


**THREE
BASIC
PROBLEMS
OF
FREE INDIA**

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RAKASH NARAYAN



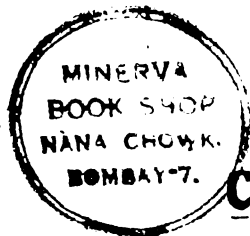
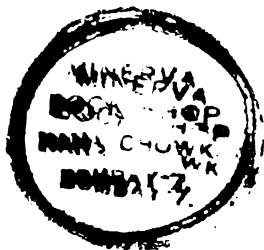
DADABHAI NAOROJI MEMORIAL LECTURES 1962

THIS is a collection of three thought-provoking lectures on a few of the fundamental problems of new India — national unity, national reconstruction and external relations.

In the first lecture the author discusses lucidly the concept of nationhood explaining its origin and development. The essence of nationhood as it is known today is national consciousness or sentiment built up from common historical experiences. The historical circumstances that have given rise to nations are explained with particular reference to India where it was the tireless struggle against British rule that laid the edifice of nationalism.

The basic principles and ideals that should guide the task of national reconstruction is the theme of the second lecture. Shri Narayan observes that the integrated development of the nation demands a reconciliation of material and spiritual values, the basis of the latter being human freedom and the common good. Consistent with this objective, he emphasizes the need for a decentralized pattern of community living.

In the last lecture is presented a clear analysis of the principles that should guide our foreign policy. The ideal of a brotherhood of nations and the manner and stages in which this can be attained is discussed in detail. A significant point deserving special mention is the role of the people through student and cultural delegations in strengthening bonds of friendship.



CATALOGUE



THREE BASIC PROBLEMS
OF FREE INDIA

*Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial
Prize Fund Lectures*

Three
Basic Problems of
Free India

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

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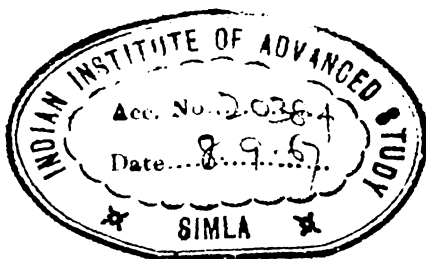
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Preface

THE TRUSTEES of the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize Fund have pleasure in presenting to the general public, the three lectures delivered under the auspices of the Prize Fund by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan during 1962 on National Integration. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, the publication of these lectures has been very much delayed.

Bombay,

21 August, 1964

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the trustees of the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Fund for asking me to deliver the Dadabhai Naoroji Lectures this year. Though perusal of previous lectures in this series warned me of the magnitude of the task I had undertaken, I welcomed the opportunity of sharing my thoughts on "National Integration" with the intelligentsia of Bombay and the chance thus afforded of presenting in a systematic manner certain ideas I have long been revolving in my mind on the nature of the goal and the manner of working towards it.

These thoughts have been with me for some time. The Conference on National Integration held in New Delhi in September-October 1961 provided both a testing-ground for my views and an occasion for joint exploration with those assembled who shared my anxieties. The invitation of the trustees made possible a deeper concentration the outcome of which, I trust, will provide a starting-point for analysis, discussion, criticism and correction.

The opportunity presented to revise the lectures in preparing them for publication enabled me to impart compactness and coherence to the presentation. I have been greatly encouraged by the patience and interest

displayed by the audiences which for three days listened to the exposition of a point of view that, alternately banal and startling, made heavy demands on their attention.

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The Concept of Nationhood

THE QUESTION OF national integration has been much to the fore in recent months. It is one of the highest aspirations—if not the highest—of the Indian people to become an integrated and strong nation. This aspiration was expressed most authoritatively at the National Integration Conference held last September-October, 1961, in New Delhi. There is a strong feeling in the country that our very future as a people would be brought into question if this task of nation-making were not properly and speedily fulfilled.

If becoming a nation is of such vital importance, it behoves us to take a closer look at the phenomenon of nationhood. First, it has been found to be extremely difficult to define precisely what a nation is. The word "nation" has a long history and its meaning has undergone a considerable process of evolution.

Originally *natio* meant a backward tribe. Civilized peoples, as of Greece and Rome, called themselves *gens* or *populus*. At the beginning of the Middle Ages the word, "nation" was used in Germany and France for designating the higher, ruling class in opposition to the *volk* or *peuple*, which corresponded to the English term "common people". In former times the Chieftain of an Irish clan was called "captain of his nation".

The meaning of the word gradually evolved in Western usage and came generally to refer to a free, self-governing people or a people constituted as a State. The definition, an exclusively legal one, is not entirely satisfactory, because many States are composed of different nations or nationalities. The Scots and Welsh, for instance, regard themselves as nations, though they live in a common State with the English. Over seventy nationalities live together under the Soviet Russian State. Thus in our times it is not the legal concept of nationality but the concept of social consciousness that matters.¹

Whatever the long history of the word, the nation in its modern sense is comparatively of recent origin. Some of the elementary traits of nationality, writes Hertz, may be as old as humanity, but the "more complicated phenomena have gradually arisen at different times." While it is not possible to state definitely when nationality, as we know it today, was born, it would not be wrong to say that the second half of the eighteenth century saw its first beginnings. The nineteenth century was *par excellence* the century of nationalism.

The scene of this new development in human history was Western Europe. Why it should have been so is not very clear. For the present let it suffice to point out that it was not as if human society had to reach a "higher" stage of civilization in order to give birth

¹ Fredrick Hertz's *Nationality in History and Politics* (London, 1957).

to the modern nation. To quote Hertz, "India, China and the Islamic peoples brought forth great and comparatively homogeneous civilizations, but the idea of modern nationality was alien to them before they were permeated by European ideas." "In Europe itself," as Hertz goes on to say, "Ancient Greece or Mediaeval Italy and Germany possessed very high civilizations while there was hardly any national solidarity between the different peoples into which each was divided. A high level of civilization was even averse to national unity on a wide scale. Athens, Florence and Nuremberg were proud of the splendour of their own achievements and looked down upon their backward kinsmen in other cities History shows that the progress of civilization was often accompanied by a weakening of national sentiments."

If it was not the progress of civilization that produced the modern nations, what were the forces that brought them into being? I shall presently examine this question. For the moment, it would be helpful to keep in mind that to be a nation does not necessarily mean to be terribly civilized. Let us keep in mind, that, while civilization is an end desirable in itself, nationalism can only be a means to an end.

I should like now to consider with you some of the common characteristics of modern nationhood and apply them to our own. Scholars have distinguished between legal and social or political nationhood or nationality. The former is the objective, and the latter the subjective, aspect of nationalism. Legally or objectively considered, a nation usually has three

essential attributes: (a) a well-defined territory that it calls its own; (b) political unity represented by a common State to which all the citizens owe allegiance; (c) recognition by other nations, and by international law, as a distinct, sovereign nation. A legally defined nation might well be composed of a number of nations, that in some respects consider themselves to be distinct from one another but yet accept willingly a common State.

Experience has shown that legal nationality is not enough: A nation might have its State and well-defined territory, and yet lack the substance of nationality. That substance is defined as "national consciousness" or "national sentiment". "Without a sufficient measure of this consciousness," says Hertz, "there is no nation". In our own country when we speak of national integration we mean precisely the development of this very consciousness of nationality. But this consciousness or sentiment is an exceedingly elusive thing, and whether or not a specific people possesses it in sufficient degree is very difficult to determine. It is a product of varied historical experience which is seldom the same for every nation. Therefore, it is difficult to generalise about it and lay down prescriptions as to how to develop national consciousness. It would be interesting to quote here from Hertz two views on the question of two distinguished Europeans. John Stuart Mill "saw the essence of nationality in the mutual sympathy of its adherents and in their desire to be united under a government of their own, produced through a community of history and politics and through feelings of

pride and shame, joy and grief connected with experiences of the past." According to Ernest Renan, the great French Philosopher and author of the famous "Life of Jesus", "it is not race, religion, language, State, civilization or economic interests that make a nation." "The national idea", according to him "is founded on a heroic past, great men, true glory. Common experience lead to the formation of a community of will. More than anything else it is common grief that binds a nation together, more than triumphs. A nation, therefore, is a great solidarity founded on the consciousness of sacrifices made in the past and on willingness to make further ones in the future. The existence of a nation resembles a plebiscite repeated every day."

These are illuminating visions, but they also show the complexity of the matter. In the course of our long history there has been much community of experience accumulated. There was much joy and grief, pride and shame that we shared together. But apparently there has not been enough of it to create among us, in sufficient measure, a consciousness of nationality; otherwise there would not have been such deep concern now with the question of national integration. As a matter of fact, there were elements in our community of experience that acted as barriers to integration, and even led to actual disintegration as in the case of partition. Moreover, there are certain experiences such as those of sharing grief or glory that cannot be made to order.

Before I proceed further with the question of development of national consciousness, which is the most essential pre-requisite for national integration, I should

like to turn to the question put earlier, namely, what were the historic forces that brought into being the modern nation? Nationalism is now a world-wide phenomenon, and we see nations being born before our eyes, as it were, such as in Africa. It was not through one and the same process, however, that they all came into existence. Broadly speaking, the existing nations can be divided into two classes: In one class would be those that became nations through an autochthonous process, that is to say, as a result of forces that grew up within their own areas. These might be called the "original" nations. The other class of nations arose as a "reaction" to the original nations. The reaction was of two kinds, because it took place in two different sets of circumstances. In the older feudal empires, such as those of the Hapsburgs and the Czars, in which a ruling dynasty kept under subjugation different peoples, the reaction was that of quickening of "national" consciousness, which in turn expressed itself in the demand for "national" freedom. The other type of reaction occurred among the colonial peoples that the newly established nation-states had conquered. This reaction, of course, took time to materialise because the necessary conditions had to develop in the feudal and primitive societies before national sentiments could be born. The point that I wish to emphasise here is that the growth of nationalism in both the old feudal and the new colonial empires could not have been possible unless the new phenomenon of the modern nation and nation-state had become manifest. I am not suggesting that before that there used to be no reaction to conquest

and subjugation. My point is that in former days the reaction used to take the traditional form of dynastic opposition or that of just a people, not a nation in the modern sense, rising against the conqueror or oppressor.

How then did modern nationalism originally come into existence? To my mind, it arose *mainly* on account of two revolutionary developments in Western Europe: one, the French Revolution, the other, the Industrial Revolution. France and England, naturally, became the original models of modern nationhood. The French Revolution was mainly a social revolution, while the Industrial Revolution was mainly of a scientific-technological nature. The first laid down the political bases and the second created the economic frame-work of the modern nation-state.

The French Revolution accomplished two revolutionary tasks: one, it revolutionised totally the old concept of power and sovereignty; two, it carried out the new revolutionary concept dramatically into decisive action. Until the French Revolution, the accepted view, at any rate in Europe, was that both power and sovereignty resided in the King. It was not possible under that kind of political ideology and system for modern nationalism to be born. Kings and nobles, while they ruled over their kingdoms and principalities, were rather cosmopolitan in their sympathies and outlook as Elie Kedourie has pointed out in his *Nationalism* (London, 1960), and though they often fought among themselves they were tied to one another by marriage and traditional feudal ties. The peoples over whom the princes ruled were so kept out of the politics of the day and

were therefore so apolitical, that they just could not come to acquire "national" consciousness, which is a political sentiment.

The French Revolution completely changed all that. It proclaimed that power and sovereignty resided in, and were derived from, the people. More important than that, it demonstrated that the people could assert their sovereignty and overthrow the power of kings and establish their own. The people were thus drawn into the vortex of politics and came to be closely associated with the State. It was at that point that the feudal State began to be transformed into a nation-State and the people into a modern nation. The economic forces that the commercial and industrial revolutions had simultaneously set in motion completed the process. They had, indeed, contributed in no small measure to the political revolution itself. In fact, it need hardly be pointed out, the economic and political forces constantly act and react on each other; and it is only for the purpose of analysis that they can be separated.

The Industrial Revolution created a fairly large middle class which found it necessary to use directly or indirectly the established State to protect and expand its economic interests. This further strengthened the association of the people with the State. It was soon found that the economic interests of the new industrial-cum-commercial class was distinct from the interests of other States and their peoples. The cosmopolitan, or at any rate extra-territorial, outlook of the feudal ruling class came in time to be replaced with a narrow nationalistic outlook. While the rise of industrialism brought into

being a narrow nationalism, within the national territory it helped to erase out parochialism and localism. The latter process was of vital importance to the growth of the modern nations. Thus, the exigencies of history that determined the territorial limits of a nation and the political and economic changes that were brought about by the French and Industrial Revolutions together created modern nationalism. Undoubtedly other factors played a part, but not, to my mind, the same decisive part that these three have played. In fact, the first factor, the exigencies of history, would include many of the other factors as I have already pointed out.

How a nation comes to be associated with a certain territory—and, therefore, with the corresponding State—depends upon a complex of factors, often on accidents of history, including the accidents of leadership. The process is well illustrated in the case of our own nation. Incidentally, an examination of the process might help in overcoming the psychosis from which many in this country suffer as a result of the Partition.

First of all, let us remind ourselves that, until the experience of British rule, we were never a nation in the modern sense of the term. Undoubtedly, there was an indefinable unity in which our ancestors shared. There was even the territorial concept of the land of Bharat, Bharatvarsha, which was bounded in the North by the Himalayas and in the South by the seas. But that sense of unity, so eloquently spoken of by Rabin-dranath was not a nationalistic sentiment, but a spiritual and cultural sentiment that was based upon a common outlook on life, "a unity of spirit", as Tagore has called

it, and a common pattern of social living.

It was only when British rule was established over the entire length and breadth of the country that India was united politically under one government. That political unity, however, was imposed from above and did not, in itself, constitute nationhood. It was in the process of opposition to the imposed rule that Indian nationalism took birth. An interesting point that might be raised here is whether the reaction to British rule would have been the same, that is to say, nationalistic in the modern sense, if Great Britain herself had not been transformed in the meanwhile into a nation. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, if Elizabethan England, for instance, had conquered the whole of India, opposition to her—successful or otherwise—would have followed the traditional dynastic pattern rather than the modern nationalistic one?

Be that as it may, Indian nationalism grew up as a reaction to aggressive British nationalism. But, unfortunately, it was not strong enough to weld together psychologically all the people of India into one nationality. The result was that almost on the eve of independence there arose a new concept of nationality that challenged the older one. We all recall with a twitch of the heart that tragic clash between the two-nation and one-nation theories. The two-nation theory was undoubtedly ill-conceived and ill-founded, because if the history of national origins and growth proves anything, it is that religion alone never determines nationality. However, a combination of factors conspired and India was partitioned. But the two-nation theory did

not have an unqualified victory. It had proclaimed that the Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations that must live separately under their own sovereign nation-states. But, in the event, vast numbers of both these so-called "nations" were left behind on either side of the partition. In sober contemplation, the partition of India would appear to have been a clumsy device that settled nothing and satisfied none. If we add to that the holocaust, the misery and suffering, the moral degradation and debasement that followed it, one cannot but be appalled at the historic folly.

However, it is not to lament a historical fact that I have brought up the question here. My purpose has been to demonstrate how a turn of history can be responsible for the delimitation of "national" territory, and how there is nothing immutable or sacrosanct about it. It is quite conceivable that the partition could have been avoided, even with the consent of all concerned, and, where there are two nations today, there might have been only one.

The role of events of history in giving rise to nations might even better be appreciated if we consider what might have been the situation, if Britain (or any other foreign nation in her place) had never established her rule over India and forcibly unified the country. The Moghal Empire, which in any case never extended to the whole of India, was breaking up. Marathas, Sikhs, Rajputs, Tipu Sultan and lesser persons and groups were contending amongst themselves for supremacy. Can it be said with any assurance that there would have been today a single national State in India, or at

any rate, not more than two? Those who talk sentimentally about undivided India might give serious thought to this question and also not forget the fact that the political divisions and the struggle for power of those days rarely followed religious or communal lines. True, there did exist a degree of cultural "unity" in Hindu society at that time. There was also, it is true, a discernible process afoot towards a cultural synthesis between the Hindu and the Muslim ways of life. But the history of Western Europe has shown that cultural unity does not necessarily lead to a single national State. So, while it is difficult to say with any assurance what would have happened if the British had not brought the whole of India under one government, it is a sobering experience to realise that undivided India would have been perhaps one of the lesser possibilities. This thought should bring some solace to those who even now eat out their hearts over the partition, and consider it their patriotic duty to undo it.

I shall go further and say that this thought should help cure that psychosis of which I spoke earlier—the hidden disease of the present-day Indian mind, compounded of suppressed pain, anger and frustration that the partition caused. That pain, anger and frustration could be sublimated if we took a healthy and realistic view of our history and understood its true message and significance.

What has already been said should be enough to show that it is not such a wonderful thing to be a nation as is usually imagined. If a balance-sheet is

drawn, the following would be the credit and debit sides respectively:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Unitive force or integrating force: tribalism, localism merged into nationalism. | 1. Divisive force; has made divisions between one nation and another far more sharp. |
| 2. Growth of civil society inside. | 2. Intense hostility towards other nations and internal wars. |
| 3. Growth of equality—economic, social and political, etc. | 3. Exploitation, conquest, etc., of one nation by another. |

Let us look at our task in this perspective. Two of our great teachers and leaders—Tagore and Gandhi—have given us a vision of nationalism that is based on that “unity of spirit” which makes of the entire human race one single nation of man. But first let us examine the realities of the present situation.

II

Building the National Community

FROM WHAT I have said, you will appreciate that nearly everybody today wants India to be a nation.

We are all conscious of the fact that a great task, a great challenge is facing everyone of us as citizens of free India. The task is to rebuild this country, our country. How do we do it? What should be the basic principles and ideals that should guide us in this task of national reconstruction?

We have several political parties in our country. Each one of them has put forward its own framework within which it wants to accomplish this task of nation-building or national reconstruction—not only the making of a nation but the remaking of Indian society. There is the ruling party, the Congress Party, which has set before it the goal of Socialism. There are other parties in the field, who also speak of Socialism as being the goal that they too have set for themselves and for the country, such as the Praja Socialist Party, the Socialist Party, and other smaller socialist groups. There is the new party, the Swatantra Party, which speaks in terms of free enterprise. The Communist Party speaks in terms of a Communist society—they would also like to call it a Socialist society; their ultimate aim nevertheless remains Communism as they

understand it. And there are other parties. There is a party which speaks in terms of a Hindu Rashtra and, when it is challenged, it withdraws from that proposition and brings forward the concept of the Bharatiya Rashtra. Well, that does not explain things very much. However, each party has its own economic, political, social and cultural programmes.

The question that I wish to raise here is: are these various plans for reconstructing India satisfactory? Do they start from the right promise? Are they making the right sort of approach, and are they going to the very basic foundations of society, at least Indian society, Indian history, Indian culture, Indian life? I am not proposing to enter into a criticism of all these various ideologies which are contending for supremacy. I only want to share my thoughts on the subject with you.

First of all, I do wish to affirm—not dogmatically but strongly—that human evolution, the evolution of human society rather, has now reached a stage where it is possible to give a conscious and purposive direction to the trend of evolution. There are many people who think that there is some such thing as a social force, a historical force beyond the wills of individuals or groups of individuals, which is at work and will work inexorably in the direction in which it wants to go. For instance, in India most educated persons would argue with a man like me: “Well, this is the age of science and technology, and science and technology will insist on following their own course. You may regret it, you may lament it, but it is something like the force of nature. Nothing can be done about it.”

Even the Marxists, who pride themselves upon being scientific, claim that there is a kind of determinism in history; that there were certain stages through which history passed and they were necessary, inevitable stages set for human society. The present stage of Capitalism, free enterprise, whatever you wish to call it, is bound to pass and the stage of Communism is bound to arrive. We have merely to recognise the forces that are at work and help them to become a part of this process. There is no sense in opposing those forces. You must have seen the declaration of the Twenty-second Congress of the Russian Communist Party, which proclaimed that Communism was inevitable. It is a kind of religious faith. It might have arrived at the result, the conclusion, in a scientific manner. I do not know. So far, I have not been able to discover that scientific method by which these conclusions are reached. More appealing to me is the thought developed by Julian Huxley in his beautiful new book, *Introduction to the Human Frame* (London). Huxley says there that there have been two critical points in the past of evolution; by critical point he means a point at which there was a transformation of an order, which brought forth something entirely different from that which existed before, introduced an entirely new, original element. The first was marked by the passage from the inorganic phase to the biological—he is referring here to the birth of life. In the period before this, there was no life and suddenly life appeared from somewhere, nobody has been able to understand from where. The evolutionary process from the inorganic to the organic

has not been discovered yet; I hope it will be discovered some time in the near future. The second stage, the second critical point, was marked by the evolution from the biological to the psycho-social, which in common parlance you may call "the birth of consciousness". Animal life was there before, but animal life was not conscious. There was no consciousness.

Now, he says, we are on the threshold of a third stage in the evolutionary process. And he puts it in this way: Just as the bubbles in a cauldron on the boil mark the onset of a critical passage from the liquid to the gaseous state, so the evolution of humanist ideas in the cauldron of the present day world marks the onset of the passage from the psycho-social to the consciously purposive phase of evolution. This stage has been arrived at on account of the accumulation of knowledge and in the last few years there has been a fantastic growth of knowledge in the social sciences. Facts accumulated and related, when systematised, can throw tremendous light on the understanding of human society and its working and together they place in the hands of man certain details which he can effectively use to shape his own destiny. Huxley calls this the evolutionary process itself becoming conscious of itself. Well, this is a very encouraging statement, coming from one of the most famous biological scientists of the present-day world and also one of the greatest humanists. This strengthens my own faith that, if we made a conscious effort and were clear about our purpose, it should be possible for us to achieve the goals that we set before

us. Obviously, we would have to take into account existing facts, but taking them into account we can build a system which would be quite different from anything we have seen before.

Now, if you consider the political ideologies obtaining in India today, you would find that somehow one who is called the Father of the Nation is completely missing from all of them. You do not find him in any of the political statements of policies or programmes which the various parties have made from time to time. It is as if Gandhiji never existed, or, if he existed, that his sole utility lay in securing the Independence of India, and that, once he had done that, his task was finished. I am not suggesting that there should be a Gandhian Political Party, and I am not indulging in just sentiment. But I am saying that those who are in the political field, particularly those who claim to have been influenced by him, who worked with him, learnt from him, sat at his feet, should give some sign that they do recognise that Gandhiji is still relevant. And he is, indeed, very relevant to this very question of what kind of India we build. Undoubtedly, in the Third Five Year Plan there is an allotment of a few crores of rupees for the promotion of the patronage of khadi and village industries. You might say that in that whole plan that is perhaps the one concession made to what Gandhiji thought, did or said. I do not wish to apologise for bringing him here, because, as I said, to me he is very relevant to my theme—how, in what pattern we should mould, we should build, our country.

Every society throughout history has cherished certain values of life which it believed in, which it tried to practise. Undoubtedly, in the historical process these values have gone through phases of transformation. Now, for a person of my way of thinking, the basic thing in social reconstruction, social engineering, is this very question of values. India has a long history and, as a result of our historical experience of thousands of years, we have developed a certain system of values. Whether we practise them today or not, I think most of us, not only in the villages but also in cities like Bombay, would still accept them as ideals. Perhaps what I am going to say next would appear to be trite, because it has been said so often. It is like the profession of truth, which is not a trifling thing. It is common, everyone talks about it, but that does not make it unimportant. I think the most characteristic and most important value that Indian society has developed is the value of, shall we call it, spirituality.

In December 1961, on the birthday of President Rajendra Prasad, there was a rally of the Shanti Sena in New Delhi, which was addressed by the Prime Minister among others. Perhaps as a sort of corrective to those of us in this country who in season and out of season speak of Indian spirituality, Mr. Nehru said that there are people in our country who pride themselves on belonging to a spiritual tradition; but where he asked, is this spirituality today in our country? Perhaps Western European society, perhaps certain other societies, he went on to reflect, have far more

spirituality in them than we have in our country at present.

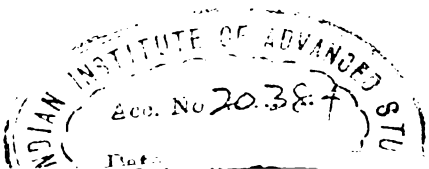
I do not wish to quarrel with him over that remark. It is perhaps true. Having said that, I must also emphatically say that, no matter how low we might have fallen in the spiritual scale, if there is anything that will inspire an Indian heart more than any other thing, it is the spiritual values of life. You can make an appeal in the name of the spiritual values to the illiterate peasant as well as to the most accomplished scholar in this country. There may be exception, but by and large respect for them still exists.

It was Vinoba Bhave who in one of his speeches let fall a remark that has caught the imagination of the Prime Minister. Mr. Nehru has repeated it from innumerable platforms. Vinoba Bhave said that this was the age of spirituality and science. The traditional religions with their insistence on faiths and creeds, on outward forms in a complex of rituals, observances, customs and manners have had their day. Politics, partisan and party-ridden, with its mesh of manoeuvres and intrigues, had shrunk to insignificance in the face of the great challenge of our times. Three years ago, I think, the Prime Minister presiding over or inaugurating the birth centenary of our great scientist, Jagadish Chandra Bose, at Calcutta observed that, if science were not brought under the control of spirituality, if science were not subordinated to spirituality, science would become a danger to the human race. This is not a contention which can be argued about. It is a basic truth.

Out of science itself, no system or philosophy can

emerge for the control of science. Science gives no clues about how to build such a system, does not tell us how best we can use its discoveries. Mr. Nehru whom many people think to be a naturalist or a nationalist or a materialist, whose aversion to references to our spiritual tradition I have just mentioned, has given here the final, effective answer to those who would pose a contradiction between science and spirituality. There is no such contradiction. Science and spirituality complement one another and need each other. Each has its own relevance and its own validity. The apparent contradiction exists only because the two have drifted wide apart and each tried to ignore the other. Nor is it true to say that spirituality is incapable of providing the answers which science cannot be expected to give—that is, a system or philosophy for the control of science.

In all Indian concepts of life, it might be said that integrated development of the human individual is the ultimate goal. It is not that the social good has completely been neglected, but the social good has always received far lower importance than individual salvation. But today, we know that every individual has a double life. He has a life as an individual by himself; apart from his wife, from his children, from the members of his family; apart from the community in which he lives; apart from the job that he does; apart from everything else. Just the individual by himself, and he has to live that life. Nobody else can live it for him, he has to live it, and he has to find out how to live it best. And the Indian answer to that, not only the Hindu but the Indian answer to that is that the individual's life is the



fulfilment of a spiritual quest, which means discovery of life, self-realisation or whatever name you wish to give it.

The individual has also a life in society; he has to live with others; being a human being he cannot live separately. Unfortunately, in our days of decline, the individual's life and his interests came to the forefront and the individual as a member of society was forgotten. For the individual the answer is spiritual search, trying to understand himself and there have been various paths suggested and still people are discovering—we have, for instance, Ramana Maharshi, Aurobindo and Krishnamurti, we have others, in other lands. In all these, the assertion is that the individual human being is not just an animal; that there is something more to him than just animality. What that more is, he has to discover and in that discovery lies his ultimate fulfilment. But what about society? I am not going to speak about that, because I am not competent to speak about it. I shall content myself with saying that no matter what kind of social organisation we build up,—political, economic or otherwise—that organisation should make it possible for the individual to pursue this spiritual search. If the individual is involved in a rat race, keeping up with the Joneses, he has no time for anything else from morning to midnight. Well, as Western social thinkers are discovering, an individual like that has, may be, three-fourths of his life, as un-lived life. It was not the case with the Indian concept of life, which has always been that of a whole life, a good life; material well-being was not forgotten. It was

given its place, but it was also put in its place, in its proper place, as a part of a whole.

The Indian ideal of life is expressed by the four concepts: *Artha*, *Dharma*, *Kama*, *Moksha*. As everyone knows, they designate the wholeness of life. *Artha*: we must win our bread; *Kama*: we must seek pleasure and achieve it. There must be *Dharma*. All this pursuit of *Artha* and *Kama* must be within the context of social responsibility. If the individual is also spiritually evolving, is trying to find himself and understand himself, a stage with humanity, which transcends the temporal characteristics of man. This is the stage of *Moksha*. The individual will discover the unity of spirit when he begins to identify himself with others. If I were to give you a rather mundane definition of the spiritual advancement of the individual, I would say that, the more he identifies himself with larger and larger numbers of people the more spiritually advanced he is. He wants to identify himself with his family—everyone more or less does, unless he is abnormal; he identifies himself next may be with the community—the village in which he lives, the community where he lives; then he may identify himself with his State, may be with his nation, with his country and ultimately with the whole world. This is spiritual realisation. It comes as a result of the fact that the individual sees himself in others in essence in spite of temporal differences.

In the same way, if I were to redefine *Dharma* today, I would redefine it in the sense of the identification of the individual with other human beings, an ever-

expanding area of human beings, till we identify ourselves with the entire human community—the world community of human beings—and we become world citizens.

How do these spiritual values of life govern or how should they govern the development and reconstruction of society? In the development of human society—as in the development of the individual, so in the development of the social organisation, in the tasks of social engineering, in the building of a factory or in carrying on your medical profession or legal profession, doing your teaching or doing business, in every walk of life—it is this value of spirituality that has to be placed in the position of control. The entire development of society should be within or under the control of spiritual values. Material values are also important—we must have our bread to eat. But the bread must be not only for us; it must be also for others. If we are concerned with our own bread, then that is materialism. If we are concerned with other people's bread, then that is spiritualism.

I think we should achieve in our country a synthesis of these basic spiritual values, which we have inherited from our forefathers, and science—a synthesis between science and spirituality. There is no other country in the world which is perhaps more fitted to do this. I am not a chauvinist, I am not even a nationalist in the ordinary sense of the term. I am not patting myself or all of you on the back, but it is a conviction with me, as far as I have been able to understand the message of Indian culture. We must marry science with spiri-

tuality, with those values that have been handed down to us by our forefathers.

Now this is easier said than done; but the difficulties, in the way are not insurmountable. If there are differences amongst us they may be on account of misunderstanding about spirituality and what it means. Spirituality as applied to life, as applied to an individual living in a society and not to an individual living only by himself, means, according to the definition that I have given you, identification of oneself with an ever-widening circle of human beings. This has, of course, to be spelt out in greater detail, and having done that, we have to discover, as a matter of social engineering, to apply it to the mundane tasks of life.

I think it would be better if I mention some of the spiritual values. There would be no disagreement with me when I say that one spiritual value is human freedom. A society which denies man, his freedom in truth denies his humanity, because if the freedom of the spirit is taken away then man becomes only an animal. I have emphasised the value of identification, which, if you use Gandhian terminology, you might call love. I suppose everyone would agree that the aims of society, no matter what its organisation, is to enable every individual to develop himself and his personality to the fullest extent. That would also be a spiritual value. Take this idea of the wholeness of life that I put before you: If you consider existing societies in Western countries, including Russia, you will find that all are producing more goods, not because their standard of life is rising rapidly, but because it seems to us that

these pursuits have become more or less the overriding pursuits and other aspects of human life have been subordinated to them. Now how do we apply these values to our life? Man has to live with others. There are vast numbers of people living in Bombay, in Calcutta, in Tokyo, in New York. In all the big cities expansion is the order of the day, and one of the things that I am often told, even by my close friends, is that the process of expansion is an inexorable process, you cannot control the growth of the existing cities, they will go on growing and there will be more cities. Well, I think that for the development of the spiritual life of man as well as for the proper development of social life, social institutions, social processes, social activities, something will have to be done about it. Whole books have been written on this subject in the West, as you well know. It is generally agreed that in this society there is fragmentation of personality, the whole man does not meet the whole, man meets in part other man in part, there is no community, there is no living together—millions of people might be living together, but in reality there is no living together. There is no sharing of life together. You meet a set of people in your office, you meet another set of people somewhere else; there is fragmentation of individuals, of human society. We have a mass of society which is very malleable in the hands of dictators whether they are democratic dictators or whether they are totalitarian. Americans pride themselves a good deal on being the protectors and defenders of the free world. I doubt very much whether the American, as an individual, is free in the real sense

of the term. Decisions for him, vital decisions, are made by others. He does not know it, he does not even realise how manipulators sitting far away from him are manipulating his life for him and making him do things which he thinks he is doing of his own free will.

Therefore, the first question that I would raise is that, if we are concerned about spiritual values, if we want the individual to live a whole life, then I would say that the best place for practising it would be the community in which the individual lives. In order to live a spiritual life, the process of love, give-and-take, co-operation, feeling for others, personal responsibility for others should be there. In a Welfare State, nobody is responsible for anybody. If the individual wants to live a spiritual life, he must live in comparatively small communities. These small communities need not be wholly agricultural or wholly industrial. There is a hankering in the human heart for close contact with mother earth, with nature. Man likes to have around him trees, animals, flowers, mountains, rivers, and to see the sky above his head. At the same time he wants the means to satisfy his material needs and to maintain a certain standard of life. Therefore, these small communities should be balanced communities: agricultural as well as industrial. How large and how small is a question about which there is no need to be dogmatic. Not too small, so that there is no scope for a variety of living and there is monotony as a result of smallness. Not too large, in which man is lost, is alienated from his fellow beings, then alienated from himself until the problems arise of un-lived lives, mental

cases and so on. Now fortunately for us, because I am speaking of all these in the context of our own country—far be it from me to preach to the Americans or the Russians—we have a large number of small communities—most of them villages, completely rural, backward communities, which are only physical communities, not spiritual communities, not social communities; some are townships, small townships, but in which life is lived very much as it is lived in the large cities—very much I say, not wholly. But at least we have the cell of these communities which gives us an opportunity to work upon them and to develop them into proper communities.

I do not know what can be done to a city like Bombay, so that there may be more community of living, more give-and-take, more moral responsibility, more opportunities for identification with others, for sharing of the joys and sorrows of life. It would be fantastic or absurd to suggest that there should be decentralisation of Bombay in the sense of dispersal of the population of Bombay; that just would not be possible. Nor do I think just at present it is possible for a city like Bombay to consciously control its growth. The kind of political hierarchy that we have today does not permit a community to decide for itself how large or how small it will be, what kind of industries it will permit to be built within itself and so on. We have not got real democracy, real people's democracy. I am not suggesting that the people of Bombay have to decide that they will not grow any further in terms of population, but even if you do decide, I do not think the decision would

rest only with you. There are other people who make up your minds and I do not think that in spite of our regard for Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, in spite of the Prime Minister speaking of spirituality and science as the only two truths which would own the earth, own civilisation tomorrow, I do not think in the near future anything positive could be done. May I suggest that even in a big city like Bombay, its size could be reduced at various levels until you reach manageable community proportion? You know, we have in our country this new political development called the "Panchayati Raj". Both Gujarat and Maharashtra have passed their Acts, which will be enforced now after a few months. In the "Panchayati Raj" you have three tiers, the lowest is the village level, the village tier, the village council, the village Panchayat; next comes the block tier, the block council, the block Panchayat; and then the district tier, the district council, the district Panchayat. I think this pattern could be reproduced in the city of Bombay, which probably would enable the citizens of this city to belong to one another in a little more realistic manner than by just having your names on the roll of the—whatever it is—voters' list or municipal list. That is, if the city could be broken up into small areas and we could have, on the analogy of the village councils and village Panchayats, nagar Panchayats, the people living in those areas could come together to run certain of their affairs, those of them at any rate as lend themselves to be efficiently handled in this way. The area Panchayat in a big city could become the active

centre of a human community. The area Panchayat could help to solve many urban problems which elude the Municipal Corporations of big cities. Take primary education, for instance. Primary education could be looked after by the community of parents living there. After all, it is their children who are going to be educated. The teachers are specialists who know how to run the schools and must be given perfect freedom to make changes in the system of education; it is not for the government to say anything about it. I wholly endorse Vinoba Bhave's stand that education should be completely free of government control, any kind of government control. Again, in a small community, it may be possible for a number of people sleeping on the footpaths of a city like Bombay to get proper housing and education. As you must have seen—and as any dignitary or V.I.P. from abroad who comes on a visit to India and takes a drive any midnight in Bombay city will find—thousands of people are living on the footpaths. My friend, Arthur Koestler, when he was here, said he was so disturbed at this sight, that he thought that some plague had stricken this city and people were lying dead in all kinds of postures—he is a bit of a dramatist and he dramatised the whole thing for me. And he asks, "Why can't something be done about it"? Now this task cannot be undertaken by the Municipal Corporation, it is a gigantic task. There is very little the Corporation can do quickly. It can do much eventually but immediately it cannot solve this problem. In a community, in a small community, where these people on the footpaths are not merely statistical

figures—in the city of Bombay there are 40,000 people living on the streets—but are real human beings, there can be a human bond established between the homeless and the man who has got a home. You might be able to do something for these people in a small community, something that the Bombay Municipal Corporation working from a distance, from an impersonal and abstract point of view, just cannot do. Somebody falls ill, well, what does the Municipal Corporation do about it? In a Welfare State, of course, there may be government schemes for employees, but nothing for the man on the street. Now here in this small community, it is possible to give medical aid to the poorest man, because it is a community whose members are charged with the responsibility of looking after one another, all looking after each and each looking after all. It is possible to come together and do something about the poor who cannot afford to go to the doctor. May be there is a doctor in the community who can do something about it. And flowing out of this small endeavour the corporation may be moved to action.

The whole character, the quality, of life in Bombay would then be transformed. Now these nagar Panchayats might be grouped together into block Panchayats and then Taluka Panchayats, or Taluka Councils. There may be tasks of a scale which the people in Taluka can manage with the resources that they have, with the portion of revenue that is allotted to them, because it must be allowed that they are part of the city, and then these Talukas when grouped together

into a sort of a pyramidal structure will form the Bombay District Panchayat, Bombay Nagar Zilla Parishad. As you know, this process is going on all the time in London which is a city made of so many cities, boroughs with their municipalities. Yugoslavia has done a great deal of work in bringing such communities into being. In urban societies as they exist among us, if you wished to live the good life, you just could not do it. You are living in a kind of abstract, inorganic atomised society which has no thought for spiritual values.

So much for the pattern of community organisation, so that there are communities in which spiritual values of which we have been taught could have a chance, could be expressed, could be lived. Naturally, these communities have to come together into larger and larger congregations or aggregations, until ultimately you have a world community.

These communities must have their political life, must have their economic life, political associations, medical associations, cultural associations etc., and in trying to devise these institutions, we should be able to build this Indian society. I am not saying we do not have to take account of science and technology. That you can say would be a sort of imperative. I mean even if we wish not to accept science in the first place, we just could not do it. Few would agree in this country with anyone who would say "let us forget science, forget technology, what do we have to do with technology, the spinning wheel is enough for us." This

kind of thinking would be wrong. But science and technology must be subordinated to this pattern of social life, to these values. There is always a debate going on as to what extent modern technology should be decentralised. Well, I am not going into that discussion now, but I would like to assert that, if there were a will, may be 80 per cent of modern technology could be decentralised, could be given a scale which, if too big for the village, was not too big for the Taluka, and if too big for the Taluka, was not too big for the District and if we followed the pattern that I have in mind of industrial development of this country, 80 per cent of the industries would be of a scale for which a larger the village and district level, and may be 20 per cent would be of a scale for which a larger area like a whole State, like the Maharashtra State, for example, might be needed. There might yet be a few industries for which the whole nation's resources might be required, but they would be very few. Now everyone of us when he talks of industrialisation and at the same time of human values, the spiritual values, should consider the masses, consider the role of all those who are participating in this economic organisation, the worker and the manager and the people in between, the technicians, the clerks, the salesmen, other people who are there to run this thing. Now if you make man do things mechanically without understanding its implications, without understanding its purpose, without his being able to realise his own worth, without being able to relate his own work to any larger whole, you reduce

man to a machine. If you make a spiritual approach again, you do not make man a machine, you do not subordinate man to the machine, but you subordinate the machine to man. Everyone talks about it from the Prime Minister downwards, but what is actually happening today, even before our very eyes, is that man is being subordinated to the machine. The machine is dictating.

I hope I have given you some indication, at least I have tried to give some idea, of what I mean when I talk of this synthesis which has to be achieved and which has not been achieved anywhere—the Christian values of life and the values of industrial society which are un-Christian are at war with one another. You will find writers in the West frankly saying that the Christian values cannot be practised in modern industrial society, in this modern atomic age. Well, there is something terribly wrong with this way of thinking. We do not want in this country to reach such a state. And as I told you, I believe we can achieve these values provided we are agreed that this has to be done. If we are agreed that this has to be done, then the next task is to find how to do it. You may disagree with what I have stated regarding the latter, but you have first to agree that this has got to be done. Probably we can learn from another. There should be continuous public debate in this connection as to how to do it, but there has got to be an agreement that this has to be done. If the elite, the intelligentsia, no matter from what walk of life drawn, political, cultural, industrial and other, is

agreed that this has to be done, I have not the least doubt that we will be able to do it, and then probably we will rediscover Gandhiji, whom we have lost today, whom we do not see anywhere, neither in the Third Five Year Plan nor in the socialistic pattern of society nor in the other programmes that have been placed before us.

India in the World Community

WE HAVE LOOKED at the modern concept of the "nation", noted its good points and marked its shortcomings. I have tried to put before you some broad ideas regarding the essentials of our country's growth, the special challenge to Indians presented by the gains in knowledge and skills of the modern world and their attendant problems, and the aptly opportune present which calls for the assimilation of old tradition and new knowledge. In all that I have said, there is an emerging picture of what India's external relations, in my thinking, should be. For a country's external relations depend—it is but natural—very much on the internal policy of the government; foreign policy is but an extension of domestic policy.

If we are careful in building up our nation, we must keep in mind that nations are just creations of history and are sometimes fortuitous; that India (Bharat) is one and that in fact the human race is one in spite of differences of colour and creed and we all share a common humanity; and that the ideals which governed Indian society to a considerable extent through the centuries, the belief that the spiritual unity of mind transcends all differences, has, and will continue to have, current validity. With a society

reconstructed on these lines where the spiritual values will govern all other values of life, it is quite obvious what relations India will have and strive for with the world.

How we should actually establish this relationship is not an easy question to answer. Much would depend, naturally, on the success of our efforts to follow the ideals I have mentioned. Our whole concept of the whole world as one community would be meaningless, if we fail in our own country to carry out in practice the ideals that we have set before us. I agree that we have taken considerable strides towards national reconstruction but we have achieved much less in the matter of all the sciences including the social sciences. I am afraid that, in spite of the legacy that Gandhiji and other great leaders, of the modern age as well as the ancient age, have left us, we are developing into a nation in the modern sense of the term.

The concept of the brotherhood of man has roused great expectations from the people and, since the Communists held this out as their ideal and objective, these expectations came to be attached to them. But their concept of brotherhood was a very limited one. Whatever the idealistic interpretation, whatever has been propagated internationally, the Communists have not even tried to live up to the ideal in their own societies. Russia has become as much a nation as the U.S. or West Germany or France. And, in spite of our looking upon Gandhiji as the Father of our Nation, there seems to be no doubt that we are follow-

ing today a different set of ideals from those which I had placed before you.

Therefore, in considering India's relations with the world and India's place in the world community, we have first to look back and look inside and around us, and try to set things right to the extent to which each one of us can do collectively or individually.

The second point, which I wish to place before you, is this: that normally when anyone talks of a country's relations with other countries, one knows of the particular country and its relations with other countries. I am a democrat, as I am sure all of you are, and in my concept of democracy, while there is a place for the government—an important place, it does not permit assuming control over our social and cultural life. Therefore, for me, the problem of India's relationship with the world is twofold: (1) the Government of India's relationship with other governments and (2) the relationship of the people of India with other peoples—peoples all around us, people of Pakistan, people of China (with whom we have at present a sort of unpleasant relationship), as with people throughout the world.

I think we would be quite justified in taking the first point first. We congratulate ourselves on the fact that our Government has followed, by and large, a policy of friendship with everyone, a policy of goodwill towards all, and, if there is goodwill and friendship, naturally there will be peace, because peace stems from goodwill and friendliness. However, I do not think in our relations with others, the Govern-

ment has been as truthful as it should have been. Probably, it is not possible for governments to be truthful. Gandhiji said that India's relations with other countries should be based on truth, which is even more important than peace. Peace should flow out of truth. I think sometimes we have shut our eyes to the truth. Sometimes, the Government of India has actually indulged in untruth. The Government of India's policy with regard to Hungary and Tibet was based on untruth. Whether it was necessary for the Government to do so, what all the conditions were in which a particular policy or statement was made, I cannot say.

Following this policy of friendship and goodwill, we have naturally been aloof from power blocs. What else can you be if you want to be friends with everyone? If you are liked by one, you will have estranged the other. I have all the time been an ardent advocate and supporter of the policy of non-alignment. Whenever I felt that the Government of India had deviated from that, I reluctantly raised my voice as a citizen of this country. I must say I am happy that on the issue of Hungary there was a certain modification later on. I am not suggesting that it was based on my statement. There were obviously other forces which exercised considerable influence on Indian foreign policy. But I am pained by the fact that, even though we have much more information than we had a few years back about what happened in Tibet, our policy still remains the same; even though our agreement with China has lapsed and no obligation

exists as a result of that agreement, with regard to China's doings, China's actions, India is following the same policy. We have been untruthful to the extent that we have not the courage to say that China has committed aggression and thus violated sacred human rights. The Government's declaration has been that China is not a member of the U.N., but that does not absolve any nation from the duties devolving upon it.

As far as Government's policies are concerned, there would be quite a number of men here this evening who can examine critically the foreign policy that has been implemented in the last few years. I pointed out instances when in principle we had deviated from the basic policy that we had set for ourselves. But I would like to make one point in this connection. I had related to you briefly the day before Gandhiji's concept of communion in which the whole human race is made of concentric circles of larger and larger communities with the individual in the centre and the circles around him—a state community, a national community, and, finally, a world community—which he described as the oceanic circles. Now, if we wish to put that ideal into practice, it is not possible to jump over the various stages of integration of communities, neglect the intermediate stages and go to the ultimate or the higher stage. What I mean is this: if ultimately the world has to become one community, this process of integration must be the same kind of process which you see started when a stone is thrown into a pond, namely, the concentric circle

formed by the stone in the centre of the pond integrates with the circle next to it and so on, till the last circle is reached at the edge of the pond. Now India cannot think of a world community, unless this principle has been first extended to the neighbours of India. There must be concentric circles closer to India. Unfortunately, our relations with China are at a stage where just now it does not seem to be a practical proposition to speak of concentric circles which include China also.

There are several countries around us—South-East Asian countries and North-East Asian countries—with whom we should come closer. Recently there was a conference of economists from Asian countries in New Delhi, but I would advocate a much more active process through which India could bind herself with the neighbouring countries through ties far more close than they are today. We belong to the British Commonwealth of nations. At one time I was an ardent opponent of the Commonwealth, but I am no longer so. Here we have members as far flung as Canada and Australia. But around us we do not have any sort of association of nations. This is not a natural process. The natural process is a kind of association with the nations around us and that association expanding again till we have an entire world community.

The nation, as I said, was a stage in the integration of the human community; first came the local community, then the parochial community and after that the national community. Integration should pro-

ceed further. Naturally integration should first proceed around us. There is an association of South-East Asian countries. That smacks of a kind of power-bloc and not the kind of association I have in mind. Our Government should take the lead in forming the right type of association of Asian States.

This is one point I wish to make about the Government's policies, but I think in this sphere we, the people of India, independently of the Government, can also do something—businessmen, questionable as their motives often are, can still help in the process of integration of nations; cultural organisations, schools, universities, all can help in the development of this kind of association.

I think more of us from this country go to Europe or the United States than to Burma, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Indonesia or Thailand. Perhaps these countries are not in a position to give us what we go to Europe and America for, namely, technical education, machinery, finance, or other things. But if the citizens in India are conscious of their duties, and do not leave it to Mr. Nehru alone to conduct all their external relations with the neighbouring countries, there would be a conscientious, deliberate attempt to establish closer relations of every kind. In the Universities courses could be started for different languages, in Burmese for instance, in Pushtu for instance, and also in other Asian languages. Why should we only learn German or French? We should learn the languages of our neighbouring countries also, in order to cultivate friendship and closer ties with our neighbours.

As far as the Government is concerned, I wish to make another point. But I am afraid this point may be rather unpopular—at least with the citizens of Bombay. I am doing this even so, because I wish to hang what I have to say about the Government's policy on this peg. I want to refer to our recent action in Goa. India is wedded to the policy of peace. And Prime Minister Nehru has been for the past many years, since taking over his office, preaching this message to the world, and, whenever there has been a conflict between two nations, he has rushed to mediate, to conciliate; and his voice has always been sounded in favour of commonsense, in favour of humanity, in favour of peace. True that after independence fourteen years had gone by and we had not been able to do anything about Goa, and Portugal was not prepared to discuss this question with the Government of India.

All this is true. As I said earlier in a statement to the press, if you look at the question from the point of view of the ruling ethics of the present-day nations there was nothing wrong in what the Government of India did. Applying that yardstick to this situation, force was never more justified than in Goa. Unfortunately, only that portion of my statement was lifted and publicised in the press while the rest of the statement was blacked out. The nations of the world have created an organisation, the United Nations, which has been trying to change the scale of values on which nations had so far based their foreign policy. The very charter of the United Nations declares that the

member nations, whatever be their own mutual quarrels, should never go to war with one another, but solve all their quarrels by peaceful means. Otherwise, there can be no rationale behind the formation of the United Nations. If nations do not even at this stage agree among themselves to eschew violence for the settlement of any dispute that might arise between them, what is the sense of forming the United Nations?

I am not bringing the point that the Government of India has not accepted Gandhiji's non-violent principles absolutely. No Government in the modern world can do so. But the Government of India is committed to a policy of peace as a member of the United Nations, as it had signed the charter. I do not know who signed it, on behalf of India. Whoever did it, it was an agreement to abide by the declaration that we shall keep the peace amongst ourselves. In addition to that, our own Prime Minister has been talking peace to everyone in the world, to every government in the world. And then to go and commit a breach of the peace ourselves. No matter what the justification, what the provocation, how can this be done by a peaceful country? Every nation will have its own problems and justification for a breach of the peace could be found when there is a war, but that is not the point. Though I have every respect for our Prime Minister, I do not agree with him sometimes, as I have a right to do. When I have some disagreement with him, I have said so clearly, boldly. Love requires that when our friend errs, we should speak out.

Now friends, I was going to say with all respect to our Prime Minister, that this single act has brought down India and brought down the Prime Minister in the esteem of the world as nothing else had done, and our reputation and the Prime Minister's has suffered an irreparable loss. You might ask what is the solution? I have no solution.

The elections are over and, therefore, nobody is going to be embarrassed. There is something to be said for the joy that gladdens our heart at the thought that a small bit of land under a foreign power was united to our country, but look at the price we paid for it! And I am saying deliberately that the price was not worth it! And this single act has made it many times more difficult for our country and our Government to be one of the architects of world peace. Our tools I think have been blunted, to put it at the least. Through non-violence we were able to humble a giant like the British empire, while with a pigmy like Portugal non-violence failed.

Last but not least, as far as the Government's policy is concerned, we are involved in two situations of international conflict: one is with Pakistan, the other with China. I have no ready-made solution. But, even if I am misunderstood I do not mind, I wish to say that India's foreign policy, our professions of peace and goodwill, our professions of one world community, are all on trial in this sphere of Indo-Pakistan conflict.

I am very happy that the invitation to President Ayub Khan has been renewed. I hope he visits us

and before he leaves the whole work would be done and the way cleared to sign a treaty regarding Kashmir. I do not think that any kind of international settlement can be arrived at which will favour only our viewpoint. We must be mature enough to settle our differences on a give-and-take basis. Vinoba Bhave has often said that problems like the Kashmir issue, the Indo-Pakistan issue, can be solved only on the basis of some kind of a federation. In fact, I have pleaded with my fellow citizens to help to create a climate in which a settlement could be brought about between India and Pakistan, knowing that it has to be on the basis of give-and-take. It was wrong to have gone to the United Nations to settle this dispute, which involved it in more complications, and the only basis on which we should have settled the dispute is the wider basis of India and Pakistan coming together for solving their differences. I have no specific proposals to make.

Prime Minister Nehru said the same thing of China, that the utmost effort would be made to settle the boundary dispute. I have to make a suggestion in that regard also. If the facts that the Government has placed before the country are true, and I have no reason to think that they are not true, then I believe that the areas we claim are our areas and I am not in any doubt about it. China on the other hand, thinks that these are China's areas. China has not for once said that she is occupying other people's territories. Both India and China lay claims to the land. China says she has not committed aggression and from

her point of view she may be right. I say at least we could make an effort as an earnest of our goodwill to find some impartial judges or arbitrators in whom both of us have trust and refer this boundary issue to them. Many countries such as America and Canada have solved their boundary disputes in such a manner. This will not be the first time that this is done. You might ask, how can there be arbitration about aggression. We are sure about our case, are not we? Therefore, what is the fear? It is the client who has got the weak case who is afraid of the judge. We have nothing to fear. The question of finding the right kind of judge, who can be trusted to give an impartial judgment on the basis of the facts, is not so difficult, even though the world is so divided today.

I should like to emphasise the importance of the people's role and responsibility in this sphere. Voluntary organisations can do a great deal to help guard peace and facilitate the creation of a one world community, in which we all believe. As I said earlier, one of the forces which led to the creation of a modern State was the Industrial Revolution, and behind that revolution was a certain type of technological development. I also said that now we have reached a stage of technological development for which national boundaries are not necessary. As a matter of fact, they have become barriers. I am absolutely certain that it is this technological revolution which has caused countries which have lost their empires and countries which have even been truncated like Germany, to

achieve fantastic economic development. A major obstacle in the creation of a one world community is that even now one nation sometimes wants to exploit another nation.

Now, what can we as citizens do to bring about this development? Remember there is a "Shanti Sena". It is a negligible force of Shanti, peace in this country. But suppose, citizens of India, millions of them, felt that they have a stake in world peace, that it was their duty as human beings to help other human beings and swell the "Shanti Sena" into a big force, then things would be different. A large force of peace-makers or peace-lovers would be a direct contribution towards world peace.

There are peace-makers and peace-lovers — Mr. Khrushchev is also a peace-maker. Supposing all peace-makers form one world peace brigade, which will be the people's brigade, and supposing in this people's brigade volunteers come from all over the world—from China, Rhodesia, South Africa, Kashmir etc.—and take a hand in the settlement of disputes, do you not think that that could be the introduction of a new dimension of internationalism created by the people themselves? As a peace-loving country, we Indians should go for it, as we are responsible citizens not only of India but of the whole world, for India is a limb of the world—I say a limb because it is a living part of the body, it co-operates with other parts and helps to circulate blood through the entire system.

As a front-ranking student in an undergraduate class, Jayaprakash Narayan walked away from college at the call of Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. He then spent seven years in American universities, when he dishwashed and worked as a labourer in fields and factories to pay for his education. Then the return to India as a full-fledged convert to Marxism; the plunge into the nationalist struggle and imprisonment; the founding of the Congress Socialist Party and abortive co-operation with Communists; arrest shortly after the start of the Second World War and a month-long fast while in detention; the scaling of prison walls after the start of Quit India struggle in 1942 and leadership of the underground fighters for freedom; the organisation of the Socialist Party and separation from the Congress on the achievement of Independence; the merger with another party to found the Praja Socialist Party after the first general elections; the declining of an invitation from Prime Minister Nehru to join the government; a tour of the remotest corners of India in connection with the *Bhoodan* movement, started by Vinoba Bhave; the announcement of *Jeevandan* for the cause of *Sarvodaya* the political philosophy propounded by Mahatma Gandhi, followed by complete withdrawal from the field of party and power politics, though not from all participation in public affairs—all these show that in the world of action Jayaprakash Narayan has hardly had a dull moment. And nobody knows what the future has in store for him.