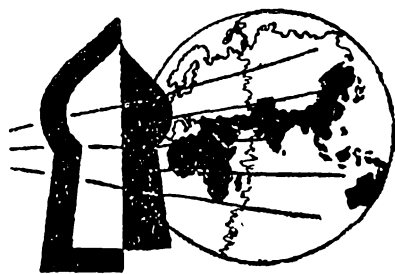


INDIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Proceedings of the India-America Conference
held in New Delhi in December 1949



COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS
UNIVERSITY PRESS

THIS book summarizes the proceedings of the India-America Conference held in New Delhi in December 1949. It includes a report on Political and Diplomatic Relations between the United States and India by Lawrence K. Rosinger ; another report on Economic Relations between these two countries by D. R. Gadgil ; and a third on Cultural Relations by K. G. Saiyidain.

At a time when India is evolving an independent foreign policy and her relations with America are becoming more and more significant, this volume should be of great help for a proper understanding of Indian-American relations.

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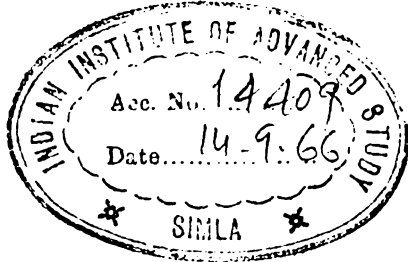
*Issued under the joint auspices of the Indian Council of
World Affairs and the American Institute of Pacific Relations*



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INTRODUCTION

THIS report on Indian-American Relations is a summary of the discussions at the India-America Conference, held in New Delhi from 12th to 22nd December 1949, together with relevant information relating to Conference Membership, Agenda, and Papers presented to the Conference. The Conference was held under the joint auspices of two National Councils of the Institute of Pacific Relations—the Indian Council of World Affairs and the American Institute of Pacific Relations. By their rules, these two organizations are precluded from expressing any opinion on national or international affairs, their primary aim being to promote the objective study of public affairs; and so no resolutions were passed at the Conference. Even so, this summary of the discussions at the Conference, based as they were on data papers prepared in advance (Appendix D) and indicating important segments of opinion in leading intellectual and business circles in both countries on their mutual relations, will, it is hoped, be a useful contribution to the better understanding of the relevant issues.

The purpose of the Conference was to explore relations between India and the United States in the political, economic and cultural fields and to promote mutual understanding and research on problems of common interest.

After a public session, which was opened by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, (Opening Statement Appendix C) the Conference discussed at fifteen Round Table Sessions the political, economic and cultural aspects of Indo-American relations. The first session was devoted to a general survey of the whole field with a view to adopting the agenda which was to be the basis of discussion at succeeding sessions (Appendix A). Four sessions were devoted to a discussion of political and diplomatic relations, and at the fifth—the report session—the report of the rapporteur on this subject was circulated and further comments were invited. Similarly four sessions—including the report session—were devoted to a discussion of economic

relations, and five to cultural relations. The final session of the Conference on 22nd December was devoted to a review of the important issues brought out in the round tables and of the means for the improvement of understanding—although, considering the time available, such a review had necessarily to be brief and very general.

It should be added here that while the rapporteurs' reports printed here present an accurate summary of the discussions at the Conference sessions, they do not necessarily imply that the Conference as a whole adopted the reports: the nature of the Conference did not make necessary such a procedure. Although members had an opportunity in the report sessions to comment on the summaries, it cannot be assumed that all exercised this right or that the revised summaries are in a form which each member would personally have endorsed without qualification.

Seventy-two members participated in the Conference, forty Indian and thirty-two American (Appendix B). The Indian members had been chosen by the Indian Council of World Affairs and the American members by the American Institute of Pacific Relations in co-operation with the Association of American Universities. They represented a good cross section of intelligent and informed American and Indian opinion on the subjects before the Conference; in particular mention must be made of Chancellor Compton and Edward Carter, leader and deputy leader respectively of the American delegation and Pandit Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation who, by their presence at the Conference helped to give a tone to the Conference which was much appreciated on all sides.

It must be added that, though all the Conference sessions were open to all members, in practice the attendance at any particular session never exceeded sixty; the actual number at each session depended on the interest which the members had in the issues covered by the agenda of each Round Table. The Conference did not, therefore, think it necessary to split itself into smaller groups; and it could be said that within the time available most members got the opportunity to express their opinions on the issues raised at the Conference.

Neither the Indian Council of World Affairs nor the American Institute of Pacific Relations is responsible for statements of fact or opinion appearing in this report. All statements at the Conference were made solely on the individual responsibility of the speakers.

In conclusion, the American Institute of Pacific Relations and the Indian Council of World Affairs would like to place on record their gratitude to the Delhi University for having placed its spacious rooms at the disposal of the Conference and for having given it every assistance.

New Delhi
February 1, 1950

A. APPADORAI
Secretary

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POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

Rapporteur : LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

The two days of discussion of political and diplomatic relations revealed clearly that Indian opinion is far more crystallized than American opinion about the questions arising between the two countries. This is particularly true on matters of detail. Whatever their point of view, the various Indian delegates plainly felt that they were reflecting fairly definite segments of politically-conscious India. The American delegates, on the other hand, quite properly made frequent references to the undeveloped or hesitant state of American opinion on many of the detailed issues.

Far from being a weakness in the discussion, this difference was an accurate and therefore highly instructive reflection of real difference in the public opinion of the two countries. For politically-conscious Indians pay constant attention to the American position on issues affecting India, while politically-conscious Americans have so far given comparatively little thought to the Indian position on matters affecting the United States. It is significant that the American delegates seemed to regard themselves as most representative of broad trends in American thinking when they discussed situations not arising from the relationship with India, for example, attitudes toward the U.S.S.R. or toward the ability of the American economy to sustain foreign aid programmes.

Eight main questions were considered at some length, and will be summarized below. Matters which were referred to tangentially included : Japan ; Indian and American attitudes toward racial discrimination ; and the gap between the American emphasis on individualism and competition and the Indian emphasis on social planning and government control. It should

be noted, before the discussions are summarized, that it is impossible to be certain of the opinion of the group since no votes were taken or resolutions passed, and since — despite the breadth of participation by members in the sessions as a whole — only a minority spoke on any particular issue. But where a consensus seemed to emerge, this will be suggested in the summary.

1. *Indian and American views of Russia and Communism, and the reactions of public opinion in each country to the attitudes of the other.*

On this question there were differences in attitude within both delegations. A number of Indian speakers suggested that the American fear of Communism was overdone, or that the basic need was to raise standards of living rather than to approach Communism with force. There was also a suggestion that the United States, in its preoccupation with Communism, had strengthened reactionary governments abroad instead of aligning itself with progressive forces. Several speakers questioned whether the current Soviet-American relationship was not bringing about a suppression of liberal opinion within the United States. In contrast with the tendency of most Indian speakers not to stress Communism as an issue in India, two members of the group drew attention to Communist activity in South India. One declared that the world has a simple choice between the bullet and the ballot, that no compromise was possible, and that India must align itself with the United States. In reply, another Indian characterized the bullet-ballot dichotomy as an oversimplification. Communism, he declared, has a real moral force which exerts an appeal to the masses, and the economic and social conditions on which this appeal is based must be recognized and dealt with.

Although fewer Americans than Indians spoke on the subject, the interplay of opinion within the Indian delegation was subordinate to the crossweaving of Indian and American opinion. In explanation of American attitudes, one American declared that the prevailing state of mind in the United States

was the result of a fear psychology arising in World War II, the efforts of politicians and the press to use anti-Communism for their own advantage, and a tendency to over-simplify matters by pinning everything on the Kremlin rather than on basic causes. Another speaker remarked that Indian criticism was largely directed at men and elements not present at the Conference. He added that as a beginner in world affairs the United States necessarily made mistakes. Some speakers suggested that the picture of repression of liberal opinion in the United States was exaggerated. Others declared that the United States had sought good relations with Russia, but that the U.S.S.R. had been unwilling to co-operate. One stated in the first session that he had heard misconceptions from every speaker on American policy, that the United States had nothing for which to apologize, and that American policy, although not perfect, was pacific. He also stated (as did an Indian speaker) that press attitudes reflect public opinion. To this, another American speaker later replied that, in actual fact, the purpose of the press was to make opinion.

2. *American opinion on India's 'middle course' in foreign policy.*

A considerable number of American speakers expressed approval of India's 'middle course' policy, giving various reasons, such as the possible effect in promoting world peace, India's natural fear of being dragged into another war by an outside power as in World Wars I and II, the desirability of allowing a young country like India time to make up its mind, and the possibility that coercing India to follow an American line throughout might undermine Nehru's position at home. Other American speakers suggested that a 'middle course' might be unrealistic, whatever India's desires, that the United States had tried unsuccessfully and at cost to itself to maintain a middle ground in the past, and that India might suffer if it did not prepare adequately and war suddenly came. On the other hand, two speakers who indicated reservations about, or disapproval of, a 'middle course' suggested that at the United Nations India was in fact, or in principle, already aligned with the United States.

Most of the Indian speakers defended the 'middle course' policy. Many declared, however, that it did not mean neutrality but independence, or suggested that in the event of a world war India would canvass the situation and adopt a positive policy. One speaker said that India's present policy resulted from fear of both Russia and the United States; another, that India was afraid of again coming under the domination of a foreign power; and a third, that India avoided joining either the American or Russian camp because it wished to help generate certain positive forces in the world. Fear of war, India's need to put its own house in order, and the great distance from the United States were cited as additional factors. One speaker expressed the view that the United States had fallen from its high ideals—a statement which was denied from the American side. Another Indian referred to the 'middle course' as a policy of 'calculated risk.'

3. *American and Indian views of the priorities in American thinking with regard to Europe and Asia, as well as with regard to the various countries within Asia.*

On this question there were many more expressions of American opinion than Indian. One speaker declared that in United States foreign policy Western Europe came first, because of its industry; the Middle East second, because of its oil; and the Arctic third, because of its strategic location; with the Far East ranking below all of these. To this analysis several American delegates added the view that Japan was a prior commitment. The explanations given for the priority of Europe were mostly strategic, but one speaker held that the United States was better adapted to aiding industrialized countries than to aiding agricultural countries, and another that the re-establishment of the pre-existing economy of Western Europe was a much simpler problem than that of India, where an economy had to be developed. It was suggested also that uncertainty about the United States investment position affected the priority given India, that concern about the failure of policy in China influenced American atti-

tudes towards aid to India, and especially that the American purse was not inexhaustible and the United States could not carry on two major international financial operations at the same time. A few speakers held out the hope of possible American aid to India in the long run. Another American expressed the view that American foreign policy was controlled by the military and big business, and that the Marshall Plan, relying on dead patterns of the past, was a hopeless effort to make good Europe's loss of colonial empire. This speaker suggested that the future security of the United States depended on its policy in the Far East.

Indian speakers did not seem to challenge the American interest in Europe as such, but to advance the idea that 'a more balanced view' should be adopted. The East, it was said, was also an area from which Communism should be fought. India was presented as a more politically stable area than South-East Asia for the United States to base itself on, or as a better balancing factor than Japan. One speaker declared that India needed help soon and could not wait for long-range help to develop. Another, in a critique of the entire discussion, stated that it was senseless for India to quarrel with American judgements as to what was best for the United States. Because of its weakness, he said, India would have to remain passive, unable to become a strong third force or to have an effective positive policy.

4. American and Indian attitudes towards nationalism in colonial areas.

Discussion of this subject remained largely on a general level instead of being directed towards specific colonial areas. One American speaker stated that as a whole American opinion was not colonial-minded, and that India's support of colonial nationalism had been favourably received, especially among some of the minorities in the United States. Other American speakers agreed that there was general American popular sympathy for colonial nationalist movements. In addition, some suggested that at certain points official

American policy diverged from this popular sentiment. Several Indian speakers declared that the United States was closely tied up with the Western colonial powers. Another said that from conversations with American friends he had the feeling that two contradictory sentiments were at work: the desire to see the British hit hard by someone, and doubt as to whether coloured peoples in the colonies were really wise in seeking their freedom. On the other hand, an Indian speaker, who strongly supported Indian aid to colonial peoples, said he did not know how long India would be consistent in this policy.

5. *Indian opinion about the possibility or desirability of regional groupings in Asia.*

A brief canvass of this question, at the suggestion of an American delegate, revealed general agreement among the Indians who spoke that there was no likelihood of regional groupings in the years immediately ahead. One delegate, however, seemed to consider such a development more possible, and an American delegate suggested that there was a desire in South-East Asia for a regional organization separate from both India and China.

6. *Indian and American opinion about the approach of the other country to the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and certain specific issues before the United Nations, chiefly South Africa, Kashmir and Hyderabad.*

There was no extensive discussion of any of these points except Kashmir and Hyderabad. An Indian delegate declared that in economic matters the United States had used the United Nations as an instrument of its own policy or, where it was unable to do so, had created its own agency. To this some American delegates replied that countries making the largest contributions to international organizations naturally want their money to be used for purposes with which they sympathize and that India and the United States might not be unlike in their desire to use the United Nations for pur-

poses which they support. An Indian delegate declared that during 1946-8 the United States had hindered the United Nations from acting against racial discrimination in South Africa, and that the United States had not given whole-hearted support to Indian efforts to tighten up the trusteeship system, especially with regard to South-West Africa. Several American speakers indicated that much American opinion was in sympathy with India on these questions. Another added the view that there were several public opinions in the United States, depending on the area of the country. The American Administration might therefore have felt that it would be embarrassed politically had it taken a forthright position on South Africa, in view of a certain similarity between that country and some parts of the United States.

The discussion of Kashmir and Hyderabad, involving little cross-fire of opinion between the delegations, was mostly an exposition of the Indian position by Indian delegates. It was clear that on these questions the American group as a whole felt confused by the conflicting claims of India and Pakistan. The general Indian viewpoint on Kashmir, as presented in the discussion, was that Pakistan was the aggressor in Kashmir, that India had turned to the United Nations rather than go to war with Pakistan, and that the people of Kashmir should be left free to decide their destiny. The point was also made that rulers of the states had the legal right to decide which way their states could go, and that India's acceptance of Kashmir's accession with the proviso that there be an eventual plebiscite indicated India's concern not to go against Kashmiri opinion. Great stress was laid on the independence of Sheikh Abdullah from Indian control, his popularity, and the indigenous character of the movement which he heads. An American delegate explained that Americans knew of the situation only through brief news dispatches which reported India as rejecting and Pakistan as accepting United Nations proposals. To this, Indian delegates replied that India favoured a plebiscite and asked only that the conditions set by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan be met. Although Indian delegates did not touch on American policy at any length, dissatisfaction was expressed

with the attitude taken by the United States toward the Kashmir problem.

In connection with Hyderabad, the statement was made that India had originally agreed to the right of the people to decide whether or not to accede to India, that the Nizam had been intransigent because he had overestimated his power, that armed bands from the state had entered India and attacked people, that people, going to certain Indian areas which were enclaves in Hyderabad were often detained, beaten or forced to pay ransom, and that under the Nizam Communism had begun to flourish. The Indian Government, it was said, had been patient, although Indian opinion had become restive and the Prime Minister had been criticized.

With reference to the Indian states as a whole, one Indian speaker said that India was determined not to allow any Indian state to maintain its independence: a decision would have to be made either for India or for Pakistan. To this, another Indian added that the people of the states had fought the British, hoping for a united India, and that the Indian Government had been dealing not with rulers but with people. The rulers, in fact, had had no voice, for the people would have overthrown them if they had not acceded.

7. Indian and American opinion with regard to recognition of the new Chinese Government.

Differences of opinion concerning recognition of the new Chinese Government revolved largely about the question of timing. There seemed to be fairly wide acceptance of the idea that recognition was ultimately inevitable. In this connection a number of speakers stressed the desirability of facing the realities in China. There was some discussion of the effect on the balance of power within the United Nations if the representatives of the new Chinese Government were admitted to the United Nations.

Some delegates felt that the Soviet position would be strengthened considerably and that the development should be held off; others that the question was not of great moment, since the current non-Soviet majority within the Security

Council would not be affected. One Indian delegate felt that the greater equalizing of the Soviet and non-Soviet voting strength within the Security Council might reduce Soviet fears and make Soviet-American agreement more possible. This view was opposed by another Indian delegate, who felt the effect would be to make the Soviet Union more determined in its own policies.

As a group, the Indian speakers favoured early recognition.¹ Within the American group there were greater divergences. Some Americans held that early recognition might bring advantages in the reduction of Chinese-American tension and that it was highly desirable for the United States to attempt to regain the goodwill it had once enjoyed among large sections of Chinese opinion.

Other Americans held that quick recognition would be undignified and cause loss of 'face' in China, especially after the Ward affair; or that political opponents of the American Administration might make capital out of early recognition by charging the administration with cowardice. The problem of handling Formosa in an acceptable way was also mentioned as a reason for caution in recognition. Another American held that intervention in Formosa would not alter the main trends in China, but only make Chinese opinion more hostile. The latter speaker also suggested that whenever a majority of non-Communist countries favoured recognition the United States should accept their viewpoint and itself extend recognition.

8. *The prospects for future political co-operation between India and the United States.*

This question was not subjected to any detailed analysis. An Indian speaker declared himself more convinced than ever, as a result of the discussions, that co-operation was possible if, for example, American individualism, English democratic socialism and Indian Gandhian socialism could be

¹The Government of India has since recognized the Peking government.

comprehended in a single world Democratic Front; if European countries gave up their attachment to colonialism and the United States ceased to support them; if a harmonious arrangement was made with reference to the vast underpopulated areas of the world which can take more people; if the United States improved the conditions of its own coloured peoples and India improved the conditions of its Harijans and tribal peoples; and if the United States, which was more in favour of the welfare state in practice than in theory, adjusted itself to the Gandhian approach. Another Indian speaker suggested that the United States is wedded to the balance of power and India to collective security. A third said that both countries support constitutional government and democracy and that co-operation was therefore possible. Economic assistance, he said, would increase the possibilities of political co-operation.

Taking up some of these points, an American delegate said that the United States believed in collective security and the United Nations, but found that at present the United Nations lacked sufficient prestige to provide security, partly because of the veto power. Other American speakers also defended the United States position. An American delegate expressed the view that the prospects for co-operation were favourable and that both the American and Indian peoples were friendly peoples. The final speaker, an Indian delegate, declared that both India and the United States desired democracy and peace. But, he said, the United States, even though accustomed to a different economy itself, must understand that the people of India demand a planned economy.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

Rapporteur : D. R. GADGIL

Import and Export Controls

The discussion opened with a consideration of United States tariffs and customs procedure. It was pointed out that educated American opinion was in favour of the reduction of American tariffs and the simplification of customs procedure. In this connection an Indian delegate referred to the difference between the American customs procedure as it operated in relation to imports from Western Europe and to imports from other countries. There was a possibility that this led to a leakage in India's dollar earnings. It was desirable that simplification and standardization of customs procedure should take place on an international level and that the United States should accept this idea more enthusiastically than it appeared disposed to do at present.

After this, the discussion moved on to the problem of export duties levied by the Indian Government on special products. It was feared that high export duties on products like shellac were tending to price such products out of the market. It was explained that the Government of India had taken the step in order to prevent exporters from increasing the prices of shellac excessively and from taking an undue profit out of the situation ; though, it was feared, the Government had taken no special steps to see that this in fact was the result of the imposition of the export duty. In the discussion on the question, dissent with the policy of the Government of India in this matter was expressed, and it was also pointed out that export duties based on the assumption

of a semi-monopolistic position of certain products may lead eventually to undermining their position in international markets. It was also suggested that the imposition of export duties was partly the result of a desire on the part of Indian industrialists to retain comparatively cheap raw materials for themselves within the country.

American Investment

The group next discussed the general question of India's official policy of control and regulation and the effects of this on American investment. In this connection special reference was made to the high level of taxation, the high cost of living, the regulations regarding limitation of dividends, sales and excise taxes, the Government's contemplated legislation on the control of industry, the participation of Government in industry, the threat of nationalization, wage fixation and profit-sharing schemes, labour adjudication awards, and export and import controls. On the Indian side, it was pointed out that whereas it was true that the policy of the Indian Government had not crystallized and that in some respects, such as import and export controls, there had been too many changes, the regulation of private enterprise in all broad aspects and the undertaking of planning by the state had come to stay. It was within this general framework of a planned welfare state that the details of the policy of the Government of India must be considered.

It was pointed out that American enterprise had in the past come in on a minority basis and had on this basis helped to establish important and key industries even during war-time. American enterprise had concurrently accepted the responsibility of training Indian personnel to take the place of the imported American technical and administrative staffs. There appeared no reason why the attitude of American capital should now change.

Several members of the American delegation were, however, definitely of the opinion that circumstances and attitudes were now different. American capital now insisted on majority control in all concerns in which it was necessary to make

any substantial investments. It did not like control and was scared by the threat of nationalization. Specific instances were given where American capital had refused to continue on a minority basis in large-scale and important ventures in Latin American countries. American capital had definitely become more cautious in recent years. One reason for this was that the memory was still fresh of the experience of foreign investments made during inter-war years. Further, American capital had now become more concerned with questions of national security. It was therefore unrealistic to expect American capital to be forthcoming in any volume unless the climate for investment in a country was specially favourable. It was further pointed out that the actual returns on internal investment in America were high ; therefore, any regulation such as the limitation on dividends or profits would make the possibilities of investment abroad still more remote. At the same time, it was emphasized that American business undertook fully the responsibility of training local executives and educating its employees when it made investments in foreign countries, and that assistance under the Point Four Programme would only generalize and make available on a large scale what American business previously had accepted as its responsibility.

On the Indian side, the possibility of obtaining American funds for investment was discussed in two different contexts. On the one hand it was pointed out that state planning and control might not be a difficulty where capital was brought in at the government level rather than as private business investment. In this case the scarcity of venture capital would not be relevant. Large government-sponsored schemes of development for irrigation or general regional agricultural development might be able to attract funds from the international financial market if there were adequate guarantees of payment of a reasonable rate of interest and proper sinking fund provisions. It was possible in India to undertake very extensive development projects, especially in the field of primary production, on these lines. The desirability of obtaining the funds required for development by this means was generally accepted. Doubts were, however, expressed in many

quarters as to whether in fact considerable funds could be raised in this manner. It was pointed out that the bulk of the funds available on the so-called international financial market were really American funds and that investment through these channels would be subject to most of the limitations operative in the case of American private capital. The funds that might become available through such organizations as the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank were not large. Further, before funds could be obtained from these sources, the particular projects would have to be scrutinized and be shown to yield a fairly high and secure return. The number of schemes actually financed through these organizations was, in the circumstances, likely to be very small.

These considerations led generally to the emergence of the view that employment of capital for purposes of bringing about rapid economic development in countries like India could be shown to be neither so secure nor so paying as to attract investment funds on ordinary economic terms. Whether the investment was made by private business or funds were sought for officially sponsored programmes would not make a large difference.

In connection with the general attitude of American business towards foreign investment, two non-business trends of opinion were noted. One was that American private enterprise operated within the framework of public policy in the United States itself and it had, therefore, no justification for asking for a different type of treatment abroad. The other was that intensive operation of private enterprise without regard to aims of social policy had in certain areas of the United States itself left such wreckage that its clearance involved a heavy and continuing cost on the economy of the country. Thus the American experience did not in itself warrant leaving an uncontrolled field to private enterprise elsewhere.

Members of the Indian delegation put forward a number of considerations in relation to the general statement of the position of American private investors. It was, in the first instance, pointed out that planning for development was not entirely foreign to American ideas. Special projects of

regional planning had been actively undertaken and many regulatory devices and other features usually associated with a welfare state were to be found in the United States. The price support policy was one of these measures which was specially discussed. The idea underlying the price support programme was generally accepted, but it was felt that the cost of the programme should be borne internally by the United States and that, in particular, it should not add to the burden on the consumers of primary commodities in the poorer countries of the world. Further, the conjecture of circumstances was so different in India that ideas and practices suited to American conditions could not necessarily be held to be suitable to India.

The Indian Government and public, it was said, were willing to provide all the conditions that might reasonably be required for the successful functioning of individual business enterprises. It was pointed out, for example, that if full control of the operations of a concern was desired only because the technical competence of Indians was doubted, there would be no difficulty in securing this control. So long as American individual enterprises were willing to operate within the integrated plan or the regulatory régime set up by the Indian Government, all reasonable operational requirements of these concerns could be fully met. If, however, the climate of favourable conditions required for the operation of American business was interpreted so generously as to affect the basic objectives of the Indian Government's economic policy, it would naturally be found difficult to make the adjustments necessary to satisfy private American business.

Indo-American Commercial Treaty

In this connection a detailed discussion of the projected Indo-American treaty of commerce and friendship took place. The main issues brought out in the discussion were the interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause and the demand by Americans of national treatment in India. It was felt that agreement should not be difficult on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause as expressed in the terms of the

Charter of the International Trade Organization. The group could not reach agreement, however, in relation to the demand for national treatment. It was pointed out that the desire of any country to reserve certain matters in relation to which nationals could be specially treated was due to special circumstances connected with national security or economic development programmes. It had not yet been found possible to achieve general international agreement in regard to reservations of this type. Therefore, the question had to be considered separately by each country, and the American treaties with Italy and China which had been negotiated under peculiar circumstances could not be held up as models for an Indo-American Treaty. It was further pointed out that official policy in India had not yet crystallized enough on a number of important points which would have to be included in such a treaty.

On the American side it was emphasized that, if scope was left for differential treatment between nationals of the country and the foreign investor, there was every likelihood of the foreign investor's earnings being squeezed, and that American opinion was in consequence insistent on national treatment. While some Americans felt that no attempt should be made to negotiate a treaty as long as Indian policy on important issues was not definite, it was made clear by others that a treaty was a precondition for private business investment by Americans in India as they felt that without a complete understanding between the Governments of the two countries the atmosphere necessary for the movement of American capital into India would not be created.²

² Some difficulties in the way of a treaty are brought out by the following two quotations, the first from a paper prepared by the research staff of the Indian Council of World Affairs, and the second from an article by Mr. Robert Trumbull in the *New York Times*:

1. "In conformity with the traditions of free enterprise in that country, which are also appropriate to the high level of economic development already attained by that country, the United States have hitherto shown a strong preference for India also adopting a similar policy of allowing maximum possible freedom to private enterprise in trade, industry and international investment. India's economic policy,

Regional Programmes and Point Four

There was general agreement that the volume of investment required by India (estimated by one delegate at Rs. 250 crores or \$ 525 million, per annum) would not be forthcoming on a private investment basis and that the requirement could best be interpreted as being a requirement of economic funds or advances which had a distinct political overtone. In these circumstances, possibilities of official action naturally had to be discussed. The discussion developed mainly in relation to alternative programmes of action and their possible effects. The possibility of action through United Nations agencies was generally discounted. It was pointed out that experience with projects such as the International Commodity Clearance, had revealed special difficulties of adjustment within the South-East Asian region. The attempts made by specific countries to obtain special supplies of wheat through the Food and Agriculture Organization had also not succeeded. In addition, as long as most international agencies were under the handicap of the division of the world into two blocs, their effectiveness was seriously reduced.

From the American side, the programme under Point Four was emphasized as providing the solution to the problems of India in common with those of other under-developed countries. The capital required for the development of these countries was not large in the initial stages; there were many factors limiting the capacity of such countries to absorb investment capital; one of these factors was the lack of trained personnel. The Point Four Programme, with its insistence on technical aid, met in a special manner the needs of these countries, and the required amount of investment capital could easily be secured on a private basis. For the latter purpose,

on the other hand, is today based on a planned regulation of trade and industry, though such a planning need not necessarily involve a regimentation of enterprise."

2. "The Indians are unwilling to accept a proposal that any American concern meeting whatever qualifications India might set up would be admitted on an equal basis. The Indians reserve the right to consider each application separately."

special provision was being made in projected legislation in connection with Point Four to cover the risks undertaken by American private capital abroad.

One criticism of this point of view was that the capacity to absorb foreign capital in these countries was being judged in the light of the somewhat special experience of China and that fairly large foreign funds could be utilized by countries like India. The technical aid programme, it was pointed out, merely touched the surface of the matter as long as such a programme was not planned fundamentally in connection with long-range development programmes. It was, however, realized that a development programme with political overtones would have to be planned for a whole region and could not be visualized in terms of the requirements of a single country. This led to the consideration of a programme either for a region like South-East Asia or for the whole of the Asian continent. It was emphasized that such a programme could not be conceived as something merely added to the European Recovery Programme, but must be integrally combined with that programme. Such a programme would also be handicapped in its working if large areas like China were left out of its scope.

Certain difficulties were bound to be experienced in attempting to frame a regional programme for, say, South-East Asia. The countries of this region had recently become independent and were naturally striving towards economic balance and self-sufficiency within their own individual areas. In former days their economies, which were colonial, were complementary to those of European metropolitan countries. It was, therefore, difficult in a short time to fit them into the framework of a mutually complementary regional programme. Further, in case political conflicts developed within or between particular states inside the region, it would be difficult to frame a reasonable economic programme for the whole region. The present state of relations between India and Pakistan illustrated this difficulty. Regional programmes, even in favourable circumstances, could, however, be worked out only with the help of considerable external assistance. The countries of the region as a whole were contending with

considerable budgetary and balance of payments difficulties. It was emphasized that in these countries even the technical aid offered under the Point Four Programme would require, for its proper utilization, the accompaniment of a considerable capital investment. It was further necessary to retain any such regional programme within the framework of the general international monetary and credit organization. A regional programme could, therefore, be undertaken only within a world system or on a basis at least as comprehensive as that of the European Recovery Programme.

The most contentious issue that emerged in this connection was in relation to the effects of the Point Four Programme and the possible alternative of an aid programme for South-East Asia on European lines. American delegates pointed out that Marshall Plan aid originated out of the peculiar requirements of war-devastated Europe and was designed to set broken-down economies on their feet. The requirements of India and South-East Asia were, however, for a long-term development programme and could therefore be suitably met only by the Point Four Programme. It was also pointed out that the operations of American private business in these countries would tend to set up within the area healthy competitive economies such as would in future require a minimum of external help. On the opposite side, it was contended that the Point Four Programme with its vital link with the investment of private American capital was neither adequate nor suitable for the conditions of these countries.³ The great

³The link of the Point Four Programme with private investment is made clear by the following quotation from a report by the Committee on Banking and Currency to the House of Representatives (6 October 1949):

“Particular emphasis in the point IV programme is placed upon the need for increasing the flow of private investment. Not only is private capital in this country potentially the greatest external source of investment funds for development abroad, but in addition private investment carries with it the technical skills, managerial experience, organizational talents and incentive which are essential to put capital to effective use. Our industrial technology is largely in the hands of private organizations and can best be put to work through private channels.”

scope for the utilization of capital, once certain preliminary difficulties were overcome, was being underestimated and, in the absence of a large flow of capital for development purposes, economic conditions in these countries could not improve rapidly enough for the attainment and maintenance of political stability.

Rival Forces

It was alleged that by linking assistance to private investments, the United States was in effect exporting a social philosophy. It was pointed out that the minimum conditions sought by American private business through such instruments as commercial treaties had in effect the result of laying down the framework of economic policy for other countries. In India, in particular, it was contended by some that private business was looked upon with distrust by popular opinion and that by forcing governments to make concessions to representatives of Indian business challenged the correctness of this part of the analysis, though they agreed with India's need of assistance from the United States on a government-to-government basis. Much emphasis was also laid by some on the release of new social forces in the Asian countries and the urgency of canalizing these forces in proper directions; this would be impossible without a successful programme of economic development which would produce results within a comparatively short time. Finally, it was pointed out that the whole issue had to be considered in the light of the competitive effort on the part of the Soviet economy. The U.S.S.R. had developed the resources of the Central Asian Republics even at some sacrifice to its own development programme. Communist China could soon be expected to launch a programme of intensive development, which would reach areas like Sinkiang on India's border. The appeal of such an effort should not be underestimated. It was therefore essential that the problem of the development of the resources and the balancing of the economies of South-East Asian countries be considered in the light of this world situation. Such a consideration should lead to undertaking a programme of development on the model of the Economic Co-operation Adminis-

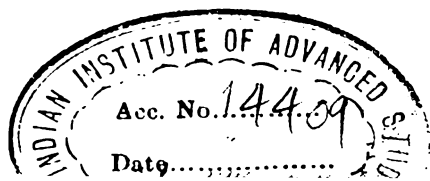
tration, a programme in which the aid given was sizable and in which the right and ability of each country to adopt the degree of regulation and planning suited to its own needs were fully recognized.

This plea for a development programme was underlined, and in some ways specifically oriented towards the needs of the bulk of the population living in rural areas, by reference made to actual conditions in Indian villages, and the degree to which they were unaffected by present government programmes except to the extent of beginning to labour somewhat under a feeling of frustration.

One of the possible sources of the capital required for a development programme is India's accumulated credit balance of sterling. In a consideration of this question it was pointed out, on the one hand, that the bulk of these balances had already been drawn upon at a somewhat rapid rate in the recent past and that the question of utilization of the remainder was no longer very important. On the other hand, it was pointed out that if those balances could be converted immediately into dollar resources their utility would be greatly increased. Some members of the American delegation thought that this was feasible and the Indian delegates thought that the conversion would be of value, only if it involved no scaling down of the total outstanding claim.

In Summary

The Round Table succeeded in passing under review almost all the major questions included in its agenda. As was inevitable in the circumstances, discussion centred around a small number of main issues and details were not considered to any large extent. No significant aspects which could be usefully discussed in a Round Table with such a composition appear to have been neglected. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that such questions as the treatment of Indian business men in America and the terms on which Indian business and American business could work together in India were not broached, chiefly on account of inadequate representation of Indian business at the Round Table. Among major questions included in the agenda, the



issue of the effects of devaluation on India was not reached. It is doubtful, however, if this somewhat technical question could have elicited much useful discussion at this Round Table even if adequate time had been available.

Final Session

During the final Report Session, further discussion took place on some of the points considered earlier. This discussion related chiefly to the possibilities and difficulties of working a development programme through international agencies. On the one hand, it was pointed out that the working of an international organization presented special problems which made it less suitable than a single national organization, especially for work in emergencies and at a rapid pace. On the other hand, insistence was placed on the necessity of taking a global view, and on the danger of affording a propaganda weapon to Soviet Russia if the United States worked independently through its own national agencies. It was, therefore, pleaded that as far as possible development programmes should be operated through international organizations.

One aspect of the economic problem which was given importance for the first time during the Report Session was the effect of the growth of population in India on the fruitfulness of development programmes. It was suggested that population was increasing so rapidly in India that no increase in the standard of living would result from any feasible development effort and that, therefore, social planning and population planning must go hand in hand with any development programme. An opinion was expressed that perhaps the pace of the growth of population was already slowing down in India; it was, however, contended that there was no concrete evidence to support this opinion. The Report Session ended with a special plea put forward by an Indian delegate to consider problems of distribution as of equal importance with those of production and to undertake an international plan of improvement of social conditions together with that of development of economic resources.

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

Rapporteur: K. G. SAIYIDAIN

The Round Table on United States-Indian Cultural Relations considered the following three main topics :

- A. *Cultural relations as expressed in Attitudes respecting minorities, aliens, visitors, tourists, immigrants, etc.*
- B. *Cultural relations as expressed in the Exchange of students, teachers, technicians, publications, motion pictures, radio programmes, journalists, librarians.*
- C. *Cultural relations as expressed in Co-operative Research.*

Introductory Remarks

The general trend of the discussions clearly revealed a desire on the part of both the delegations to establish better and more intelligent cultural understanding between the two countries. They served to dispel the general impressions : (1) that Americans had a certain naive but ineradicable attitude of superiority towards other peoples and other cultures, or (2) that, as a result of their experience of contacts with the West, Indians had become unduly suspicious of western culture and western civilization and, in the first flush of their independence, were not inclined to learn from the West. At least, so far as the participants of the Conference were concerned, they felt convinced that there was a considerable fund of potential goodwill on both sides which could be cashed to the mutual advantage of the two countries and of the world as a whole, provided it was not squandered by political bungling or a narrow and unimaginative cultural outlook. In assessing the value of such an understanding, it should be remembered that while, in point of numbers, the

Conference was small, many of the individuals who took part in it occupy positions of influence and leadership in their respective fields, particularly in the field of higher education. It is true that one swallow—or many swallows for that matter—do not make a summer, but, if so many leading swallows are sincerely determined to move in a particular direction, would it be wrong to imagine that summer cannot be far off?

One hopeful feature of the Conference which stands out in my mind, and to which several speakers referred at the last plenary session, was the desire on the part of many distinguished educationists to include more significant content about India and America in the curricula of the colleges and the universities. If this is done, intelligently and with discrimination, it will help to remove a good deal of the ignorance (and consequent misunderstanding) which prevails in both countries about the other and which is perhaps even more noticeable in America than in India. We have some idea of what the visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru contributed to the improvement of mutual understanding and appreciation between the two countries. There should, therefore, be no reason to doubt that a well-meant and persistent educational approach can go a long way to create a better climate of public opinion, at least in relation to cultural problems. The political and economic issues are naturally much more difficult to tackle, but it is reasonable to hope that, with improved cultural understanding and with an appreciation of the fact that one is dealing with people who are not basically different, who have their weak and strong and good and bad points like oneself and who have made their special contributions to the development of world culture, it will be more easily possible to disentangle, amicably and reasonably, those other complicated issues.

Another impression that stands out in my mind is the careful approach adopted by the delegates to ensure that this attempt to establish an Indo-American *entente cordiale* in the field of culture (as in other fields) does not result in any exclusiveness but that it is visualized and worked out in the wider context of international relationships. A conference

like this is valuable because it widens the areas of fellowship and concord and reduces misunderstandings; but its real success can only be measured in terms of its integration with, and contribution to, the larger pattern of international understanding. As President Kunzru pointed out in his speech at the concluding session, 'We cannot solve all the problems overnight, but it is a great thing if we are able to see each other's point of view. Understanding in smaller circles becomes the foundation for larger understanding,'—provided, I may add, that that is the inspiring motive. And I saw amongst the delegates no inclination to the contrary—the desire for this 'larger understanding' on the international plane was in fact clearly in evidence.

Another important and significant understanding that emerged and deserves to be brought out was a better appreciation of the similarities as well as differences between the two great cultures represented by India and America. While a fuller reference is made to this point in the summary of the discussions that follows, two points of general interest may be mentioned here. In the first place, there was little support, amongst the delegates as a whole, for the rather superficial view generally held that the line of cleavage between 'Eastern' and 'Western' culture is that the former is 'spiritual' while the latter is 'material.' Such a dualism cannot be reasonably postulated, for no culture which has any abiding qualities can be exclusively 'material' or exclusively 'spiritual'. It must include elements of both, though their relative significance within the total pattern may be different. Delegates were agreed that a vital and dynamic culture must have a solid foundation of a good socio-economic order which will ensure reasonable standards of life and work for the people as a whole. It is a source of weakness and possible disruption if material progress outstrips culture—as has been happening in some of the highly industrialized nations of the West, including America—or progress is unable to catch up with culture so that primitive and entirely inadequate and unsatisfactory standards of life prevail side by side with a comparatively highly developed intellectual and cultural life, as has happened in India.

In discussing the difference, it was brought out that, through the use of the machine and of the power given by science, America had brought under control tremendous resources of power which it was utilizing in the production of material goods. America had, however, still to integrate the machine into its culture and to ensure that the machine became the servant, and not the master, of human ideals and human destiny. India, which had had a long cultural history, illumined from time to time by a clear vision of these ideals, could be of some help to America in the adjustment of its material and spiritual values. India, on the other hand, lacked the modern implements and trained personnel necessary for technological and material progress. In India's attempt to bridge the gap between the existing feudal and predominantly rural economy and the new democratic and more balanced economy, that India wants to build up, America could be of considerable help. But this contact, if intelligently planned, had also a deeper cultural significance.

In the contemplated change-over to an industrialized democracy, India was bound to face the same difficulties and frustrations that had come the way of other nations passing through this revolution — they had had to pay a heavy price for it, indeed, in terms of human suffering and misery and the loss of individual significance through over-industrialization. India could profitably study some of the methods and social experiments that were being tried out in America to retrieve human personality from the dangers of mechanization. India's great gift to the world could be the humanistic vision of its seers from Buddha to Gandhi and India's great problem was to see that this was not overwhelmed by the frantic forces revealed by a growing industrial civilization. The achievement of that nice and delicate balance between the various competing forces which would harmonize power with vision and thus help to secure social justice and promote creative and cultural activity was the great problem before the world, and India and America — like many other nations — had their own characteristic contributions to make to the solution of this problem.

Meaning of Culture

The discussion in the Round Table opened with an attempt to define the meaning of culture and elucidate some of the basic characteristics of Indian and American cultures. It was generally agreed that culture must be defined broadly as the whole way of life of a people — which includes their behaviour patterns, their social customs, their material possessions, and their intellectual achievements. It would not be identified only with the finer but the materially less important things like the fine arts or poetry or knowledge of classics. It was brought out that while, both in India and America, there are many sub-cultures, there is, in each, a certain basic uniformity of culture. In order to bring about inter-cultural understanding, it is most important to realize that different cultural patterns exist and have a right to exist and that they have developed in response to the special environment and the special mental and emotional make-up of the people concerned.

Some delegates expressed the view that, for Americans, this was a comparatively more difficult admission to make, because historically their experience has been that generations of immigrants have sought willing assimilation into the American pattern of life. So, some of them find it difficult to believe that other people could reasonably regard any other cultural patterns as preferable. On the other hand, India has had a long experience of the mutual inter-action and assimilation of different cultural streams resulting in a gradually enriched cultural synthesis. It would, therefore, be healthy for Americans to be exposed to the influence of an alien culture so that they may realize that their own is not immutable or everlasting. Such cultural contact, e.g. through such conferences, is a long, slow and undramatic process, but that is the only way in which cultural understanding can be brought about, on a bilateral basis developing later into multilateral understanding. It was, however, made clear that the mere physical contact of large numbers of people does not by itself bring about cultural understanding and the example was quoted of American GIs who came to India in hundreds of thousands during the war but went back without acquiring

any correct or balanced understanding of Indian culture and ways of life. It was desirable that visitors, students, tourists, etc. who want to go from one country to the other should have, if possible, some 'conditioning' before they leave their own country.

Before discussing the characteristics of the two cultures, a point of general interest was raised at the outset — namely, whether it was at all right to speak of an *Indian* culture or an *American* culture as such, or whether there was really just one culture in the world, with certain local differences due to national heritage. Some delegates held the view that culture was one and indivisible and could not be 'owned' by any particular group or people and that it was unwise to postulate any dualism between eastern and western cultures. Others were of the opinion that there were real cultural differences amongst different peoples and these basic differences neither could, nor should, be ignored, particularly in a Conference like this which was concerned with bringing about better inter-cultural understanding. It was true that, in modern times, increased intercourse amongst nations was breaking down many cultural walls, but the proper basis for international understanding was to recognize both similarities and differences and to be thankful for the diversities which were responsible for the enrichment of the world.

The true basis of international understanding is not, if I may so put it, an ignoring or belittling of existing differences, but their frank recognition in a sympathetic spirit. The right approach, therefore, is not, 'You are just like me ; I am just like you ; so what are we quarrelling about ?', but rather, 'We are alike in many ways and different in others. Let us co-operate on the basis of interests and ideas that are common and show sincere respect and tolerance for the differences which are most likely due to differences of environment and temperament. Let us remember that these very differences have been responsible for the fascinating diversities of languages and ideas, customs and manners, religions and philosophies which make the world what it is.' There was something of this spirit underlying the interesting discussions which followed.

Cultural Characteristics

In the discussion of the characteristics of the two cultures, it was brought out that, generally speaking, there was a tendency in America to equate culture with material things which could be seen and measured, while in India the tendency was to look complacently on the phenomenon of a highly developed culture wedded to a comparatively primitive civilization. This view was expressed by another delegate in the words that, while in America progress had outstripped civilization, in India progress had not caught up with civilization. This very difference emphasized how significant and mutually advantageous could be the results of Indo-American cultural contact, as each could learn a great deal from the other provided they thought of their relationships more in terms of the future than of the past.

Indian culture, which was just emerging from the effects of foreign domination, was, at the moment, in a melting pot with many new, creative, and sometimes conflicting, forces at work. Some of the changes that are under way are of a compulsive nature, the result of world-wide forces over which man has little control. These had been going on in America also. They set up a process of 'trans-culturation' which brings about not only superficial changes in dress and manners but also changes in the basic patterns of living. Some of the experiences that America has passed through in this process of change, e.g. in dealing with its race system, could be utilized by India in dealing with its problems of religious and caste differences. It should be the task of the Indian universities, in particular, to act as the spearheads of a new cultural renaissance, in which they would preserve whatever is valuable in the past and utilize the results of modern technological advance in such a way as to further India's social purposes without courting disaster in the process. It was also pointed out that India, which had become the meeting point of eastern and western cultures, could share creatively in the shaping of the culture of the world in which the material and the spiritual, the machine and the mind, had all to play a significant part.

At various stages of the discussion, it was brought out that the machine is not merely a mechanical contrivance; it acts purposefully on our entire way of life. A really dynamic culture should, therefore, be able to control and assimilate it, instead of being dominated by it. In both these countries, as in the whole world, one crucial problem was how to solve the question of the relationship between the individual and the masses, i.e. how to keep personality intact while mechanization proceeded apace in industrial life. India, which was entering into the phase of industrialization, may be able to learn something of value from the methods being tried in America for retrieving personality from the dangers of mechanization. One of the delegates pointed out that this process of the transformation of one type of culture into another in which India was engaged was an extremely complicated affair which had its ramifications in every phase of life and which needed to be studied with great care. The new knowledge and techniques associated with the machine, for instance, projected themselves into the texture of social and cultural life and produced far-reaching changes. He suggested that the Americans had a special responsibility to understand and assist in the orientation of this process and thus cash in upon the great 'uncashed balance of goodwill' that they had in South Asia.

While admitting the importance of a careful sociological study of the problem, and the need for benefiting from the experiences of other nations, some delegates cautioned against the danger of this responsibility being interpreted in such a way as to develop into a kind of 'white man's burden' in the cultural field. It was pointed out that primarily it was the responsibility of the country concerned to orient its social and cultural policy in the light of its needs and ideals. One delegate drew attention to the fact that both India and America had shown a genius for integration and assimilation and for evolving unity out of diversity. Historically, they had been great melting pots of cultures from which something distinctive had emerged and this common gift should not only facilitate mutual understanding but enable them to contribute something of value to the culture of the world as a whole.

Cultural Differences

The discussion then turned to a consideration of factors in American life which tended to puzzle or disturb the Indians (and vice versa) and thus handicap the growth of cultural understanding. There was more discussion of the American side, possibly because more students and visitors went from India to America and comparatively fewer had so far come from America to India. Amongst the factors which Indian visitors and students found difficult to understand were mentioned the American attitudes to marriage and divorce, the negro problem, the American impersonality in economic relations, the immigration laws, the proselytizing activities of missions, and interference with civil liberties as exemplified in the work of the 'Committee on Un-American Activities'. Amongst certain deeper philosophical differences in outlook, reference was made to the Indian doctrine of Karma which led people to think in terms of eternity rather than the immediate present and to suffer ills patiently instead of trying to correct them, while the Americans believed in the supreme importance of the present and in taking immediate action for its betterment. American individualism was contrasted with the Indian attachment to the joint family and the caste system. In the exchange of ideas that followed, various delegates elucidated the position in their respective countries and explained the background of the social practices concerned.

It emerged from the discussion that many thinking Americans seriously deplored and protested against the attitude to the negroes—one delegate pointing out feelingly that whenever any negro was ill-treated, he, as a white American, also felt deeply humiliated—and that, in recent years with the approval of the younger generation there had been perceptible improvement in the treatment of negroes in colleges and universities. It was, however, necessary to realize that the question could not be settled merely through legislation. What was necessary was the education of public opinion through democratic methods—a change of people's hearts and minds—and that was naturally a long and slow process. Amongst American intellectuals and others, there was con-

siderable resentment at the attack on civil liberties implied in the work of the 'Committee on Un-American Activities' which proceeded on the doctrine of 'guilt by association'; and many protests had been voiced against it. This spirit was incidentally evidenced by the fact that some universities had recently declined valuable donations because they were fettered by certain conditions which were likely to hinder freedom of opinion on the part of the professors. Discussing the relationship between employers and employees, it was explained by some American delegates that, in actual fact, there was, as a rule, no 'impersonalism' in American economic relationships, but methods of bringing about better integration between employers and employees were being constantly examined and implemented so far as possible by many business concerns. Regarding the American immigration laws, in so far as they affected Indians, the general feeling was that the present quota system was not satisfactory. It was not, however, anticipated that any considerable immediate increase in the number of immigrants would follow even if the quota was modified. In so far as proselytization was concerned, not all American delegates appeared to favour such activity. The Indian members, however, paid tribute to the valuable work done by American missions in the field of health, education, and other social services. It was also pointed out that the real objection was not to proselytization as such but to methods sometimes employed by missionaries and to the tendency to confuse Christianity with the adoption of western culture.

On the Indian side, it was pointed out that India had much to learn from America in the matter of respect for the dignity of labour; that India had to rid itself of the evil effects of the caste system and the attitude of quiescence bred by a belief in the doctrine of Karma. It was, however, indicated by some other delegates that India had not one but many different philosophical trends, that there were many individuals and schools of opinion which advocated a creative individualism, and that an adequate understanding of Indian culture called for a more balanced and comprehensive view of Indian thought. In the political field, Indian history had been marked by many rebellions which did not, by any means,

fit into the picture of patient, unprotesting sufferance of evils. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi's movement, though pacific and non-violent, was, on the one hand, an active and emphatic protest against the political plight of Indians and, on the other, a protest on behalf of human personality which was threatened by the forces of mechanization all over the world and it had, as such, a world significance.

Exchange of Students and Professors

The Round Table then proceeded to discuss at considerable length the difficulties experienced by Indian students who went to America or by American students who came to India, and what could be done to overcome these difficulties. It was pointed out that both found it difficult to adjust themselves to their new and sometimes bewilderingly different environment and, while good work was being done by some official and non-official agencies, more could be done to help the students to participate adequately in the social and cultural life of the host country. It was further stressed that, if students were to benefit fully from their study in a foreign country, there should be a more careful selection which would take into account not only their academic qualifications but also their general common sense and adaptability, and that the period of stay should not be less than one year and, if possible, at least two years. It was also necessary that their programme of study should be carefully planned beforehand and the selection of universities made with care, so that they may not suffer from maladjustment or frustration later. Some preliminary coaching of students—either through lectures or study of suitable literature about the country to be visited—and the establishment of friendly organizations, official and non-official, to help and guide new arrivals were also recommended as likely devices for making early adjustments easier.

Discussion also centred around the comparative advantages of sending abroad younger and maturer students and of inviting American specialists and experts to work in India, or of sending large numbers of Indian students to America. The general trend of opinion was that, in view of financial and

other considerations, it would be better, as a rule, to send out, for the present, experienced post-graduate students. The younger students could have the benefit of working with American (and other foreign) professors and experts in India. It was pointed out that this was the policy which was being actually followed by the Government of India. One of the delegates drew attention to the desirability of professors invited from outside being given full opportunities for participation in the work of the universities, and of students who are sent abroad utilizing the *total* resources of the American universities by making a broad-based selection of suitable institutions with special reference to the objective in view. Thus, for some students and for certain types of courses, the small rural college or an institution situated in a comparatively backward region may be more suitable than big urban universities which, though having a greater prestige value, could not provide as comparable conditions for study.

The question of providing facilities for Indian students to receive practical training in American plant and factories were considered at some length. It was admitted that such opportunities were limited at present, but the objection against taking apprentices came not so much from the industrial concerns as from the labour unions. Some students had, however, been taken, and there was evidence of a more liberal policy being followed in this matter. Members of the American delegation who had connections with industries promised to use their influence to further this movement. They also pointed out that American concerns in India were now sending their Indian executives for practical training to America where they had full opportunities to learn the technical know-how. It would, however, be an advantage if Indian students who went abroad for such training had had previous experience in India of practical work in the same field. Without readiness on their part to work with their hands, such students were not likely to be welcomed in American workshops and factories. A note of caution was, however, sounded to the effect that this demand for previous experience of practical work should not result in the sending of students who will not be suitable as a medium for cultural exchanges. Dis-

cussion also touched upon the important question of adjusting the trained personnel to the available opportunities. There was general agreement that industrial planning and the training of personnel should go hand in hand ; otherwise there was a waste of time and money and a feeling of frustration on the part of qualified students.

A number of practical issues involved in the exchange of students were considered, and suggestions were made for meeting some of the problems which had to be faced in this connection, e.g. provision of fuller and more appropriate information about facilities available in American universities and colleges, the organization of summer schools which gave greater opportunity for social and cultural contacts, freeing dollar exchange for the purchase of books and journals, enabling Indian students to work their way through colleges as many American students were able to do, granting of credit to American students for work done at Indian universities, making available to outgoing scholars the experiences of Indian students returning from American universities, the establishment of some liaison between the Inter-University Board and the American Council on Education. It was pointed out by some delegates that the United States Information Service could render useful service in providing fuller information about existing facilities, that reference could be made on specific points to the American Council of Learned Societies, and that the American Council on Education had published a Handbook giving useful information about 1,700 colleges.

Regarding credit for work done at outside universities, an American delegate pointed out that the 'credit hour' concept prevalent in American universities made it difficult for them to evaluate and give credit for the work done at foreign universities. Hope was expressed that the idea of giving such credit, which was already accepted by some institutions, would spread.

Information Services and Mass Media

In discussing the rôle of Information Services, it was pointed out that while they were doing useful work, their full

effectiveness depends on their not presenting too idealized and sophisticated a picture of their respective countries. The desirability of presenting the everyday life and problems of the common man was emphasized. The need for respecting truth was stressed in this connection because, as one delegate observed, it was a naive and untenable belief that, through a highly selective Information Service, we could give any kind of 'build-up' to a country while there were many other competing sources of information available to the public. Attention was drawn in this connection to the rôle of the powerful modern media of mass communication like the press, the films, and the radio which often tended to convey distorted, tendentious or one-sided views of other countries.

Some delegates stressed the point that genuine Indo-American understanding on a nation-wide basis could not be secured only through exchange of students and professors or learned publications. The area of operation had to be widened and the masses in both countries had to be won over to a truer, more balanced and more appreciative view of the other nation and, for this purpose, it was necessary to integrate the mass media more intelligently into the total pattern of the agencies and influences working for better understanding.

Co-operative Research

The Round Table then took up the question of co-operative research. The value of co-operative research in the field of social science was generally accepted, although one speaker warned against the fad of what he called 'scholarly auto-indoctrination by the committee method.' Apart from the special problems of joint studies in the fields of physical and medical science, emphasis was placed on the need to adopt broad human goals in undertaking joint studies. It was pointed out that, in a situation like that existing at present, co-operative research should be directed not merely towards increasing the boundaries of knowledge but also towards the achievement of social progress. One of the delegates expressed the view that not bi-national but multi-national co-operation was essential to draw full benefit from cultural research.

As South Asia has, in the past, been rather far removed from the centre of interest of American scholarship, note was taken of the work of the Joint Committee on South Asian Studies which operates under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. It was reported that special emphasis was laid in a recent meeting of the Joint Committee on the establishment of co-operative research in South Asia in which one of the guiding principles will be a close association with, and assistance in, the development of indigenous scholarship, because there were many problems in these regions which could best be studied and examined by local scholars themselves with the technical help of American specialists. Other proposed American activities included the creation of an American Institute in South Asia for the common benefit of American and South Asian scholars.

To emphasize the reciprocal nature of co-operative research, an American delegate pointed to the benefits that could be achieved from research sponsored jointly by some American and Indian universities. Not only could Americans study in India under such a scheme, but Indians could work on problems of social change in the United States, thus adding a fresh angle to American research and also perhaps throwing new light on conditions in their own society. It was suggested that such joint research would have the additional advantage of improving social study techniques developed in the United States and modifying them for dealing with problems of non-western cultures. In this connection, a delegate drew attention to the great social distance in some cases between American and Indian conditions. He suggested that, in certain types of studies, an Indian scholar could gain more by studying conditions in a country like Japan than in the United States, and he made a plea for continued consciousness of the values of research co-operation on a multi-national basis.

A number of co-operative research programmes that are in operation or being planned were described by some of the American delegates. These included the Integrated Social Science Research Project of the University of California, pro-

posed to be located at Bangalore in India, the synthesized country studies that are to be a part of the Hoover Institute's survey of the impact of modern forces on life in different countries, and the programmes sponsored under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

In defining the approach which should be adopted in the study of Indian culture, it was suggested that western scholars should look upon India as a cultural whole and not envisage it, as had been done in the past, in communal and sectarian terms. All the important elements of that culture — Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Western — should find their proper place in such studies. Moreover, it was desirable to extend the scope of such studies beyond the ancient past and to include present trends and formative forces also, as without a proper appreciation of these it was not possible to build up a true perspective on India.

The Fulbright Act

The significance of the Fulbright Act as a means of developing research opportunities for American and Indian students and scholars was explained. It was reported that the Fulbright agreement was expected to be signed shortly by the Governments of India and the United States. Under the terms of the Act, the fund, in rupees only, will be available for meeting the expenditures of American scholars and students selected for higher educational institutions in India and for the transportation expenses (in rupees) of Indian scholars and students proceeding to an American port. It was also proposed to take advantage of the Fulbright grants for inviting American technicians and professional men to work in India while attached to higher educational institutions. The agreement under the Act is to provide for a governing body including both Indian and American members to be established at New Delhi to administer the fund and recommend Fulbright scholars. In the United States, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, a body of non-officials appointed by the President, makes the final selection of all Fulbright scholars and students after considering recommendations from New Delhi and from relevant American agencies.

Delegates expressed the view that the opportunities to be provided by Fulbright grants might also be used to stimulate studies, by American students, in Indian archaeology, anthropology, art, languages and other fields. It was suggested that to facilitate the possibility of Indian students taking full advantage of the opportunities opened out by the Act, efforts should be made to discover whether some arrangement could be made whereby the living expenses of Indian students working in the United States might be met from other funds in America, as the amount available under the Act could not be utilized for this purpose.

Final Session

During the final Report Session, some other points which had not been discussed before came up for consideration. Amongst these, reference might be made to the following: It was generally the opinion of the Conference that some of the present rules and restrictions that applied to visitors when they first arrived in America or India were unnecessarily strict and should be toned down. While there was considerable justification for enforcing the health regulations, these (as well as others) should be applied in such a way as to cause the minimum of inconvenience to visitors, who should be treated as welcome guests during their temporary stay in the country.

The Round Table was of the opinion that the books published in a country formed a very valuable agency for an understanding of the people of that country. Therefore, anything that could be done to facilitate the exchange of books between America and India should be encouraged. Reference was made in this connection to the possibility of bringing out special Indian (or Oriental) editions of American books—which might be printed in India and priced lower than the American editions which are too costly for Indian scholars and students—to the desirability of including more material in Indian and American textbooks about the other country so as to liquidate the mutual ignorance that prevails, to the need for examining existing textbooks (particularly

those in history, geography, civics and languages) for the purpose of eliminating incorrect and definitely prejudicial matter, and to the advantages that might follow from an organized consultation between associations of Indian and American publishers. It was pointed out that the Information Services in the two countries could play a more active part in making the good books of each country — current publications as well as classics — better known in the other, through special bulletins, etc. The opinion was also expressed that the use of the national language in place of English in India will *not* materially effect the demand for books in English in the near future, as English will continue to be taught as a language at the secondary and higher stages of education, and books in English will be generally used by students in the colleges.

Some members stressed the importance of Americans giving more attention to the learning of the Indian languages. In the past, foreigners who wanted to work in India or to come into contact with Indian scholarship were at an advantage because English was the official language. But now the situation will change rapidly and Indian languages will come to occupy an important place. Moreover, if Americans are anxious to study and come into contact with the life of the masses or to study Indian classics or to get acquainted with modern currents of Indian thought, the knowledge of English alone will not be of much use to them. Consequently, it was desirable that they should give greater attention to Indian languages than they had done in the past.

At the conclusion of the discussions, it was made quite clear that this attempt to bring about better Indo-American understanding should not be interpreted as implying any kind of exclusiveness but must be related to the broader pattern of better *international* understanding in which the delegates of both countries are sincerely interested.

Inadequacies of the Discussions

Having indicated in the opening paragraphs some of the useful and significant achievements, on the intellectual plane,

of this Round Table, I may perhaps be permitted to indicate some of the inadequacies of the discussion. This was, in many ways, an exploratory conference in which both sides were trying, with great courtesy but warily, to approach each other, to try and understand each other's point of view ; and they were generally careful not to indulge in any criticism which might be misinterpreted. This is only natural in a first friendly skirmish of this kind, where people are trying to define a 'common ground' for their meeting. But I venture to express the hope that having tested each other's bonafides, the discussions will be more critical and searching in future.

In dealing with American attitudes to the minorities, the discussion was confined to the position of negroes ; but it is a well-known fact that there are other minorities in America which suffer from various degrees of discrimination. Their position was not discussed at all. An American delegate suggested rather naively and lightly that people failed to realize that America had a 'dynamic democracy' which was naturally 'full of inconsistencies.' More emphasis should have been placed on the point that, in the present world situation, this was unjustified complacency and that there are certain types of inconsistencies, e.g. the degrading and inhuman treatment of any class or any minority in a democratic nation, which a 'dynamic democracy' should go all-out to uproot.

Similarly, in the case of India, the subject of minorities was not actively considered and the references to the caste system and the treatment of the Harijans was perfunctory, failing to bring out the significance of these in the formulation of American views on India. True, there has been some change for the better in this field, but the gap between the position in practice and the equality of rights enshrined in the new Constitution is wide enough to justify friendly criticism.

Again, in evaluating cultural trends, no reference was made to certain revivalist and narrow tendencies which have developed very recently and which run counter to the whole spirit of Indian culture which in the past has been tolerant,

large-hearted and assimilative. As the discussion on attitudes was largely related to social matters, delegates were left to construct for themselves the bridges between such considerations and the strong differences which do exist in the economic and political field and which affect Indo-American relations. A fuller examination should have been made of the attitudes and values which returning Indian students carried home with them. It is an interesting fact, worthy of careful consideration, that many Indian students develop a strong socialist bias although they receive their education in a predominantly capitalistic society!

As to the exchange of personnel and cultural materials, gaps in the discussion included inadequate reference to the rôle of publications, films, radio programmes, journalists, and a few other cultural media. More attention was paid to the general philosophy of cultural exchanges, but even here it might have been possible to develop more fully the point that there is no necessary connection between the fact of active and numerous cultural exchanges and the building up of strong and cordial Indo-American relations. The cultural implications of currency devaluation in India were not pursued.

The general topic of co-operative research brought forth a description of certain American projects, pending or in progress, and some discussion of the essentials of joint research. Only casual references were made to particular lines along which joint research could prove most fruitful in the present Indo-American context.

Discussions at the Cultural Round Table might also have profitably included a fuller consideration of such agencies as labour unions, adult education enterprises, planned publications and other mass media which have a more direct bearing on the life of the ordinary people. I have also the feeling that any future conference would do well to give considerable time and thought to the question of what Indo-American co-operation could do to minimize the cultural and ideological tension which, in unholy alliance with economic and political factors, is threatening not only the peace but the very survival of the human race. It will avail us little — important as it

undoubtedly is — to establish better Indo-American cultural understanding in a world which might any moment go up in flames. It is true that educationists, writers, thinkers and cultural leaders are not directly responsible either for the creation or for the control of the international political situation, but, through education and the incalculable power of the word, they can orient the thinking and the emotional attitudes of the younger, and perhaps even the older, generation in healthier, more rational and more humane directions.

SOME CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

The following selected passages from statements made at the closing session represent some of the main points emerging from the discussions and the views of some of the members regarding the value of the Conference.

An Indian Member

On background, India and America are alike — neither is aggressive, both are for democracy. Therefore, the fundamental conditions for lasting friendship are already there. At the same time, there is a difference brought about by the fact that America is a highly developed country thrown into a position of world leadership so far as positive achievement in the political, democratic and economic fields go. Whereas India is a society in transition, an under-developed country just realizing its freedom and eager to develop its resources. This brings about a different approach to the achievement of the same objective. America has its internal problems fairly well solved and now is in a position to devote more time to the external aspects of its life. India, on the other hand, does not have time to develop the external side of its relations and cannot be effective until it manages to solve its internal problems, develop its industry, give employment to its people, and raise the standard of living.

A developed country has responsibilities to an under-developed country. At the same time, India does not desire to be in a position of begging for help. It would like to be self-reliant as far as it can. It would welcome co-operation from developed countries, but on the basis of equality and partnership. The assistance which America can give will be given not by a country with a superiority complex, but as one which can give what India wants without putting India into the position of one who is inferior — two nations working together in a positive manner toward a common aim.

On the political side, we agree in fundamentals, both on the democratic way of life and on support of the United Nations. But the issue which has emerged has been two-fold: First, how far is political co-operation between the two countries likely to be affected by (a) India's decision to have an independent foreign policy, not aligning itself with any particular group of nations but developing its foreign policy and to treat each question on its own merits; and (b) America's world position by which it is strong enough to carry out its own independent foreign policy? While it is true to say that America also follows an independent foreign policy, there is a difference brought about by the fact that the smaller nations look to America as the leader of the bloc which wants to contain Communism. Second, India is very definitely committed to planning its economic and social life to achieve the maximum standard of living for its people. America does not need such planning for a variety of reasons, but India does need such planning and its tendency to have more and more planning may affect the political relations between the two countries.

My own opinion is that the first issue will not affect political relations because we agree on fundamentals. The rationale of Indian foreign policy is that commitments and the power to fulfil those commitments should be equally balanced. India has not made many commitments because it has not been certain whether it could carry them out effectively. The internal situation in India is of paramount importance — raising the living standards of the people and giving increasing content to their political and economic freedom. Unless there is peace for a long time, India may not be able to accomplish these aims.

As to the question of planning, political co-operation will not be impossible. Americans have had a background of planning from time to time. People will put up with planning if it is required by the demands of the times.

In the economic field, the central issue appears to be how the enormous resources of America can be utilized on a partnership basis — in relation to the situation of India and in relation to public policy. Economic consideration is a

humanitarian consideration. Research should be undertaken on the problem of how aid can be given to make India more self-reliant. What is the way in which America, without having any idea of *giving*, can contribute that aid? In this context, not only America should be able to help India, but the experience of other countries should be helpful. Many Indians feel that cottage industries have more of a place in India than they may have in America. Further discussions would be useful on the effect of industrialization on the type of economy which India has. In any scheme there must be a place for private enterprise and co-operative enterprise, as well as government enterprise. India may be able to evolve a new 'ism', not capitalism, not socialism, but something adapted to the situation in this country.

Two impressions came out of the discussions on cultural relations: (1) that social equality has not been extended sufficiently in America to the people of the negro race. The racial system in America is rapidly being modified; and it would be a wonderful example to India if social equality can be created in solving the racial system. Indian society has shown great capacity for absorption, but there is still room for absorption of people of different economic and social development. This is a topic for further research. (2) Another topic for research would be to study how social change has been affected by the impact on an older, rural culture of the social civilization of a highly developed mechanical machine civilization. Research by Indian and American scholars on this subject would prove of great value for India. India is eager to form a secular state in which the best of the old would be integrated with the best of the new.

I hope the discussions have been valuable in making clear the way, removing misunderstandings, and seeing where people stand, and that such discussions will help toward a better understanding between India and America.

An American Member

It is difficult to summarize in a few words and give briefly one's impressions of the Conference. If I voiced criticisms, I would say first that perhaps there has been too great an inclina-

tion on the part of Americans and Indians to put their best foot forward. The result has been that impressions gained during the discussions about the stability of the government and the solution of problems are not borne out by people outside the Conference. This is not a result of misrepresentation, but simply an effort to put the best foot forward. It is a challenge to further study and interest.

Second, we have given too little concern to the grass root nature of solutions of many of the problems. We have been on a high intellectual and theoretical plane. But as we go about the city it is clear that there are fundamental problems—distribution of wealth, employment, education—which must be the foundation to a solution of the problems we have discussed.

Third, there has been too little discussion of the educational objectives of the two countries and too much concern with the mechanics of students going back and forth, etc. It has been reiterated that both countries are democracies. The fundamental problem of the future of democracy rests on literacy. Literate people are capable of assuming responsibilities of common citizenship. A solution of this problem in India will take time. Too much training in America is devoted to how to earn a living and not enough attention is devoted to responsibilities of citizenship. Fundamental responsibilities of citizenship and how to attain them lie basically as the foundation for common problems of democracy.

As for the advantages of the Conference? These have been many, but I would stress two: (1) the frankness and goodwill of the atmosphere of freedom of discussion which has resulted in our saying exactly what we think; and (2) the feeling that when people can sit around a table together and talk over common problems, they are much more alike than they are different. Differences are unimportant.

What will come out of the Conference? I do not know, but I should like to discuss briefly the outcome of the Conference as it affects each of us individually. From that point of view, the Conference should never end. I hope we will all go on studying the problems of both countries and the relations between them. I hope there will be a focal point for

the dissemination of understanding, the creating of curiosity needed to keep up with the march of events in both countries. I hope that we in education who have a particular challenge in this field can do a lot in our universities and can spread understanding among our own contacts.

Another great advantage would be to keep alive the many friendly and personal contacts, the channels of communication established here by each of us. The special obligations of us in the universities will be to see to it that there is more teaching of the problems of India and India's world position ; to see more materials on India in our libraries ; and to see that there is every possible interchange of students and professors. You have given us an opportunity to take back to our universities a great challenge and a great opportunity.

An Indian Member

The discussions carried on here, important and valuable as they have been, convey to my mind something of an air of unreality because of the background against which we live today. We are discussing these problems of Indo-American understanding in an international background which is one of tension — the atomic bomb, cold war, armament race, etc. Therefore, unless we who are interested in the problem of Indo-American understanding can throw some of our weight as intellectuals, and the people interested in the universities will exercise great influence in the formation of the minds and spirits of young men and women, much that we do here will not be as effective as it might have been otherwise. You who have come from the universities of America have at your disposal a great potential of young men and women in your country. We might have discussed more fully the educational objectives not only for the preservation of democracy but those connected with the larger problem of bringing about a better international understanding and an atmosphere conducive to peace. If you in America and we in India can build up that kind of atmosphere for young men and women in both countries, we might make some contribution to this great problem. Otherwise, all these efforts will go up in smoke when war tension breaks into actual war.

Our great leader taught us a valuable lesson. He asked us to try to do what is right unilaterally. If we want to do the right thing in our own country in dealing with our various groups, classes, minorities and underprivileged, then we must base all our thinking and policy on that single moral foundation. And in the international field, if nations can take things in their own hands and do the right and the decent thing, we might produce some difference in the atmosphere which prevails in the world. America has the greatest power; a single gesture on your part can go a great way. I would express the hope that the influence you are able to exercise in your own country might be able to do something to reduce the tension which makes us feel that this work of education we are doing is merely an attempt at ploughing the sands.

For you in America and for us in India, perhaps the greatest single issue of the modern age is the establishment of social justice in the political, economic and cultural fields — in the political field, the abolition of imperialism and exploitation; in the economic field, the sharing of the good things of life; in the cultural field, the establishment of a democratic concept of culture by which masses of people, irrespective of class, race or religion, can enjoy the culture of the world. If we would agree on the fundamental concept, it will not only become easier for an Indo-American political entente to be established, but the relations of East and West in the traditional sense would also become easier. A person deeply interested in the study of the problems of human culture and understanding pointed out that two great forces are contending in the life of the world today, namely power and vision. Unless we can bring about a meeting of power and vision, it will not be possible to build a peaceful or a stable civilization. America has power unprecedented in history. India has some inkling of what vision means. If, therefore, in the final development of the destiny of mankind, Indian and American cultural and other co-operation were to bring about a closer approximation of these two ideas — if we in India can use power to bring about social justice, and if you in America can help us in this — it would be very valuable.

An American Member

I have listened to the sentiments voiced, but I have a fear which I want to express and which is a great consternation to me. We have discussed very important issues. We have discussed and made suggestions about terms of social relations between our two countries. But I am afraid we have not faced with humility as American delegates the fact that around the world our country is in disrepute with the masses of the people of the world. I am sorry about this, but it is more than sorrow. I have a very deep feeling of consternation, because the people of the world are important to the people of America. One of the abiding faiths we maintain in America is that, no matter which way our state policy or foreign policy may be interpreted, when the people have an opportunity to influence their own social situations they will move in a basically sound direction. And we have developed an abiding faith in the common people of our country and the common peoples of the world. We have now come to a point where I am aware, and I am sure a great many of you are, that our country is being placed in quarantine. Perhaps you may feel you can discuss with some freedom the repatriation of capital and the importation of ideas. But unless the people of India have confidence that what they are receiving from us in the United States is valid and sound, and if it is also in the interest of the other peoples of the world — unless they have that faith, they will not receive and they will not listen, and we will not be heard. Nor will we be effective.

We may discuss various activities. We may wish to indulge more in extending these social relations to practical matters in India. For some things we can go ahead and establish terms on which we will exchange first one thing and then another. But they will amount to very little in terms of general social progress unless those activities are in line with the basic wishes of the people. I cannot help it when I speak of the people. I speak of that great horde of people in our country who are probably thinking citizens, who have a few simple terms by which they express what they feel and

which every individual should have on his journey from birth to death. These are very simple terms. People all around the world have the same universal concept, and that is the endowment of the world. It is our endowment and your endowment. It is an endowment too frequently assessed in terms of the wealth and bedrock of our country's true social situation.

Another impression I have is that as Americans we are not entirely sure of our own processes. There are many of our processes in social progress of which we are not conscious. In analysing our processes there are many titles that carry in their content vast types of administrative duties. For example, the rural teacher is a home economist, a teacher, a social worker, and many other things. We are not conscious of all the steps we take in carrying out the general desires of the people. You can help us to identify what these processes are.

It has been mentioned frequently that segregation humiliated anyone of the coloured people. It humiliates all the peoples of the world. You Indians, I understand, have certain religious sanctions which make it easier for an individual to accept his place in life. We had that originally, and it made it easier for the negro to accept a lower position. Partly because of slave conditions, there was a deliberate social indoctrination which the negro also learned and which affected them. But when our understanding of the development of human beings, both physical and psychological, tore away that veil, there was an admission that these things are humiliating. I know the humiliation. I know there is no compromise with the human soul. In facing that humiliation, the negroes have been sustained by more important goals — goals of personal development, of group unity, public good, better education, better accommodation for everyone. It is those goals which help them bear the humiliation in order to maintain an upright position toward the goal of ultimate public good.

An Indian Member

It is my object only to refer to two aspects that have emerged from our various sessions. What most impressed me

during my visits to the United States was the spectacle of a country which within a measurable period, dating from Dickens who described America as a callow and raw democracy, anxious to repudiate its monetary obligations and emerge into a kind of imperfect civilization, to the present day when, by virtue of its private enterprise, legislation and rationalization of its resources, has evolved into the most powerful industrial society in the world. America has developed an economy of wealth unsurpassed in the annals of history. Nevertheless, it seemed to me while travelling through your country that you are developing two fears: (1) the fear of what has been described as the loss of significance — the over-industrialization, over-mechanization, converting the individual into what may be called a wheel of a vast, incomprehensible machine; (2) the ever present fear of the possible emergence in the world of an irresistible authoritarian régime which has only one opponent left in the world, namely the United States. I found a consciousness that perhaps the United States is the only and the last bastion of democracy as you see it.

With commendable restraint and with an attack which I have admired greatly, some of you have dealt with some of our problems. But there is a fundamental aspect of our problems to which I would like to draw your attention. We are six or seven thousand years old, speaking as a cultural unit. We have undergone many humiliations, racial and national. We have been overpowered politically. We are today comparatively ineffective economically. Nevertheless, I would ask you to regard that there must be something basic, something intrinsic and vital in a race and racial consciousness which has evolved a philosophy which has enabled us to pass through all these difficulties and to emerge as a nascent political and industrial democracy. There has been a substratum of fundamental belief and a concept of human values which has enabled the persistence of India in contrast to the evanescence of other civilizations. That philosophy is what you have to appreciate and realize in dealing with the sordidness of village life and Indian life generally.

We are engaged in the task of becoming Americanized;

in the task of bringing into our system of life the technical know-how and industrial possibilities which you have evolved so triumphantly. You are engaged in analysing all that this industrialization and aggregation of wealth has brought to you, and nevertheless you see that it has not brought complete fulfilment. You are out on a quest of spiritual values. We are out on a quest of industrial and economic organization. How shall we keep the past while acquiring the new? How will you acquire philosophy while maintaining your industry? Your problem is secular in character, in teaching the world of an industrial civilization. I regard these ten days as an introduction to a series of thought processes and integrations which will enable America to become more Indian and India to become more American.

An American Member

There are a few things I would like to say, and I hope you will permit me to direct attention as much toward unfinished business as to a recapitulation of what has been discussed. I would emphasize the fact that we have met here, and that one reason we have met here is because we are living in an era of unprecedentedly wide change. I have personally been strongly impressed by the fact that while both Indians and Americans are aware of this condition of change in which we live, change has a somewhat different significance for the two peoples. We have been talking under three main headings — political, economic, and cultural. I think it is worth while to review the question of change as it applies to each of these topics.

A great deal has been said about the fact that America and India have in common a stake — democracy. Not enough has been said about the fact that historically the stake is somewhat different for each people. Democracy is important to Americans because it has existed throughout our history. When we became a democratic nation we did so by throwing off monarchic rule outside of our country. That left us with very few political or social institutions of the past which had to continue to be dealt with in order to form a democracy.

Having enjoyed this democracy, it is always present, either in the conscious thinking or subconscious emotion of an American. That democracy is completely interwoven with everything we associate with our well-being. We want to defend our democracy because of the actual concrete benefits associated with it.

The question of democracy in India is very different. Your stake is much more in a potential democracy of the future than in treasured democratic institutions of the past. When you became independent of imperial rule, it was not simply a question of severing an outside connection. You are still engaged in the unfinished business of rearranging your institutions so as to remove whatever may be of danger to your future in the survival of royal and princely rule and prerogative.

Because of these historical conditioning factors, it has occurred to me that the American attitude towards change — the change which is indisputable in the world in which we live — is different from that of Indians. Americans admit that change exists and that we have to adapt ourselves to change. But we are fearful that change might go so fast as to cause danger to existing institutions and traditions of democracy in our own country. Whereas Indians appear to be aware of something more urgent — that by becoming independent they attained their greatest chance of creating institutions and traditions of democracy suitable to their own needs, and that unless they move quickly to this creation, the opportunity may pass. Therefore, many Indians are fearful that change may be slow that it may endanger the creation of the democracy that they intend to have.

There are parallels in the question of economics which we have discussed. The climate of America is one in which we are all aware of the domination of a concept of private enterprise and all that goes with private enterprise — individual responsibility is an important concomitant of private enterprise. We admit our private enterprise society is not a completely monolithic thing. There are modifications of private enterprise in American society. We admit the existence and make profitable use of government planning and

various kinds of community or public enterprise. But we are aware that even these deviations from the standard of private enterprise are marginal, and that what gives tone and character to the whole has always been, in our history, private enterprise, even though the growth of forms of public enterprise and responsibility has modified and is modifying our standard. Because of this, we associate our economic concepts very closely with our political heritage. And when we try to find a community of interest with some nation in another part of the world, we are made nervous by any tendency in their development which appears to under-emphasize the private enterprise characteristic and favour public enterprise and public responsibility.

It has seemed to me in these discussions that the Indians have a somewhat different attitude. I have noted with interest that many Indians associated with private enterprise have not only admitted but stressed the importance of public planning and enterprise in their country. This is partly a question of emergency. But it seems to me that among our unfinished business is an insufficient clarification of this question. Apart from ideals, we both have societies and economies with mixed characteristics. The question therefore arises: Is it right for Americans in seeking for standards in common and concepts in common with Indians to say that, 'Well, yes, the American economy is a modified economy. The Indian economy, if it wishes to be conventional with the American economy, may also have deviations from the American standard of private enterprise, but only deviations which Americans permit,' while Indians feel that Indian standards should be developed according to what Indian conditions permit instead of living up to American standards.

We cannot neglect another important point, namely that culturally India and America have in common the strong impress of British culture and tradition. The fact that we both have this impress may easily be more misleading than enlightening. While we both show the British impress in our contemporary culture, it is remarkable how the same British institution has worked differently in India than in America and how different British institutions have been important in

each country. There have been a number of times when the use of the phrase 'drawn from the British tradition' has seemed to me to ring slightly differently to Indian listeners and American listeners at the same discussion. This links up to the summation I would like to try to make :

Our problem is one of finding common ground. It is extraordinary how often a phrase like 'common ground' leads to difficulties rather than solutions. Very often when people speak of common ground, they really mean, without analysing it closely enough, that common ground is something completely in common ; that once you meet on common ground there are no more differences or conflicts.

On the contrary, common ground, whenever it has been employed to the real benefit either of several individuals or several communities, has been marginally common rather than completely common. That is to say, common ground is a ground on which you meet another person or another community with a feeling that this ground on which you stand contains a great deal of the unfamiliar but just enough of the familiar to make you feel reassured in dealing with the unfamiliar. That kind of common ground is the only one which in the long run can be exploited to the development of India and America. We Americans, because our history contains less of vicissitudes — for instance, America has never been defeated or conquered in war — because of that lack we are clumsier at making use of this kind of common ground than other peoples. India, I think, because of its much longer and much more varied history, has a much readier appreciation of that kind of compromise and adjustment which can be made for the common benefit of different interests, and it is towards that goal of common benefit of different interests that we shall have to look if we are to retain on both sides those characteristics of democratic independence which are essential to both our nations and peoples.

An American Member

Some of us have said that certain important issues have not been discussed here. Let us not regret what we have not

been able to discuss, but let us think of it in terms of how this Conference has affected us. An Indian has asked me if I thought any mind had been changed. I did not come here with the thought that men would be converted or changed. What I came for, and what I received, was an enlargement of the mind. The world suffers because the ideas of men are too narrow.

It has been stressed repeatedly that another great value of the Conference has been in the promotion of friendliness of two peoples who are naturally friendly. We of the American delegation have travelled across the seas to come here because we felt we did not know the people of India well enough individually. That objective has been achieved to the extent that it is rewarding and delightful to every one of us. I hope there will be a continuation of the work of this Conference in promoting the development of goodwill and knowledge which is essential to every one in this world.

An Indian Member

We have been speaking about the Indian situation to you at this Conference and have tried to convey to you that Delhi is not India and that various facts which you are exercised about are facts which are important in certain scenes, but their importance lies in their inward significance, not in their outward significance. Those concerned with economic affairs have tried to convey that those facts are important. But there are other facts more important. We have to realize that there are happening in India things which are incipient, which do not find their way into the papers or into government reports, which are of immediate importance to the future. A new India is in the making in the villages, not in New Delhi. And in those villages there are two aspects of the process which have to be taken into account — the instability of the situation, and the potential. We are poor technologically. We have a lot to do. But you may take it that India's potential lies in social processes which are at work in people who are the carriers of our future. I sometimes feel that the advantage which America has is partly due to the fact that you started

as a nation only 150 years ago. History may be an advantage or it may not. Our greatest wealth is the untapped power in our masses. That wealth and power can be brought into play in a destructive way or in a constructive way. Those social processes are important. Once they can be made effective, we will be able to build on our past and contribute not only to understanding of America but also to goodwill.

An American Member

I do not restrict my interests to economics and business, but this morning we have heard many eloquent remarks on the political and cultural aspects of our discussions. We have had an opportunity to acquaint our Indian friends in the Conference and outside the Conference with American problems and American points of view. Conversely, we have heard from Indian colleagues here and outside of Indian problems and Indian points of view. I think these will be of help to our business associates when they return to America to transmit an understanding of the Indian point of view and thus eliminate some of the fears of our business men. Partly because of rumours and distance, we have not known each other well enough in the past to generate the mutual confidence in each other which is so essential. There has been some suggestion among our business colleagues that possibly the business point of view has been under-stressed here. I don't share that view. If we haven't been able to express our views, it is a lack on our part. All points of view must be recognized; we cannot deal with differences of opinion by pretending they are not there or considering them disreputable.

An Indian Member

Sometimes we are critical of the people of the United States. I want our American friends to realize that this is not done in any spirit of unfriendliness but that they can no longer regard themselves as belonging to the United States alone. We are desperately interested in what is going on in the United States — the most powerful nation today. As a

result of the war and of enterprise, you have been gifted today with the most amazing power in history. What Americans say, think and do does not affect only the people within the United States, but it affects people all over the world.

I suggest there is no doubt, when you find rich, powerful nations like the United States and poor, weak nations like India, and you have to live together in one world, that there must be co-operation between the rich and the poor, between the strong and the weak. The poor are always afraid of the rich, and the weak of the strong. The only solution of working together is for them to mingle their energies in a common organization. That is why India attaches a great deal of importance to the United Nations. I would like to suggest that it is extremely important that American finances, techniques, and other aid should be canalized through the United Nations.

An American Member

I think all of us are conscious that this Conference has been a great educational opportunity. The point that we have to get back to grass roots is a profound and important one. The hope has been expressed that we in North American universities will be able to take steps to improve the understanding of India among our students. That is equally vital in India. I have had an opportunity of talking with groups of undergraduate students in India and was subjected to a barrage of questions. It is apparent that we are not in either country taking adequate steps to see that the young men and women of the future get a reasonable amount of accurate information. There is plenty of misinformation.

An Indian Member

I would like our American friends to go with this impression : that India is going to be one of the four laboratories where the people of the world are going to try the system of

living and the government they will live under. The other three are China, Russia and the United States. India will deal with the United States on the basis of *quid pro quo*.

An American Member

The point of view of the largest American minority has been presented here. The largest American minority group are the old-line Americans. I would like to speak about those basic ideas or emotional tendencies in terms of which the great American white population struggles with the problems. The American as a cultural type reacts to situations in terms of four essential ideas :

(1) The common man shall have the right to participate in making essential decisions which affect his life. If, in carrying out those decisions, the common American has opposed strong government and central government, it has been in that term. If he rejects economic control as a decisive factor, it is in that term. If he objects to religious control, it is in terms of that principle. We know the job of implementing that principle is never complete because, as conditions change, implementation changes.

(2) The entire body of knowledge available to the American people shall be open to every American individual, and every individual may claim a portion. In terms of what he can claim and possess, he can serve himself and serve others. If you are seeking the essential reason of power in the United States today, it is in that principle. We have moved toward a society that believes that the best brains make the best use of the best knowledge that is available.

(3) In the American system it is not true that the people fall back entirely on their own efforts. They have always recognized that their own efforts require social organization. I think Lincoln stated this aspect most precisely when he said, 'The community shall do for the individual what the individual cannot do for himself.' That principle in implementation changes as society changes. In the mid twentieth century the services which the individual cannot do for himself are greater than they were when Lincoln made that statement, for example, social security, state administration, etc.

(4) This idea is perhaps only now emerging articulately. Americans today, particularly in small towns, churches, little assemblies of workers, and other groups, are struggling to rise to a world point of view. They have a magnificent emotional reaction to the United States and have exhibited that reaction on every occasion when it was possible to express it. This principle of American life has also found expression in the efforts of the universities to provide access to a knowledge of the world through the creation of new departments, new methods of study, all of which are implementing this fundamental tendency of American life to see the human race as a whole.

Finally, there is one principle which can best be seen in our attitude towards Europe. We in the United States are a mixture of Europe, Africa, and Asia. In our attitude towards Europe we do not express favour for this or that people. We do not single out any particular country. Our interest is in all of the European peoples. In America we have solved the problem of Europe. Europeans live together in peace in America. That is what we are trying to project on Europe today in our foreign policy — the people of many races living in peace. It is that which we are trying to project to the world.

An American Member

We have come to learn what India is like, what your problems are, and how we can fit into a solution of those problems. In understanding those problems we have found guides into Indian life who are our own opposite numbers. We have only started to pick up the pebbles on the shore. There is the whole beach remaining before us to be explored.

One feels that Americans are objects of suspicion throughout the world. We are not surprised at that. It is a result of, in some ways, the unfortunate circumstances which have thrust us upon a pinnacle, and when one is in such a position one is the object of suspicion and envy. I bespeak the consideration of all throughout the world that there is an earnest endeavour to make this world a world in which we all can live.

I would not confine our views to the largest minority in America, but would include all Americans who look to India as the great nation — the leader among nations — which operates an independent existence in the sense of being outside the severe stresses and strains of a military tension and the conflict of social philosophies. Not that India is outside, but you are in a position where you can be sufficiently neutral so that the world looks to you for the shaping of opinion. What makes it possible for people to stand erect? What makes it possible to have an economy where people can live? Americans share with you the ardent hope of building up a strong India in which your men and women, and we hope ours, will be able to live as we all agree human beings should live. This is the greatest thing that India can do for stabilizing the world. If you are able to do it, it will be an immense asset to us. We do not think in these terms as a nation that wants to protect its own interests, but we think of this as a human problem and we wish to share with you our common interests in solving that problem correctly.

An Indian Member

The Conference has been a great fellowship. We cannot solve all the problems overnight. But it is a great thing if we can see each other's point of view. When there are difficult questions to be dealt with, it is better for people to meet in small groups to get an understanding. Understanding in smaller circles becomes the foundation for larger understanding afterwards. It is necessary that in every country conditions favouring the growth of similar ideas and similar institutions should come to exist.

In this world of democratic nations, there is no elected leader. But by its own hard work, its vision, by the warmth of its feeling, and in the course of circumstances, the United States has become the representative of democratic nations in a larger sense than any other country. An international representative has great responsibilities which must be discharged. As we approach questions from this point of view, we shall not feel that we are either giving or receiving.

There will be no sense of benefaction or of charity, but a feeling of a common effect towards the common good.

It may have seemed to our American friends that we were a little obstinate in our ideas and were unwilling to recognize the value of free enterprise. I hope they will look at the matter from time to time from our point of view also. Here is a poor, undeveloped country with vast resources. It has to contend against time, has to see if it is to continue to belong to the family of democratic nations, and cannot allow things to drift. We must take into our own hands the direction of affairs. We are beset by a sense of urgency and cannot believe that to leave things to free enterprise would not be to leave things to chance. This would risk our future and perhaps the future of democracy. We have to fix certain priorities and objectives. There is no conflict between our points of view. Your point of view is a product of the circumstances in which your nation grew up. Our point of view is borne of the circumstances in which we live. In spite of divergence of opinion on this point, I hope there will be found at the bottom to be agreement on the fact that such resources as we may have and such help as we may get from outside should be used in such a way as to produce the best possible results.

I regret that because of lack of time one of the fundamental questions in the cultural field could not receive attention. The question of race relations is one of the most important for the future of the world. It does not affect merely the United States. None of us can have the courage to point out to Americans the mote in their eye, when we have a beam in our own. This question affects India. In a way it affects the whole continent of Africa. Unfortunately there are people who do not understand the great damage that is being done by our persistence in sticking to meaningless discriminations against our fellow human beings. Culture means, if it means anything, not the exchange of books, the exchange of students, knowledge of each other's history or ideas, but an understanding of the fact of essential human equality and a realization of the fact that different ways of life have not merely the right to continue, but that persons following each

way have in their own way contributed to the growth of the world. It is only when we realize this that we can respect one another and come to feel that when we discriminate against others we humiliate not merely them but ourselves as well. I cannot see how any sensitive man can look calmly at the taboos that are keeping us apart from one another and sowing the seed of future conflicts and dissension.

APPENDIX A

AGENDA

ROUND TABLE I

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND INDIA

1. How has Indian opinion reacted to American foreign policy with regard to
 - (a) Soviet-American Relations ;
 - (b) American preoccupation with Western Europe, as illustrated by the Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Pact ;
 - (c) China ;
 - (d) Middle East ?
2. How has American opinion reacted to Indian foreign policy with regard to
 - (a) India's declaration of a middle course in world affairs ;
 - (b) India's attitude towards nationalism in colonial areas, especially South-East Asia ;
 - (c) India's attitude towards racial discrimination ?
3. How do India and the United States view the spread of Communism in Asia ?
4. What are the priorities in American thinking with regard to various countries of Asia ? What would Indian opinion consider the proper priorities ?
5. What is American and Indian opinion on regional groupings in Asia ?
6. How do India and the United States view India's strategic position ?
7. How have India and America viewed the approach of the other to the United Nations, and its Specialized Agencies ?
8. How have India and the United States reacted with regard to problems before the United Nations, e.g.
 - (a) South Africa and the issue of racial discrimination ;
 - (b) Trusteeship Council ;
 - (c) Special Committee on Non-self-governing Territories ?
9. What are India's reactions to United States policy on immigration and the status of resident aliens ?
10. How have India and the United States reacted to issues arising in Indo-Pakistan relations, e.g.
 - (a) Kashmir ;
 - (b) Possibility of an alignment of Muslim States ;
 - (c) The policies of India and Pakistan with regard to devaluation (including the jute situation) ?
11. How have Indian and American opinion viewed India's continued membership in the Commonwealth ? What are the implications for Indian-American relations ?

12. What are the prospects for future political co-operation between India and the United States ?

ROUND TABLE II

ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND INDIA

1. How has Indian opinion reacted to the following aspects of America's economic policy ? :
 - (a) Tariff policy and customs procedure ;
 - (b) Shipping and Aviation ;
 - (c) Price support programmes ;
 - (d) Inter-governmental loan policy and investment by private American enterprise ;
 - (e) Treatment of Indian business men ;
 - (f) Procurement programmes of the Indian Government in the United States.
2. How has American opinion reacted to the following features of Indian economic policy ? :
 - (a) Tariff policy and customs procedure ;
 - (b) Regulation of export and import trade (including foreign exchange control) ;
 - (c) Shipping and Aviation ;
 - (d) Treatment of American private business in India ;
 - (e) State regulation, control and ownership of economic activity (including tax policy and labour regulation) ;
 - (f) Control of remittance of funds and movements of capital ;
 - (g) Agricultural and food policy.
3. How has Indian opinion reacted to policies and practices of private American business in relation to India ?
 - (a) Size and scope of American private investment in India ;
 - (b) Agency arrangements ;
 - (c) Partnership and sharing of control with Indian business ;
 - (d) Training of Indian executives and technicians.

What are American business reactions to such Indian opinions ?
4. How has American opinion reacted to policies and practices of private Indian firms—in respect of
 - (a) India's participation in American business in India ;
 - (b) Maintenance of quality standards in Indian products ?
5. What are the principal political and economic issues involved in the negotiation of an Indo-American Commercial Treaty ?
6. What are the possibilities of the creation of an E.C.A. or similar programme of economic development in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia ? What could be the rôle of India in such a programme ?
7. What are the possible applications of the Point Four Programme to India ? What part could the ECAFE and other U.N. agencies play in such a programme ?

8. In what ways can such U.N. Agencies as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Food and Agriculture Organization be best used to facilitate possible help by the United States in India's economic development?
9. To what extent do American and Indian economic interests coincide or conflict in their relations with other countries, e.g. Japan, Pakistan, Middle East, United Kingdom, South-East Asia, etc.?
10. To what extent do American and Indian policies and attitudes differ on the general questions of multilateralism, most-favoured-nation treatment and the terms of the International Trade Organization Charter?
11. What are the possibilities of the United States taking an active part in the settlement of India's outstanding sterling balances?
12. What are the present and possible future effects of rupee devaluation on the problem of India's dollar shortage?
13. To what extent do social conditions in India affect the development of closer economic relations with the United States (e.g. population pressure, industrial efficiency, business standards, political stability)?

ROUND TABLE III

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

This Round Table has been asked to deal with three general topics, namely :

- A. Cultural relations as expressed in **ATTITUDES** respecting minorities, aliens, visitors, tourists, immigrants, etc.
 - B. Cultural relations as expressed in the **EXCHANGE** of students, teachers, technicians, publications, motion pictures, radio programmes, journalists, librarians.
 - C. Cultural relations as expressed in **CO-OPERATIVE RESEARCH.**
- A. Suggested topics related to **ATTITUDES** :
- (1) What general attitudes on the part of Americans tend to perplex Indians most? And, vice versa?
 - (a) What is the current attitude in America regarding Indian migration to America?
 - (b) Is the American quota system in effect a form of discrimination?
 - (c) What attitudes prevail in the two countries with respect to minority groups?
 - (d) What attitudes condition the experiences of visitors and tourists in India and the United States?
 - (e) What is the American attitude towards the caste system in India?
 - (2) What are the positive and negative factors in the experience of Indian students studying in America, and of American students studying in India?

- (3) What are the positive and negative factors in the experience of American teachers teaching in India and of Indian teachers teaching in America?

B. Suggested issues with respect to EXCHANGES of personnel, cultural materials, etc.

- (1) To what extent are Government Fellowships meeting their stated objectives?
- (2) Similarly, what have we to learn from the experience of the Tata, Watumull, UNESCO, and other Fellowships?
- (3) Since the Fulbright Act appears as one of the most ambitious plans for cultural exchange between India and America, it seems important that its precise provisions should be correctly understood. Following a brief statement of fact, what questions arise?
- (a) How are the provisions of the Act to be carried out in India and in the United States?
- (b) Do present plans envisage the carrying out of a 'philosophy' of cultural exchange?
- (c) What rôle will private institutions and agencies have?
- (d) Do members of the Conference wish to make suggestions regarding the manner in which the provisions of the Act might be carried out?
- (4) What institutions and agencies are now promoting programmes of cultural exchange between India and the United States? Is co-ordination among these agencies feasible and desirable?
- (5) What is the basic purpose of Information Services operating under governmental auspices? How are persons chosen and trained for this work? What recommendations and suggestions have individual members to make on the subject?
- (6) How does devaluation of the Indian currency affect cultural exchanges? Have any steps been taken to bring about 'equalizations'? How has devaluation affected the exchange of publications? Are there any remedies?
- (7) Is it possible, short of censorship, to exercise any form of control over exchange of cultural personnel and materials?

C. Suggested issues with respect to CO-OPERATIVE RESEARCH:

- (1) What common subjects (in India and the United States) are likely to lend themselves to co-operative research?
- (2) What are the major difficulties involved in co-operative research?
- (3) What are the principal problems to be considered in a co-operative research project?
- (4) Does the Conference wish to propose some specific co-operative research projects?
- (5) Assuming that co-operative researches are to be undertaken, how are the results to be made known and utilized?

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GUEST MEMBER OF THE CONFERENCE

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Mr. DEVRAJ

Mr. G. N. DWIVEDI, Librarian.

OPENING STATEMENT

The following statement was made by The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Minister for Industry and Supply, at the opening plenary session of the conference.

I deem it a privilege to have been called upon to inaugurate this Conference, the first of its kind in India, organized under the joint auspices of two well-known international bodies. I specially accord a warm welcome to the band of distinguished scholars and business magnates who have come here as delegates from the United States of America. Not only will their participation in the deliberations of this Conference enhance its dignity and usefulness, but it will also, I hope, enable other institutions, especially scientific and cultural, to have the benefit of their counsel and co-operation. The purpose of this Conference is to explore relations between India and America in the cultural, political and economic fields and to promote mutual understanding and research on problems of common interest. Coming as it does on the eve of the proclamation of the Indian Republic and closely following the historic visit of our Prime Minister to the United States, the Conference should be able to create public interest and to seize the attention of the politically conscious elements in both countries. It is true, being a purely non-official assembly, it may not have power to implement all its decisions. Nevertheless such deliberations can play a vital rôle in promoting goodwill and mutual understanding, in creating the necessary perspectives for the complex and delicate problems involved in international relations and in rightly educating public opinion. The wisdom and intellect of India and the United States have assembled together and I feel confident that their deliberations will be helpful in throwing light on many of our common intricate problems.

Unity in diversity has been the keynote of India's civilization. For centuries she had remained politically subjugated. Conquerors and invaders came here from time to time and established their sovereignty over the country. That the soul of India has remained indestructible through thousands of years owes much to the catholicity of her philosophy and to the powers of assimilation of her people. Occasionally internal dissensions weakened her political stability. In spite of all this, at every period of India's chequered history, saints and savants, poets and philosophers, appeared on the scene, and through their teachings, the main currents of her culture and civilization were kept free from stagnation. Never was India so well knit into one strong homogeneous nation as she is today within three years of the attainment of freedom. For the first time in her history, she has adopted a constitution which aims at keeping this unity alive and permanent. Our foreign visitors will no doubt observe, during their brief stay in this country, the diversities of Indian life. But I have no doubt that they will also be struck by the bonds of unity which hold the nation together.

Today after freedom, new problems have arisen. To live and let live has been India's message since the dawn of history. But within her own territory, she has to resurrect her own genius which has been given a new shape through her contact with the West. There is no question of her going back on the good and valuable things which she has obtained and assimilated. There is no question either of her cheaply imitating the western pattern, simply because it emanates from foreign lands. She can play her part in the revival of world culture only if she can suitably readjust the trends of the modern age, dominated by science and technology, to the eternal truths gathered from her own books of wisdom. Culture cannot live isolated from economic stability. Poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger affect the daily lives of millions of her population who are today impatient for their eradication. It may be that the long period of foreign domination to which India was subjected greatly retarded her social and economic development, but this emphasizes, rather than abates, the magnitude of the immense task that faces the

State on the attainment of political freedom—the task of developing the country's resources in men and material and raising her standard of living. In discharging this task we are entitled to look to the great Democracy in the Western Hemisphere for encouragement and co-operation.

Superficial observers have sometimes wondered whether our relations with the United States can ever be of an enduring kind in view of our greatly differing conditions. Socially, economically and politically there is a large disparity between the two countries which also differ sharply in historical backgrounds. Our prevailing outlook on many questions such as family life, religion and social organization are also strikingly dissimilar. All this is true no doubt, but the fact remains that in spite of these circumstances politically conscious elements in India have taken great interest in the United States and have been influenced considerably by American political thought. The United States won its independence in revolution against a Power which also ruled over the destinies of India for more than a century and a half, while we ultimately won our freedom by peaceful settlement with the rulers. The American people, however, never allowed their country to be partitioned. They maintained its integrity after great suffering, ordeal and sacrifice, while India had to accept partition after having fought for the ideal of an undivided motherland. The traditional sympathy of the American people for the under-privileged thus springs from the very roots of their history. The United States in those days represented the promised land to the 'poor and oppressed of all nations' and received with open arms the harassed immigrants from all parts of the world, including many political refugees from India. The history of American Independence and the passionate love of her people for democratic institutions have consequently made a profound impression on us, and our achievement of political freedom must naturally play a great part in shaping our future relations.

Although the American public has so far displayed relatively less interest in Indian affairs, from time to time a few Indians with magnetic personality have interpreted Indian

life and culture and focussed the attention of the American people. One of them is Swami Vivekananda who may rightly be called our first non-official ambassador to the United States. He stood at the confluence of two mighty streams of civilization and built the spiritual bridge joining India and America. In more recent times, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore made a profound impression on the American people and brought India to the forefront of world affairs. The latest and biggest event in the history of our relations is, of course, the visit of our Prime Minister to the United States. Apart from the tremendous goodwill created by his visit, Pandit Nehru has aroused American public interest in India and brought them to an awareness of the part which our country is destined to play in international affairs.

Thus in spite of widely dissimilar circumstances there is a fundamental affinity which joins the two peoples and an increasingly large field of co-operation exists between them. Such co-operation, let me add, is essential in the interests of world peace and progress and covers the entire political, economic and cultural spheres. India is the centre of things in Asia and the focal point of the many forces at work in this vast continent. Ideologically, we stand for the re-emergence of Asia as a force in world politics, for the ending of colonial rule in any part of the world and the establishment of true equality and harmony. With such a policy we can hope to work in full co-operation not only with the United States but with all who are pledged to the ideals of the United Nations.

While every nation should and must strengthen the roots on which its political unity and integrity depend, we must guard against the growth of aggressive nationalism which may well shatter the prospects of true international brotherhood. Both our nations are believers in democracy and it is for us to see that we do correctly maintain the basic structure of society and zealously uphold freedom of expression and liberty of thought. Economically speaking, we are still in an under-developed stage and are in need of technical skill, industrial know-how and capital investments—in all of which the

United States has considerable surplus. On the practical plane the question is to evolve a suitable policy in these matters which would be to the interests of both the countries. The immense raw materials and natural resources that India possesses may, if properly utilized, usefully serve not only our own people but others as well. The purpose of creation of additional wealth must be constantly kept in view. We must aim at its equitable distribution and, affording equal opportunities to all, help to raise the standard of living of the oppressed and the downtrodden.

In the last analysis, however, the world's problem is one of culture. The material fullness of life has been achieved in many countries much to the neglect of the spiritual heritage, while in others these material conditions are so low and inadequate that there is a danger that their ancient culture and proud civilization might become static and lifeless. There can be little doubt that the modern world is in need of a true and lasting harmony between the material conditions of life and its spiritual qualities. America and India can contribute a good deal in bringing about such a combination of things and in creating a philosophy of life suited to the needs of man in the contemporary world. Let us guard against the imposition of any cultural imperialism based either on pride of race or glory of pomp and wealth. Every country has passed through its own peculiar experiences, which are rich and valuable and have a mixture of good and evil. Our aim should be to discover the synthesis of the best that each can give and thus help to create the conditions for a true world citizenship. May this Conference be guided by such principles of toleration, understanding and goodwill and pave the way for bringing together the two great countries we represent.

DATA PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE INDIA-AMERICA
CONFERENCE*(Mimeographed unless otherwise indicated)*

Indian Council of World Affairs

1. INDIA AND ASIA
 - (i) THE SPREAD OF INDIAN CULTURE TO ASIAN COUNTRIES, by Dr. Kalidas Nag. 8 pp.
 - (ii) INDIAN EMIGRATION TO OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES, by Mr. C. Kondapi. 15 pp.
 - (iii) DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, by Mr. H. Venkatasubbiah. 7 pp.
 - (iv) TRADE RELATIONS, (contributed). 42 pp.
2. ASPECTS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS
 - (i) INDO-AMERICAN POLITICAL RELATIONS, by Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya. 29 pp.
 - (ii) INDIA AND THE U.S.S.R., by Prof. M. Mujeeb. 8 pp.
- 2A. INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS, by Mr. M. C. Setalvad. 31 pp.
3. RACE VS. QUOTA IN IMMIGRATION, by Mr. P. Kodanda Rao and Mr. K. L. N. Rao. 12 pp.
4. MINORITIES IN INDIA, by Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya. 19 pp.
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 - (i) AGRICULTURE IN INDIA, by Mr. M. L. Dantwala and Mr. Manilal Nanavati. 16 pp.
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7. INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND U.S.
 - (i) INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND U.S., by Mr. G. D. Birla. 3 pp.
 - (ii) AMERICAN INVESTMENTS IN INDIA, by Mr. E. da Costa. 3 pp.
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- (iii) THE ROLE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENTAL AND PRIVATE AGENCIES IN INDIA (IN CULTURAL MATTERS) AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES IN INDIA, by Mrs. Mangat Rai. 26 pp.

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1. MAIN TRENDS IN POSTWAR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, by Vera Micheles Dean. 71 pp.
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3. INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES : POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS, by Lawrence K. Rosinger. (*galley proofs. to be printed in 1950*).
4. INDIAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS, by Norman Kiell. 29 pp.
5. THE CHANGING POSITION OF THE NEGRO AND OTHER MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, by Israel Gerver. 25 pp.



