential and actual strength. I think our potential strength is great and the actual strength is growing. It may be because of the past training that I have received—I dislike plunging into

major wars or small wars which may lead to major wars. This is not only my own opinion. Generally, in the modern world, we try to avoid wars because the consequences are terrible for the people. We are living in very dangerous times, revolutionary times, in the world. The world is changing very rapidly and one hesitates to take a step which will land us and the world into all manner of difficulties.

We are resolved to preserve the honour and integrity of our country, but merely passing a resolution to that effect is not enough. It has to have strength and training behind it and all that accompanies that training. We have been trying to do that. We have been trying to fashion our foreign policy to meet this situation and I think our foreign policy has broadly succeeded in this respect—I am talking about the last year or so—and a great majority of the countries in the world, in Asia and elsewhere, appreciate that policy and sympathize with us ; some of them also help us. It is true that some countries in Asia and elsewhere hesitate to say much, for the simple reason that they are afraid of the power of China ; but there has been a consistent change in the attitude of countries in this matter. It has changed in our favour ; some of the big countries like the United Kingdom are helping us. Yet, the United Kingdom is having closer relations with China now than it has had in the past, chiefly for reasons of trade. They are going to have an exhibition in China after some months. They are selling their aircraft and other things to them. We cannot complain of that. Countries behave according to their own interests. They are helping us, and we are grateful to them.

There is one thing more and I have finished. Hon. Members referred to my remark soon after the Chinese invasion took place, that we had been living in a world of unreality. They wish to know what exactly I meant by it. I cannot now catch the mood I was in at that time, but what I meant was that this world is cruel. We had thought in terms of carrying the banner of peace everywhere, and we were betrayed. China has betrayed us ; the world has betrayed us. Our efforts to follow the path of peace have been knocked on the head. We are forced to prepare for a

defensive war, much against our will. That is what I meant. I was not thinking of any particular policy but of the outlook with which we had faced the situation. I think ours was a good outlook ; any other outlook would have done us a great deal of harm, psychologically and emotionally. We now have a great deal of goodwill in the world because of that outlook, and I think that is to our advantage. In those circumstances, even if we had a different outlook, we would not have added much strength to our defence forces because of our financial resources and inability to get any help unless a serious crisis developed, as it did later.

I submit that our foreign policy has been, by and large, a right one, a good one and a successful one. Naturally, while we keep to its main features, it has to be adapted here and there to changing conditions. The world is changing. As I said yesterday, the two major things that have happened in the world are this Test Ban Treaty and the rift between Russia and China. No doubt, this rift is not only ideological; there is a conflict of interests. In this connection, may I say that some of our Communist friends in this House and outside, who had to face a very great crisis of conscience, have not quite got over this development yet? I regret to say that some of them—I do not say all—still continue to favour the Chinese outlook in this crisis in which the future of India is involved. Many do not, perhaps. That is the trouble they are facing, but we have to face a larger trouble; and we shall face it with strength.

INDIA ADHERES TO NON-ALIGNMENT

I WOULD REPEAT that in our external policy we attach great importance to what has been called non-alignment with any particular bloc. It is true that because of the Chinese aggression we have developed closer bonds with some countries who helped us. That was natural, but that does not

Statement in Lok Sabha, September 3, 1963

mean that we have weakened in our desire to adhere to non-alignment fully. Non-alignment is a part of the broader policy of working for world peace and co-operation. We have arrived at a stage when any other policy may lead to world disaster. For our own part, we adhere to non-alignment.

DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM

THERE IS THE development in Vietnam, the conflict between the Buddhist element there and the Government. It should be remembered that the Buddhist element is 80 per cent of the population. On the one hand, it has been our desire not to interfere in their internal happenings. That is our policy. On the other hand, normally, our sympathy goes to the Buddhists there, not merely because they are Buddhists, but also because of the extraordinary developments there which led a number of Buddhist monks to immolate themselves by burning. Such an unusual thing can only happen if there is a very strong feeling. Apart from that, this thing affects the whole outlook in South East Asia and a difficult question is made more difficult.

Our attitude has been informally to approach President Diem to which he was good enough to reply saying that they were coming to an understanding. They did so on paper but, apparently, according to the Buddhists, that understanding was not implemented. Some efforts are being made to that end again. Also, we have been in touch with the Government of Ceylon specially, and our view has been that whether the matter is to be taken up in the United Nations or in some conference of Buddhist countries, we shall largely abide by the decision of the Buddhist countries. If they want to hold a conference, we shall go to it. If they want to take it up in the United Nations, we shall, naturally, express our opinion there. But we have felt that perhaps

it might not be worthwhile or desirable to take it up in the U.N., because that would introduce many other factors into this question and it might become even a question of the cold war and all these factors may come in the way of a solution. Nevertheless—and some other countries have also felt that way—we have clearly stated that if it is desired to take it up in the U.N., we shall participate in the discussion. For the present, these discussions are taking place in New York and in the U.N., in some of the Buddhist countries and in Vietnam, and I hope they will lead to some satisfactory result which would be far better than having long discussions in the U.N., which might, instead of helping to solve the question, embitter the various parties concerned.

The General Assembly of the United Nations is going to meet soon this month, in about less than three weeks' time, and many of these important questions may probably come up there. Yet, where it is a question of vital importance, the question of disarmament and so on, one feels that it is not likely to be settled in the General Assembly; real progress is made between the big countries, notably the United States of America and the Soviet Union, by mutual discussion. And that is why the Test Ban Treaty is of so great a significance, because it opens the door for further consideration of those problems. Once some kind of an understanding is arrived at outside, between these various countries, then probably it will be the right time to bring it up before the U.N. and get it passed with a measure of unanimity.

THE OBJECTIVE OF ONE WORLD

IT IS A privilege to be present here on this occasion. May I confess to you that this is the first time I have attended, at any rate, a formal meeting of the World Federalists or other organizations with more or less similar ideals of building up a world order? It is not because I had any

Address at the World Federalists' Conference, New Delhi, September 4, 1963

doubts of the extreme necessity of this objective, though sometimes I had some misgivings as to whether those who are working for it were thinking of practical steps to that end, or were rather losing themselves in theoretical ideals. I do not mean to say for an instant that ideals are not very important; it will be a poor world, indeed, if people give up idealism.

As Lord Attlee, the speaker preceding me, said, the building up of a world order is not a question of some distant future or merely a vague ideal; it is very much of the present. It is an urgent matter for us to think about and work for.

Whether you argue it logically or emotionally, a stable world order is the only objective which we can have, not only because of the dangerous possibilities of wars nowadays, but otherwise too; the whole history of the human race points to ever-widening circles of co-operation and, in some ways, also of larger circles of peace and order.

Before nationalism and the nation-state was developed, people's outlook was much smaller and more quarrelsome. The national state brought, more or less, peace and order within the state. But then the national state itself became very aggressive towards other states, and even today it is largely so. Now the state is becoming bigger and bigger, and we have arrived at a stage when the next step must comprise the world and all the states, without, however, putting an end to the nation-state.

The national state will naturally retain its freedom and autonomy, giving up only part of its independence to a world order, a world organization. Even today, most people recognize that nationalism is a very strong feeling. It is a good feeling, till it turns into an aggressive feeling towards others. Inevitably, therefore, we have to work for one world. What form it may take, it is not perhaps easy to define now. But the objective must be there.

The world state, among other things, must have a world police force. This creates grave difficulties, but the state certainly must be based on more or less a demilitarized humanity, that is, the present approach to arms and building

up of huge forces and armament must go.

Disarmament is inevitable, otherwise, there can be no world state. And, if you have disarmament, it seems to me inevitable that you should have some kind of world authority and a world police force. All these raise enormous difficulties at the present moment, but these two conditions are essential. Probably the very first thing that we must aim at is disarmament—as complete as it can be—not merely limited to nuclear weapons, although that is very important, but wholesale disarmament.

I am quite sure that if disarmament comes, the other steps will be relatively easy. Disarmament must be accompanied by some kind of world force. And, if that is there, then the chief difficulty today, fear, apprehensions and dislike, will also disappear.

Fear is a very bad companion for any individual or any country to have. It oppresses us. All the countries, even the biggest countries, the most powerful, are afraid of some other powerful country. It is extraordinary. The more powerful you are—the more arms you have—apparently the more is the fear.

How can we get rid of that fear? That is a very difficult thing. One way to remove the cause of fear is obviously to remove the fear of military might of one country overwhelming another. Of course, other factors which create fear—repression, colonialism, racialism and the like—must also go. Once there is some kind of agreement about widespread disarmament, the basic reason for fear will probably largely disappear.

Lord Attlee mentioned how he was present at San Francisco when the United Nations was established. The world has been groping for some kind of world organization and authority for so long. The League of Nations was there. It failed, although it did good work in its time. The United Nations took its place, profiting by some of the failures of the League, and it has done exceedingly good work, but nobody will say that it is a perfect organization. Ever since it was formed at San Francisco, the organization has grown tremendously and its membership has more than

doubled itself. More nations have become free and become members of it, but the present structure of the United Nations does not represent the United Nations as it has come to be. It represents a state of affairs as it was after the World War. Something has to be done to bring it more in conformity with the present day conditions of the world. How that has to be done is another matter. It is a question of changing the Charter—and many things require a certain unanimity among the big countries—apart from what the other countries may wish to do. That unanimity is not probably likely to be achieved in the near future, though I hope it will come.

Therefore, although many of us have strongly felt that the structure of the United Nations should be modified, we have not taken any active steps to that end, for fear that any attempt to do so will create heated argument and controversy and conflict, just as it has happened even in disarmament.

Disarmament is hardly a question which you can decide by votes in the United Nations. All the smaller nations, or the relatively not-so-powerful nations, can easily out-vote the big nations, but the big nations will not agree to that. They will not disarm by the majority vote, though they are influenced, no doubt, by majority opinion. So, one looks forward to the big armed nations coming to an agreement among themselves, aided, no doubt, by the advice and influence of others, but essentially by themselves. Once they do that, the next step becomes easier and others can join in.

One of the most hopeful signs recently has been this agreement between three major countries, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom, for this partial Test-Ban Treaty which has, I believe, been accepted by about 100 or more countries. By itself, the Treaty does not go very far, but it is a very important step to break through the fear which surrounds people. I hope that fairly soon it will lead to some other results. Once that progress is made and it leads to disarmament, then the fear that engulfs the world will grow much less. It will be easy then to talk about greater co-operation, and possibly even of a world

order, which may possibly be based on the present United Nations, or whatever else it may be.

Many of us have criticized the United Nations often enough, and continue to criticize it, but the fact is that the mere existence of the United Nations has been a tremendous factor for peace in the world. It has prevented many difficult situations from developing into war. It has not been perfect—nothing is perfect—but it has laid the foundation of some world co-operation.

I think the next step is bound to be disarmament, disarmament leading to lessening of this atmosphere of fear that surrounds all countries, big and small. One must recognize the idea of putting an end, as it is largely being put to an end, to colonialism and its like, and racialism. In other words, we have to aim at a world which has become disarmed and where the countries live in peace and co-operation and there is peaceful co-existence.

To endeavour to force down any particular political or economic or social structure is quite inconsistent with freedom for each country to develop along its own lines. If that is established and disarmament takes a big step forward, you create ground for a world authority.

Therefore, as a non-member of the World Federalists' Organization, I welcome your efforts because they are necessary, even if it is a distant ideal. It is necessary to work to this end and to make people realize that it is not purely an ideal but very essential if we are to progress or even survive.

I wish you and your Organization all success. We have been trained, specially men of my generation in India, under Mahatma Gandhi. Although we are rather poor specimens, and we often failed him in many things, we were influenced by him and moulded by him, and to some extent that influence remains with us, in spite of the hard knocks that we have had to bear. In that sense, the background in India is perhaps suited for a wide acceptance of this ideal.

You hear in India all kinds of things that are happening, difficulties between communities, major and minor, each community apparently trying to sit on the other. That is partly an exaggeration and partly it is true, here and else-

where. This can, I imagine, be dealt with much more effectively in the larger framework of a world order than in a limited framework. Once you get out of that limited framework into this larger order, you will not be pursued by old animosities, old jealousies and conflicts; possibly it may be easier, therefore, to fit in with that new order.

ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

YEAR AFTER YEAR, we gather on this day, and there is always a danger of these annual functions becoming a ritual which we observe without, perhaps, attaching as much importance to them as they deserve. Ritual or not, it is desirable and necessary that we should remind ourselves of the United Nations, the ideals it stands for, its fine Charter and of what it has accomplished during the 18 years of its existence.

Most of us criticize the United Nations. I have often criticized it, too, but it is difficult to imagine what the world would have been without the United Nations. Suppose the United Nations had not been there, imagine how many times in the last 18 years the world might have entered into violent and big-scale conflicts?

I do not mean to say that the United Nations has by itself stood guard and prevented these possible conflicts. Many forces have been at play but, by and large, the United Nations has represented forces of peace and prevented many situations from developing into violent conflicts. This is a tremendous service that the U.N. has done, apart from the other great service of directing the world's attention towards positive programmes of social and economic betterment.

So, looking at it from the positive point of view—what it has achieved—and the other point of view, namely, what it has prevented from developing into, the achievement of the U.N. has been very considerable. The fact that it has

not yet become an ideal world association is not the reason why we should think less of it. After all, ever since its formation, the U.N. has represented the world as it found it. There are many things in the United Nations Charter, not certainly the ideals and objectives which are beautifully stated, but relating to the organization of the United Nations, which, perhaps, can be criticized.

But the reasons which have given rise to that criticism are not the creation of the U.N., but rather of the humanity as it found itself after the War, classified as the big nation-states and the small ones. For instance, the Charter has provision for what is called the veto. That was the result of circumstances as they existed then.

It is always difficult to translate some ideal that we have in our mind into practicality. Today, there are any number of institutions in the world, trying for a one-world federal government and all that. In theory, I suppose, many of us are struck with the ideal of the whole world becoming an orderly world, with no country being allowed to disturb the peace. I suppose, ultimately, this is bound to happen unless the world destroys itself by war in the meanwhile. Yet it seems to me that these excellent organizations which dream of one world sometimes do not take into consideration the actual facts of the world we live in—the fears and the hates which create difficulties.

The wonderful thing, therefore, is that in spite of all these conditions in the world, the United Nations has survived these 18 years. It is an extraordinary fact. It has not only survived but also helped solve many problems. It may not have solved all our problems; it has certainly failed here and there but, on the whole, it has helped in keeping the peace in a big way, and in resolving many of the problems that have occurred. That is a tremendous service and, I suppose, if it goes on functioning as it has been doing, and if it functions better still, it will progressively not only solve problems but gradually make people realize that it is folly to indulge in actions which lead to war. That, after all, is a fundamental object of the United Nations—to rid the world of war and its progeny.

So, criticizing as we do the United Nations, we must recognize the great good it has done. The mere fact of its existence and functioning and people coming there and discussing matters is itself a change from the practice of conflicts between nation-states. Again and again, we have been on the verge of some major conflict which, thanks to the wisdom of the statesmen, has been averted.

The biggest problem from the point of view of the United Nations and, indeed, of all of us, is disarmament. We have not yet succeeded in bringing it about. I remember, many years ago, when the League of Nations functioned before the last war, I was interested in their discussions on disarmament. There was a Preparatory Committee for Disarmament. It met for a long time—I do not know how many years—and produced large volumes of reports and proceedings.

Difficulties are there, and the difficulties are really in the minds and hearts of men. The League of Nations did not succeed in doing much and ultimately war came. After the Second World War, the United Nations came into being and it has been struggling with this problem of disarmament through committees, commissions and all that. One would be justified in saying that the progress made in this direction has not been remarkable. Yet, I think, some progress has been made. How has this progress been made possible? Probably, largely because of the increasing realization of the terrible nature of modern war, with its massive weapons of destruction. It is the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb that have helped to move the world towards some disarmament and peace.

The Chairman referred to the Test-Ban Treaty which, by itself, is not a very great step; but from another point of view, it is a very important step and it has been accepted as such all over the world. It is a step in the right direction. It has broken through a certain barrier of thinking and action and, therefore, it has brought the promise of even greater steps to be taken later. I believe some efforts are being made still to supplement it with other steps and there is a certain air of optimism that these efforts might succeed.

It would, perhaps, be not quite fair to expect wonderful results to come quickly in regard to disarmament. It is a complicated and difficult subject; ultimately, the difficulty lies in the fears and apprehensions of human beings and states. Nevertheless, the air is more favourable for steps to be taken now than it has been in the last many years; and we must all hope that such a result will come and we should work for it, in so far as we can.

Behind this fear of war, there are the fears and apprehensions of nation-states against each other. All of us suffer from these fears. There are the old perils of a continuing colonialism, or of racialism. So long as these continue, they will always have the seeds of conflict in them, possibly breaking out into war. Therefore, the United Nations has very rightly laid great stress on the removal of these anachronisms in the present-day world, colonialism, imperialism and racialism. If these were removed, that may not mean the solution of all the problems in the world, but it will certainly remove a constant irritant and lead to a recognition of human dignity.

I hope that the United Nations will proceed on the lines it has itself indicated and try to find a suitable solution to these problems. For doing that, it requires the backing of public opinion. In fact, what it has accomplished has been largely due to such a public opinion strongly roused in all countries against colonialism and racialism. We can all help in that process, and thus gradually bring about a world which is relatively free from these fears and apprehensions. Of course, it will then be easier than now to devote the world's resources to remove such terrible things as hunger, disease and other things which have prevented people in many countries from advancing.

We have the campaign against hunger. We have other campaigns which are very good and should be encouraged. The fact is that these things go together. If there is poverty, all the rest of the brood also comes with it—hunger, disease, illiteracy and squalid living. We have to go to the roots of this matter, and this involves attacking the evil as it is. This involves large-scale investments in the poorer countries,

investment to improve the lot of the human beings there—not only to improve the agricultural and the industrial output, but also to improve the human beings. Much has been done, but compared to what can be done and should be done, it is relatively little.

If it were accepted that war was not likely to take place—war has been practically put out of bounds—then all the money that is spent in preparations for war could be utilized to better purpose. We would see the world improving with rapidity and all these basic evils gradually being tackled, just as we tackle, say, malaria or typhoid or illiteracy.

Much has been said about the population problem. It is, indeed, a very difficult problem all over the world and in countries like India specially, and possibly even more so in countries like China. I am greatly concerned with the Indian situation, and I think that it does require a great deal of our attention in India, as in other countries.

As you perhaps know, we are, as a Government, and otherwise, paying a great deal of attention to it. Yet it seems to me that the basic way of tackling the population problem—one can tackle it directly through family planning—the basic way is to improve the standards of living of the people. Some people ask: 'What is the good of your trying to improve the economy if your growing population eat up whatever success you achieve in it.' That is only partly true, but it is a wrong concept because the more we advance in the sphere of economic well-being, the easier it will be for us to tackle the population problem. A country which suffers tremendously from poverty cannot tackle any such things really successfully. It should try—I do not mean to say I am not much interested in tackling it directly, but I am quite certain the first problem before India, as with other countries, is—to tackle basically this economic problem, the problem of poverty; and as we advance from that front, we shall be able to tackle the population problem with great ease.

We talk about abolishing war. The only war we want is a war against poverty and disease and its brood. And that is a war which has to be fought now.

We have the sciences and technology and other things. They give us the weapons to fight poverty, if only we could turn the world's mind to that. Fortunately, the United Nations and its other organs and institutions which have grown up under its wings, have succeeded to some extent in turning the world's mind to these beneficent activities.

So, the direction in which the U.N. is going is good and a right one. But, as we know to our cost, all the goodwill and the good intentions are sometimes swept away by passion, by fears, and we are plunged into mutual destruction. How are we to prevent that? That is the basic issue before the United Nations. Let us hope it will, step by step, solve that major problem and thus ensure a future for the peoples of the world which will be much better than the present and which will rid them at least of this menace of war and all the evil that it brings.

So, while we criticize the United Nations and try to improve it—I think it is capable of improvement—we must recognize that it has done a tremendous service to the world and it is difficult to conceive of the world now without the United Nations.

CHINA-PAKISTAN COLLUSION

MANY NEW problems have arisen in the international sphere. The more difficult the problems we face, the more necessary it is that we should view them calmly and dispassionately and arrive at specific conclusions. It does not help much merely to get excited about them, or to deal with them in an agitated way.

Acharya Kripalani's speech showed that he is still tied up with the old happenings—the Chinese attack on Tibet and our attitude to it. These matters have been repeatedly discussed here, and I do not wish to go back to them at this stage. The position in the world has changed considerably

Speech in Lok Sabha, April 13, 1964

in recent months, and we have to face the situation as it is.

Acharya Kripalani's chief proposal appears to be that we should give up non-alignment. Non-alignment is not in itself a policy of ours or of any country. It is our reaction to events and, more particularly, it stems from our desire to maintain our independence of thought and action. It arose chiefly because of our desire not to get involved with the two power blocs headed by the United States of America and the Soviet Union. To some extent their antagonism continues, but many changes have also taken place in the alignments of these blocs.

The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are not so bitterly opposed now as they once were, and they are getting closer to each other. Among the two power blocs, internal differences have arisen, and in some cases they amount almost to a split. Recently, the rift between the Soviet Union and China has grown greatly, and the Soviets have criticized the Chinese invasion of India and China's policies. Thus, the Soviet Union and China, the two Communist powers, have practically separated from each other, and are bitterly opposed to each other. In the Western bloc also, some differences have arisen. Meanwhile, a large number of newly independent countries have come into existence, and most of them adhere to the policy of non-alignment.

From any point of view, it would appear that non-alignment has not only succeeded in the past, but is even more desirable today. It surprises me, therefore, that Acharya Kripalani should at this stage oppose it.

Non-alignment does not merely mean not joining a military bloc; it affects economic and other policies. It is specially psychological. We are on friendly terms with the leaders of the two blocs, and are receiving substantial aid from them. To align ourselves with either of them would be to tie ourselves to many of their policies with which we may not agree. It would mean also some kind of a break in our relations with the other group. That would be utterly wrong.

In addition, we have to remember that a large number of newly independent countries as well as old ones are tied

to this policy of non-alignment. It would mean our cutting ourselves adrift from the main trends of world opinion.

As the House knows, it has been decided to hold a conference of non-aligned countries later this year. This is a desirable development, and we are wholly associated with it.

Mr. Nath Pai has spoken vehemently against our foreign policy, but vehemence has been directed more at our administration and other matters. He has spoken like a *prima donna*. I might add that he has criticized the Annual Report of our Ministry. I must confess that this Report leaves much to be desired. Mr. Nath Pai has laid great stress on the Report referring to the visit of our hockey team to Kabul. I may inform him that the visit of the hockey team at the Jashan time in Afghanistan was greatly appreciated by the Afghans, and has therefore considerable importance.

We are always concerned with the progress or otherwise of the conference on disarmament, as this is of vital consequence to the world. For the present, however, our chief concern is about our two neighbours, China and Pakistan.

In regard to China, we have made it clear that if the Colombo proposals are accepted by China, we shall be prepared to discuss with them our disputes. In this matter, I should like to make clear one development which took place some time ago. This was referred to by Mrs. Bandaranaike in one of her recent letters to us: we were asked whether if the Chinese vacated all their posts in the demilitarized area in Ladakh, we would consider this as fulfilment of the Colombo proposals. This was first mentioned to me by two representatives of Lord Russell who came to me last summer. To them I answered that we might be prepared to consider this proposal if China made it. Since then no such proposal has been made by China. In the Colombo proposals, it was stated that in the demilitarized area of Ladakh, both parties should have, by agreement, an equal number of posts. It was possible to consider that this was satisfactory if both parties, by agreement, decided to have no posts at all in this area. I had clearly stated to

Lord Russell's representative and later to Mrs. Bandaranaike that this could be considered by us if a proper approach were made to us by China. No such approach has been made and, therefore, the position remains the same as before.

Acharya Ranga has taken strong objection to our participation in the Djakarta Conference because China would also be there. I am wholly unable to accept this argument. It would mean cutting ourselves away from important international conferences because China may happen to be there. It would mean some kind of discourtesy to the many other nations that went there and took part in it. Mr. Nath Pai has, I think, said that we had decided not to attend it and that at the last moment we sent one of our Ministers. That is quite untrue. I do not think that at any time I had said that we would not attend the Conference. What I had probably said was that I personally would not go there. It was our intention to send our team under the leadership of the Deputy Minister of External Affairs. A few days before the Conference, we decided to send the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Sardar Swaran Singh, as the leader of our team, and I am glad that he agreed to go. The Djakarta Conference is being attended by a large number of representatives of countries, and Sardar Swaran Singh is taking a leading part in it.

MR. NATH PAI: You told Parliament many times, and last time also, that you did not think that any purpose would be served by our attending that Conference.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not remember the words I used. I may have said at that time that it was not decided to hold this Conference. It was decided long after that. When it was decided only recently to hold that conference, and we knew a large number of countries would attend it, we felt we ought to go, too, and put forward our point of view.

MR. HARI VISHNU KAMATH: The Prime Minister has often said that he prefers a Belgrade type of conference to a Bandung type of conference. He has never favoured a Bandung type of conference.

THE PRIME MINISTER: It is one thing not to favour it;

but it is another thing to boycott it.

In regard to Pakistan, it has been a great grief to us that ill will and conflict should continue between the two countries, in spite of our efforts. We had hoped that the background to our conflict would gradually disappear and that we would be able to live in peace with each other. Unfortunately, it has continued all these years. Apparently, Kashmir has been one of the causes. But I am convinced that the cause lies deeper, and probably this conflict will continue unless we can succeed in somehow removing the hatred and fear complex.

With the coming in of China as more or less an ally of Pakistan, Pakistan has become even more aggressive. I do not know what secret understanding they have come to with each other, but such understanding, if any, cannot be of advantage to India. It is extraordinary that even in these circumstances some of the Western powers are inclined towards Pakistan and help it in regard to Kashmir. The Kashmir issue would have been solved long ago but for Western help to Pakistan.

So far as we are concerned, our position in regard to Kashmir has been repeatedly and clearly stated recently in the Security Council by my colleague, the Minister of Education. We stand by that position.

Sheikh Abdullah, who has recently been released, has made some statements which I consider are unfortunate. I am told that some of the press reports of these statements are not correct. However, I will not deal with these press reports as I hope to see him soon and discuss this matter.

I think Mr. Mukerjee was very angry at the fact that President Aref of Iraq came here in a Pakistani plane. I might tell him that this made us unhappy too, but we could not help it. That is to say, we offered him our plane to come here. A reply came from him that he had already accepted Pakistan's offer to bring him here in their plane and he could not go back on his promise.

MR. NATH PAI: Your offer must have gone so late that by that time he had accepted Pakistan's offer.

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is true; that is what he

said. Our offer went several days before he was to come here. He was in Pakistan before he came to India, as you know, and we could not offer him our plane long before, in Iraq itself; the question did not arise. Apparently, as soon as he got there, he fixed it up.

Mr. Kripalani said the other day that the Colombo proposals are absolutely dishonourable to India. How they are so is more than I can understand. Acharya Kripalani seems to think that we cannot deal with China by ourselves and, therefore, we must allow other countries to deal with her; in other words, we must give up our independence of action. I do not wish to discuss our capacity to deal with China, but I think Acharya Kripalani is under-estimating it very much when he thinks that we must hand over the defence of India to somebody else and, certainly, such a handing over would amount to giving up our independence, in so far as that is concerned. It seems apparently more honourable to him than any other method of settling the matter ourselves. If Acharya Kripalani had read some of the comments on the Sino-Indian conflict in America and England, he would probably think differently.

There is one thing I would like to mention. There has been an account in the press about the Seventh Fleet of the United States coming into the Indian Ocean. This was referred to in this House in answer to questions previously and we had said that we had not been told or it had not been referred to us. Anyhow, they are not coming to any of our territorial waters or ports. This time it appears that they are coming nowhere near India, not to any of our ports or territorial waters, but probably going to Africa. I can only express my regret that a cruiser which is equipped with nuclear weapons went about the Indian Ocean. We do not like nuclear weapons coming anywhere near India. We have said so.

Now, we have to face a terrible problem of the exodus from East Bengal. We must receive all those who come here and try to rehabilitate them. I hope that soon we shall have a special Ministry to deal with this problem. May I repeat, in this connection, that terribly bad as this

problem is, all kinds of stories are sometimes given publicity in the press, which have little basis in fact, and they do much harm? The other day, there was some story of some girls from East Bengal being carried to Arab countries for sale there. On the face of it, it was an absurd and fantastic story. Yet, I suppose some people believed it because it appeared in print. We have received information from our representatives that they can find no trace of any truth in it, it is foreign to them and it is utterly baseless.

But I should like to point out the effect of these things. Somehow this story reached some of the Arab countries and there has been great indignation in the Arab countries that any one in India should presume or should say that abducted girls are being sent there for sale. So, the House will notice how these stories spread and create impressions which are not good for us.

We have every right to feel angered about what is happening in East Pakistan and should do what we can to help the unfortunate refugees who are coming from there. But we must not forget that something very horrible has happened in India too, of which we should be thoroughly ashamed—in Orissa and Bihar and partly in Calcutta. By doing such things we are playing into the hands of Pakistan which wants such troubles to happen.

I think in this matter it is more important that we should stop all such occurrences in India. This is vital because otherwise we fall into this trap, we play into the hands of Pakistan which wants us to do all these things, which wants us to give up our secular policy, and thereby justify her own policies.

Some Members of the Opposition have accused us frequently of surrender to and appeasement of both China and Pakistan. I am most surprised to hear these charges. Strength does not lie in strong language and shouting, but in other matters. It is perfectly true that we want a peaceful settlement of our troubles with China and Pakistan, and we shall endeavour to realize them, however, difficult they may seem today. Taking a long-distance view, it is essential that we should exist peacefully with these two neighbours of ours,

more particularly with Pakistan. We cannot live in conflict for a long time to come. I hope a time may come when India and Pakistan will draw closer to each other; there is no other way for them.

To talk of exchange of population is, I think, utterly wrong. Not only would it be an extraordinarily difficult undertaking, but it will not solve our problems. The two countries would then continue to face each other as bitter enemies, threatening each other's existence. I do not know what the leaders of Pakistan have in mind, apart from their present aims, but I have a feeling that both Pakistan and China have larger objectives against India. I do not think that either of them will be able to achieve these objectives. But we shall have to be prepared for all attempts on their part to harm us. It is clear that peaceful settlements of these conflicts would be desirable, but such settlements must be in keeping with the honour and integrity of India. That is an essential aspect to be borne in mind always. Keeping this in mind, we should always strive for peaceful settlements.

I have often thought these days of Gandhiji, how he would have dealt with our existing problems, specially those with Pakistan.

LAST PRESS CONFERENCE

QUESTIONS asked by the correspondents related to:
"Situation in Laos and India's reaction"

"Kashmir and your talks with Sheikh Abdullah"

"Soviet Transmitter"

"Recent Communal Disturbances"

"Future of Goa"

"Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the subjects likely to be discussed"

Statements at a Press Conference, New Delhi, on May 22, 1964. This was the last Press Conference held by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Fourth Five Year Plan"

"Your views on holding the price line"

"India-China Border"

"Talks with the Dalai Lama and his plans for opening offices abroad and Indian Government's reactions, if any."

(THE PRIME MINISTER: I have not spoken to Dalai Lama yet. I shall see him some time today.)

"Forthcoming Non-alignment Conference"

(THE PRIME MINISTER: I am afraid the Conference is too far off.)

(Other issues raised: Cabinet Changes; Kamaraj Plan; Split in C.P.I.; Question of Succession).

Laos

THE PRIME MINISTER: In Laos, the situation is not a good one. I have received this very morning a message from Prince Souvanna Phouma asking for a medical unit to be sent there. We shall try to send one.

QUESTION: What is our Government's view with regard to Prince Souvanna Phouma's proposal for consultations among the Geneva Pact countries and for a full-fledged conference of these countries?

THE PRIME MINISTER: We are perfectly prepared to participate in the consultations or in a conference, but it is really for the Big Powers to decide.

QUESTION: Cambodia has been asking that a conference should be held to guarantee its neutrality. What is the objection to holding such a conference?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There is no objection so far as we are concerned.

QUESTION: Who is objecting to it? Nothing has happened although a good deal has been appearing in the press about it.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I cannot say who is objecting, but some countries are perhaps dragging their feet.

QUESTION: Would you comment on the Polish withdrawal from the International Commission?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Polish representative there

was badly treated by the local authorities. He was not allowed to go out, and nobody was allowed to go in; he was more or less confined to his house. Even the Commissioners could not go to see him. This restriction was removed after a day or two, but the Polish Government decided to call him back.

QUESTION: Have the Government of India any information about the participation of regular forces from North Vietnam in the Laos fighting?

THE PRIME MINISTER: We have no direct information on it. Prince Souvanna Phouma has stated that they have participated.

QUESTION: Do you think the Geneva Agreement or the arrangement under the Agreement has broken down and a new machinery like a U.N. Force should be devised?

THE PRIME MINISTER: What has happened in Laos appears to be a violation of the Geneva Agreement. What has to be done about it is still to be considered.

Kashmir

THE PRIME MINISTER: In regard to Kashmir, I may refer to my talks with Sheikh Abdullah. I made a statement about this at the All India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay. Practically, that is still the position and I would not like to go into details.

Sheikh Abdullah is going to Pakistan the day after tomorrow, I think, and he will have some exploratory talks there. It is best that these talks take place without any inhibition. As I said in Bombay, he looks upon the Kashmir issue not as one by itself but as one between India and Pakistan. He thinks that it is important that India and Pakistan should come nearer to each other and that automatically the Kashmir issue will then be partly solved.

QUESTION: You stated in Parliament recently that in the interest of Indo-Pak amity, India and Pakistan had to get together even constitutionally. How do you propose to spell out your proposals?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I did not propose anything. It

seemed to me that some such approach should be desirable. It is difficult to say what the constitutional approach might be as it requires a good deal of consideration, and some response from the other side.

QUESTION: What type of relationship do you envisage, to which, if Pakistan agrees to, you will be willing to agree?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not have anything very definite in my mind. It depends upon what Pakistan would be agreeable to. But, obviously, it would mean easy access to people from India to Pakistan and Pakistan to India.

QUESTION: What is the purpose of the invitation of Mr. Chagla to the Secretary-General in his personal capacity to study the situation of Kashmir?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There was no particular purpose behind it, as far as I know, except that he wanted to make it clear that U. Thant, if he comes, would be welcome here.

QUESTION: How do you reconcile it with what has been said by Mr. Chagla in the U.N., that Pakistan must vacate aggression? According to that, there is no Kashmir issue at all.

THE PRIME MINISTER: That refers to the issue of Kashmir itself and I do not wish to say anything about it in detail. I have previously said that we are prepared to have an agreement with Pakistan on the ground of their holding on to that part of Kashmir which they have occupied, but Sheikh Abdullah has stated strongly that he does not want a division of Kashmir.

QUESTION: In what way does he propose to unite?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I cannot say.

QUESTION: Does he accept the basic issue about Kashmir which, as you stated in the A.I.C.C. at Bombay, belongs to India and is a part of India?

THE PRIME MINISTER: He has said that he accepts whatever was done before his arrest, and before his arrest the accession of Kashmir to India had been more or less completed; some additional developments have taken place since then.

QUESTION: He has also said that the condition precedent was that all those things would be subject to the

approval of the people of Kashmir.

THE PRIME MINISTER: He may have said that.

Soviet Transmitter

THE PRIME MINISTER: Shall I go on to the third subject, namely, the question of a Soviet transmitter? I have nothing to say about it except that they made a proposal and it is being considered by us.

Communal Disturbances

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think there is any communal disturbance in any part of India at the present moment. What occurred in Pakistan and India was most unfortunate and bad. I do not know what is happening in East Pakistan now, except that large numbers of refugees are still coming over, about 3,000 a day and altogether about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of refugees have come to India.

QUESTION: When are the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan meeting?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think any date has been fixed, but I hope they will meet.

QUESTION: What about the visit by the study team suggested by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan? It is not only a question of a flying visit, as he said, in the manner of an official or ministerial visit, but a humble and earnest search for truth.

THE PRIME MINISTER: We have received a fairly full and detailed account of what has happened there and I do not think there can be a more detailed account. Mr. Mahavir Tyagi is visiting these places along with some Members of Parliament.

QUESTION: Mr. Tyagi suggested that Pakistan should be asked to contribute some land for the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan. Does your Government support his stand?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Government has not considered that question at all.

Future of Goa

THE PRIME MINISTER: Next subject is Goa; what do you want me to say about Goa?

QUESTION: Mr. Bandodkar has been returned on the issue of merger of Goa with Maharashtra.

THE PRIME MINISTER: It does not matter what he fought for. What was there to fight about? Practically, it was a formal opposition, but there was no real opposition.

QUESTION: Is it considered that at some stage Goa and Pondicherry should be merged by the Home Affairs Ministry, just as other Union Territories, or will it remain as the special preserve of the Ministry of External Affairs?

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is a domestic matter which can be decided at any time.

QUESTION: What about the Ministry of External Affairs continuing its administration?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The idea simply was that historically the External Affairs Ministry had to deal with it and they are continuing to do so.

QUESTION: Have you not broken with that historical past and started a new era?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes, the past is over, but there are many other matters which still have to be dealt with.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have received no agenda of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference yet. Of course, the Conference has no regular agenda. Some broad headings are indicated and discussions take place under these broad headings. But even those have not been received by us.

QUESTION: Are you thinking of taking some of your colleagues in the Government with you to this Conference?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not quite know yet. Possibly, somebody might go.

QUESTION: Is Lal Bahadur likely to accompany you?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Is he likely to go? I cannot say yet.

QUESTION: Could you, in this context, tell us what your reactions are to the letter you reportedly received from the British Prime Minister about the Indian co-sponsorship of the vote in the U.N. Committee of Twenty-four?

THE PRIME MINISTER: My reactions are that India's co-sponsorship was correct and it was the inevitable result of the thinking of the Committee of 20 or 24—I do not remember the number. The United Nations had also decided something on that subject and has followed it.

Plan and Prices

THE PRIME MINISTER: The next subject is the Fourth Plan. The Fourth Plan is still at a very preliminary stage. The perspective plan has been prepared for the Fourth and Fifth Plan periods. This is being considered by the Planning Commission.

QUESTION: How do you propose to tackle the question of prices in this context? Enough has been said in the past in Parliament and outside, and some measures are also supposed to have been taken, but the results are not obvious to us, at least.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am afraid I cannot deal with the price question in detail here. It is a difficult and complicated question.

QUESTION: But the fact remains that the prices are going up as you are raising the dearness allowance of the Government servants every now and then. Could you consider seriously how you can control it?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It does require serious consideration. I did not say one should ignore it.

QUESTION: Do you propose some sort of price control of foodgrains?

THE PRIME MINISTER: When we talk about control, we talk from the consumer's point of view. But what about the producer's point of view? The incentive to them to produce is also an important aspect. But I think the many ways in which middlemen increase the prices can certainly be controlled.

QUESTION: Does the Government propose to implement the recommendations of the Dhebar Committee?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Dhebar Committee's recommendations have been accepted generally by the All-India Congress Committee. They have been sent again to the Working Committee for closer examination. That is, by and large, Government is agreeable to the Dhebar Committee's recommendations, but not to every detail of them, and we hope to implement them.

QUESTION: Does it amount to bank nationalization? Dhebar Committee has recommended it.

THE PRIME MINISTER: No, there is no immediate question of bank nationalization.

India-China Border

QUESTION: In regard to China, you recently stated that if there are no posts in the demilitarized zone, you are prepared to have talks with them. In what way does it differ from the previous stand that unless China accepts the Colombo proposals in full, India will not enter into negotiations?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The point is one of interpretation of the Colombo proposal. There could be an agreement on there being no posts on either side.

QUESTION: Has President Abboud brought any word from Peking that China is prepared to withdraw the seven posts from Ladakh?

THE PRIME MINISTER: President Abboud has brought no word. He has not spoken to us about these Chinese posts.

QUESTION: In one month, you have spoken on this matter twice. Has there been any reaction at all from China's side to give us any hope that this might become a basis for negotiations?

THE PRIME MINISTER: We have received no reaction from China.

QUESTION: Sir, there is a report that the Chinese have rejected your proposal for holding talks on the basis of their

leaving these seven posts.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am not aware of that.

QUESTION: Apart from what Lord Russell's representative had told you sometime ago, was there any other indication that China might be agreeable to the withdrawal of these seven posts?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There was some indication conveyed by the Prime Minister of Ceylon to us. It was rather vague, but it was an indication.

Cabinet Changes

QUESTION: There are two subjects somewhat of an allied nature which do not find a place in this morning's list. One is the Attorney-General's report into some undisclosed allegations about the Deputy Finance Minister, Mrs. Sinha. This has been with you for more than a fortnight and not much is known about it. Secondly, from time to time, the word goes round that you have talked to some of your colleagues sent out of the Government under the Kamaraj Plan, and that you want them back in some capacity or other. Also, allied to that is the issue of having a full-time Foreign Minister. In that context, are any changes in the composition of the Cabinet being considered?

THE PRIME MINISTER: You have put a battery of questions. There has been no consideration of a change in the Cabinet. In future, there may be some changes, but none at present. There have been no talks, as you seem to think, about that.

As for the Deputy Finance Minister, the report of the Attorney-General, it is true, has been with me for some time. It deals with a number of relatively minor charges and we have been considering what should be done about them. The Attorney-General seems to think that, on the data given to him, there was not very much for him to decide, but it may be necessary to have further investigation.

QUESTION: In the meantime, have you advised her to resign?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have not even seen her for some considerable time.

Kamaraj Plan

QUESTION: Do you think, Sir, that the Kamaraj Plan has served the purpose for which it was conceived?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I don't think it has served the purpose completely, to some extent it did serve the purpose.

QUESTION: In what ways?

THE PRIME MINISTER: It made the Congress think somewhat differently and because of its thinking it can act also differently.

QUESTION: Even in U.P., Sir?

THE PRIME MINISTER: In U.P., the trouble is not due to Kamaraj Plan at all.

QUESTION: What is your personal reaction to the Tek Chand Committee Report? It has put Morarji Desai completely in the shade (laughter).

THE PRIME MINISTER: I regret to say that I have not read it. It is too big a report.

QUESTION: Speaking to us about two years ago, in this very hall, you had said that the administrations of Madras and Maharashtra were the best in the country. Now that Shri Chavan is out of Bombay and Shri Kamaraj from Madras, do you still hold the same view?

THE PRIME MINISTER: On the whole, I think the administration of Madras is certainly a good one and, on the whole, in Maharashtra too.

Split in C.P.I.

QUESTION: What is your reaction to the radical parties—PSP joining the Congress and the Communist Party splitting into two?

THE PRIME MINISTER: So far as the Communist Party is concerned, whether it splits in two or more bits, I am not concerned. As for the PSP joining the Congress, it is up to them to do so, or not to do so.

Question of Succession

QUESTION: You are reported to have said in an interview with the U.S. television network that you were not grooming Mrs. Indira Gandhi for the post of Prime Minister. Will it not be in the interest of good government and stability of the country that you should solve this problem of succession in your lifetime, in a democratic manner?

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is a leading question. (laughter).

QUESTION: It is on everybody's lips.

THE PRIME MINISTER: They may be talking like that. My lifetime is not ending so very soon.

QUESTION: In view of the great strain that you are undergoing, have you given any thought to the various suggestions that you should retire and act as an adviser to others who have been working?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes. Whenever such suggestions are made, I give some thought to them (laughter).

QUESTION: How do you propose to spend your holiday?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am going tomorrow to Dehra Dun for a few days and, early in June, I propose to go to Kalimpong.

TRIBUTE TO LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY

WE MEET HERE today, under the shadow of shock and sorrow. To many of us, it is a personal shock and grief. But the crime that has been committed was something more than a personal one. It was a crime against humanity. A man has been struck down in the pride of youth and achievement: a man of ideals, vision and courage, who sought to serve his own people as well as the larger causes of the world.

President Kennedy revived among his people the ideals enshrined in the American Constitution and, in a changing world, sought to apply them to the problems of today. He endeavoured, not without success, to work for the removal of the tensions that burden and distract the world and to ensure an abiding peace. He devoted himself to the removal of injustice and inequalities among men. In his own great country, he laboured for civil liberty and worked so that Negroes might enjoy full freedom and opportunity without discrimination based on race or colour. In the wider world outside, a great part of which still suffers from poverty and lack of opportunities for growth, he threw his great energy and weight in favour of the development of under-developed countries, so that people everywhere should have the blessings of freedom and the advantages that modern science and technology give.

Wealth and prosperity came to his own country. To these, President Kennedy added a deeper human and moral outlook which embraced in its scope the peoples of the world.

To these great causes he dedicated himself, and the picture of a great President emerged, which brought a measure of hope to the peoples of the world. To his high office he gave lustre and grace, and people in distant parts of the world looked upon him with hope and affection. The

memory of his great predecessor, Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator, was revived, and in the confusion and conflicts of the present day world came a vision of the "self-evident truths" that all men are created equal and have certain inalienable rights, and till these are fully achieved, the vision of the founders of the American Republic will not be realized in its completeness.

The gracious lady, his wife, to whom our thoughts must turn today in deepest sympathy, came to India and we had the privilege to give her an affectionate welcome. It was our hope that President Kennedy would also pay us a visit, and he had himself expressed a wish to do so. That will not take place now, as an assassin's hand has put an end to a life which had already flowered so well and which gave promise of greater achievement in the future.

A great President and a great man is dead, struck down by one of his own countrymen. We sorrow for this, as indeed we must, but perhaps he has served the causes he cherished by his death even as he laboured for them in his life. Let us all draw inspiration from his fragrant memory and pay our homage to it.

These words which I have said, I am sure, represent not only my sentiments but the sentiments of all the Members here and all the Parties that are represented in this Parliament.

INDEX

- Abboud, President, 225
- Abdullah, Sheikh, 218, 221
- Adivasis, 13
- Afghanistan, 58, 213
- Africa, 47, 166, 167, 169
- African countries, renaissance of, 166
- African Heads of States, Conference of, 167
- Aggression on borders, 2, 44
- Agrarian reform, 101
- Agriculture, 71, 82, 101, 110, 111; production, 70, 82, 106, 122
- Ajanta, 140
- Akhand Bharat*, 91
- Aksai Chin road, 88, 89
- Ali Sabry, 160, 161
- All India Congress Committee, 220, 221, 225
- America
see
United States of America
- American Army, 186
- American Constitution, 229
- Andhra Pradesh, 71;
Legislature, 63
- Aney, M.S., 128
- Anthony, Frank, 17, 18, 19, 83, 86, 87
- Arab countries, 217
- Arabic, 25, 31
- Aref, President, 215
- Asia, 54, 64, 68, 84, 166, 198;
Central, 58
- Asian Population Conference, 116, 134
- Asoka (Emperor), 12, 58
- Atom bombs, 46, 53, 166, 208
- Automatic weapons, 190
- Attlee, Lord, 202, 203
- Ayub Khan, President, 13, 159

- Backward classes, 100
- Bandodkar, Mr., 223
- Barua, Hem, 88
- Belgium, 189, 190
- Bengali, 21, 24, 27
- Bhabha, Dr. Homi, 144
- Bharat Sevak Samaj, 62
- Bihar, 13
- Bombay Plan, 124, 125, 133
- Bomdi La, 192
- Border Roads Organization, 192

- Bose, Subhas Chandra, 124
- Buddha, 12
- Buddhism, 59
- Buddhist State, Conference of, 178

- Cambodia, 219
- Canada, 21
- Capitalism, 67
- Caste system, 33, 35
- Central Institute of English, 32
- Central Social Welfare Board, 105
- Ceylon, 89, 179, 200
- Chagla, Mr., 221
- Chakravarty, Renu, Mrs., 24
- Chavan, Shri, 227
- China, 11, 52, 54; invasion of India, 9, 10, 45, 48, 57, 88, 89, 110, 190, 191, 198, 199, 212; individual and personal liberties in, 85; breaks Panch Sheel, 88; agriculture in, 112; Colombo Proposals and, 160, 170, 177; conflict with Soviet Union, 175, 212; frontiers with India, 197; Army, 197; relations with U.K., 198; betrayed India, 198; population problem in, 210; collusion with Pakistan, 211, 215
- Chinese check posts, 163, 164, 182
- Chinese language, 25
- Chinese Press, 93
- Chinese propaganda, method of, 174
- Chinese warfare, 191
- Chou En-lai, 161, 170; J. Nehru's letter to, 174
- Christ, 59
- Christianity, 59; in India, 58
- Colombo Conference countries, 162, 172, 177, 181; proposals, 160, 161, 162, 164, 170, 171, 173, 174, 177, 181, 213, 216
- Colonialism, 57, 65, 203, 205, 209
- Common language, 27
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, 218, 223
- Communal disturbances, 218, 222
- Communal harmony, 13
- Communism, 67
- Communist Party of India, split in 219, 227
- Community Development, 106; programme, 83, 108; movement, 105, 123
- Compulsory saving, 44

- Confucius, 154
 Constituent Assembly, 28
 Constitution, 21, 27, 64, 80
 Corruption, 73, 76, 91, 92
- Dalai Lama, 89, 195, 219
 Dastoor, Dr., 32
 De Valera, Mr., 182
 Defence Science Organization, 191
 Delhi Housing Factory, 150
 Delhi Master Plan, 97
 Democracy, 16, 47, 61, 64, 75
 Democratic socialism, 65
 Depressed classes, 100
 Desai, Morarji, 77, 227
 Dhebar Committee, 225
 Diem, President, 200
 Disarmament, 203, 204;
 Preparatory Committee for, 208
 Djakarta Conference, 214
 DMK, 75
 Dunkirk, 194
- East Pakistan, 217, 222; refugees from,
 11, 217
 ECAFE, 117, 118
 Education, 63, 84, 114, 145, 151, 157;
 technical, 87, 122; girls', 157, 158
 Educational institutions, 103
 Ellora, 140
 Emergency, 110, 114, 122, 144
 Employment, 120
 England, 32, 42, 54, 55
 English language, 14, 17, 19, 22, 23,
 26, 28, 29, 32, 35, 60
 English people, domination of, 32
 Europe, 59, 69, 72, 81
 European languages, 25, 28
- Family planning, 120, 135; clinics, 87
 Finland, 21
 Finnish language, 21
 Five Year Plan, 43, 44, 50, 56, 62, 149;
 First, 83; Second, 83, 86; Third, 57,
 83, 87, 131; Fourth, 114, 125, 133
 Ford Foundation, 71
 Foreign collaborations, 51
 Foreign Exchange, 51, 52; shortage of,
 190
 Foreign languages, 22, 34, 35
 Foreign policy, 57, 65, 76, 91
 Formosa, 179, 183, 184
 French Army, 194
- Gandhi, Indira, 228
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 9, 12, 27, 31, 53, 78,
 80, 83, 101, 104, 136, 168, 205
- Geneva Agreement, 220
 Geneva Conference, 194
 Geneva Pact countries, 219
 German language, 34
 Germany, 68, 85
 Goa, future of, 52 ff, 218, 223, merger
 with Maharashtra, 223
 Govind Das, Dr., 16
 Gujarati language, 20
 Gupta, Bhupesh, 197
 Gupta, Kashi Ram, 126
- Hague Court of International Justice
 (The), 54
 Himachal Pradesh, 192
 Himalayas, 58
 Hindi, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37
 Hindi versus English, 17 ff
 Hindu Mahasabha, 75
 Hinduism, 58, 59
 Hungary, 180
 Hanumanthaiya, Shri, 127
 Hyderabad city, 142
 Hydro-electric schemes, 103
 Hydrogen bombs, 53, 208
- Imperialism, 57
 Independence (Indian), 26, 80, 113, 187
 India-China border, 170, 225
 India-China conflict, 170, 172, 194
 Indian Chambers of Commerce and
 Industry, Federation of, 40
 Indian languages, 14, 21, 28
 Indian Ocean, Seventh Fleet of U.S.
 into, 216
 Indo-Pakistan relations, 195, 220
 Industrial (Development and Regula-
 tion) Act of 1951, 50, 51
 Industrial Licensing Policy, 49, 50, 52
 Industrial Policy, 50, 51, 52
 Industrial production, 122
 Industrial revolution, 35, 42, 43, 63, 72,
 86, 106
 Industrialization, 38, 43, 79
 Large-scale, 52
 Major, 73, 79
 Small-scale, 51, 71, 79, 82, 86, 137
 Village, 83
 International Commission, Polish with-
 drawal from, 219
 International Congress of Orientalists,
 151
 International Labour Organization, 184
 Irrigation and Power, 137, 138
 Islam, 59
 Israel, 180

- Jain, Ajit Prasad, 134, 135
 Japan, 68, 71, 81, 85, 111, 118, 134
 Jayaprakash Narayan, 222
 Jews, 59
 Kabir, Prof., 143, 151
 Kamaraj Plan, 219, 226, 227
 Kamaraj, Shri, 227
 Kamath, Hari Vishnu, 90, 92, 124, 127, 132, 214
 Kannada language, 20
 Karachi, 80
 Karni Singhji, 135
 Kashmir, 54, 55, 91, 159, 187, 195, 197, 215, 220
 Kennedy, President, 229, 230
 Konkani language, 60
 Korea, 186
 Kripalani, J.B., 75, 77, 87, 88, 89, 90, 125, 126, 211, 212, 216
 Koumintang troops, 193
Kurukshetra, The, 108
 Ladakh, 164, 186, 190, 192, 213
 Lady Rama Rao Committee, 87
 Lal Bahadur Shastri, 223
 Land reforms, 71, 80
 Landlord system, 57
 Laos, 218, 220
 League of Nations, 182, 203, 208
 Licensing Committee, 50
 Licensing of Industrial Undertakings Rules, 51
 Lincoln, Abraham, 230
 Link language, 27, 28, 29
 Local Self-Government, 94, 96
 Lohia, Dr. Ram Manohar, 77
 Madras, 227
 Mahalanobis, Prof., 52
 Maharashtra, 227
 Malaria, 122
 Malayalam, 20
 Mani, A.D. Mr., 182, 183
 Marathi, 20, 24, 27, 60
 Masani, M.R., 77, 126
 Maurya, B.P., 136
 Menon, Krishna, Mr., 87, 90
 MIGs, 181
 Military dictatorship, 64
 Mixed economy, 130
 Mohenjodaro, 156
 Mukerjee, H.N., 16, 26
 Muslim League, 75
 Nanda, Gulzari Lal, 128
 National Development Council, 110, 125
 National Income, 86
 National languages, 21, 24, 27, 60
 National Planning Committee, 123
 National Solidarity Day, 8
 NEFA, 89, 90, 164, 186, 192
 Negroes, 229
 Nepal, 192
 No-confidence motion, 76, 78
 Non-aligned countries, 213
 Non-alignment, 65, 87, 180, 199, 200, 212; Conference, 219
 No-war Pact, 54, 55, 196
 Nuclear tests, treaty on, 4
 Nuclear war, 53
 Nuclear weapons, 166
 Official Languages Bill, 16
 Orientalists, 152, 155, 156
 Orissa, 13, 92
 Package Programmes, 71
 Pai, Nath, 213, 214, 215
 Pakistan, 11, 12, 54, 55, 57, 71, 89, 91, 159, 178, 183, 187, 196, 213, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222; Western help to, 215
 Pali language, 25
 Panch Sheel 87, 88
 Panchayati Raj, 106, 108, 109, 110, 123, 125
 Panchayats, 61
 Panjim, 58
 Parsees, 59
 Peace, 11, 53, 65
 Peaceful co-existence, 88
Per capita income, 86, 107
 Persian language, 14, 25, 31
 Planning Commission, 7, 50, 81, 116, 121, 123, 125, 127, 128
 Plato, 154
 Pondicherry, French language in, 30; University with French language in, 30; merger of, 223
 Population, 66, 67, 83, 86, 87, 117, 122; control, 120, 135; problem, 210; exchange of, 218
 Portugal, 59, 184
 Poverty, 67, 68, 84
 Praja Socialist Party (PSP), 227
 Prakash Vir Shastri, 91
 Prakrits, 21
 Price Control, 224
 Printing in India, 14
 Private sector, 41, 130, 131
 Public Accounts Committee, 92
 Public Sector, 41, 80, 124, 130
 Punjab, 71, 72, 86, 112

- Racism, 203, 209
 Rajagopalachari, Mr., 91
 Ranga, N.G., 84, 121, 126, 214
 Rao, Dr., 100, 101
 Red Fort, 1
 Refugees, influx of, 11
 Regional languages, 25, 26, 33, 34, 37, 38
 Religious war,
 European concept, 58
 West Asian concept, 58
 Rockefeller Foundation, 135
 Rodivinsky, Mr., 71, 72
 Russell, Lord, 213, 214, 226
 Russia
 See
 Soviet Union
 Russian language, 34
 Ruthnaswamy, M., 185, 186

 Secular state, 59
 Sahitya Akademy, 14, 15, 21, 22, 60
 Salar Jung Museum, 139, 142
 San Francisco, 203
 Sanskrit, 14, 20, 21, 23, 25, 39
 Santiniketan, 151
 Scandinavia, 82
 Science and technology, 28, 34, 36, 63,
 67, 143, 146, 166
 Scientific and industrial revolution, 37
 Scientific Policy Resolution, 143, 145
 Scientific research, 144
 Security Council, 184, 215
 Serajuddin affair, 92, 93
 Shrimali, Dr K.L., 24
 Sinha, Ganga Sharan, 177, 178
 Sinha, Mrs., 226
 Sino-Indian border, 162
 Sino-Indian conflict, 173, 183, 216
 Sino-Pak air treaty, 178
 Sino-Soviet relationship, 165
 Slums, 100
 Social welfare, 99, 104
 Socialism, 65, 80, 81, 130
 Socialistic society, 56
 Somaliland, 166
 South Africa, 185
 South East Asia, 117, 194, 200
 South India, 23, 59
 Souvanna Phouma, Prince, 219, 220
 Soviet Union, 4, 66, 67, 68, 81, 85,
 91, 146; conflict with China, 88,
 power blocs headed by, 212
 Spanish, 22
 Steel plant, 79
 Swaran Singh, Sardar, 159, 214

 Swatantra Party, 131, 133
 Switzerland, 21

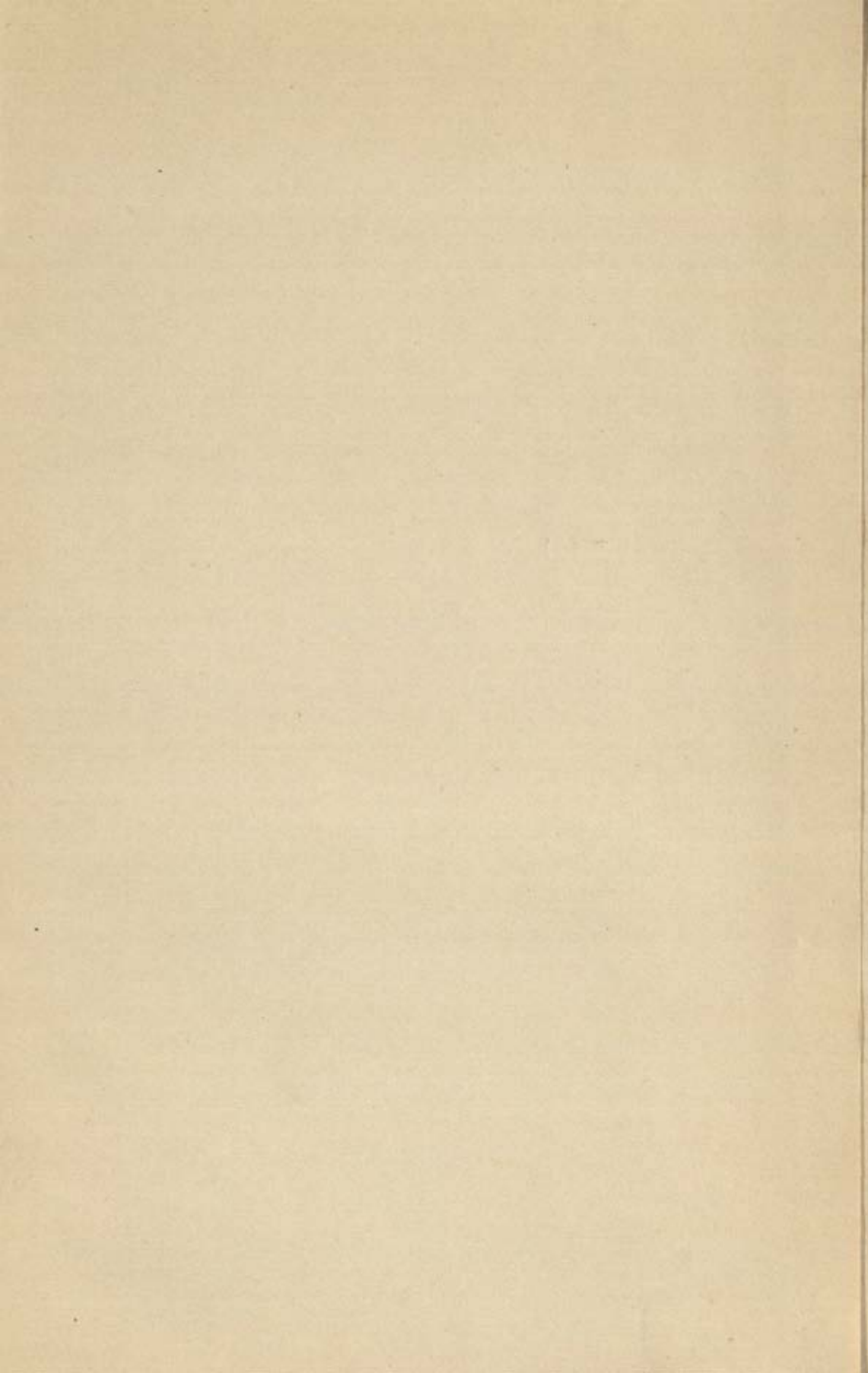
 Taj Mahal, 140
 Tamil, 20, 21, 24, 27
 Taxation, 44
 Tek Chand Committee Report, 227
 Telugu, 20
 Tenancy Laws, 72
 Test-Ban Agreement, 168
 Test-Ban Treaty, 172, 199, 201, 204, 208
 Thailand, 179
 Three-language formula, 29, 37
 Tibet, 89, 171, 176, 193, 194; Chinese
 attack on, 211
 Tibetan rebellion, 88
 Town and country planning, 94, 97
 Transmitter (Soviet), 218, 222
 Tribal people, 102
 Turkish language, 25, 31
 Tusker Unit, 192
 Tyagi, Mahavir, 136, 222

 U Thant, 221
 United Kingdom, 67, 146, 197; relations
 with China, 192
 United Nations, 4, 118, 183, 185, 200,
 201, 203, 205; role of, 206 ff; forces,
 220
 United States of America, 4, 32, 54,
 55, 66, 67, 81, 86, 91, 132, 146, 196;
 power blocs headed by, 212
 Unity of India, 3, 5
 Urbanization, 100
 Urdu, 24, 25, 31
 Uttar Pradesh, 31, 71, 72, 192
 U.P.-Bihar border, 164
 Vajpayee, A.B., 180, 181, 182, 192
 Vietnam, 200, 201;
 Buddhist monks of, 200; North, 220;
 South, 178
 Village Level Workers, 105, 109
 Villages of India, 100
 Vivian Bose Commission, 40
 VOA transmitter agreement, 179
 War, 53, 62, 70, 89; World, 204; Second
 World, 208
 Western bloc, 212
 Western Europe, 42
 World Federalists, 201
 World Federalists' Organization, 205

 Yugoslavia, 82

 Zamindari system, 57
 Zila Parishad, 109





Vol-
26.3.71.

Central Archaeological Library,
NEW DELHI.

48033

Call No. 808.850954 / Meh

Author—Govt. of India

Title—Jawahar Lal Nehru's

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.