UNDERSTANDING INDIA

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G. L. MEHTA

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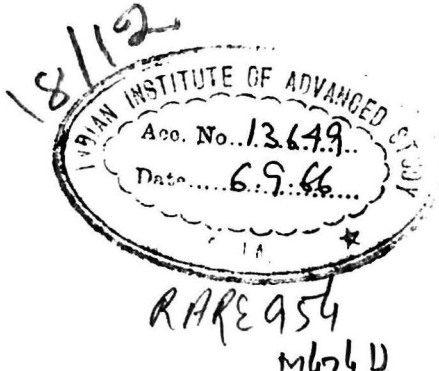

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To
my daughters
NILANJANA
UMA
and
APARNA
with love

FOREWORD

DURING MY STAY in the United States as head of the mission for more than five and a half years, I had the opportunity of addressing several audiences all over the country. Many of the speeches were extempore but several were prepared. It was suggested to me by many American and Indian friends that these speeches should be published in a book so as to make available some material which interprets Indian thought, puts forward India's attitude in world affairs and explains India's economic problems and plans. Despite the topical nature of some of these speeches as also the fact that political and economic conditions have changed in many ways both in India and abroad since these speeches were made, I have thought it worth while publishing them as they might be of some value in making India a little more understood outside. The senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs to whom I mentioned this idea whole-heartedly approved of it.

I am not a scholar or an economist and claim to be no more than a student of public affairs. These speeches although delivered in an official capacity were meant to tell the West what one Indian thinks and feels. They seek to provide some insight into India's mind, some knowledge of India's efforts, ambitions and achievements. It is for others to judge how far I have succeeded in this objective. All I can say is that I honestly tried to interpret India to American audiences because I felt and feel that cordial relationship between peoples demands understanding and understanding is promoted by light, not heat.

The reader, I trust, will overlook some repetitions in the speeches despite such weeding as was possible and will appreciate that they were made at different places and at different times to various kinds of audiences.

I should like to express my gratitude to Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Bombay, for permission to quote from Rabindra-

nath Tagore's *Gitanjali*; and to Messrs. Kitabistan, Ltd., Allahabad, for permission to quote from *The Sceptred Flute* by Sarojini Naidu.

GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

Bombay
30th April 1959

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THE SPIRIT OF INDIA

THE SPIRIT OF INDIA*

AFTER 5000 YEARS and more of recorded history, India survives, India endures. She has a civilization which goes back to centuries, contemporaneous with the earliest civilizations of China and Egypt, preceding the civilizations of Greece and Rome. This civilization still survives in India, as you can see any morning, even on a wintry day—thousands of men and women, poorly clad in tattered garments, going for a bath in a holy river. I remember one occasion on which I saw women, bare-footed, with not even a woollen shawl over them, going with a little brass utensil in hand for a bath in the holy Ganges. And I said to myself, this is real India; not the people whom you see in cocktail parties in Bombay and Calcutta and Delhi, not the people whom you see in fashionable clubs and hotels, but these people who are simple, humble people, and about whose spirit I hope to say something to you.

This India survives in its temples, in its architecture, and sculptures, in its epics and its lores. One of the great epics of India is Ramayana, the story of the king Rama, an incarnation of God Vishnu, who conquered evil and destroyed a demon. The original text of Ramayana is in Sanskrit, our ancient language, but it has been translated in Hindi, our national language, by poet Tulsi Das ; and although the story is known to every Hindu from his childhood, its recitation still fills one with some kind of deep ecstasy. Indeed, this is one of the stories, one of the epics, which mothers tell their children, and those children, even if they do not know how to read or write, know these epics, as the earlier generations knew them by heart.

This India, with its religious and cultural heritage, is still there, while other civilizations have perished, and modern civilizations have come into being. And one asks, are there some enduring values in this India ? And has this India got

* A talk given at the Vedanta Society of New York on January 12, 1954.

something to contribute to the world, in the realm of thought, in the realm of contemplation ?

Now, when one speaks about the spirit of a country, one is apt to be somewhat superficial in generalising ; one is apt even to take up an attitude akin to that of national arrogance or racial pride. It is often said that each nation has some peculiar characteristic ; some nation is proficient in music, some in poetry, some in philosophy, and so on. But I believe that one should be very careful in making such generalisations, or even in speaking about "the spirit" of a country : firstly, because no culture grows in isolation ; throughout the ages, countries have borrowed from other lands, and their cultures have assimilated and adapted from other countries. Again, the evolution of a nation itself is a long-term process ; it is a process in which so many strands are there, so many strands of race and culture, and also of environment, of geographical and material conditions. Therefore, I think we must be cautious in speaking about the spirit of a country.

And, again, when we speak of the spirit of a country, we must not forget the fact that frequently, the spirit of a country is very different from its actual practices. We are all prone to compare the best in our own religion or the best in our own nation—what is preached, the spiritual teachings may be, the inspiring messages of our prophets—with what is worst in the practices of other peoples, or in the practices of other religions. We think of a fine saying of our prophet, and we quote it and say, well, this is Hinduism, or this is Christianity, or this is Islam. But, on the other hand, we forget that these messages of the prophets are translated day by day in practice by ordinary men and women, and we must not forget that even in this translation they lose something of their pristine purity.

Material conditions, again, affect these spiritual yearnings and aspirations. And, therefore, what I am going to say about the spirit of India should not be construed as putting a glowing picture before you. And yet the spirit of a country, even if it frequently eludes us, is always superior to its institutions. Somehow or other it so happens that when men try to translate this spirit into institutions and customs and practices, some imponderable value is lost ; and, therefore, you will always find, whether in religion or in cultural

sphere, that the spirit is deeper than the institution. Consequently, some of the finest manifestations of a people are not in its military arts, not even in its social institutions, certainly not in its political conflicts but in its art and its philosophy, its religion, and its scientific pursuits.

At the outset, we may ask, then, is there something like a unity of India? It may sound an extraordinary question, but for years when we were under foreign rule, we were told that there is really nothing like "India", that India is simply "a geographical expression"; and that there is no inherent spiritual or cultural unity of India. But a British historian, Vincent Smith said, India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political superiority. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of community, language, dress, manners, and sect.

But if there is this unity of India, what are its main attributes, attributes at their best, and what is the vital contribution that she has made through centuries? I suggest that India's contribution has been principally in the realm of spiritual thought, of religion and philosophy. Ignorant as an illiterate Indian may appear by modern standards, he has, deep down in his being something which we might call a religious consciousness.

In India, there are many sects even in Hinduism, and there have been reformist movements which have preached against idol worship. Indeed, one characteristic of Indian reformist movements has been that they themselves have been religious in outlook and approach. Some of them have harked back to the ancient Vedas and urged that all the gloss of subsequent rituals and doctrines should be removed, and that we should go back to our ancient lore. Other movements contended that idol worship is not something that is in consonance with the essence of Hindu religion. Some of these movements were, no doubt, influenced by other religions. But I am reminded of the story of a man who belonged to that movement, Brahmo Samaj as it is called, concentrated mainly in Bengal, though it spread to some other parts of the country. A Brahmo believes that God is formless, and that any kind of temple where an image or idol is worshipped does not express the essence of

Hinduism. A person who believed in this cult, who was a highly cultured man, deeply read in Western philosophy, went to the temple in Benares, our holy city, and saw a poor woman coming out of the temple, tears flowing from her eyes, tears of joy at having at last visited the temple and bowed before the shrine of God Siva. And this man said to my father, "I do not believe in idol worship, but at least this woman had seen *her* God in that temple!"

And I remember another incident, in which one of the well-known amateur musicians of India, Dilip Kumar Roy, sang a beautiful song in Bengali and the words of that song were somewhat like this: "Those who do not know Him cannot understand, but I know You and, therefore, I believe in You, for I have seen You in the innermost recesses of my heart." It was a moving line though it loses its effect in translation. And I remember that when he sang it once in Calcutta, at least half-a-dozen women who were there burst into tears; may be, someone had suffered, someone had lost her dear one, someone had a sense of deep devotion. I mention these stray incidents to show you that deep down in the consciousness of the ordinary, unsophisticated Indian—man or woman—is a feeling which one can only describe as a kind of yearning of the spirit.

An important characteristic of the heritage of India is its synthetic outlook. India, in many respects, is like a vast ocean in which many streams of race and religion have flowed since times immemorial, and India has had the capacity of absorbing these varied strands, of assimilating them, instead of rejecting them. This has been so throughout the ages. Even centuries ago, people who were persecuted in other lands because of their religion, came over to India, and India gave them refuge. But it is not only a question of refuge. Systems of eclectic thought developed in India; systems of religion developed which tried to harmonise various creeds, which tried to distill the essence of religion from the mass of doctrines and from the gamut of rituals and ceremonies. And many of those people who came from abroad lost some of their fanatical zest, their zeal for conversion. They also settled down in India and imbibed something of that spirit of tolerance which is the essence of Hinduism at its best. Indeed,

so eclectic has Hinduism become that it is often difficult to define it or even to understand its essence. It has had so many sects, it has had so many deities that some people think it is a kind of polytheism full of superstitions and crude rituals. And yet it encompasses some of the most abstruse thought that the human mind has ever been capable of. All religions have their ceremonies and rituals which may appear irrational to others but a spiritual religion has a deeper meaning and significance. And in Hinduism, religion and philosophy co-exist.

Many illustrations can be given of this synthetic spirit. Sufism was influenced by this philosophy. One of the great sages of the Middle Ages, Kabir, preached and practised a religion which tried to combine the spirit of both Hinduism and Islam, and the great Muslim Emperor Akbar tried to evolve a religion in which he wanted to combine the best of several religions—he had even a Christian priest near him. And this Din-i-Ilahi, as it was called, was again a characteristic example of the climate of India influencing even kings.

At the root of this outlook is a belief in the supremacy of the spirit over matter. Such a thesis, no doubt, is liable to be misconstrued. But I shall cite here not the teachings of the sages or what is stated in the scriptures, but the attitude of the common man in the country. Even an ordinary illiterate peasant has almost a philosophical attitude about the transitoriness of life, about the reality of another world hereafter, about good deeds bearing their fruits in an after life, and even a certain spirit of resignation and renunciation. If an ordinary Indian—uneducated may be, but in many respects he probably represents the spirit of India better than we educated people—if he loses some dear one, say his only child, no doubt he will mourn, but still he will say "it is God's will." This spirit of resignation may appear at times something that leads to paralysis ; if you have flood, or famine, and you say "well, that is God's will" and will not take steps to see that you have better irrigation or do not take steps for conservation of soil, then that is not really "spiritual" ; it is pathetic contentment born of indolence and stagnation. But granted that this sort of complete resignation is not desirable, I suggest that the idea of the omnipotence of man,

the idea that man can do anything in this world, is also something that leaves some truth unsaid, something that needs to be qualified. Because, after all, there are things in life which not even the most powerful can control. One of the most materialistic philosophers I know, Bertrand Russell, says in one of his profound essays, *A Free Man's Worship*, that sooner or later in life, there comes the great renunciation, the knowledge that the world is not made for us, and that however desirable the things may be that we crave for, ultimately we cannot have them. Difficult as it is to realise in our egoism that the world is not made for us, still, I think, sooner or later we have to recognize that the world existed long before we were born and will continue long after we pass away. And, therefore, I feel that a certain spirit of renunciation is not only wise but is conducive to happiness, happiness born of inner harmony, not happiness which is simply based on material comforts.

And, because of this renunciation, there is an emphasis in Hindu thought, as in other religions, on sacrifice, on what we call *tyag*. Our *Geeta* says, "Renounce the world in order to enjoy it." And, again and again, we find this is a wise precept, that he who renounces all eventually wins all. I do not wish to tell you—it would be hypocrisy for me to say so—that this means that we must all embrace poverty or that we must give up all worldly possessions. But surely, even after having some worldly possessions, this constant yearning, this feverish activity, for something more, something newer, something bigger, has its limitations so far as the human mind is concerned. For, we find in life, each one of us, that, in the ultimate analysis, real happiness comes from within, not from without. And that, I think, is the innermost thought in Hinduism. There is a verse which says, "Not by wealth, not by progeny, but by renunciation alone is immortality attained."

And there is a beautiful story of this *tyag*, this sacrifice, in one of the legends of Buddha. One of the well-known disciples of Buddha, Anathpindad, went to the town of Shravastipur from one end of the city to the other saying : "Give me some gift today for Lord Buddha ; I want to carry it to him." Rich people came down from their palatial buildings and gave him jewels, women gave him ornaments, others gave money but he was not satisfied ; he would not take anything.

And he went on from one end of the town to the other. Eventually, when he came to the quarters of the poor, he saw a woman who had only one cloth on her which she was wearing, and who hid herself behind a big tree, took off that cloth and gave it to this man. And the disciple said, "This is the greatest gift because this was the only thing this woman had. Even her body she hid behind a tree, and gave this gift. And that gift my Master will prize as a boon." And he said, "As are the clouds, which destroy themselves in order to give life-giving rain to the world, so is sacrifice, because eventually out of this sacrifice is the world continuously remade."

The other significant attribute of the spirit of India, is compassion, what we call *karuna*, compassion for all creatures, compassion for those afflicted in any way. Buddha, in his injunction to his disciples, said : "O disciples, I teach you only two things, sorrow, and the relief from sorrow." I have no doubt, some of you must be aware of the early life of Buddha, he who was the son of a king, young prince Siddhartha. Because of the prophecy that he might renounce the world, his father had kept him away from the sight of illness, old age, disease and death ; and yet, when Buddha was very young and went out one day, he saw an old man and a dead body. Buddha asked : "What is this ? " He was told about old age and death and he was grieved and wondered and pondered : "Why, why, should man suffer ? " Eventually, he was restless and wanted to know the cause of human sorrow. He renounced his palace, left his wife and daughter and went in search of Truth, in search of some remedy for the sorrows of life. There is a moving story about his search for the cause of sorrow. After his enlightenment, when he was once going about with his disciples, a young woman Kisagotami came to him in tears and said : "O Lord, people say that you have mastered the secret of sorrow. I want back my only child who died yesterday. Can you not revive it ? " She had brought the body of the little child with her. And Buddha said, "All that I can tell you just now is, you go and get some small grain from this village where you are living. But there is one condition: that you must get that grain from a household that has not suffered any grief or sorrow. You get it from someone who has not lost his dear one." And Kisagotami, this young woman, went

from door to door begging. People were prepared to give her as much grain as she wanted, if that would revive her child, but when she told them of this condition, someone said, "I have lost my father," another "I have lost my only son," or "I have lost my husband." And so, Kisagotami came back to Buddha and said, "My Lord, I cannot find anyone who has not suffered in this village." And so Buddha said, "That is just what I wanted to tell you. Your sorrow is the world's sorrow, and that is what I am trying to find out—why men should suffer, and why there should be sorrow in this life. I have not yet discovered the way, but when I have discovered, that way will be open for men."

And in a very beautiful verse, one of the most beautiful verses in one of our ancient religious books, Bhagwat, there is a disciple who prays to God saying : "I beg not for kingdom nor for paradise, nor immortality, but only that the sorrows of the afflicted ones of this world should be assuaged." This is the high-water mark of the spiritual longing of man.

The other characteristic of this spirit of India, and I say it in all humility, is tolerance. This does not mean that as individuals we are not intolerant, or even collectively, we may not be at times intolerant. But I do venture to suggest that the best among us, from Buddha to Gandhi, have not only preached but have practised this virtue of tolerance. The Hindu thinker readily admits points of view other than his own and considers them worthy of attention. You see here (inscribed on the wall of the chapel) the verse : "He is only one, but sages describe Him in various ways." That is the essence of the spirit of India. Our poet Tagore has said, "The roads are many but the Light is one." And Hindus believe this sincerely. Indeed, so far as I know, there is no doctrine and no practice of conversion in Hinduism. A Hindu believes that everyone who is following his own religious beliefs, who is following his own *Dharma* is treading the right path, because no one is so superior as to show him a better way. All religions are paths to Truth. There is only one false religion, and that is the religion of the hypocrite and the charlatan. For, whatever the religious way may be, it is arrived at by a certain process of evolution, evolution both of man and of religion itself. Indeed, Hinduism accepts even the principle of the evolution of the

idea of God. There is not one, uniform standard for the human race ; one worships in a temple or a tabernacle or a church or a mosque, but provided he does so sincerely, provided he does it with humility and reverence, there is no reason why other people should try to deflect him from his course and teach him something else.

For, there is evolution, according to Hinduism, in the stages of man, even in his belief in God. I mentioned a little while ago this diversity of creeds and sects in Hinduism. In one of our scriptures it has been said that there is a kind of priority or hierarchy in this knowledge of God and there are ways of advancing in our perception of Him. It has been said :

> "The worshippers of the absolute are the highest in rank. Second to them are the worshippers of the personal God, then come the worshippers of the incarnation like Rama, Krishna, Buddha. Below them are those who worship ancestors, deities, and sages, and last of all are the worshippers of the petty forces and spirits. And the deities of some men are in water, those of the more advanced are in the heavens. Those who are immature in religion use images, but the sage finds his God in his deepest self."

The so-called pantheism of Hinduism is, therefore, an outer, exterior feature. Fundamentally, it emphasizes the essence of one God.

Because of this tolerance, because of this concept and faith that each man has to work out his own way for his own salvation, there are people who think that Hinduism has no absolute values, it is indeterminate, it is chaotic ; nothing is farther from truth. Hinduism has some very absolute values but it does not think that those values can be imposed on others ; I do not mean imposed simply in the sense of coercion but imposed even in the sense of teaching. For, whoever accepts his own God must not be interfered with. In regard to this notion that Hinduism has no definitiveness or coherence, let me quote from a book recently published, *Southeast Asia in the Coming World* by Philip W. Thayer :

"At the back of the ancient system of Hindu law, whether

regarded on a national, or international basis, was an ethical concept, known as *Dharma*. This was a concept which was just as binding upon States in their relations with each other as it was upon individuals, and it meant in the final analysis that one must do the right thing, simply because it was the right thing. Sanction lay in the source of the concept as being in the nature of a divine command which could not be ignored. This concept of *Dharma*, deeply rooted in the very foundations of Hindu law, exerted a profound influence on all its branches. In transplanting and absorption of some phases of the law in Burma and Indonesia, *Dharma*, with its emphasis on ethical values, played an important part."

Finally, the great message of India throughout the ages has been the emphasis on and yearning for peace and harmony. All our ceremonies end with *shanti, shanti, om shanti*. That means peace, and one of the significant verses says : "Let all creatures, all human beings, be happy." Happy, not in the sense of having only worldly possessions but happy in the sense of having an inner radiance born of a realisation of one's limited self and the limitless horizons before us.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S LEGACY*

SEVEN YEARS ago, today, Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated. People in this country have asked me: "Does Gandhi's influence still prevail? Is his work being carried on? Is he remembered?"

In one respect, Mahatma Gandhi's mission was accomplished with the achievement of Indian independence. For nearly 30 years, he was the indisputable leader of India's national movement and he lived to see the attainment of self-rule for which he strove and suffered. When, therefore, on August 15, 1947, power was transferred peacefully and with mutual goodwill from British to Indian hands, Gandhiji's task was, in this sphere, completed.

But while Gandhiji laid the cornerstone of Indian independence, he did not live to see its coping stone. He was not there when the Constitution of India was finally adopted on January 26, 1950. This Constitution embodies many of his cherished principles. It is democratic and secular in character. The fundamental rights in the Constitution prohibit discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth.

Gandhiji believed fervently in the ideal of a secular state in a fundamental, human sense. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that it was because of his uncompromising stand for human brotherhood that he lost his life. For, he was in a true sense, his brother's keeper. And the efforts which Indian leaders are making today to build up a truly secular state give expression to Gandhiji's innermost conviction.

Against the social evil of "untouchability," Gandhiji fought all his life. He felt its practice to be incompatible with the teachings of Hinduism and repugnant to social justice. Article 17 of the Constitution of India, under which "untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden, is a response to Gandhiji's challenge.

* *Washington Post and Times Herald*, January 30, 1955.

If today the law in India recognizes no such beings as "untouchables"; if there are ministers and parliamentary secretaries, members of Parliament and of legislative assemblies in the states who belong to backward communities; if numerous temples have been thrown open to them, and measures have been taken not only for their uplift but for penalizing discrimination in any shape or form—that is no small tribute to the heroic and often lonely battle that Gandhiji waged on their behalf. In the complete eradication of "untouchability" and the breaking of caste fetters, Gandhiji's life-long work sustains administrators and workers alike.

So, too, the impress of Gandhiji's teachings on other features of the constitution is evident. He was a firm believer in prohibition. Article 47 which is a directive principle of state policy lays down that the state shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and drugs which are injurious to health. Four States in India have enforced complete prohibition while several others have adopted various restrictive measures. Even those who are opposed to prohibition in India believe that widespread and sustained efforts are necessary to eliminate alcoholism. In any event, the introduction and enforcement of prohibition by the state is in pursuance of Gandhiji's wishes.

Gandhiji believed in revival of rural industries, especially hand-spinning. The present Government has an active programme of organizing and assisting village industries, and large funds have been earmarked for this purpose. Special efforts are also being made to encourage *khadi* (or hand-spun cloth) through loans and subsidies. Certain categories of cloth are reserved for production by handlooms which still give employment to nearly two million people all over India.

These efforts to help the development of rural industries are essential in a country like India which, Gandhiji observed, "lives in its villages." And the fact that schemes of rural development and reconstruction are being worked out carefully and implemented energetically show that Gandhiji's emphasis on the vital place of village in the national economy has not been forgotten.

In fact, the programme of community development (aided

by the Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement) was inaugurated on October 2, 1952, Gandhiji's birthday, because the objectives of this programme were nearest to his heart—the revival of 560,000 villages of India. The Second Five Year Plan, which is now in process of formulation, recognizes the village as the centre of national development.

Gandhiji was not an educationist any more than he was an economist. But, like all great men, he endeavoured to view life as a whole. And deeply human as was his approach, he was concerned with raising the stature of the mass of people. He, therefore, addressed himself in his later years to problems of education.

Gandhiji felt that dignity of labour was not adequately recognized in India's educational system. He believed that teaching had to be intimately related to living. His ideas of "learning by doing" and of centring education round a craft find expression in schemes of "basic education" which are being adopted by several educational institutions in India.

But despite the importance of the state in a country like India and the undoubted impress of Gandhiji on the present national government, we should look beyond governmental policies, measures and institutions to ascertain Gandhiji's influence. All over the country there are groups of devoted and selfless workers who are carrying on his work, implementing his constructive programmes and trying to live up to his principles. In the work of such men and women, Gandhiji's ideals endure.

There is, for instance, Vinoba Bhave, the man who leads the movement of voluntary land gift (*Bhoodan*) and who with persuasion and appeal to a better self has been able to obtain more than three million acres of land from the landlords for redistribution among the tillers of the soil. There is little doubt that but for Gandhiji's teachings and influence, neither would Vinoba Bhave have wandered round the country, nor would the landlords have listened to him.

Finally, the contribution that India has made during the last seven years to the cause of international cooperation and world peace is in no small measure due to Gandhiji. If Buddha personified India's tradition of peace in ancient days, Gandhiji symbolized it during the first half of this century.

He sincerely believed that India's freedom was not worth having if it was won with violence and racial strife. His conception of non-violence involved a rejection of the gospel of force as the basis of international life. To appreciate fully India's attitude in world affairs, it is imperative to remember that India's national leadership deliberately chose the method of peace in her struggle for independence.

Under the leadership of her Prime Minister, free India has, therefore, sought to promote understanding and harmony between nations. This is not "neutralism" if this term (used rather inappropriately when there is no war) implies a lack of responsibility concerning world affairs or a desire to escape international obligations or follow a policy of isolation. India's attitude is more positive involving as it does a constructive approach toward reducing world tensions and developing a firmer basis of cooperation among nations.

The fact that despite differences of approach and methods, India was selected by both sides for onerous responsibility in the Korean armistice and for the settlement in Indo-China showed that there was confidence in the integrity and impartiality of her representatives. That India's policy has been fruitful is evinced by her association with the Commonwealth of Nations and, more recently, by the peaceful transfer of French possessions in India to Indian sovereignty. There is no doubt that in this emphasis on peaceful ways for resolving conflicts, national and international, Gandhiji has left a legacy which is invaluable in this nuclear age.

Gandhiji, during his life, swayed millions of his countrymen. If we leave out the prophets of old, hardly any other individual transformed by peaceful means the outlook and habits of a vast people with their diverse castes and creeds and economic interests as he did. Without holding any office, governmental or religious, without the backing of military force or the support of civil authority, he exercised immense power over the minds and hearts of countless men and women.

At the root of this power there was no physical force, no authoritarian compulsion, but a unique moral strength, selflessness and complete dedication. Yet Gandhiji did not seek to propound any creed, formulate an ideology or establish a cult. He said that there was no such thing as "Gandhism",

which was a term used by some of his followers and opponents alike to describe his thinking. He had no doctrines and no disciples : he had only his way of life, and his fellow workers and followers.

He tried to proclaim the verities of religion by living them—not by precept but by practice : such ancient but vital verities as truthfulness, compassion, social justice, tolerance and, above all, love. Only a truly great man can vitalize and interpret the purposes of a spiritual movement and give life its meaning and significance through his own personality. But the example of such a man's life continues to elevate and inspire generations. In this sense, a man like Mahatma Gandhi cannot die.

THOREAU AND GANDHI*

WHEN THERE was a successful bus boycott staged by American negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, the leader of the movement, Rev. Martin Luther King, said that he drew his inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of passive resistance. Gandhiji himself, when he was studying law in London in 1907, came across Thoreau's essay on *Civil Disobedience* which profoundly influenced him. Thoreau, in his turn, had studied Indian philosophy and was versed in Hindu lore. As Louis Fischer put it, "Thoreau in Massachusetts borrowed from Gandhi's India, and repaid the debt with words that reached Gandhi in a South African cell."† And when we are apt to think in terms of nuclear power and material wealth, it is well to remember that ideas can also be powerful and spread round the world without aircraft and apparatus of propaganda. More. When Thoreau, Emerson and the Transcendentalists studied Indian thought, modern means of communication did not exist. And, yet, Thoreau in his library had copies of Wilson's *Rig Veda Sanhita*, translations of the *Upanishads* and *Bhagavad Geeta*, aphorisms of *Mimansa* and *Nyaya*, the *Bhagavad Purana* and *Vishnu Purana* as also Kalidas' immortal play *Shakuntala* and two volumes on the *Theatre of the Hindus*. Minds spoke to minds across vast distances. Ideas had wings.

Thoreau's writings produced such a deep impression on Gandhiji that he translated portions of his writings in *Indian Opinion* which was being edited by him in South Africa and which published extracts from Thoreau's works from time to time. When Gandhiji was in prison in South Africa, he copied words Thoreau had written of his own prison experience

*Speech delivered at the 1957 Annual Meeting of the Thoreau Society at Concord (Massachusetts), U.S.A., on July 13, 1957.

† The *Washington Post* in an editorial on April 10, 1957 said: "The ideas of an eccentric Yankee individualist and a saintly Russian count (Tolstoy) have spun round the world and have provided the oppressed with an honourable philosophy of resistance."

—"I did not feel for a moment confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar." Shri Pyarelal, who was Gandhiji's secretary for several years and his biographer has pointed out some striking resemblances between Thoreau's and Gandhiji's thought and personal traits. Neither of them was a philosopher living in an ivory tower. They were both seekers after Truth and had an intense, overpowering desire to live according to their own convictions. Nevertheless, there was one fundamental difference between the two men. Thoreau wanted to live by himself according to his own principles while Gandhiji became a national leader seeking to apply his principles to social and political problems. Thoreau was an individualist, a philosophical anarchist, if you will. Gandhiji sought to develop a social movement on the basis of "conscientious objection."

What appealed principally to Gandhiji in Thoreau was the fact that he "taught nothing he was not prepared to practise in himself." This was fundamentally Gandhiji's own philosophy in action. He was a great leader because he was his own best follower. He never asked anyone to do anything which he himself had either not done or was not prepared to do. He did not believe that there should be any gulf between profession and practice. Gandhiji like Thoreau was a strict judge of himself. Unlike most of us who are lenient in judging ourselves and charitable in overlooking our own faults and deviations while being ruthless in condemning the slightest error in others, Gandhiji never spared himself. Rather than pull out the moat from another's eye, he preferred to behold a beam in his own.

Gandhiji shared Thoreau's fundamental belief in the dignity of man, the freedom of the individual and the supremacy of conscience. Political philosophers discuss problems of General Will. Politicians being more "practical" seek to organize public opinion. Only a prophet or an apostle or a martyr can rouse national conscience. Such men were Thoreau and Gandhiji. They were not content merely to be the captains of their own souls ; they endeavoured to initiate and, indeed, did herald a scheme of values, a way of living. Gandhiji's whole life even like that of Thoreau was a continuous moral protest against the violation of conscience in any sphere

of life. Such men are crusaders on behalf of the "still small voice" within us.

To such men as Gandhiji and Thoreau, conscience is the ultimate criterion, the final sanction. But in such a concept, conscience is not caprice, not a stray un-coordinated impulse ; it is the *instructed* moral sense, the profounder rationality which is in harmony with the whole personality. It determines right and wrong, it is the reservoir of moral strength, the final safeguard of moral conduct, a fundamental of life which cannot be surrendered. Every individual is regarded, above all, as a moral being ; and the most vital contribution man can make to society is the exercise of his moral faculties. "The only permanent safeguard of democratic government," observed Prof. Harold Laski in his *Authority in the Modern State*, "is that the unchanging and ultimate sanction of intellectual decision should be the conscience." Nevertheless, the one thing which authority, whatever its complexion and form, and whether it be political or religious, tends instinctively to resist and fear is this insistence of conscience. Yet, as Prof. Laski has emphasized in his essay on *Dangers of Obedience :* "No State is ever securely founded save in the conscience of its citizens."

The conscience of Gandhiji as of Thoreau was a stern master. It bade such men deny the sovereignty of any authority except that to which it gave sanction, it set a limit to the control which external power could exercise over them. "Physical liberty may be taken from a man," says Bertrand Russell in his *Justice in War Time*, "but spiritual liberty is his birthright which all the armies and governments of the world are powerless to deprive him of, without his cooperation." That, indeed, was the premise on which Thoreau's and Gandhiji's schemes of value were based. Their obedience was not servile docility nor their cooperation a passive acquiescence. The consent of their conscience had always to be won. Their lives were an assertion of what Prof. Laski has admirably described in another context as "the supremacy of that last inwardness of the human mind which resists all authority save its own conviction of rectitude."

But Gandhiji's conscience was not merely the arbiter of his own life. It shaped for nearly three decades the destiny

of a people. He became the moral barometer of our times. He entered politics and suspended his movement, he embarked on fasts and was prepared to lay down his life whenever his conscience revolted. Because the conscience of such men as Mahatma Gandhi and Thoreau was ever sensitive and alert, there was no moral apathy, no spiritual vacuum in their lives. It was ceaseless questioning, endless wrestling. Nor were people permitted to have an attitude of equanimity. Such men put others on the defensive, they compel others to search their souls. Such men exercise a moral restraint on our selfishness and pettiness and hatreds, they are a moral tonic which braces up a whole people. As Thoreau said, "it is not so important that many should be as good as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere; for that will leaven the whole lump." We cannot, indeed, be indifferent to the subtle and often inscrutable workings of the conscience of such men unless we are indifferent to the true values of life. The conscience of such men, in fine, becomes our mentor and our beacon.

From the theory of non-resistance based on the principle of non-violence, Gandhiji developed various techniques such as passive resistance, non-cooperation and civil disobedience; in its essence, he called it "Satyagraha" which translated means "soul force." What was unique in the political expression he gave to this concept was the scale of the experiment and its objectives. It was the first organized attempt at the application of the principle of non-violent resistance on a national scale for the attainment of national independence. It constituted a political revolt on the basis of pacific resistance. Although it has been judged as a method of achieving national emancipation, to the historian of the future it would connote a deeper meaning. For, it was a mass movement based on a fundamentally individualistic idea, an effort to generate a positive social and political force through individual non-resistance. It embodied an active social principle and was meant to have definite social, political and economic effects. Gandhiji evolved this method during his struggle against racial discrimination and humiliation in South Africa. On his return to India, he experimented with it in various fields for redressing the grievances of peasants and agricultural

labourers and in fighting for the claims of industrial workers ; and, finally, he applied it in the national struggle in India in 1920 and carried it on until 1942. It was this technique of non-violent resistance as a method of social pressure and change that was Gandhiji's supreme contribution to the modern world—a contribution not less vital and creative than that of many social and economic doctrines and philosophies which have influenced the minds and actions of peoples.

It might be asked whether such a doctrine does not contain within it the seeds of anarchy and does not imply a denial of authority without which social organization and collective living are not possible. But if Thoreau's and Gandhiji's principles are adequately understood and accepted with their full implications, if conscience makes us neither cowards nor wilful and capricious beings, and if there is the development of a truly moral sense, there is hardly such risk of anarchy. Emerson, in his essay on *Politics*, said : "We live in a very low state of the world and pay unwillingly tribute to governments founded on force. There is not, among the most religious and instructed men of the most religious and civil nations, *a reliance on the moral sentiment* and a sufficient belief in the unity of things to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints . . . What is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of rectitude to inspire him with the broad design of renovating the State on the principle of right and love . . . I do not recall a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws on the simple ground of his own moral nature." Such men are, indeed, the salt of the earth. We are overrun by pinch-beck dictators and demagogic revolutionaries. Authority is usually challenged by those who seek power themselves, not by those who wish to put power to a moral test. Revolutionaries swear by principles which they are the first to sacrifice when they themselves attain power. Ends are forgotten in the clash for power, means are merely manoeuvres for personal, partisan or national aggrandisement. And yet as Thoreau emphasized, "action from principle, the perception and the performance of right . . . is essentially revolutionary." No revolution is fundamental which does not influence the minds and hearts of men and women and does not make them more

rational and more humane and induce them to live in greater harmony.

The theory of "natural law" and "natural rights" on which the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the system of Fundamental Rights of many democratic constitutions is based has at its core the doctrine of social contract. This doctrine insists that rulers may exercise only such authority as their subjects may delegate to them; and that the delegated authority, when exercised in a manner contrary to natural law and toward ends inimical to natural rights, may and should be withdrawn and re-delegated to other rulers under conditions better calculated to preserve the rights. This theory, no doubt, has been disproved by anthropological research and has its own weaknesses as an interpretation of law and government because it is difficult to define such terms as "natural" law and "natural" rights. "Natural" rights tend to be equated with *status quo* just as the erratic forces of the market and the stock exchange come to be regarded as "natural" economic laws. "Nature" seems to load the dice in favour of those who have as against those who have not. The one sinner against "natural" progress, in this concept, would be the man who tries to save the lamb from the wolf. Nevertheless, such a theory has an element of value in that it emphasizes the ultimate limitations of authority and the moral worth of the individual. Only in recent weeks has the Supreme Court of the United States sought to redeem Chief Justice Hughes' promise that "in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the State has always been maintained," and has invoked what John Lord O'Brian called "the irresistible moral power exerted by conscience."

After the use of atomic bombs on Japan, Gandhiji said that unless the world now adopted non-violence, it would spell certain suicide for mankind. The developments of the last twelve years have proved beyond doubt that there is, as President Eisenhower remarked, "no alternative to peace" and that nuclear power itself has largely paralysed the countries possessing it. Resort to peaceful methods for settlement of disputes, however difficult and unsatisfactory, is infinitely preferable to the present drift wherein blocs armed with H-bombs are ranged against each other. For sooner or later,

the truce of fear may be broken and uncontrolled arms race can only lead to conflagration and annihilation. War can no longer achieve even the narrow objectives of diplomacy, it can only destroy indiscriminately all that we prize and hold dear. True security today lies in the effective promotion of peace. In an age of monolithic states, industrial empires, rigid parties and powerful social organizations, the message of men like Thoreau and Gandhiji is more imperative than ever. Such men inspire us through the ages to dedicate ourselves to values without which human existence has little significance and meaning.

CAN THE EAST AND WEST MEET?*

IT HAS ALWAYS seemed to me to be somewhat unfair, if not cruel, to inflict a ponderous sermon on the cheerful young people and their proud parents on a day of rejoicing. Perhaps, the students feel that "the young must give the benefit of their inexperience to the old." For, you may remember Napoleon's retort when someone recommended one of his officers to him for promotion on the ground that he had been through an exceptional number of campaigns. "My horse", Napoleon is reported to have replied, "has been through even more campaigns." Inexperience might well mean hope, enthusiasm, impatient idealism. It is these qualities that we need today—not negation, cynicism and pessimism. I do hope, therefore, you will appreciate the difficult task which one in my position has to perform in which he has to avoid platitudes and yet say something worthwhile.

W. L. George said that the true America is the middle West and Columbus discovered nothing at all except another Europe! Your college is in the heart of Mid-West and curiously enough, it is in a town whose name resembles the country from which I come and which I have the honour of representing in your country—you are in Indianola and I am from India! You will, no doubt, recollect that it was in trying to discover India that Columbus stumbled upon America. Mark Twain said that it was surprising that Columbus discovered America but it would have been still more surprising had he not done so! In any event, Columbus went West in trying to go East which not merely proves that the world is round but also, that you cannot go too far West without going East or too far East without going West! Your East Coast, for example, faces West Europe while your West Coast looks towards the Far East. And I am told that when people in Washington are too much worried by the situation in the Middle East, they begin

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to think of the farm problems in the Middle West! No wonder, it has been remarked after Kipling that "East is East and West is San Francisco!" But today, in a different sense and different context, people speak of the fundamental differences between "the East and the West" which are presumed to be arrayed against one another in the cold war.

It is imperative in all such matters to be clear and precise about the meaning of the terms we use, or else we are apt to be sloppy in our thinking and tend to solve difficulties by slogans. What, indeed, are the "East" and the "West" and where are they? First, in the geographical sense : there are terms like the "Middle East" and the "Near East", the "South East" and the "Far East" used by the Foreign Offices of Governments although this terminology itself is flexible and continuously changes. I do not yet know, for example, where the "Near East" ends and the "Middle East" begins. Nor, indeed, why some countries like Pakistan are believed to be both in the Middle East and in South East Asia at the same time and are entitled to join pacts in both areas! Again, it all depends on where you are as to whether something is near or far. To us in India, for example, Japan and China are not so "Far" East while what you call Middle East is to us West Asia. An American professor who hailed from Rumania told me that while he was in his own country, England was to him a Western country but now that he is in Kentucky, England is to the East. However, these geographical expressions influence our thinking and even our policies. For, it is well to remember that the locations, directions and proximities of countries do not appear the same in New Delhi or Rangoon or Tokyo as in Washington or London.

In the ideological sense, too, this so-called division between the "East" and the "West" needs clarification. It is somehow assumed that the "East" is what is to the east of Brandenburg Gate in Berlin right up to Port Arthur on the Pacific excluding, presumably, the southern "under-belly" of the Middle East ; and the "West" is all the other countries of Europe and the two Americas. I do not know where in this bi-polarisation Sweden lies or Finland, Switzerland or Yugoslavia or Austria. And, even in the ideological sense, is this term correct if the expression "East" is to cover countries which have accepted

the Communist system in one form or another? Surely, Communism is not an "Eastern" product. Karl Marx was a German who wrote his *Das Kapital* in the British Museum. The Communist ideology in the sense in which we understand it is Western in its origin and conception. China has a Communist regime but she has accepted Marxist-Leninist philosophy modified, no doubt, by the doctrines of her own leaders and conditions of the land. I should like to remind you that the great spiritual religions of the world have had their rise in the East—Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Zoroastrianism. I suggest, therefore, that we should not speak of the "East-West" conflict if we with to refer to the differences between Capitalism and Communism or the division between the power blocs headed by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

And when we speak of the "East" and the "West", let us ask ourselves what East and what West? Is it the East of Timurlane and Jenghis Khan and Xerxes or the East of Buddha and Christ? Should we think of the West as symbolized by Hitler or by Schweitzer and Einstein? China and India and the Eastern countries have produced great philosophers, saints and artists even as they have had tyrants and despots. So, too, the Western countries have produced not only conquerors and dictators but also scientists, philosophers, artists and humanitarians. It is, therefore, no more true to say that the East is "spiritualistic" and the West "materialistic" than it is to speak of "the mysterious East" or of "Oriental inscrutability." Heaven knows, all countries have their share of greed of power and wealth, of narrow sectarianism and irrationalism. Nevertheless, it is true that the vast masses of Asia are still deeply religious at heart and have inherited an attitude of resignation towards the ills of life, some of which we can cure and others we cannot. It is good at times, I believe, to get rid of the illusion of human omnipotence. In the enormous confidence of the Western peoples bred by their conquest of nature and their technical prowess, there is frequently a hint of unconscious arrogance, a taint of aggressiveness. We should not forget that we can seek light only insofar as we are humble and cautious. We, in the East, should realise that to provide bare subsistence for the mass of people is not "materialism" but a pre-condition of civilized life. And

you, in the West, I suggest in all deference, might sometimes remember what Bertrand Russell said thirty-five years ago in his *Problem of China :* "Efficiency directed to destruction can only end in annihilation, and it is to this consummation that our civilization is tending if it cannot learn some of that wisdom for which it despises the East." Not that that has always been the case. Over a hundred years ago, Thoreau wrote his essay on *Resistance to Civil Government* which had an impact on Mahatma Gandhi after half a century, when he launched a "passive resistance" movement in South Africa and subsequently, the "civil disobedience" movemement in India. So, too, Emerson and the Transcendentalists were influenced by the *Upanishads* and Hindu philosophy. Evidently, there was some profound and intimate cultural contact in those days despite inadequacy of transport and lack of mass media of communications. But what has made the West powerful during the last two centuries is science and technology which have given man the power to adapt physical resources to his needs, to control and harness natural forces and thereby to shape his environment. It is the industrial revolution and technical power of the West which has produced disparities between the "East" and the "West"—disparities in standards of living, in diversities in social and economic organization, and in tempo of life, and not the least, in capacity to destroy one another ! This imbalance between the "have" and "have not" nations will have to be redressed if the East and the West are to meet and cooperate for common purposes.

Since Kipling wrote his famous lines about the East and West and the twain not meeting, the world has shrunk, continents have become countries, countries have become counties and oceans transformed into lakes. Owing to air travel and telecommunications, we have become next-door neighbours whether we live in Calcutta or London, Berlin or Colombo. For good or ill, the world is becoming one. There is, therefore, neither "East" nor "West" when the world is so closely interlinked, when events in one corner of the world affect the lives and fortunes of people in distant lands ; when some scientific discovery in a remote part can improve the lot of millions in far off continents or destroy whole cities. Above all, nuclear power has made us realise that we cannot destroy

others without destroying ourselves. Radio-active waves do not respect geographical boundaries and continental frontiers. Rather than be one world in fear, let us, therefore strive to be one world in hope.

The resurgence of Asia is a fundamental of our times. During the last ten years, over 600 million people of the world have emerged from their dependent status. They are determined that they will no longer be under alien domination or permit themselves to be exploited because of their race or colour. It is significant that they are asserting themselves despite their want of economic or military strength. This movement against inequality and for social justice is not merely negative, it is not only a revolt against political domination. It is also a call for cooperation and partnership with the West on a free and equal basis. When at Bandung, 29 countries of Asia and Africa with about 56 per cent of the world's population and about 15 per cent of the world's income met together in April, 1955, the gathering constituted both a challenge and an offer.

The problems of Asia which are basically those of poverty, ignorance and unemployment are interlinked with the maintenance of peace. Peace cannot be achieved where there is economic instability and social disequilibrium. On the one hand, there is the temptation of more powerful countries to utilize the resources of economically backward countries; this has resulted, no doubt, in economic development but it has also led to exploitation; it has brought us all nearer to one another and yet has engendered economic rivalries for raw materials and markets which lead to friction and to war. On the other side, abysmal poverty, pressure of population on land, chronic unemployment and underemployment, disparities in wealth and income between classes—all create discontent and social strife. Ideological cloaks are worn by power politics and the clash of interests clouds vital human issues. Peace in such lands becomes precarious.

The achievement of peace and freedom in Asia and Africa is vital for the whole world. Indivisibility of peace in an ever-shrinking world is a hard fact, not a political slogan. World peace continues to be menaced by mutual fear and suspicion, and by conflict of interests of countries, large and small. It is

now widely recognized that nuclear attacks are likely to lead to mutual annihilation rather than to victory of one side or the other. The conception of total security, as George Kennan has said, is an illusion. It is true that deterrent measures have certain efficacy but we have now reached a condition in which the ultimate deterrent of nuclear power is itself in a state of deadlock. The balance of power has, indeed, become indistinguishable from the balance of terror.

Co-existence has largely been established in most parts of the world because of the hydrogen bomb. But President Eisenhower has declared more than once that no one can be content to let the negative or passive recognition be the last word. Peaceful co-existence is not appeasement, it does not and should not mean subservience, it should not leave room for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. It should involve acceptance of diversities in economic concepts and of social systems. It should imply mutual respect and lead to cooperation in mutual interest. Unity not through conformity but through diversity should be our purpose. We should discover "ways of living together" if we are to survive. This may not be easy, this may involve sacrifice not only of our prejudices but also of our interests where that is required for the betterment of mankind. In this "living together," there undoubtedly will be differences, competition and friction but so long as violence is ruled out and so long as nations are prepared to settle their differences peacefully, we can reasonably hope that we can achieve development along with stability.

Social and economic development of Asia offers varied opportunities of cooperation between different countries in the same region as also with the industrially developed countries of the West. It is a positive and constructive task in which all men of goodwill can participate. Since the Second World War, countries in the East and the West are working together in the United Nations and its specialized agencies. They are formulating and implementing various programmes of technical aid and economic development where the large financial resources and technical knowledge and skill of Western countries and particularly, the United States have been made available for the economic betterment of peoples in Asia and Africa. Recently,

Soviet Russia has also expressed its readiness to participate in such programmes and in several cases has done so. Such efforts should be welcomed as evidence of a better atmosphere. Endeavour should also be made to ascertain how far such programmes could be canalized through the United Nations so as to avoid countries receiving aid feeling a sense of obligation to individual countries and to mobilise the energies and resources of different countries for common programmes.

If understanding between the East and the West is to grow, we should have more respect and tolerance. What is required is not alliances and treaties but equality of status, freedom from discrimination and sharing of common objectives and ideals. Power is not merely a military concept ; it is also an expression of the will of a people. Ideas might be more explosive than bombs. Problems of Asia should not be judged primarily in terms of cold war nor should it be expected that the ideological divisions and rivalries of great powers would arouse the same sympathies and antipathies in Asia as in the West. We have to judge Asian problems on the basis of conditions and needs of Asia. What is needed is a realization of the woefully backward economic conditions of countries in Asia and Africa as well as a recognition of the dynamic nature of the movements and struggles in those regions. As long ago as 1920, Lenin told a Japanese journalist that "the West is digging a grave in the East to bury itself in." Let it not be said that Lenin knew his West better than many in the West today are aware, of the revolution in Asia and the ferment in Africa. The primary issues in Asia and Africa are not military and cannot be solved by military pacts. Mere anti-Communism or continuous arms race is not an adequate answer to the complex problems of Eastern countries. In Asia, the old order changeth yielding place to new. Western countries have, therefore, to adjust not merely their policies but their attitudes just as the Eastern countries have to think in terms of cooperation and not conflict. As Walter Lippmann has recently said, "A new relationship between the emancipated East and the democratic West will have to be found."

The Asian-African Conference at Bandung did not form a new bloc nor did it enunciate an Asian equivalent of the Monroe Doctrine. The Bandung Conference did not support

any movement of "Asia for the Asians" nor did it advocate a colour war. While condemning racial discrimination in every shape and form, the leaders of what has been called the "coloured United Nations" re-affirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and they pledged themselves to use their full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victim to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it. It was clear at Bandung that while all the Asian countries were not in the same ideological camp, they were concerned less with ideological conflicts than with their own needs and problems. And they wanted to know one another better and work with one another. But, above all, they had an intense desire for peace and were afraid of becoming helpless victims in a nuclear holocaust. The ten principles enunciated at Bandung are in consonance with the concept of democracy and are conducive to peaceful cooperation between nations, large and small, Eastern and Western. In Asia and Africa, the principal criterion for judging international policies is whether they help towards liberation of people and towards the stability of their countries. It is a facile assumption that countries are so sharply divided by the cold war that even those in the same camp cannot hold divergent views. Nor is it true that countries which have sympathy with one or the other bloc cannot have common approaches and common interests. The primary interest of the countries in Asia is their own peaceful development and "not a game of choose-up sides for an atomic war which would in any case destroy them." It is the growth of nuclear power, above all, that has compelled nations, large and small, to realize that it is risky for them to align themselves in a military sense and make themselves increasingly dependent on big powers. But these nations are prepared to align themselves and have done so in the cause of peace. They are frequently called "uncommitted" nations, and yet these so-called "uncommitted" nations are active members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and participants in various schemes of international economic cooperation such as the Colombo Plan; they have also endeavoured to make their contribution to the cause of international understanding and harmony. These countries are "uncommitted" only in the sense that they

do not believe in bi-polarisation of the world and alignment with power blocs. Economic stability and evolution of democratic institutions in these lands are the surest bulwark against totalitarianism of the right or the left. Those who work for peace and freedom should ask not whether certain countries are on "our side" or not but whether these countries are endeavouring to the best of their ability to maintain their independence, build up their economies and establish democratic institutions within their territories.

Peace and stability in Asia can be maintained, in the last analysis, by the efforts of the peoples of Asia themselves. But in this task, the Western countries too have a heavy moral responsibility. In his New Year message for 1956, Dr. Martin Niemoller voiced a sentiment which is both a warning and a challenge :

> "We are facing the last chance of our generation. All people have to work for peace to-day. The situation is even much worse than we realize. The East-West struggle is not the worst problem we face. Half of the world's population is living in a state of hunger—below the minimum for existence. There are under-developed countries, starving countries. In Asia they have awakened, in Africa they are awakening. And it will not be long before they awaken in South America also. This hunger is a greater problem than the East-West struggle. This is the future—not Russia or America. In thirty years nobody will think of that problem. War, mass hunger and other social evils have developed as a final result of 300 years of continued domination of what we call the Christian world. It is not enough for Christians . . . to declare that war is contrary to the will of God. Something has to be done about the evils which lie at the roots of war, and something effective."

NON-VIOLENCE IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*

THE SCOPE AND degree of peaceful relations in a community is a measure of its civilization. Some political philosophers have said that the life of men in the state of nature was one of constant warfare wherein it was "solitary, bare, nasty, brutish, and short." Every man was for himself and the tenet was "kill whom you can, take what you can." But to represent primitive man in a state of perpetual warfare with his fellows seems a gross over-simplification. Primitive man had far more formidable enemies in nature than in his species to fight against and it was in protection against these and not against his fellows that the beginnings of cooperation and the foundations of organized society were laid. If primitive peoples had been in chronic and ferocious warfare, humanity could not possibly have survived. In any event, as human relations grew steadier and more stable and social relations developed, men came to realize that there is a better way of working and living together, of resolving differences and reaching agreements than by coercive methods and physical force. Cooperation rather than strife came to be the basis of social relationship. Were it not so, were violence the principal means of settling social differences, communal life would never have been possible. Nor would the area of social cooperation have expanded from a village or a tribe to a country or a nation-state or a commonwealth.

It is true that there is an element of force in political authority and that governments cannot dispense with sanctions. But governments finally rely not on the physical might of the rulers but on the psychological attitude of the ruled: the state is based, in the ultimate analysis, not on force but on will. The ultimate source of power—military, economic or political—is the power of the mind to support or withdraw

* Speech delivered at the North Carolina Institute of International Relations, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A., on June 7, 1953.

support from authority. It is the cooperation of the people that upholds authority. Because force cannot be eliminated from the structure and functions of the state we need not therefore, argue that it is the sole basis of society and government. The evolution of law and of constitutional methods of government are an adequate answer to those who exaggerate the factor of force. The very fact that men have been prepared to submit their claims and their grievances to an impartial tribunal, to appeal to arbitration and to resort to methods of conciliation in civil affairs shows that they are prepared to substitute more rational methods than violence and coercion. The magistrate has taken the place of the duel in modern times. The ballot box has been substituted for the bullet in democratic countries. The term "non-violence" may be of recent origin but its underlying principles are writ large in civilized society. The fact remains that physical force, however unavoidable on occasions, is, in the final analysis, not rational. It exhibits the worst side of human nature and is a defeat of the human spirit. In a contest of physical might, man may win not because he is right but because he is strong. And such strength may not be mere physical strength; it may be the strength derived from equipment and resources or from fanaticism and hysteria.

All spiritual religions, indeed, have proclaimed and preached the doctrine of love and human brotherhood which are at the root of the principle of non-violence. It is part of our rooted belief that the nature and object of the world are such that right will eventually triumph. But the question is whether this success can always be achieved through peaceful and rational means. The difficulty arises because most of us are not convinced that good ends cannot be achieved by evil means. Often, we are not impartial and objective about the ends which we desire to pursue; because they are our ends, we think they must be right and should be achieved anyhow. Often, we argue that since our opponents do not scruple about means, why should we? We know that two wrongs do not make a right. And yet when it comes to what are called "worldly affairs," we practise the philosophy of the end justifying the means and are not too meticulous about examining the methods we employ.

And yet have not the great teachers of mankind throughout the ages proclaimed some eternal verities? Jesus Christ advised the turning of the other cheek and Lao Tze said: "The good I meet with goodness, the bad also with goodness—that is virtue's goodness." So Buddha observed, "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good, lies by truth". Nor has this simply remained a scriptural doctrine to be preached on certain days and forgotten during the rest of the week. This principle has been sought to be translated into practice by many great individuals and sects who have laid down their lives rather than submit to tyranny or injustice. Such men have proclaimed that they would neither surrender to a wrong nor retaliate against the wrongdoer. They have paid the supreme penalty without raising their hand and even without bitterness and hatred in their hearts. "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do" was heard two thousand years ago but its echo still resounds in many parts of the world. Socrates drank the hemlock because he searched for Truth. Thoreau declared that "in an unjust State, the proper place for a just man is the prison." Quakers and conscientious objectors have rejected physical force as a basis of human relationship and emphasized the need for respect of conscience in the organisation of social institutions.

But even apart from such rare souls and heroic people, have not men risen superior to their institutions and creeds? Have they not laboured for peace and goodwill in countless ways all these centuries? Whether it be noble buildings and monuments, sculptures and paintings, thought embodied in literature and philosophy or the quest of the spirit for the eternal values of life—all these are strivings of peaceful men and women for peaceful ways. Do not men and women go to distant lands for spreading knowledge or giving relief, do they not seek to heal, to comfort and to uplift people who are utterly alien and not always friendly? The triumphs of non-violence may not always be perceptible, they may not be spectacular, nonetheless they are significant and enduring.

And, speaking of non-violent movements, may I say that Gandhiji's philosophy and technique of non-violent resistance described by him at various stages as "passive resistance" in South Africa, or "Satyagraha" (truth force) in India has a

significance of its own. It was the first attempt of its kind at the application of a great moral principle on a national scale in relation to a national problem. It constituted a political revolt on the basis of pacific resistance.

I hope I have said enough about non-violence in national affairs. Constitutionalism, democracy and representative government: an impartial judiciary; an honest and incorruptible administration; a conception of government as an instrument of national welfare—these are all practical demonstrations of the working of non-violence.

I do not propose to deal here with all the causes of war or its cures. There are cynics who contend that wars can never be abolished because human nature does not change. Although this is a plausible view, it is shallow. War any more than duel or trial by ordeal or witch-craft is not a biological phenomenon but a social malady, a perverted institution, a catastrophe, not a matter of glory or an achievement to idealise. If we can substitute the arbitrament of law for force within a country, what fundamental characteristic in "human nature" prevents the replacement of international anarchy by a sane world order? Every student of psychology and biology knows that the instincts of man undergo immense modification and sublimation. Irrespective of whether we can change human nature, we can certainly change human behaviour and conduct. Even in the struggle for existence, the victory is to the adaptable and not necessarily to the strong.

We must, therefore, change our whole process of thinking and education—education not only for the young but also for the old, not only for the ordinary citizen but also for the politician and the administrator. Instead of glorifying the conquerors of the world who have inflicted untold miseries and sorrows on their fellow-beings mostly for satisfying their personal vanity or because of lust for power or wealth, we should be taught to revere great poets, artists, scientists, philosophers and saints who have added something to the knowledge, to the beauty, to the goodness of human life. We should think rather of men's contribution to human culture than of false national prestige based on victories in battles. Changes could be effected in our standards of value

leading to a diminution in respect for physical force so that people would seek to achieve national greatness by service instead of war, by harmony rather than strife, and would be as proud of their poets and scientists as of their conquests and empires and warriors. "The soul of a nation", says Bertrand Russell, "if it is a free soul without slavishness and without tyranny, cannot be killed by an outward enemy." A good end, if it cannot be achieved without wholesale slaughter, cannot be achieved at all. National pride which wishes to humiliate or feels humiliation by yielding the trivial diplomatic advantages, the sense of national honour which is measured by the willingness to inflict slaughter, national prestige which bases itself on victories rather than on contribution to civilization—all these tend to encourage a warlike spirit. We should think in terms of the individual welfare of common men and women everywhere as was so eloquently emphasized by President Eisenhower in his memorable speech last April. He said :

> "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.
> "This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

Not merely bellicose persons but almost all of us think and speak about the State and Power and Nation which has "life" and "honour" and "glory" of its own instead of the good and ill of the lives of ordinary men and women who comprise these countries. What should really be outraged is not our national pride but our common humanity which should seek satisfaction not in humiliation and hatred and violence but in mutual accommodation and peace. It was a military general who said recently that "most students who are observers of international development place too much emphasis upon the importance of the military . . . Military force has never settled permanently international frictions or problems and it never will." We must, therefore, have faith in something more than force.

But if peace is to be ensured, it has to be done not merely by establishing institutions and organizations and charters, important and essential as they undoubtedly are. Those who believe in peace must see that it generates a positive and dynamic force which would not only provide a method of settling differences but also of creating some of the good qualities which are stimulated by war. Fear, anger and hatred are evil things and should be shunned; and in their place, hope and friendliness and love should be actively encouraged. For, as William Blake said: "Energy is divine." We should also not lose sight of the fact that horrible and stupid as war is, it generates and demands some qualities and virtues which are invaluable such as courage and endurance, devotion and a sense of unity, discipline and supreme sacrifice. Hence it was that the eminent psychologist, William James, suggested the necessity of "moral equivalents of war." Pacificism will, therefore, have to reshape peace no less than to seek to abolish war. The thirteenth edict of King Asoka was the one on "true conquest." Herein, Asoka proclaimed to the world "his remorse on account of the conquest of the Calingas because during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death and taking away captives of the people unnecessarily occur whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret;" although "a man should do him an injury, His Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne so far as it can be patiently borne and this is the chiefest conquest in His Majesty's opinion—conquest by *Dharma*." He, therefore, declared that while he had won the battle, he had really lost it by spreading so much sorrow and death and thenceforth renounced war as an instrument of policy. In numerous carvings on stone, bronze and marble throughout the land he proclaimed that the true conquest is the conquest of self. Centuries afterwards, Gandhiji once again proclaimed this message and dedicated his life to its vindication.

I do not wish to suggest that we have lived up to these principles. Indeed, this has not been the case anywhere in the world. But I do suggest that these are principles which have to be reaffirmed and practised in a world weary with strife and fearful of the future. Perhaps, the physical powers

of men have outstripped their moral sense and we must either reconquer ourselves or perish. But we must not lose faith. We must firmly believe that rationality, tolerance, understanding, and love are more effective and enduring than prejudice, hatred, fanaticism and violence. If moral values are abandoned by those who say that they believe in freedom, then even if totalitarianism is defeated, we shall have been left spiritually bankrupt with no purpose and no worthwhile future.

VIVEKANANDA— HIS INFLUENCE IN THE AWAKENING OF MODERN INDIA*

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION which conducts several Vedanta centres in this country is a vital institution that seeks to combine the religious and cultural traditions of India with the gospel of social service of modern times. This Mission was established in Calcutta in 1897 by Swami Vivekananda to honour the memory of his *Guru* or preceptor and master Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

In order to evaluate the contribution which Swami Vivekananda has made to the evolution of New India, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the times in which he lived and worked. India was then in a state of ferment. Vivekananda was born only six years after India's first revolutionary movement of independence in 1857. The national upsurge, however, was much wider than the political struggle. The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by activities of social and religious reform. Some reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal laid emphasis on the unity of God and discarded idol worship; they carried on a crusade for removal of social evils and for elevating the status of women. Others like the Arya Samaj in the north sought to go back to the pristine purity of the ancient scriptures and strove to attain the ideal of an Indian nationality. The Indian National Congress which became the spearhead of the national struggle for independence was also established during these days.

It was in these times of turmoil and unrest that Vivekananda came under the influence of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, a poor priest in a temple near Calcutta, and became in due course the standard bearer of the master's teachings. Shri Ramakrishna had scarcely any formal education and led an intensely spiritual life in splendid isolation. He had deep faith in the inherent truth of all religions and tested his belief by performing religious exercises in accordance with the

* Speech delivered at the First Annual Vivekananda Memorial Lecture, University of Chicago, Chicago, on April 20, 1955.

practice and usage not only of different Hindu sects but also of Christianity and Islam. His broad catholicity, mysticism and spiritual ecstasy attracted considerable attention. But he lived and died a lonely spiritual devotee, known only to small groups of disciples and followers.

But Vivekananda was not only a disciple, he was an exponent and interpreter. His learning, eloquence, zest and energy and his wonderful personality gathered round him a band of followers which included the rich and the poor, intellectuals and the illiterate, his own countrymen and foreigners.

Sixty-two years ago, when America was still an unknown land to most people in India and India seemed a distant, perhaps a semi-barbaric country to many in the West, Vivekananda, overcoming all the hardships of travel and without adequate financial support, came to this country and to this city, where on September 11, 1893, he addressed the World's Parliament of Religions. His speech, extempore and brief as it was, created a profound impression on the audience; overnight, he became a celebrity in this country. The keynote of his address was universal tolerance and human brotherhood. Indeed, Vivekananda was the first spiritual and cultural ambassador of India to America. Sister Christine who heard Vivekananda for the first time in a Unitarian Church in Detroit in 1894 says: "The power that emanated from this mysterious being was so great that one and all but shrank from it. It was overwhelming. It threatened to sweep everything before it. This, one sensed even in those first unforgettable moments... He was barely thirty, this preacher from far away India. Young with an ageless youth and yet withal old with the wisdom of ancient times."

And, I may mention here what impression Vivekananda himself had of America. In a private letter from Chicago dated 2nd November, 1893, Vivekananda wrote:

> "There is a curiosity in this nation such as you meet with nowhere else. They want to know everything, and their women—they are the most advanced in the world. The average American woman is far more cultivated than the average American man. The men slave all their lives for money and the women snatch every opportunity to improve

themselves. And they are a very kind-hearted, frank people. Everybody who has a fad to preach comes here and I am sorry to say that most of these are not sound. The Americans have their faults too and what nation has not ? But this is my summing up. Asia laid the germs of civilization, Europe developed men, and America is developing women and the masses. It is a paradise of the woman and the labourer."

In Vivekananda, patriotic and religious impulses aroused a supreme desire to uplift the manhood of India with a view to restoring India to a self-respecting place in the comity of nations. He believed that India had a definite contribution to make to the peace and progress of the world but before she could do so, she had to win recognition from other nations by raising her own status. India could cooperate for the common good by eradicating poverty, by redressing social wrongs and by developing her inherent strength. For this purpose, the people of India had to draw their inspiration from her ancient heritage. For the first time in the modern age, Vivekananda boldly proclaimed before the world the cultural tradition and spiritual qualities of Hindu civilization, the greatness of her past and the aspirations for her future. Instead of being apologetic or exhibiting a sense of inferiority which marked the attitude of many Indians in those days towards Western culture and civilization, a refreshing courage and a consciousness of innate strength marked Vivekananda's utterances. This, combined with a burning patriotic zeal, made him an embodiment of the ideals of a resurgent Indian nation. He was, in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol, "the first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilization and for her new-born claim to nationhood."

Vivekananda was not a politician. He did not fight any political battles nor did he participate in civic and legislative bodies. He was primarily a religious reformer. But he propounded the fundamentals and emphasized the verities which years later were reinforced by Mahatma Gandhi and became in many ways, the beacon light of national renaissance. As Prime Minister Nehru has observed, "Vivekananda was one of

the great founders of the modern national movement of India, and a great number of people who took more or less active part in that movement, later on drew their inspiration from him."

It is not easy to determine the way in which Vivekananda has influenced modern India nor to detail the spheres in which his influence has been felt. Such influence as a man like Vivekananda exercised was subtle and imperceptible, for the work of a spiritual teacher is concerned with the minds and hearts of men, not with institutions and laws. The footprints which a great man leaves on the sands of time are not always visible to the naked eye. Nevertheless, Vivekananda's inspiration and work abide. I shall attempt to deal only with some aspects of the impact of his personality and work.

The national movement of India, particularly after Gandhiji became its leader, has been not merely national in its aims and temper but also democratic and social in its outlook. From 1931, when the Indian National Congress in its session at Karachi laid down the broad principles on which the constitution of India was to be framed until its recent session at Avadi in Madras in January 1955, the emphasis of the Indian movement has been on the building up of a welfare state through improvement in the condition of the masses and the evolution of an equalitarian society by democratic means. And here is what Vivekananda, known as the *Cyclonic Hindu*, had to say on this subject :

"The only hope of India is from the masses . . . He who sees God in the poor, in the weak, and in the diseased really worships Him. He who has served and has helped one poor man, seeing God in him, without thinking of his caste, creed or race, or anything, with him God is more pleased than He is with the man who sees Him only in temples . . . Do you love your fellow men ? Where should you go to seek for God—are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, Gods ? Why not worship them first ? . . . I consider that the great national sin is the neglect of the masses, and that is one of the causes of our downfall. No amount of politics will be of any avail until the masses in India are once more well-fed, and well-cared for."

Again and again, Vivekananda said that religion had to be translated into our daily life and practice, that it should remove tyrannies and privileges and barriers. He firmly believed that the noblest way to serve God was through the service of men, that temples should not become ivory towers. The term *Daridra Narayan* (to signify the dignity of the poor) which Gandhiji popularized was Swami Vivekananda's expression ; it embodied his faith in and compassion for the weak, the humble and the lowly. The most practical form which Vedanta should take, said Vivekananda, was the uplift of the mass of people. In this he was truly the forerunner of Gandhiji. "An empty stomach," Vivekananda once remarked, "is no good for religion." It was he, too, who observed that "God comes to the poor in the form of bread." I think we should constantly remind ourselves of these words when we are involved in conflicts of creeds and wars between rival "isms." We have to act up to the ideals of a true democracy, we have to rid the world of dire poverty and want, we have to bring some ray of hope and cheer in countless lives immersed in squalor and misery. And this we have to do irrespective of Communism or Capitalism. The world can no more be half-starving than half-slave. A *free world* cannot be based on hungry stomachs, ignorant minds and idle hands. To meet Vivekananda's challenge in constructive terms is the supreme task of statesmanship today.

India's political system and constitutional structure are squarely based on principles of secularism. The Fundamental Rights laid down in the Constitution prohibit discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth and prevent the imposition of any disability or restriction on such grounds. Complete religious freedom is assured to all citizens of India. This is the cornerstone of new India. Hindu-Muslim unity was one of the ideals for which Gandhiji strove and, indeed, it was in vindicating this ideal that he sacrificed his very life. Throughout his life, Vivekananda laid stress on brotherhood and tolerance. In his famous address to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, he said : "Sectarianism, bigotry and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long pestered this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often

with human blood, destroyed civilizations and sent whole nations to despair." Indeed, he realized that social barriers could not be sanctioned by religious tenets. "India's doom was sealed the very day the caste system was invented and stopped free communion with one another. . . . No man, no nation can hate others and live." For, he believed like his great master, that different religions are but diverse ways leading to the same goal. As the writing on the walls of the Vedanta centres in this country proclaims, "He is one but the sages describe Him differently."

Although a true nationalist, Swami Vivekananda was not narrow in his outlook or parochial in his approach. It is remarkable that over sixty years ago, he had what today we call an international outlook. "Even in politics and sociology, problems that were national twenty years ago can no longer be solved on national grounds only," he observed. "They are assuming huge proportions, gigantic shapes. They can only be solved when looked at in the broader light of international grounds. International organizations, international combinations, international laws are the cry of the day. There cannot be any progress without the whole world being based on Truth and Justice. It is becoming every day clearer that the solution of any problem can never be attained on racial, national or narrow grounds. Every idea has to become broad till it covers the whole of this world, every aspiration must go on increasing till it has engulfed the whole of humanity—I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or nation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others. Colonialism breeds exclusiveness. This is the main cause of the degradation of Man to-day. All nations must get back into the world-current. Motion is the sign of life." How true these words are today—years after they were spoken! With Vivekananda, however, internationalism was not a slogan or an instrument of power politics but an expression of his innate sense of human brotherhood.

It is of interest to note that long before Gandhiji, Vivekananda emphasized not only the vital importance of truthfulness in all human activities but also stressed the need of fearlessness and even the principle of non-aggression. When Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa in 1915, what

pained him most was a lack of moral strength among people ; he was oppressed by the atmosphere of cowardice and fear. Gandhiji thought this to be the worst evil of foreign rule, worse even than economic exploitation since it corroded the souls of men and women and robbed them of their human dignity : he, therefore, tried to instill fearlessness among his people so that they might stand erect before social tyrants, oppressive landlords and arrogant rulers.

But it is not only individual fear that matters. We live today in an age of fear ; the rich are more afraid than the poor, the more powerful nations are in greater terror than the weaker ones. Measures of security seem only to increase the feeling of insecurity all round. Atomic power has accentuated our apprehensions, bringing the whole world under a shadow. Fear is at the root of much of the world's troubles today and has involved us in a terrible race in production of nuclear weapons which, if we are not prudent, can only end in universal disaster. Vivekananda proclaimed : "Be not afraid of anything. It is fear that is the great cause of misery in the world. It is fear that is the greatest of superstitions. It is fear that is the cause of our woes. And it is fearlessness that brings heaven in a moment."

So, too, about non-aggression. He once said, "There is no virtue higher than non-injury. Non-injury has to be attained by him who would be free. No one is more powerful than he who has attained perfect non-injury." This, indeed, has been the teaching of all great religions. This conception of non-aggression was later translated by Gandhiji into the principle of non-violence and its wise application in the international sphere is the only hope for human survival.

Apart from these teachings and tenets, Vivekananda gave an institutional expression to the principles expounded by him. In the tradition of the Buddhist monks or *bhikhus* who went to distant lands carrying Buddha's message of goodwill and love and brotherhood, he travelled abroad and came to this country twice. It was to preach and practise the positive faith and gospel of social service that the Ramakrishna Mission was established. The Mission which has several activities—religious, cultural and social—has been steadily expanding them in various directions. It runs hospitals, dispensaries,

industrial and agricultural schools, libraries and publishing houses. And at the occurrence of flood, famine, earthquake, epidemic or any other natural calamity, its members render assistance and give relief. It observes no distinction of caste, creed or religion in such work. The Mission has remained a monastic order, disseminating reformative ideas and engaging itself in social service. It has placed in the forefront of its programme the idea of social work not as mere charity or philanthrophy but as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life, as a social obligation which we all owe to those less fortunately placed in life.

The first Vedanta centre in this country was founded in this city soon after Swami Vivekananda's visit in 1893. There are today eleven centres in this country where Vedanta philosophy is studied and expounded. These centres do not preach a set of rigid doctrines or seek to convert people.

Vivekananda died at the young age of 39. The fire that raged in his mind and heart and which expressed itself in eloquent and ennobling language eventually consumed it. It has been said: "Those whom the gods love die young." But if the gods had spared Vivekananda to live the full span of his life, he would have contributed still more to the cultural renaissance of his country and to the spiritual regeneration of mankind.

BUDDHA JAYANTI*

TODAY, millions of people in many Asian lands as well as other countries celebrate the 2500th anniversary of Buddha. In Burma and Ceylon, in Thailand, in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, in Japan and China this full-moon day of the month of Vaisakh is being celebrated, this great event in the history of the world.

People ask how or why did Buddha come? Buddha's coming is like that of any other great prophet, it is inexplicable. In the *Geeta*, Shri Krishna has said that "whenever there is decline of religion, He manifests himself to re-establish religion and destroy sin." In the sociological sense, Buddhism was a moral protest against priestcraft and scriptural doctrines, against rituals and superstitions and caste inequalities which prevailed in India. People clung to form rather than to substance and Buddha wanted to recall them to the pristine purity of religion.

Plato longed for a philosopher king. And yet in the State of Kapilavastu, at the foot of the Himalayas in India, there was born Prince Siddhartha who became a king not only of philosophers but of ascetics and saints, who renounced the comforts and luxuries of the palace to seek truth and inner harmony. Gentle and calm, radiating love and compassion, Gautama Buddha, the Enlightened One, preached as well as practised his message which has inspired countless men and women for 2,500 years. It has truly been the Light of Asia which has illumined the path of humanity.

The people of India rejoice in participating in this world-wide celebration. Buddha was born and lived and had his enlightenment in India. He preached his message there and became one with the eternal in India. Two centuries after Buddha passed away, Emperor Asoka, after his conquest of

* Speech delivered at the Buddha Jayanti celebrations at the Jefferson Memorial Auditorium, Department of Agriculture, U.S.A., on May 24, 1956.

Kalinga, heralded a golden epoch in the story of Buddhism and in the history of India. The terrible sufferings caused by his conquest so distressed Asoka that he said that he had lost the war and not won it. He proclaimed that true conquest was the conquest of self. He vowed to abjure violence as an instrument of policy and devoted himself entirely to the spread of Buddha's gospel of peace and goodwill. Through his indefatigable efforts and intense zeal, Buddha's faith spread in many parts of India and also to countries ranging from Afghanistan to Japan. Buddhist *bhikus* carried their gospel to all lands in the East.

It is true that while Buddhism spread to many distant countries, it gradually faded away from the land of its birth. But this did not mean the eclipse of Buddhism in India, for in its essence it is not different from Hinduism. Indeed, Hinduism has been so eclectic that it imbibed and absorbed the vital teachings of Buddha into Hinduism. The philosophy of Sankaracharya, one of the most abstruse thinkers whom the world has known, is evidence of this assimilation. And Buddha has been recognized by orthodox schools of Hinduism as one of the *Avatars* or incarnations of God on earth. Many aspects of Hinduism and Buddhism have close similarity and in several countries like Nepal and Cambodia, Buddhism and Hinduism have mingled together. As Poet Tagore put it, "The paths are many but the Light is one."

The influence of Buddhist religion and thought on the life of the people of India is pervasive. Sacred places associated with the life of Buddha such as Lumbini, Buddha-Gaya, Sarnath, Kusinagara and others are centres of pilgrimage not only for Buddhists, but many Indians. The impact of Buddhist art on Indian sculpture and paintings has produced such marvellous products as are found at Sanchi and Sarnath, Ajanta and Ellora. When after independence, the flag of India was designed, the "Wheel of Law" (*Dharma Chakra*) which is on the abacus of the lion capitol of Asoka at Sarnath was chosen as the symbol in the centre of the flag. As the national emblem and seal of the nation was chosen the lion pillar of Asoka, the great Buddhist ruler and law-giver. Buddha's legacy is, therefore, India's proud heritage today.

Buddha's message is imperative today more than ever. For his sermons and teachings breathe the spirit of reason and tolerance. "Not hatred but love can conquer hatred," he said. In a world rent asunder by national rivalries and power politics and in a nuclear age where humanity faces annihilation unless scientific power is controlled, one must endeavour to follow the fundamental precepts of Buddhism with its emphasis on peace, goodwill and human brotherhood. The noble way of *Pancha Sheela* is still the path of harmony and unity.

INDIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE*

INDIA IS NOT an English-speaking country although, to many of us, English is a familiar and valued medium which has contributed and will, I am sure, continue to contribute much to our national life. Language is not merely what we speak and hear and write; it is something which is integrated with our mental processes. We think and even breathe a language. English is to us a foreign language and yet through its medium we have imbibed many a lesson of freedom and democracy. Years ago, Wordsworth wrote:

> We must be free or die,
> Who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake;
> The faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held.

But apart from the inspiration derived by the political movement, in literature and philosophy, in art and science, the English language has profoundly influenced Indian thought and modes of expression. More. It has been one of the unifying forces in a vast country. In our Parliament and Legislative Assemblies, in law courts and universities, in industrial firms and scientific laboratories, English is still the principal medium of communication. We have decided to have our own national language but this does not mean an aversion to the study of English for technical purposes as well as for communication with the rest of the world. We do not believe in any narrow creed which sacrifices cultural values and builds barriers between minds. We do not wish to shut out light from any land. Indeed, so far as the United States is concerned, this medium of English language is an additional facility which makes for closer bonds between our two countries. For, I am

* Speech delivered to the English-speaking Union of the United States, New York, on April 7, 1954.

assured on good authority that what is spoken in this country, strange as it may sound to us at times, is basically English ! I feel, therefore, that I can count on a special measure of understanding and goodwill in speaking before an organisation whose larger purposes embrace the promotion of an attitude of free discussion and mutual tolerance among the English-using peoples of the world.

But there is a deeper reason for this sense of ease of expression which I am permitting myself on this occasion. It is a reason which is germane to the subject of my remarks today. It is no less than the fact that what I claim to be a unique peaceful culmination of a difficult relationship in international affairs—and let us face it, the relationship between an imperial power and its subjects cannot but be a difficult one—took place as a result of the cooperation of one of the main groups of English-speaking people and the people of India. In a world which is seriously troubled by the awesome signs and rumblings of conflict, consider, for a moment, the substantial contribution in capital that India and Britain jointly have made to the abiding assets of peace as a result of the deliberately chosen method by which India regained her freedom and Britain transferred power. Today, how much worse would have been the prospects for world peace if in 1939 the Indian people and their leaders had hearkened to the voice of the "realists", the "practical men", the emotional enthusiasts, the passionate revolutionaries and others who glorified the martial tradition, and had plunged the country into a mass movement of armed and violent resistance against the British? It might be that, in time, that way too, India would have achieved independence, but with what a terrible legacy of hatred and bitterness and with what sinister shadows lengthening over the continent of Asia !

It is fundamental to an understanding of India's attitude in world affairs that we should remember that India's national leadership deliberately chose the method of peace in her struggle for independence ; that by doing so, she has not only built up amicable relationships with the United Kingdom but has also acquired a perspective for the peaceful handling of disputes between nations. Our national movement has been described as non-violent. And constitutionalism is but non-

violence translated into political terms. From this it follows, and, indeed, it would be a betrayal of her rich experience if she were to do otherwise, that India brings to bear on various issues in international relations that concern her, or in which she is asked to participate, an intrinsically peaceful approach.

The first peaceful dividend of this approach has been India's considered decision, even though she has chosen a republican form of government, to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. As is known, the Commonwealth is not a juridical entity; it is not a super-state; it is an organization wherein a pool of experience and wisdom is shared by a group of countries. Not that these countries do and will always agree with one another or vote together; indeed, on occasions they register a lack of unanimity in the United Nations. That is to be expected in the free association of independent sovereign countries, none of which is prepared to be a mere "camp follower" or satellite. And this surely, in democratic countries and in their relationships is what one would expect. There is no attempt in the Commonwealth to proclaim and impose overall leadership whether on the basis of priority in the organization itself—as could be claimed by the U.K.; or because of wealth—a claim which could justifiably be made by that wonderfully active country Canada; or on the basis of size which is surely something that could be claimed by the great Dominion from down under, Australia; or because of the weight of population as in the case of India herself. The resulting mutual respect and equality among its members is what makes the Commonwealth so important an international experiment. And India is glad to be a party to this organization wherein, when differences arise, they are accepted with tolerance and mutual respect. There is in this Commonwealth no castigation of countries for not having declared themselves to be on one side or the other. Nor because of divergence in outlook and policies on specific problems is there a tendency to treat such differences as signs of heterodoxy. Nor, again, do such differences raise doubts about our fundamental unity of purpose. We are not continuously asked to proclaim ourselves on the side of the angels. Perhaps, because the British with their severely practical approach, recognize that we are all men in a world of men. And we, with our oriental

simplicity, prefer the devil we know to the devil we don't!

The foreign policy of India, as of some other countries in that area such as Burma and Indonesia, is described as one of "neutralism". Political terminology is not always precise nor, indeed, static. During the war, for example, the term "non-belligerency" was used as distinct from "neutrality" and there were also forms of "neutrality" such as "benevolent neutrality". If "neutrality" in the present conditions implies a lack of responsibility concerning world affairs or a desire to escape international obligations by not taking sides or a policy of isolation, then surely this term is inapplicable to the attitude and policy of India and other countries in that area. But if such a term means a rejection of commitment to either side now engaged in the cold war and a desire not to get involved in the conflicts between great powers, there is an element of truth in this description. India's foreign policy, however, is rather one of maintenance of a certain measure of freedom in her outlook and independence in her decisions. Even in a cold war, the Indian approach has not been one of "cold neutrality"; for, her leaders and representatives have not hesitated to commit themselves to a position which they consider to be right. India's attitude has not even been one of supine desire for "non-involvement" since India has involved herself whenever she saw an opportunity to do so constructively. In the counsels of the world she has tried to exercise discrimination in judging international issues without preconceived notions or ideological obsessions. Moral judgment depends upon free determination made on merits as one sees them, not dictated by extraneous considerations or pressure. It is, no doubt, possible to disagree on the merits of such issues but I do maintain that we have been endeavouring to adopt an attitude towards international affairs which we believe consistent not only with our interests but with values as we see them. It is, in other words, a positive attitude embodying a constructive approach for reducing world tensions and developing a firmer basis of cooperation among nations.

Have there been any good reasons for the application of this epithet of "neutralism" to Indian attitude and policy? Is it not abundantly clear that India has shown a positive, almost a bold concern for peace in the world? Is such a

policy "neutralist" or supine or confused? If India, though not a combatant participant in the Korean war, had been "neutralist", would she not have sat back and displayed some of the "plague on both your houses" mentality? But did she not, on the contrary, devise a scheme for a truce in Korea which eventually became the basis of a cease-fire and the prisoner repatriation arrangement? I would remind you that this effort of India was described by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the chief of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations, as "a splendid and sincere effort for peace." Speaking the other day to the Pilgrims in London, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, who led the U.K. Delegation to the United Nations, stressed the Indian initiative on the issue of Korean prisoners of war and pointed out that "without this Indian proposal, hostilities in Korea would have gone on longer than they did." And did not India also send her uniformed paratroop medical corps to this theatre of war, and did not its services win encomiums? And did she not provide the full contingent of armed forces required for the repatriation arrangements? Did not the conduct of the Indian Custodian Forces receive worldwide appreciation? Are these the actions of a country which lets the issues of peace and war, or any of the major issues facing our world, simply pass her by?

And then, again, is it "neutralist" to have called for a cease-fire and armistice in Indo-China which obviously, if not today, then tomorrow, must be the first step in the ending of hostilities and the beginning of a happier day for that war-ravaged country?

Again, in the Western Powers Disarmament Resolution adopted by the United Nations on November 18, 1953, it was India that suggested a clause calling on the main atomic powers to meet informally for the purpose of reaching agreement. It was this one clause in the resolution to which President Eisenhower referred in his speech to the U.N. General Assembly on December 8, 1953, when he stated that the U.S. Government was willing at once to go ahead with the suggested private talks.

It can thus be seen that India's attitude is anything but that of isolation or aloofness or indifference to moral issues. India's attitude and actions in world affairs have shown, I

venture to suggest, a concern for peace and a constructive approach towards achieving it which cannot be described by stereotyped cliches about "neutralism" and "fellow-travelling". We stand on the record of the past seven years' work in the United Nations and its specialized agencies and in the chanceries of the capitals of the world. And I submit without hesitation that it is a record which establishes our desire and our determination, within the limits of our powers, to contribute towards an easing of tensions and promoting some measure of understanding and harmony between countries which for good or ill have to live together despite their different ideologies and varied systems. As has been well said, "we must face life as it is and understand that diversity is its most essential feature . . . . . fear of difference is dread of life itself." It is an illusion that there are only two systems in the world—"Capitalistic" and "Communistic"; there are numerous systems, political and economic, which are all different and all changing. My country, for example, believes in evolving a "mixed" economy combining initiative and enterprise with social justice and economic equality. Why not? After all, we do not want a dull, drab uniformity all over the world, standardization of cultures, mechanization of the mind. There is joy in diversity, beauty in variety. We can and shall remain different and yet work together and participate in common tasks, cooperate in various world organizations and agencies.

We may look at India's attitude towards world peace in another and equally valid manner. It is by examining briefly her domestic policies and measures. It is a truism that a country's policy at home is bound to influence its foreign policy, and its international relations similarly affect internal affairs. So, in the assessment of any country it is prudent to see whether a government practises within its borders what it preaches outside. In the case of India, this is of vital concern because any considerable breakdown of internal peace in the country might well have widespread and serious repercussions. India holds as much as a sixth of the human race, and the destinies of her people are closely intertwined with those of the world community.

The Government of India, then, have a direct responsibility for maintaining peace in one-sixth of the world and our

friends might well ask how that task is being performed.

Let us glance briefly at the internal picture of India. We have a working democracy which not only sent 107 million voters to the polls in the general elections of 1952 to elect about 4000 legislators in the States and in the Centre; but underlying this, we have the rudiments of rural communities in most of our 564,000 villages which we are seeking to develop so as to bring democracy to the doorstep of the humblest citizen of the country. I mention this because I think it might well be of interest to our friends here on the other side of the globe to know that we are endeavouring to build up institutions and ways of life to strengthen democratic forces.

The rule of law has been from the earliest times a major force in the Indian concept of society. No wonder, then, that our present Constitution provides adequate safeguards which any citizen of a democratic state could possibly expect, guaranteeing to him his rights, complete equality before the law, regardless of race, creed, sex or occupation, and a firmly established judicial system to which the individual can have recourse if need be. Our laws do not permit subversive activities, violence and sabotage to go unchecked. Any citizen who, for whatever reasons, indulges in these anti-social activities, takes the consequences of his actions, but we do not outlaw any form of belief or thought provided it does not lead to overt actions leading to hatred and violence.

Although our rights are fortified by the Constitution and the law, we feel that our best safeguard for peace and welfare are the vigilance and awareness of our democratically elected Government, in seeing to it that the citizens of the country are provided with the basic opportunities of education, employment, and other means to stimulate the exercise of their own initiative. In these fields, we start with great handicaps. We admit that we are way behind where we wish to be, but these hard realities do not deter us. On the contrary, we have tried to assess and husband our resources in men, materials and money, and to deploy them to the best advantage of the community and the individual. We are now entering upon the fourth year of a development plan which has already been able to overcome in a substantial manner the deficient supply of the main foodgrains used by our people, and much of

the shortage in cotton, jute and other raw materials for our industries. We are expanding our production of steel, we have added considerably to our production of fertilizers and we are bringing about 17 million acres of land under additional irrigation facilities. We will soon have basic school facilities for 60 per cent of our population and we are making, in addition, rapid headway through adult literacy campaigns to complete the basic education of our vast population. Most state governments are abolisihng outmoded systems of land tenure and have given security to the peasant and thereby enhanced his interest in better methods of cultivation and generally in better living conditions. In rural India, a remarkable manifestation of the human spirit at its best has been promoted by voluntary effort headed by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, one of Mahatma Gandhi's leading disciples, to redistribute agricultural land so as to convert landless agricultural labourers into peasant owners with a personal stake in the development of the country. In the last two years or so, about three million acres of land have voluntarily been surrendered by landlords to Bhave. Indeed, this movement indicates that new forces are at work in India which have to find channels other than the legislatures and governmental institutions through which to function.

Without exaggeration or immodesty, India can be described as a resurgent land in which age-old problems are being dealt with democratically and with modern knowledge and techniques by the cooperative effort of the Government and individual citizens. We are endeavouring to strengthen these constructive forces and constantly we refresh ourselves by drawing on our great cultural heritage from Buddha to Gandhi.

May I add that it is our constant endeavour to arrive at peaceful solutions by mutual agreement with our neighbouring countries with which we propose to live in amity and friendship. We realize only too well that discontent and chaos in countries nearby would adversely affect our own interests and hamper our progress. We have, like the United States and Canada, an unguarded frontier between India and Burma with whom our relations are cordial. Recently, we have had an agreement on problems of immigration with Ceylon

which is an evidence of mutual goodwill and will be an instrument of good neighbourly relations in future. It is true that India's relations with Pakistan have not been as satisfactory as they should be and, I have no doubt, will be. It is nothing surprising if the creation of two States by partition of the country should have resulted in several complex problems; many of these difficulties are being overcome by adjustment and compromise. Those who are impatient about the solution of some of the outstanding questions should remember the insuperable difficulties in resolving similar issues in Western Europe and on the American continent. Our Prime Minister has repeatedly stressed that there cannot be a prosperous India without a prosperous Pakistan on its borders and that with their common roots and similarity in conditions and problems, they should be able to solve their mutual problems and establish harmonious relations. India which insists on the principle of equality between nations and races, whether weak or strong, and on the need for international cooperation cannot but look upon all her neighbours as equals with her in the common enterprise for social welfare and world peace.

In conclusion: In this atomic age, civilization has no future unless we can devise some rational means of settling differences and overcoming conflicts between nations. We cannot and should not build upon a psychology of fear and distrust. We must deliberately learn to think in terms of the individual welfare of the common man everywhere. The United Nations and methods of diplomacy provide the necessary machinery for settlement of disputes and attainment of collective security. We have to defend moral ideas and combat oppressive social systems not by war but by other weapons such as education, public opinion, political institutions and economic development. The ultimate problem of an international society is the achieving of harmony between different systems and the balancing of claims and conflicts between countries. Towards this task, we all have to dedicate ourselves since there is no middle way now between international cooperation for peace and destruction of humanity.

INDIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS*

INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE has enabled her to play a more active part in world affairs. Her domestic and foreign policies in their entirety constitute a positive approach toward peace and freedom. India's major domestic concern is the economic and social betterment of the people and this objective, apart from other vital considerations, demands a foreign policy directed to the maintenance of peace. The pursuit of this policy has contributed to some extent to reducing international tensions, bringing about adjustment and settlement of some outstanding questions and promoting a measure of understanding and harmony between nations. Although India does not possess any military strength or economic power, her views and advice have been listened to with a certain measure of appreciation and respect. India's motives in offering solutions have not been impugned and it has been recognized that all that her leaders desire is to make a contribution, however modest, towards strengthening the forces of peace and for averting war.

India's assistance in solving complex international questions and settling disputes and differences between powerful countries has not been without results. It was the Indian resolution in the United Nations on the Korean question in the fall of 1952 that eventually became the basis of a cease-fire and the prisoner repatriation arrangement. And if I may so claim, it was no small tribute to India that she was selected by both sides to be the chairman, umpire and executive agency of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea. Again, Indian troops alone guarded the prisoners of war in Korea during that tense period and the manner in which they discharged their onerous responsibility won encomiums for them and for their country from all over the world including the distinguished President of the United States.

* Speech delivered to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations at Chicago, on April 22, 1955.

Similarly, in the Disarmament Resolution adopted by the United Nations on November 18, 1953, it was India that suggested a clause calling on the principal powers concerned with atomic energy to meet informally for the purpose of reaching an agreement: a proposal which was welcomed by President Eisenhower in his historic speech to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953. These talks have been proceeding since then as initially proposed by the Indian Government. So, too, India's efforts helped to some extent to bring about the cessation of active hostilities in Indo-China and the conclusion of an interim settlement in the three Associated States. Here, again, the impartial role which India desires to play received recognition by the fact that her representatives were selected as chairmen of the three International Supervisory Commissions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Whatever the differences in attitude and policy between different countries and groups of countries, there is, therefore, this much of confidence and trust in India's impartiality and integrity that she is chosen for such heavy responsibilities and for such delicate tasks despite her comparative inexperience in international affairs and despite her not being a great power. All this shows that a country like India has played and can play a useful part in tense situations when there are serious misunderstandings and friction. It is totalitarianism, not democracy, which demands regimentation of nations. As Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, has observed, "freedom involves diversity." Disagreement on the merits of various issues is possible and even helpful. But we must try to understand one another's motives and objectives, even if we disagree, for tolerance is basic to cooperation.

The broad principles of India's foreign policy are embodied in what is now known as the Five Principles (*Pancha Sheela*). These are: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. These principles demand respect from countries for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another as well as a policy of non-interference and non-aggression. Further, they imply equality between nations. They

are not regional in scope but capable of wide application. A number of countries including India, Burma, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and China have declared their adherence to these principles. It may be argued that these are vague and general principles and that it would be naive to base a country's foreign policy on them. But they are the essence of the Charter of the United Nations and must be accepted if international anarchy is to be replaced by an ordered international life. No doubt, they have to be implemented in practice ; no doubt, they have to be sincerely and ceaselessly worked for. But is it not better to work for achievement of peaceful cooperation than to think in terms of war and preparation for war ? Do countries always observe solemn treaties and agreements between them ? It is, after all, trust that begets trust. There might well be disappointment and disillusionment in our striving for peace but in this nuclear age, there is no alternative. Whether we like it or not, we shall have to live with peoples and countries whose systems and ideas we cannot accept any more than we accept the religions and ways of life of other countries. But as statesmen all over the world have declared, there will be neither victors nor vanquished in an atomic war. Radio-active clouds are not going to respect political frontiers and trade barriers. We live, said Churchill, on the brink of hell. All our efforts should, therefore, be directed towards preventing our plunge into the pit. India seeks nothing more than to lend a helping hand towards fulfilling this objective. Peace is our first priority and it has to be won by patience, tolerance and mutual accommodation. As Robert Louis Stevenson said, "there is no cutting the Gordian knot of life ; each knot has to be smilingly unravelled."

India's policy—and that of other countries like Burma and Indonesia—is frequently described as one of "neutralism." I do not think this is an accurate description but were it so, people in this country should be able to understand its rationale; it is virtually indistinguishable from American foreign policy from 1798 to 1937. The United States wanted to avoid "entangling alliances" and to stand aloof from the age old struggle for power in Europe. The Monroe Doctrine was an extension of this "neutralism" to the entire American continent. During

World War I, the U.S. was not strictly an "ally" of England and France but an "associated power." Terms like "benevolent neutrality" and "non-belligerency" were current during the two world wars. Less than twenty-five years ago, the Neutrality Act was passed to prevent this country being involved in wars which were not regarded as its concern. It is true that subsequent events brought about a change in attitude and compelled the United States not only to intervene but to play a leading role both in war and in peace. But the desire of a nation which is still in the early stages of development to avoid being dragged into rivalries and conflicts of powers can well be understood. As Edwin R. Reischauer observes in his recent book, *Wanted: An Asian Policy*, Asian neutralism is "in reality a strong assertion of independence."

But the way to avoid wars now is not to be aloof and isolated but to participate in international bodies and seek to strengthen the forces of peace. That is what India with its limited resources and despite its domestic obligations wants to do. The terms "neutralism" and "neutrality" are, in fact, hardly appropriate when there is no war. But even in a "cold" war, India's attitude has not been that of "cold neutrality". If "neutralism" means a lack of sense of responsibility towards world affairs, if it implies a desire to escape international obligations, then, surely, such a term is inapplicable to the approach of India and other like-minded countries in that area. These countries can be described rather as "uncommitted" if by this expression is meant that they reject any commitment to support one side or the other simply because we have to line up or else be treated as outcasts. But these nations, too, are committed to the cause of peace. India's foreign policy, as I have endeavoured to show, is one of maintenance of a freedom in her outlook and independence in her decisions.

Indeed, I suggest that there is always a useful role for meditators between rival blocs of powers; the existence of a buffer group of neutral countries is useful not only during wars but even during cold wars as events have proved during the last three years. A country which has contacts with both sides, which in a time of crisis can serve as a link and which

can interpret the feelings and views of one side to the other has a valuable role to play. Even in the early days of the crisis over Formosa when there were apprehensions about the outbreak of a war, people in several countries were anxious to ascertain what India could do in order to influence the Peking Government and whether India had any constructive proposals for bringing about a cease-fire and paving the way for negotiations.

India seeks the friendship, goodwill and cooperation of all countries and has entered into treaties of friendship with several nations. We are, however, not prepared to enter into military alliances because such alliances although defensive in intention, imply hostility to some country or groups of countries and thus create mutual suspicion and fear. In the world as it is today, no nation can have complete security. The kind of security which the United States and the world at large enjoyed in the nineteenth century is not likely to return in the foreseeable future. We have to learn to put up with a certain measure of insecurity without despair. It is true that military alliances are designed to deter aggression but beyond a point, they might well be provocative and bring retaliation. It has been aptly said that one country's security might be another country's insecurity. The search for security far beyond one's own borders might well become the logic of imperialism. Deterrent measures buy us time but cannot ensure enduring peace. As General MacArthur has observed, "Whatever bestrides the fate of the Far East, or indeed, of the world, will not be settled by force of arms." Informed opinion in this country as elsewhere is impressed with the fact that the ability of Western powers to defend much of Asia by arms is extremely limited. People in Asia as elsewhere fear war more than they dislike "isms." The problems in Asia and Africa are fundamentally social and economic and cannot be dealt with primarily by military measures. This has been proved during the last five years in Indo-China. Mr. George Kennan in his *Realities of American Foreign Policy* has observed :

"A strictly military approach, which attempts to subordinate all other considerations to the balancing of the

military equation, will be not only inadequate but downright harmful. For the demands placed on our policy by the rise of these in-between countries to positions of new vitality and importance will often be in direct conflict with the requirements of the perfect and total military posture ; so that by a rigid military approach we will be in danger of losing on the political level more than we gain on the military one."

But even measures of security to be effective must of necessity depend upon a healthy national economy and on the contentment of the mass of people. It is not that the motives and objectives of such alliances and aid are unworthy ; but their results and effects have to be examined with a view to determine whether on the balance, they do more harm than good, whether they impinge upon national sovereignty or tend to increase tensions.

These considerations do not, however, apply to economic aid, whether governmental or given through Foundations, or to private capital investment. We believe that such aid should not be subject to conditions infringing a country's sovereignty and independence. The aid which India has received has been without any stipulations or obligations in so far as her domestic and foreign policies are concerned. The programmes and plans of development are formulated by Indian officials and experts in close consultation and cooperation with foreign experts. Moreover, the amount of foreign aid should not be so large as to make the recipient country wholly dependent on the donor country and make its economy subservient. The whole object of such aid is to make the recipient countries increasingly independent, not to make them more and more dependent ; the object is to help these countries to help themselves. Wherever conditions permit, therefore, it is desirable to give such aid by loans rather than grants although grants might be justified for humanitarian purposes such as promotion of health or education and provision of food and medicine in emergencies. In India's case, the quantum of foreign aid which has been invaluable to our development plans constitutes about 14 per cent of the total expenditure on the Plan of development and the contribution under the Indo-American Technical Cooperation programme is about 8 per

cent of the total expenditure on community development projects. We believe that such aid as is received should be selective and utilized in a manner that does not sap the initiative and enterprise of the people themselves. Self-reliance is a vital element in national development.

I shall now turn more specifically to India's approach to problems in Asia. Let me say at the start that India does not want to assume the leadership of Asia ; indeed, as President Eisenhower has emphasized, we have to think in these days not in terms of leadership but of partnership. Situated as India is in the centre of Asia, we do desire to develop closer relations, economic and cultural, with countries in that area. The countries of Asia and Africa comprising 60 per cent of the world's population and 40 per cent of its land area have a gross national income which is only 8 per cent of the world's total income. We do wish to expand our trade, increase our knowledge and information about other lands, give and receive technical advice and build up useful contacts. We feel that the forces which give rise to totalitarian movements in Asia should be properly understood ; unrest in Asia has many phases and facets. There is a deep yearning for national independence in many lands and there are economic causes of discontent which cannot be ignored. We feel that there is inadequate recognition of the importance of Asia in the councils of nations. For instance, Asia is hardly represented in the Security Council of the United Nations. Asian countries feel that they have little say even in settling Asian problems. Equality of status and cooperation on a free and equal basis are more conducive to mutual understanding than aid and alliances.

But the emphasis on the importance of Asia which contains such a large part of the world's population, which has immense natural resources and has great potentialities of development in future does not involve any doctrine of exclusiveness ; it does not connote any movement of "Asia for Asians". Speaking on April 24, 1954, at the time of the Geneva Conference, when Prime Minister Nehru submitted his six-point proposal for an Indo-China settlement, he said :

"We do not seek any special role in Asia nor do we champion any narrow and sectional Asian regionalism. We only seek

to keep for ourselves and for the adherence of others, particularly our neighbours, a peace area and a policy of non-alignment and non-commitment to world tensions and wars. This is essential for us for our own sake, and can alone enable us to make our contributions to lowering world tensions and further disarmament and world peace. Peace to us is not just a fervent hope ; it is an urgent necessity..."

Events have proved that cooperation among Asian and African nations is essential not merely for achievement of their rightful place in the comity of nations but also to extend the area of peaceful cooperation. In so far as these countries achieve political stability and strengthen their mutual relations, in so far as they develop their economies and improve the conditions of their masses, to that extent they will contribute to the forces making for peace in the East as well as in the West.

It is against this background that we have to realise the significance of the conference now meeting at Bandung in Indonesia. It is the first time that Asian and African leaders have met to discuss problems of interest to themselves and to the world as a whole. This conference is a symbol of the resurgence of Asia. As Arnold Toynbee has said, the growing awareness of half of the world's population is the most significant event of the twentieth century and "more explosive than the atom bomb." A continent which has been "asleep for 500 years or more" has awakened. The Bandung Conference is the result of this awakening and represents the new spirit of Asia. But the conference, in India's view, is not designed to form a new bloc or line up countries with or against any power blocs. We should seek to resolve differences, not accentuate them. We want to build bridges between nations, not barriers. The conference, will, no doubt, assert the importance of national sovereignty and independence and declare itself against all types of domination in any shape or form, ideological or imperialistic, "salt water" or trans-continental. It will unequivocally make a stand for the principle of racial equality which is denied in many parts of Africa—a denial which is more fraught with danger to peace and international cooperation than any totalitarian doctrines. It might be recalled that Japan championed the cause of Asian equality as

long ago as 1919 at the Peace Conference in Paris ; and in the United Nations, India and other Asian countries have been fighting strenuously for the acceptance of this principle. Another important issue facing the Bandung Conference is the use of nuclear weapons. The tests of atomic weapons have created widespread apprehensions in Asian countries which feel helpless in the face of these terrible experiments and dangers. Undoubtedly, any ban on such experiments must apply to all sides. The utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is also a matter in which under-developed countries are vitally interested. The very fact that nuclear war threatens us makes it imperative that methods of negotiations should be tried and diplomacy should become the principal instrument of policy. Indeed, the views and feelings of Asian countries have to be taken into account because what is called "conventional" military strength is no longer as important as in the past. So far as India is concerned, she looks upon this conference as a concerted endeavour to widen the area of peace and strengthen the forces of cooperation between Asian and African countries themselves and between Asia and Africa and the rest of the world. It should help, as Prime Minister Nehru observed in his message before leaving for the conference, at least to some extent towards the realization of a one world idea.

No one country possesses the key which would unlock the door of peace. There are no short cuts to an international society. We are all searching for common ends in which peoples of different countries sometimes help one another, sometimes seem to get into one another's way, sometimes unwittingly hamper or impede one another. As Burke said, "We can never walk surely but by being sensible of our blindness." So far as India and the United States are concerned, there is no ideological conflict between us nor any clash of interest. We are both democratic countries and neither of us desires to conquer other lands or build up empires. We pursue different paths, sometimes parallel, sometimes intersecting, sometimes even at different angles. But though our paths might differ, our goal is the same. It is a goal which man has yearned for and striven for since the beginning of civilized life—the goal of peace and harmony between peoples. And the struggle for peace has become in this nuclear age the struggle for human survival.

INDIA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD TODAY*

EIGHT YEARS AGO today, on January 30, 1948, Mahatma Gandhi whom we love and revere as the Father of our Nation was assassinated. It is a day of remembrance and of atonement for the Indian people. If Buddha personified India's tradition of peace in the ancient days, Gandhiji symbolized it during the first half of this century. Gandhiji's life showed that goodness itself can be a power. It is well to remember this when we tend to think in terms of the hydrogen bomb and inter-continental ballistic missiles. For, the ultimate objective of even war is not victory but peace. And there can be no peace in the world unless there is peace in our hearts. Gandhiji believed that the fundamental law of life is love and not hatred, harmony not conflict, understanding not violent militancy. Indeed, he laid down his life because of his deep conviction that he was "his brother's keeper." I cannot think of a more appropriate occasion to speak about India's aspirations and striving in the world than on this day.

I wish to speak to you about India's attitude and policy in the international realm. India's policy has two facets: non-alignment with military alliances and blocs and a positive attitude and constructive endeavour towards promoting understanding and peace. Let me at the outset stress that this non-involvement in military blocs does not mean isolationism or "neutrality" as is commonly understood. The dictionary defines a "neutral" as one "not engaged on either side and specifically, a State or Power lending no active assistance to either or any belligerent" and "neutrality" as "such an attitude during hostilities." Neutralism is, therefore, a term hardly appropriate when there is no war. But even in the changing phases of a cold war with its high and low temperatures, India's attitude has not been one of "cold neutrality." Indeed, while hitherto the complaint was about India being a

* Speech delivered to the Cleveland Council on World Affairs at Cleveland (Ohio), U.S.A., on January 30, 1956.

"neutral" in the struggle between the "free world" and the Communist countries, latterly, I have heard the complaint that India is not "neutral"! I hope to revert to this point later. But, meanwhile, let me say that India's policy is not one of withdrawal from world affairs. India is not only an active member of the United Nations and its specialized agencies but is also a member of the Commonwealth of Nations; freely and by her own choice, India has continued to associate herself with the British Commonwealth as a free and sovereign republic. We maintain this relationship in mutual interest. India serves as a link between the West and Asia through this unique club of different nations and races.

India attained her independence less than nine years ago and became a sovereign republic having her own constitution six years ago, in 1950. She is still economically under-developed and has to build herself up by mobilizing and augmenting her resources and by providing education, health and social services for the mass of people. But I hope I can say without immodesty that India has been able to make some positive contribution in the international realm and her voice is listened to with attention and regard in the councils of nations. In the settlement in Korea and in Indo-China, in securing the release of American fliers and civilians, and in bringing about some relaxation of tensions in Formosa area, India has played a useful part. Without having military strength or economic power, India has attained an important international status. India has also brought into international affairs the Gandhian concept of mediation and reconciliation which is embodied in the principles of *Pancha Shila*—the five principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference with each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. India's policy of non-alignment or non-involvement is, therefore, not by any means negative or sterile. Nor is India the only country that subscribes to these principles. These principles were amplified and affirmed at the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African countries in April, 1955. Several countries, such as Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Yugoslavia, have also expressed their adherence to the fundamentals of

these principles. Recently, President Tito of Yugoslavia and the Egyptian President and Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser made a joint declaration in which they said :

> "The Presidents consider it necessary to reiterate that the policy that they have adopted and their countries are conducting does not constitute passivity, but a positive, active and constructive policy aimed at realizing general collective security and the essential expansion of the area of peace in the world. They have also agreed that to impose a policy of military blocs and pacts inevitably results in a suicidal armament race, causes misunderstanding among nations and heightens tension in the world."

We claim no monopoly in the desire for peace which is universal and intense. All we seek is to make our own contribution to this common task according to our own light. We expect not agreement but understanding and tolerance.

There is one subject on which considerable criticism has been made and concern expressed in Western countries during recent months and that is the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. I have no doubt you will agree that it is a matter entirely for the people and the Government of India to decide whom they should invite and how they should receive and treat their guests. India is a sovereign and independent country and we do not need to explain or apologize for our hospitality or courtesy. The visit of the Soviet leaders to India was in return of the visit of our Prime Minister who was given a warm reception in Russia. Such visits are a logical off-shoot of the principles of co-existence ; these principles assert the belief that nations with divergent political systems can live together to their mutual benefit respecting one another's integrity and independence. During the last year (1955), several delegations from Soviet Russia have visited this country and several political leaders, industrialists and technicians have visited Soviet Russia. The Soviet leaders are also visiting the United Kingdom in spring. All such exchanges are desirable and valuable because it is good to know one another as human beings and not merely as abstractions, such as "Russia" or "America" or "the Orient", nor through

the stereotypes of the press and the radio. "Man is a creature who lives not upon bread alone," said Robert Louis Stevenson, "but principally by catchwords." While much has been made of the impact of the Soviet leaders' visit to India, there is no doubt that this visit would have also made an impression on the Soviet leaders and officials. It was the first time that they visited independent, non-Communist countries with ancient traditions and with social orders and political systems entirely different from their own. Could this have been entirely without any effect on the minds of the Soviet leaders ?

But if there is some concern that India's policy has changed or might change as a result of recent events, that is not at all justified. India has not made any treaty or alliance with Soviet Russia—military or otherwise. Let me add that even after military aid was given by the United States to Pakistan, the SEATO came into existence, and the Baghdad Pact was concluded, India has not entered into an arms race; she has not asked for arms from the United States nor has she turned to the Soviet Union or any other country for supply of arms or military support. Prime Minister Nehru has stated that India adheres to the same principles and policy as she has hitherto done. At the banquet to the Soviet leaders in the President's House in New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru said :

> "There is talk of cold war and rival camps and groupings and military blocs and alliances, all in the name of peace. We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill which should include as many countries as possible and which should be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on goodwill and cooperation. If peace is sought after, it has to be by the methods of peace and the language of peace and goodwill."

In bidding goodbye to the Soviet leaders, on December 14, Mr. Nehru said :

> "We want to befriend every country so that our circle of friendship may grow and become wider and cooperation

and peace may thrive. What kind of friendship is that which envisages enmity with others ? We should befriend all and stretch out our hand to all. For this reason our coming closer to the great country, the Soviet Union, is very important. But *this does not mean that we have drifted away from any other country. This is neither the position now nor will it be at any time in the future.* We have always wanted and we still want cooperation among the countries of the world to increase and world peace to be strengthened."

Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stressed that force would not be used for the solution of the Goa question and has reiterated his belief that the end never justifies the means. If words have any meaning, it is clear, therefore, that there is no change in India's stand.

There has been some adverse comment over the joint statement issued by Prime Minister Nehru and the Soviet leaders at the end of their visit to India. I might recall that almost an identical statement was issued at the end of Mr. Nehru's visit to Soviet Russia last June. Both the statements support *Pancha Shila*, the five principles of peaceful co-existence, refer to the universality of the United Nations, and stress the importance of disarmament. No doubt, the December statement in India took note of developments in the international situation which occurred during the intervening period and referred to problems in the Far East and the Middle East as well as the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva. But nowhere was the blame for the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva thrown on the West, and it was explicitly stated in the joint statement that both the sides had understood each other's position better as a result of the conference and hope was expressed for the eventual success of these negotiations. The vital importance of disarmament was stressed in both the statements and stress laid on the prohibition of nuclear weapons. This has been India's stand all along. So also, avoidance of military alliances is in line with India's policy which aims at enlarging the area of peace instead of entering into military alignments which, in effect, create mutual suspicions and rivalries and bring

about an arms race. Soviet Russia has been put on record once again in support of principles which are the basis of the United Nations Charter and which would preclude on both sides interference in one another's internal affairs. Moreover, the Soviet leaders have agreed with the Indian Prime Minister that a nuclear war would involve disaster to all mankind. Let me add that despite strong feelings in India, there is no word in the joint statement about colonialism or Goa or Kashmir. The principles embodied in the joint statement are those which have been enunciated by India for the last few years and given expression to in more than one joint statement by the Indian Prime Minister with Asian and European leaders. There is nothing in the final statement which in any way indicates any change in India's policy of non-alignment. Economic agreement made between India and Soviet Russia does not also involve anything that jeopardizes India's economic independence or national control of her economy. Indeed, India does not and will not accept any economic aid which involves onerous conditions or political commitments inconsistent with her own sovereignty or which impairs the pursuit of her domestic and foreign policy. She wishes to develop her economy in her own way without any regimentation and without permitting the establishment of powerful vested interests that might dominate her social order. I would like to stress that these questions should not be judged primarily in terms of the cold war nor should it be expected that the ideological divisions and the rivalries of great powers would arouse the same sympathies and antipathies in Asia as in the West. We have to view the problems in Asia not necessarily in the categories familiar to the West but in the conditions and needs of Asian countries themselves. These problems must be seen as the Burmans or the Ceylonese or the Japanese see them, not as they look from the capitals of Western countries. It is also asked whether the Soviet leaders' visit would strengthen Communist forces in the country. This is a domestic problem which it is for India to deal with. Even those who oppose Mr. Nehru's foreign policy acknowledge that he has been realistic in dealing with the indigenous communist party and firm in meeting any challenge to constitutional authority.

I wish to pause for a moment to deal with the question of military alliances. No sensible man denies the need of adopting measures of security and preferably, collective security. The Asian-African Conference at Bandung recognized the principle of respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. But it also emphasized therein that there should be "abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the Big Powers" and "abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries." Military alliances can at best be negative and temporary, at worse entangling and provocative. The danger in Asia is not chiefly a military one and in the conditions of warfare as they now obtain, we are apt to exaggerate the values of pacts and arms which are frequently obsolete. True, military alliances are deterrent in certain areas and in particular circumstances, but as the British Prime Minister remarked recently, "deterrents are not a real, positive way to peace." The positive way to peace is firstly, to talk less of war, avoid belligerent preparations and threats, and to lay stress more on peaceful ways of solving our differences; and secondly, to explore all avenues for resolving such differences and widen the area of cooperation. In a series of illuminating articles recently, Mr. Walter Lippmann has shown how military alliances are apt to be regarded as political intervention in regional disputes and how they are likely to lead to suspicion and accentuate rivalries between different countries; in trying to win one ally, we might well create two opponents. It is not the motive or objective of these alliances that is in question but it is their consequences and repercussions that we have to consider. We are apt to be involved in a vicious circle through such military pacts and arms race; the situation in certain areas has already worsened as a result of the conclusion of military pacts which have, indeed, created "pro-pact" and "anti-pact" groups and have not ensured security to the region as a whole. Military aid does not simply mean supply of arms and ammunition. It is related to the basic conditions of national economy and national polity. Such aid has wider ramifications—constitutional, fiscal and economic; such alignments concern the

political fabric, the nature and the tempo of social development and have even psychological repercussions on the confidence and self-respect of a nation. The risk of weaker and smaller countries being increasingly dependent on bigger powers for bolstering up their economies and feeding their appetite for arms is by no means theoretical or imaginary.

In considering questions of security and competition in armaments, it is frequently asked whether "the other side" is sincere and trustworthy. The other side, alas! asks the same question. I shall now content myself by merely saying that trust begets trust although this is a saying whose inner core of truth we frequently forget in our search for bigger and better arms. But in the world today, it is not so much a question of sincerity of one Power or another as of the conditions which determine their outlook and policies. The balance of power has, indeed, become indistinguishable from the balance of terror. The desire to maintain peace and resolve differences through negotiation and agreement might be considered as durable as the H-bomb itself. For, even if all the bombs and materials are destroyed, knowledge about atomic power will continue. So long, therefore, as conditions of an atomic stalemate remain and so long as nuclear war is recognized to be a threat to humanity, Powers will desist from going to war for resolving their differences. It does not, therefore, follow that we have to sit back and do nothing about it. It means that we all should seek to avoid by every possible and legitimate means hostilities of any kind and try to remove the causes of conflicts. For a time, we might have cease-fire and truce and temporary agreements which might not be altogether satisfactory to one side or the other. But as Mr. Lester Pearson has observed in his recent book *Democracy in World Politics*, "Wise men should not scorn devices or expedients of this kind which can gain time for more fundamental solutions to mature, and which may avoid a war which is unlikely to be kept 'conventional' and which could quickly spread across oceans and continents." We have to accept, whether we like it or not, "the inevitability of gradualness" in solving international differences.

The demand to stand up and be counted smacks of totalitarianism rather than of the democratic way of life and the

cooperative systems of independent nations. Recently, Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, said, "We won't agree on everything [in Washington] : free peoples seldom do." How far an acceptance of the foreign policy of the United States should be a condition precedent to receipt of economic aid is, no doubt, entirely for the people and the Government of this country to decide. No recipient country is, in my opinion, entitled legitimately to complain if such aid is withdrawn on the ground that it is given on condition that the recipient country will not differ or deviate from the policies laid down by the country which gives such aid. We, in India, have deeply appreciated such foreign aid as we have received during the last few years and which has enabled us to tide over our food crisis and to launch upon community development projects for reviving the countryside. Such aid was given in the form of loans and grants from this country, from Canada and other Commonwealth countries as also by Foundations like Ford and Rockefeller. It is not the financial aspect of such aid that is important, because, in fact, the total amount of foreign aid in our First Five Year Plan constituted about eight per cent of the total expenditure incurred by our Central and State Governments on developmental plans. Even this marginal aid, however, was not only invaluable but served as a catalyst. Nevertheless, we have accepted this aid because it has not impinged upon our sovereignty or interfered with our domestic and international policies. Enlightened opinion in this country has held that such aid is not a form of bribe or reward for lining up certain countries but is given in order to enable under-developed countries to be strong and self-reliant so that they would be able to shape their own destinies without interference or domination from outside. We believe, however, that such aid can only supplement national effort and the main responsibility and burden of developing a country, both in respect of finance and personnel, should be on the people of the country concerned. It will be appreciated that no democratic government can long remain in power if the electorate feels that its policies are being adopted not in national interest but under the influence or at the dictation of a foreign power. Besides, policies which are adopted not as a result of free choice but

in order to obtain financial assistance cannot be beneficial or enduring. A governing class which accepts aid to perpetuate its selfish power or adopts policies as a bargaining counter to play one side against the other cannot survive in the long run. Such tactics for obtaining the best of both the worlds is not only politically immoral but could be nationally suicidal.

Although an ancient country, India is still a new-comer in the international world. India has many pressing economic and social problems to tackle, some of them inherited from the past, some of them resulting from economic forces prevailing in the world, some of them due to the new consciousness of the vast masses who will no longer remain satisfied with conditions of poverty and squalor. We have still to solve problems of integration and consolidation. We have to bring some ray of hope into the lives of millions who can barely have the necessities of life. Our foreign policy is, in a sense, a projection of domestic conditions and needs. We have, therefore, tried to judge international questions with a view to seeing how far they could be solved peacefully, how far international tensions could be reduced, how far some measure of understanding could be brought about between nations which are suspicious and antagonistic. We want to be friends not because we have a common enemy and collective hatreds but because our fundamental objectives are the same and because friendship between nations is essential for peace and human progress. We do not claim infallibility but we do maintain that our motive is none other than the motive of making our modest contribution to promoting world peace. To make such a contribution is not only the right of a free people but one of its primary obligations in the family of nations. We approach this onerous but vital task in all humility but also in confidence and faith that our efforts will be rewarded by goodwill and cooperation between all nations.

FACTORS CONDITIONING INDIA'S ASIA POLICY*

EVEN AT THE risk of appearing somewhat pedantic, I should like to mention that the factors affecting a country's policy, domestic or foreign, are not static; they are variable and frequently, even indeterminable. They deal with imponderables and are not always easy to define. Moreover, these factors are interrelated and influence one another although we might separate and classify them for analysis and evaluation. A country's geographical situation might, for instance, determine its "neutralism" as in the case of Switzerland. These factors are conditioned by environment but they themselves continuously mould such environment. A country's attitude to its neighbours might change because of their aggressive tendencies or because of ideological changes in the country itself. Again, international forces and the struggle for balance of power might affect relations *inter se* in a region. These factors, needless to say, are not all rational; they might stem from sentiment or prejudice; they might change because of manipulation of public opinion or strong waves of passion. On the other hand, these factors might have deeper psychological causes and traditional origins. It is essential to emphasize this because there is a tendency to over-simplify national attitudes and policies and consider such problems in terms of stereotypes.

Bearing in mind these qualifications and limitations, we might proceed to examine some of the important factors which have determined India's policy in Asia. Even here, it is necessary to remember that eight years is not a sufficiently long period to offer anything but tentative views and conclusions, although within this short period India has not only achieved an important position in the comity of nations but has also made useful contribution towards relieving inter-

* Speech delivered before the Norman Wait Harris Foundation in International Relations, at Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, on June 29, 1955.

national tensions and promoting better understanding between countries.

A country's foreign policy is determined by its historical background, its geographical situation, its conception of national interest and security. In the modern world, the nature of a country's economic development is also an important element in its relationship with other countries. Such policies are, no doubt, influenced by certain values and ideals which a country (or its government) has. This should not be ruled out as some experts believing in *machtpolitk* are prone to argue. Without values, our claim for progress would have little meaning and significance ; without ideals, however flimsy at times they might appear, our civilization would be only a new barbarism maintained by technological resources and mechanical equipment. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that ideologies are frequently used as instruments of power politics and countries with radically opposite ideologies have no hesitation in cooperating for the defeat of a common enemy threatening their existence or security.*

Although India's independent foreign relations are of very recent origin, India has had cultural and religious contacts with Asian countries for centuries. Buddhism spread from India and there has been close, ageold relationship between Buddhism and Hinduism. The fact that there has been a large Muslim population in India for centuries has also been a factor of importance in India's external relations, particularly with countries in West Asia. It is worthwhile recalling that Mahatma Gandhi's entry into the national politics of India and the first non-cooperation movement which he led in 1920 were connected with the issue of Khilafat in Turkey ; the Khilafat movement constituted a joint Hindu-Muslim protest against the dismemberment of Turkey by Western powers. So, too, the people of India were keenly interested in the emergence of Japan as a modern power claiming and obtaining equal recognition with the Western powers. Indians, along with other Asians, saw that Japan was not recognized as an

* Says Arnold Toynbee in a recent article : "The first concern of every Government in power is to keep itself going. If ideology gets in the way of *raison d'etat*, so much the worse for ideology."

equal by the Western powers until she attained military and economic strength.* Today, it is as much the desire for achieving economic independence as the need for improvement in standards of living that induce Asian countries to adopt a programme of industrial development.

Because of emigration of Indian traders and workers and because of commercial contacts, India has had relations with Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and other countries in South East Asia for centuries. The status and interests of Indian nationals in these countries have been an important factor in India's relations with countries like Burma and Ceylon. The Indian Government consider that Indians residing in such countries have to choose between domicile and citizenship of such countries or Indian citizenship ; if they prefer to continue to be Indian nationals, they cannot claim civic or political rights on the same basis as citizens of Burma or Ceylon. There are, however, several implications of such domicile, particularly because of the fact that Indians have been settled in these countries for a long time and their return to the homeland is virtually impracticable. In any event, Indian leaders have repeatedly emphasized that Indians living or settled in countries of Asia and Africa should consider paramount the interests of the original inhabitants of such lands and must learn to subordinate their own rights and privileges to the wider interests of the peoples of the countries concerned. It should be added, however, that for over a hundred years, relations between India and many of the countries in South East Asia developed within the framework of the British Empire. The attainment of political independence by many of these countries during the last decade has created a political vacuum through the disappearance of overall British connection so

* Thirty-three years ago, Bertrand Russell in his *Problem of China* (1922) wrote : "Japan's relations with the powers are not of her own seeking ; all that Japan asked of the world was to be left alone . . . very soon it became evident that there were only two ways of dealing with the white man, either to submit to him, or to fight him with his own weapons. Japan adopted the latter course, and developed a modern army trained by the Germans, a modern navy modelled on the British, modern machinery derived from America, and modern morals copied from the whole lot."

that new relationships have to be evolved and established on a free and equal basis. The economies of these countries have also been geared hitherto to those of the West. Economic relations have, therefore, to be worked out so as to expand trade and strengthen economic cooperation between the countries themselves. But the historical factor which has been predominent in shaping India's relations with other Asian countries has been the common struggle against Western imperialism.

India's geography has played an important part in her evolution. The earlier invasions and conquests of India were from the northwest through the great mountains. But during the last 400 years, India has been subjected to invasions from the sea. The British finally won out against the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French mainly because of Britain's mastery over the seas. Conditions of warfare have, however, completely changed now. It is as difficult to imagine an invasion through the Khyber Pass in the face of air power capable of annihilating any such adventure as to expect small fleets holding out against super dreadnoughts and aircraft carriers. The fact remains, however, that India has to guard her land as well as sea frontiers. She has land frontiers on two sides with Pakistan. Various questions of land frontier with Pakistan have been satisfactorily settled during the last year or two and an agreement for a transitional period in respect of canal waters has been recently made in Washington pending a long-term settlement. Even as regards the question of Kashmir, neither side wants to resort to war and what is desired is a peaceful solution. With Burma, India has an unfortified and unguarded frontier. India has, however, nearly a thousand miles of frontier with China and this geographical fact alone demands peaceful relations between the two countries. India has taken all measures which a sovereign, independent country can and should take to safeguard her frontiers and borders without provocation to the neighbouring countries and while maintaining friendly relations with them.

Nationalism is undoubtedly the most vital element in India's approach towards the countries in Asia. Nationalism has been a movement of resistance against Western dominance and has been the source of political ferment and cultural develop-

ment in Asia. Western dominance created national movements which in no small measure were inspired by Western concepts of national sovereignty, democratic freedom and representative government. The origins of the Indian national movement might be traced back to seventy-five years before independence and found organised expression in the Indian National Congress. It gathered momentum from 1907 with the partition of Bengal and became a mass movement under Mahatma Gandhi from 1919 onwards. The principle of national self-determination enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson gave a stimulus to national movements in Asia and Africa. There was a demand that this principle be applied to subject peoples of the British, French and other empires and not merely confined to those under the rule of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy. The inter-war years witnessed the intensification of the struggle in India and other Asian countries. There was, on the one hand, a growing resistance to foreign rule and, on the other, a revival of pride in the cultural heritage of these nations. When the Second World War broke out, national aspirations had risen to a pitch where they proved irresistible. The sympathy of the Indian nationalists was, no doubt, for the cause of the democratic countries ; indeed, the Congress Party under Jawaharlal Nehru had supported the democratic forces in Spain and its opposition to Fascism was pronounced. But the Congress Party in India demanded that the principles for which the Allies were fighting the war should be translated into practice in Asia and Africa and that the substance of power should be transferred to the chosen representatives of the people without which the energies of the masses could not be enlisted in a total war. Although the British Government declined to recognize this principle during the war, power was transferred to the representatives of the people not merely in India and Pakistan (which was then carved out) but also in Burma and Ceylon in the post-war years. Similarly, the United States recognized the independence of the Philippines and subsequently, Indonesia became independent. It is necessary, therefore, to emphasize that the Indian movement for independence has had a significance extending beyond her own borders and was in many ways, part of a world-wide struggle

for emancipation of dependent nations and peoples. Its impact on Asia and Africa was profound. It is well-known that Mr. Nehru played a decisive part in raising the Indian movement to an international level and in stressing its significance for Asia. It is pertinent to mention this because India's foreign policy since independence seeks to implement the broad principles which were enunciated by the Congress Party nearly quarter of a century ago. In this respect, it may be modestly claimed that the earlier inspiration of idealism has not been lost despite India's political and economic affiliations. India has thus been able to maintain a certain degree of continuity in her line of policy towards Asian countries while strengthening her relations with them.

But we shall miss the full import of the Indian attitude if we do not recognize that the Indian movement has been not only national and political but also democratic and social. Indian nationalists did not want that power should be transferred from white bureaucrats to brown bureaucrats or that small cliques should hold office and perpetuate themselves in the name of the people. Even when the Indian people were resisting foreign authority, Indian nationalists did not make any alliance with the Indian princes despite their common nationality but demanded that they, too, should establish democratic regimes and base their governments on the consent of the governed. Now, for the first time in Indian history all the states are integrated into the Union and all of them have governments responsible to the legislatures elected by the people. Despite doubts and apprehensions about the desirability of having universal suffrage in a poor and illiterate country, the Indian Constitution embodies this principle and the electorate has till now vindicated the trust reposed in the people. Nor is that all. India has been seeking to implement the principles of social justice through various measures such as abolition of untouchability, reform of the system of Hindu marriage and law of inheritance, liquidation of feudalism and introduction of land reform, gradual removal of inequalities of wealth and income through taxation and social control, and development of national resources in a planned manner.

On the international plane, India does not accept any

doctrine which sanctions aggression by one Asian country against another. Indian condemnation of the Japanese aggression against China in the thirties was unequivocal. India was also a party to the condemnation of North Korea as an aggressor in 1950. The final communique of the Bandung Conference to which India subscribes condemns colonialism "in all its manifestations." The recent declaration of Marshal Bulganin and Prime Minister Nehru signed in Moscow provides for non-interference in the affairs of other countries whether for political, economic or ideological reasons. India is one with other free Asian countries in their stand against imperialism of all varieties and is opposed to alien domination whether territorial, economic or ideological. The principles of mutual recognition of sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference are not Marxist doctrines or Communist cliches; they are the principles embodied in the U.N. Charter and are fundamental for "living together in peace" (as the Bandung communique said) of different peoples with divergent social and economic systems; they are steps and necessary steps in the evolution of an international order and world community.

Since the attainment of independence, India has become more emphatic and insistent on the abolition of colonialism in Asia and Africa. The Asian Conference organised in New Delhi in 1947 was a precursor of this growing interest in Asian affairs and of the possibilities of regional cooperation. The conference on Indonesia which took place also in New Delhi in 1949 focussed the attention of the world on the problem of independence of this great country. Indian delegations in the United Nations have consistently supported the demands of the dependent peoples in Asia and Africa. All they have asked for is that these questions should be solved in a peaceful manner even as they are themselves seeking to do in regard to foreign possessions on the Indian continent. The question of French possessions in India has been settled in a peaceful manner but that of the Portuguese possessions is unsolved; whatever the difficulties and disappointments, India desires a solution of this question also without resort to violence.

Colonialism or imperialism is, no doubt, a passing phase and its disappearance is a question of time. That it has not yet completely disappeared is evident in Asia but even much

more in Africa. Apart from the Portuguese possessions in Asia, including those on the mainland of India, there are several other territories under alien domination. Vast territories in Africa are still subject to foreign domination and exploitation. Equally strong is the Indian feeling against discrimination on the basis of race or colour which is particularly prevalent in South Africa, colonies in East Africa and territories in Central and West Africa. Having suffered from such discrimination within their own borders—whether in respect of civil and military services, commerce and industry, or clubs and parks—the Indian people have an instinctive sympathy for all those, whether they be brown or black, who have to bear the hallmark of inferiority because of their race and colour. Here again, India does not want that the coloured peoples of the world should from any separate bloc since two wrongs cannot make a right. Our aim should be to abolish such discrimination, not to duplicate it. Although China had not been under the same kind of foreign rule as some of the other Asian countries, she did suffer from discrimination and economic exploitation within her own borders and had to put up with extra-territorial rights and privileges. The fact that China cast off such dominance and repelled aggression created a very favourable impression in India and other Asian countries. Undoubtedly, China is under a predominantly Communist regime but the fact that she is an Asian country which for the first time in her history is united, independent and able to mould her own destiny has impressed itself upon the Indian people.

The conclusions and decisions of the conference of Asian and African countries held in April 1954 in Bandung and of which India was one of the sponsors embody a constructive and positive approach which is in line with India's own thinking. India does not want to assume the leadership of Asia; we must think in terms of partnership and not of leadership. We do not believe in any doctrine of exclusiveness or in any cult of "Asia for Asians." What we do want is that the rightful place of Asian countries in the comity of nations should be recognized and that there should be no second-class citizenship in international organisations on the basis of race or colour or because of lack of military power. Asian countries

should not, as hitherto, be treated as mere pawns on the chess board of international power politics; they should have a say, and a decisive say, in the determination of their own future. Unless this is done, Asia would be roused to a fury of self-assertion. Asian countries should expand opportunities of economic, technical and cultural cooperation among themselves. Above all, they should seek to build up an area of peace through mutual understanding and freer intercourse rather than by military alliances with powerful countries of one bloc or another or by providing bases for them. Such alliances, although their objectives are defensive, tend to increase mutual suspicions, fears and rivalries and make weaker and smaller countries increasingly dependent on their patrons. Some powerful countries begin to develop a vested interest in decaying empires while others seek to dominate weaker countries on ideological grounds. To that extent, we tend to return to new forms of imperialism based on power politics. But India believes and has made it clear that it is the obligation of countries which are larger in area, population or resources to allay the misgivings, distrust and fears of smaller and weaker countries.

The Indian tradition is one of peace, harmony and tolerance. The Indian temperament is by and large conciliatory rather than aggressive. "Meek Hindu" became almost a term of contempt under foreign rule. Not that there is no bloodshed or occasional riot in India; indeed, when emotionally roused, the Indian people tend to become uncontrollable as during communal disturbances and as was witnessed at the time of partition. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the people as a whole have an instinctive aversion to violence. This attitude can be traced to the influence of religions such as Buddhism and Jainism; large numbers of people in India consider it sinful to kill and take life. Although this aversion can, if exaggerated, become irrational, the point is that it is widespread and intense. Years ago, Warren Hastings wrote of the Hindus that "they are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown them than prone to vengence for wrongs sustained, abhorrent of bloodshed, faithful and affectionate in service and submissive to legal authority. They are superstitious; but they do not think ill of us for

not behaving as they do." I quote this not because we require a certificate from a foreigner but in order to show that even during the early days of British rule, these characteristics were observed by a person who had no reason to be particularly partial to Indians. This love for peace and temperament of tolerance are at the root of the Indian attitude to international conflicts. A division of the world between two power blocs, a dualism in which one has to be regarded as a fellow-traveller unless he is willing to be a crusader does not appeal to the Indian mind. We have, so to speak, to "de-polarise" the world. But let me add that this outlook has nothing to do with metaphysical concepts nor has it any mystical origins or racial strains. The emphasis on the need for conciliation and accommodation is not an attitude of moral indecision nor is the striving for better understanding a product of oriental subtlety. The Hindus, too, have absolute ethical concepts and rigid moral injunctions based on *Dharma* which is what holds a social order.

The desire for harmony and peace arises, in fact, from a recognition that no moral issue can be judged except in its social context in a world where we are all fallible, where none of us is either an angel or a devil. It has been well said that we must pray *not* that God be on our side but that we be on God's. The simple moral issues as presented to the public do not necessarily correspond to the manoeuvres and exigencies which actually determine alliances and lead to wars. Two world wars have proved that war is a poor instrument for attainment of social and economic objectives, or for the annihilation of systems which are regarded as obnoxious. It is true that there is deep suspicion and mutual distrust between countries. But, for one thing, the United Nations provides a forum for settlement of these disputes or at least a ventilation of mutual complaints. If we have to save civilization, we shall have to defend without giving provocation, we shall have to win without seeking to annihilate the opponent.

The people of India do not wish to be involved in dissensions and conflicts of big powers—a view that is in line with Washington's farewell address in which he advised his countrymen to avoid alliances until the maturing of the nation's institu-

tions was completed. Being in the early stages of economic and social development of the country, countries in Asia are anxious for peace not only within their territories but also in the whole of the continent. The Bandung Conference showed that the nations of Asia fear war more than they dislike any "ism" and wish to prevent hostilities in which they might become helpless victims. No doubt, conditions today are very different from what they were when the American nation decided that aloofness from European rivalries was essential for its economic growth and its integration into a homogeneous people. No country can at present remain isolated in the sense in which isolation was then possible. The aeroplane and the atom have made such isolationism obsolete. The balance of power has come to depend, in the last analysis, on nuclear weapons. We have, indeed, reached a *reductio ad absurdum* in warfare wherein no force counts except the strongest and where an atomic stalemate has become the motive for peaceful co-existence. As President Eisenhower has said, "There is no alternative to peace. There would not be much left of the world unless war was prevented in this atomic age."

The fundamental problems of Asia are social and economic: poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and ill-health have to be eradicated irrespective of "isms" or ideologies. Military measures are of little avail unless governments are broad-based on the goodwill of the people and unless the elementary needs of the masses are satisfied. It is but natural for countries which do not possess nuclear weapons to seek, as Mr. Walter Lippmann has said, "some middle kind of position where they have a hope, a chance, of not becoming involved in an atomic war." Such countries can make an effective contribution to the cause of democracy and peace by maintaining their own independence and their democratic forms of government. There is always a useful role for mediators between rival blocs of powers; the existence of a buffer group of neutral countries is useful not only during wars but even during cold wars as events have proved during the last three years. A country which has contacts with both sides, which in a time of crisis can serve as a link and which can interpret the feelings and views of one side to the other has a valuable role to play. India's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations is

valuable in this context. For, it has enabled her to serve as a link between the East and the West, interpreting one to the other.

The energies and forces which prevail in Asia today can be canalised into constructive channels by intelligent and honest leadership, by efficient administration and by well-conceived and concerted measures for the steady uplift of the mass of people through eradication of social evils and economic inequalities. Democracy and freedom in Asia can be saved, in the last analysis, by the people of Asia themselves and they will do it if they find it worthwhile to defend their freedom and their social order. Nations like individuals have to win their own salvation.

INDIA TO AMERICA*

THE TITLE OF this talk is " India to America." I hope you will not consider me facetious if I say that you should not expect me to start on a travelogue nor does the title signify a long distance call from India to America! It is, however, a call—a call from the largest democracy in the East to the largest democracy in the West, from one of the most ancient countries in the world to one of the most modern, from one of the undeveloped and poor areas to the richest and most powerful land. I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I say that on the relationship of these two countries depends the future of democracy. Economic development in Asia, and also peace in the world, hinge on this relationship.

" India to America " involves a greater knowledge of each other, more contacts, more understanding and more tolerance. It involves not merely better communications in the sense of frequent air services or a quicker means of information, although these are all necessary, but also a mind-to-mind link across the vast chasm of space. Nothing travels faster than thought, and great distances today are narrowed by free contacts between the minds of men. It would be a tragedy, indeed, if, with all the technical equipment available to us for intercommunication today, misunderstandings between nations should be greater than they were when it took long to travel from one country to the other and when it was difficult to communicate our views and feelings.

In a sense, India " created " America ; for it was in seeking the spices and wealth of an old country that Columbus stumbled upon a new continent. Mark Twain, I think, said it was surprising that America was discovered by Columbus, but it would have been still more surprising if he had not done so! If, therefore, America was discovered in searching for India, I hope this compliment would be reciprocated by America

* Speech delivered at the Seventh Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture, Columbia University at New York, on December 13, 1954.

discovering and rediscovering India. India is a land which is old and yet new ; a land in the process of regeneration and revival. Only by continuously discovering each other shall we build a better world.

I do not desire to speak here about the cultural contacts between our two countries during the last one hundred years. I would only mention in passing that last May, when I went to Emerson's House in Concord and saw Emerson's library, I was surprised to see four books there : one of them was our scripture, the *Bhagawat Geeta*, (the Song Celestial) the other was *Vishnu Purana*, an old mythological book, another a book on Sankhya, a school of Hindu philosophy and a book on Hindu Law. And in Thoreau's room there was on his table near his bedside the *Bhagawat Geeta*. And I thought to myself that when there were no means of transportation as today—no planes, no radio communication, no television, no press services in the modern sense, between India and the United States—even then minds traversed over all this vast distance and these philosophers knew something of the thoughts and philosophies of other lands. So, too, the Indian intelligentsia during the last 50 or 60 years, read the writings of many American thinkers and men of letters and have been in many ways influenced by them.

Closer relations between us have developed since the last World War and, particularly, after the attainment of Indian independence. There are far more Americans today in India than ever before. There are about 1,800 to 1,900 Indian students in this country as compared to hardly 100 students 10 years ago and very few 25 years ago. Technical co-operation programmes, whether they be under Point Four or F. O. A. Foreign Operations Agency* as well as Community Development Projects and National Extension Services have led to continuous and close cooperation between Indian and American specialists, experts, and technicians during the last five years. Nearly 200 Indians have been trained here for various technical purposes under such programmes. And an equally large number of Americans have been working in India.

*F. O. A. Foreign Operations Agency in now called I. C. A. or International Cooperation Agency.

Various exchange programmes and studies by Foundations like Ford and Rockefeller and Carnegie have also widened areas of intellectual cooperation and technical collaboration in many services such as health, education, agriculture, etc., between our two countries.

Trade relations have been closer during recent years. Our trade with U. S. A., which was hardly seven per cent of our total foreign trade before the war increased to as much as 25 per cent about three or four years ago and now is about 19 per cent of our total trade.

And there has been more of private American investment in India during the last few years than before independence. About ten years ago, there was about 30,000,000 dollars of private American capital investment in India. Today, there would be, with the establishment of the two oil refineries, one in Bombay and another in an eastern port of India, nearly 100 million dollars of private American capital in India.

India's independence has enabled her to play a more active part in world affairs. This, too, has brought India and the United States closer in various international organizations. When we speak of Indo-United States relationship we should think not merely of agreements or disagreements in international affairs but also view the picture as a whole. We should remember the variety of spheres—educational, technical and scientific, commercial and industrial—in all of which cooperation between India and America today is closer, more continuous and fruitful than before.

It has been well said, however, that 90 per cent of the difficulties between individuals as well as nations are psychological. There are, indeed, many similarities between Indians and Americans. They are both friendly, informal, hospitable and sensitive. But while Americans are forceful, somewhat impatient and quick of movement, Indians are by temperament and tradition, slower, rather cautious and, having borne the burden of centuries, inclined to be patient. The American mind is experimental and empirical. It puts faith in innovation, investigation and action. India, during the ages, has been more inclined to contemplation than action, more interested in theory than in practice. But it is as yet too early to say what would be the national psychological characteristics of a free India.

In the social sphere, too, there are wide dissimilarities between the two countries, whether it be in the family system or the relationship between the sexes. A sense of social equality despite differences in wealth and position is a striking feature of American democracy.

India has of her free volition chosen political democracy as the basis of her social and economic structures. This involves complete elimination of caste inequalities. It is only a question of time before untouchability is abolished in practice in India ; it has already been abolished by law.

I need hardly point out the radical difference between our two countries in economic conditions and standards of living. While the *per capita* income of an Indian is $54 per annum, in the United States it is $1500. Consumption of cotton textiles, or cloth, is 65 square yards per year per head in this country as compared to 12 to 14 yards in my country. While production of steel is about 1.3 million tons per annum in India, in the United States it is 120 million tons. One person in about 1,400 has a car in India compared to one in three in this country. The consumption of oil is 2.8 gallons per head in India as compared to 550 gallons in this country.

I could go on multiplying these examples but it is hardly necessary. No one who has seen the dire poverty in Asian countries need be persuaded that we are not only two nations, we seem to be living in two different worlds ! It is evident that the wide differences between the economic and social conditions of the two countries make difficult the wholesale adoption and indiscriminate application of methods and techniques of production and distribution of one country to another.

We have a large and growing population, low capital resources, lack of purchasing power, a crushing pressure of numbers on land, and an undiversified economy. We cannot have the same social dynamics or economic tools which you have—thanks to the vastness of your country and a relatively small population exploring and exploiting its tremendous resources. Not having the initial capital resources and with a foreign government in control of the country for over a century and a half, private enterprise did not have the necessary resources and opportunity for developing the country.

Methods of mass production which demand mass consump-

tion are not necessarily suitable in a land where there is still a vicious circle between low purchasing power, limited demand and high costs of production. We are, no doubt, endeavouring to break this circle by seeking to create demand through better distribution as well as by augmenting production in various economic spheres.

We have to fight on many fronts and yet maintain a certain order of priorities because the available resources have to be used for more important and urgent needs. So, too, mechanization which has advanced so much in this country has to take place in a selective manner in my country. In the absence of full economic development, much larger in scope and speedier in pace, technological unemployment would only accentuate the existing economic difficulties and hardships. We are, therefore, seeking to achieve a balance between the use of machinery and the employment of men.

Now I turn to a sphere which always somehow attracts people more than anything else ; namely, the political aspects of Indo-U. S. relationship. So far as the domestic aspects are concerned, there are similarities in the fundamental conceptions of the two countries. We believe, as you do, in government by the consent of the governed, the rule of law and respect for personal freedom. Our Constitution, which is democratic and federal in nature, embodies these Fundamental Rights, many of them having been adapted from the American Bill of Rights. We have an independent judiciary. We have a parliamentary form of government modelled somewhat on the British system. We have no censorship of the press. There is an opposition functioning in the Parliament—in both the Houses—and in the legislatures of all the states. And we believe that democratic processes, even if at times slower, are the surer means for ensuring the progress of a country.

Take, then, international affairs. In regard to international matters, our objectives are also the same as those of the United States—peace, self-determination of nations, international cooperation through appropriate organizations for removing tensions and for promoting social welfare, health, education, and culture (through such bodies as the UNESCO and WHO), technical assistance through the United Nations and the United States ; financial aid and cooperation by the

International Bank; suitable currency and exchange relationship through the International Monetary Fund; cooperation for trade through the GATT—General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade—as well as private capital investment.

Only the other day, a scheme was formulated which is now likely to come into operation early next year. It is a scheme for the establishment of an Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation with the assistance of FOA and International Bank and comprising private capital in India, the United Kingdom and the United States. This is a unique example of partnership between three countries for private investment as also a partnership between government and private enterprise: between private enterprise in India and the government there as well as with institutions like the International Bank and FOA.

But, somehow we are always struck more by differences and dissimilarities than by agreements and similarities.

I think the press would be in a very difficult position if this did not happen. When I was a journalist I was told that when a dog bites a man it is not news but when a man bites a dog it is news. You don't see headlines in a newspaper saying that a man in Bronx is on very good terms with his wife; but when he hits her, it is a piece of news. Therefore, I think we are all apt to exaggerate and magnify points of difference and disagreement. Another difficulty is that we are all apt to oversimplify the attitudes of other countries. We are also prone to exaggerate and magnify the points on which we do not agree.

Even the fact that countries are called by certain names—we have no such name for India as yet—for example, the United States is described in other countries as Uncle Sam, England as John Bull, and so on, makes us think of a whole nation in terms of a particular stereotype. This is not helpful for a better understanding between countries.

This is true of individuals as well as nations. We are all more anxious and more keen and eager *to be understood than to understand* and we are all apt to assume that understanding is the same thing as agreement. We can disagree and yet try to understand. We can understand and yet disagree. And this, I think, is very important in discussing any

question of relationship between two countries. It is, therefore, necessary to mention the area of agreement in international outlook and policies. It is also necessary to emphasize that during recent months, our two countries have been coming closer on various matters on which apparently they seemed to hold different opinions and views from time to time: not in regard to objectives but in regard to methods and approach.

Take, for example, the question of opposition to war and the desirability of some kind of "peaceful co-existence," and if you don't like that word, let us have the Latin phrase *modus vivendi*. President Eisenhower has been explicit and emphatic on this subject in recent months. I shall only cite one quotation. The President said:

> "There is no alternative to peace. There would not be much left of the world unless war was prevented in this atomic age."

This observation is akin to statements made by our own Prime Minister and other statesmen. It is realized by responsible persons in all countries that negotiations and compromise do not necessarily mean appeasement and surrender. They are the essentials of diplomacy and international cooperation.

The fundamental objectives of diplomacy in the past and of the United Nations today have been maintenance of peace. But I suggest to you that this term "co-existence" should not merely mean an armed truce. It should in course of time mean better understanding; freer communication and active cooperation in economic, technical, and cultural spheres for human progress. For this purpose, fear and suspicion have to be removed and confidence inspired.

Another point to which I should like to allude is the importance of Asia. But before I do so let me revert to the point to which I was just referring: namely, the question of a *modus vivendi*. Let me quote what some of the leaders in this country and elsewhere have said about this. President Eisenhower has said that war does not present the possibility of victory or defeat any longer, but only an alternative in degree of destruction.

The Secretary of Defence, Mr. Wilson, said : " The alternative to co-existence is to look forward to war."

Mr. Adlai Stevenson said : " Armed co-existence is certainly a bleak prospect, but it is better than no existence."

Sir Winston Churchill said : " We are on the brink of hell. Victory in an atomic war would be victory on a heap of ruins."

Mr. Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party, said : " The alternative to co-existence is non-existence."

Mr. Nehru said : " The alternative to co-existence is co-destruction."

And Mr. Lester Pearson, the Canadian Foreign Secretary, said : " If we are to accept the view that co-existence can be nothing but a snare and delusion to be spurned at all cost, then we are driven logically to the thesis of the inevitability of an atomic war."

Now this shows that there is widespread recognition and realization of the futility of war. What is it then that constitutes a fundamental difference between us? Does any responsible body of people in this country want to commit aggression or want to have a " preventive war " ? The eyes of all responsible leaders—the minds of all responsible leaders—are turned towards ensuring peace.

It is essential to recognize the importance of Asia and the implications of the awakening of Asia. Problems arising from the awakening of Asian nations have to be solved with mutual goodwill, patience, and tolerance.

Many of these countries in Asia have been under foreign domination for years. Several of them attained independence only after the Second World War. It is a striking fact that the countries which have won independence recently, like India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Philippines, Indonesia are keen to resist aggression because having suffered from alien domination they do not want to be dominated by any other power again.

They do not want to march under any other flag, having got their own national flag.

And it should be realized that the roots of government being in the people there cannot be any strengthening of a nation through the requisition of foreign arms or military aid. What is essential is not only the national independence of the countries concerned but also equality of status for them. The voice of these countries will have to be heard even if they do not have the necessary economic strength or military prowess. In the new world, their wishes and desires, their pride and even prejudices cannot be ignored and their voice will have to be predominant in settling their own affairs.

The third point on which I do not think there is any fundamental divergence between the American view and the Indian view is the problem of what is commonly known as "colonialism." The people of the United States have an instinctive sympathy for those struggling for national independence and freedom. It is true that on certain matters there has been a difference of opinion between us because of the priority which the United States gives to combating Communism. But despite this difference in approach, the fact remains that you are as anxious as the people in India to see that dependent countries achieve their freedom and are not dominated by any foreign power. I think it is possible to work together for such an objective.

In the context of giving top priority to combating Communism, there arises an important question. This relates to the priority as between economic and military approaches *vis-a-vis* Asia. No one can deny the necessity of taking measures for national security. The question is whether peace in an area would be promoted more by negotiation or by forming rival blocs and entering into a competitive race of armaments.

I do not wish to be dogmatic in this matter, but I wish to tell you what this point of difference is. And let me at this point quote what a highly experienced diplomat and able writer who believes in "realistic" foreign policies, I am referring to George Kennan, says in his book *Realities of American Foreign Policy*. He observes:

" There are a few considerations with regard to the general problem of Communism in Asia which might be worth noting at this point. It is here, above all, that we must avoid the fallacy that we are dealing with some threat of military aggression comparable to that which faced the world when Hitler put his demands on the Poles in 1939. Military aggression can never be ruled out entirely as a possibility, but it is not the most urgent and likely of the possibilities with which we have to reckon. We are dealing here in large measure with tendencies and states of mind which, however misguided and however befuddled by deceptions practised from outside are nevertheless basically the reflections of wholly real and profound indigenous conditions, and would not disappear even in the unthinkable event that Moscow could be threatened or bludgeoned into telling them to do so."

As I have said repeatedly in this country, the problems of poverty and illiteracy, unemployment, malnutrition, ill-health, disease and so forth would have been there in Asia even if Karl Marx had not gone to London and written *Das Kapital*; even if there had been no revolution in Russia and China. We have, therefore, to face the fact that these problems will confront us irrespective of any ideologies or " isms ". The more we try to think of certain countries in terms of certain ideologies, the less prepared we would be to face these grave and urgent problems in a realistic manner.

This is the test of statesmanship. And on this, I shall quote George Kennan again :

" For with the Russians and ourselves in the coming period is going to be the skill with which we are able to adjust to this new situation, and the vision and imagination with which we succeed in shaping new and advantageous relations with the in-between countries, to replace those that have rested, since the recent war, under abnormal conditions of political subjection in the Russian case, and economic dependence in our own."

Here, in application to this new task, Kennan says :

"A strictly military approach, which attempts to subordinate all other considerations to the balancing of the military equation, will be not only inadequate but downright harmful. For the demands placed on our policy by the rise of these in-between countries to positions of new vitality and importance will often be in direct conflict with the requirements of the perfect and total military posture; so that by a rigid military approach we will be in danger of losing on the political level more than we gain on the military one."

I believe many persons in this country realize that if the world is now to settle down to a long period of co-existence or "competitive co-existence" or armed truce or *modus vivendi*, or whatever you may call it, then the conditions in under-developed countries demand measures for economic amelioration, for raising the standards of living so as to prevent any internal movements which are subversive, destructive and violent rather than measures of military aid which can only be temporary and flimsy.

There is a growing realization during the last few months that providing bread and jobs is more important than providing guns and bombs.

Responsible leaders have said that the "cold war" is becoming economic rather than military in its nature. In any event, without a firm basis of national economy and a contented population, mere military bases and armaments are not likely to ensure stability and security. We saw this in the last war. We know that in a total war, the morale of the civilian population is of vital importance. It was Napoleon who said that in war the moral to the military is as ten to one; and this is far more so in poor and under-developed countries, in countries under a make-shift military junta or a reactionary government where it is easy to create feelings of discontent against the rulers. But if the government is rooted in the people and is responsible to them and responsive to their needs, then it is far more difficult for any outside agency to try to subvert it. This is a crucial point, and its importance is being recognized. In the last analysis, it is the countries themselves which can make or mar their future. In his book, *Call to Greatness*, Mr. Adlai Stevenson has said :

"I have tried to point out that much of the world in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, is on the way somewhere. They are trying to telescope centuries into decades, trying to catch up with Western industrial and technological revolutions overnight and under much more difficult circumstances, and they are trying to accomplish this mighty transformation by the methods of consent, not coercion. The challenge is to identify ourselves with this social and human revolution, to encourage, aid, and inspire the aspirations of half of mankind for a better life, to guide these aspirations into paths that lead to freedom. The default would be disastrous."

AMERICA AND THE NEW INDIA*

RELATIONS between different countries are of vital importance in the world today. Without harmonious relationship not only peace but economic development is not possible. Such relations are determined by a country's conception of its own interests and its immediate and distant objectives. Until the beginning of this century, what mattered most was the relationship between different countries of Europe many of which had farflung empires and with sources of raw materials and markets abroad. The United States of America was preoccupied with its own economic development and with preventing interference and domination of European countries on the whole of this continent. It was only after the emergence of Japan that the existence of Asia came to be realized; and it was not until after the two world wars and the attainment of independence by several Asian countries that the importance of Asia as a factor in world politics was being gradually, if somewhat reluctantly, recognised. While the problem of relationship between the Asian continent and the United States is of vital importance in the present conditions, the maintenance of amicable relations between the United States and India is a matter of great significance.

America and India are both large countries, although India is only one third of the size of the United States; they are practically on the opposite sides of the globe. Each has a large seaboard and is richly gifted by nature—with minerals and metals and a variety of agricultural products. No doubt, India's resources have yet to be fully developed and even completely surveyed, but there is little doubt that given a period of peace and stability, and with cooperative endeavour, organization and technical skill, India's economy has capacity for immense development.

India is an ancient land with a historic tradition and cultural

* Address to the Fifty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, April 3, 1954.

heritage that go back to 3,000 years before Christ. The United States is a modern nation. And yet, in a certain sense, India is also a young country. Her political independence was achieved less than seven years ago. We observed the centenary of our railway system last year and our textile industry celebrates it this year. The steel industry in our country is less than fifty years old. But India has had domestic and cottage industries and handicrafts for centuries for which she is justly famous. Nevertheless, as a united, democratic state with a national economy in the modern sense, India is in the initial stages of development.

Incidentally, in one other sense also there is a similarity between the two countries. India, like the United States, has a conglomeration of several races and communities with different religions and creeds. But just as the United States has been welding this large concourse into a national entity, so too through the cultural unity of ages, the framework of a national Constitution and the elements of an industrial structure, India is a united nation today.

The United States is the largest democracy in the West (population 161 million) while India is the largest democracy in the East (population 360 million). They have different systems of representative government but its essence and the spirit are the same. Both our countries believe that governments must be based on the consent of the governed ; that no man should be punished except after due processes of law ; that economic well-being is basic for national development and should be achieved by democratic processes. The Constitution of India has derived some of its inspiration from the Constitution of this country including the Bill of Rights. We have a written constitution with a federal structure of government and an independent judiciary. No doubt, there are many divergences, as is only to be expected, but all I wanted to stress is that the basic objectives of the constitution are the same. The one important feature of this constitution, which has earned widespread appreciation, is the absence of any discrimination against a citizen on grounds of religion, colour or caste. India is a secular state.

During our national movement, we derived inspiration from the early history of the American fight for independence and

had the moral sympathy and support of many leaders of public opinion in this country. The principle of national self-determination enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson during the First World War gave a stimulus to the movement for political emancipation in our country as in several other lands. During the inter-war years, and particularly during the war period, the cause of Indian independence was supported by several eminent men and women in this country including leaders in the Congress and in the administration. This cooperation has continued in political, economic and technical spheres during the last seven years when a new India has been in the making.

There has been growing economic interdependence between the two countries. Before World War II, the total trade between the U.S.A. and India was valued at about 200 million dollars per annum ; it now runs to roughly 700 million dollars. Previously, India's trade with the United States was about 7 per cent of its total foreign trade, it is now nearly 20 per cent even after excluding import of foodstuffs. There have been significant increases in exports from the United States to India in cotton, machinery, oil and oil products, vehicles and minerals such as sulphur. On the other hand, India supplies nearly 40 per cent of the manganese used by the steel industry in this country, 80 per cent of high-grade mica and a considerable quantity of castor oil (important for lubrication of high-speed aircraft), ilmenite (used for manufacture of special quality pigments and paints), kyamite (for making refractories), chromite, short-staple cotton, burlap and shellac as well as tea, It is of interest to know that both in 1952 and in 1953, the United States imported sufficient manganese from India to make 54 million tons of steel which is about half the total annual production in this country.

Again, during the last five years about twenty-five American firms have started or expanded manufacturing activities in India. These include the American Cynamide Company, the Union Carbon and Carbide Company, the Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company, Remington Typewriters, Oatis Elevators and several chemical and engineering concerns. Some of them are participating financially in Indian enterprises, others are collaborating technically, while still others are operating

entirely on their own with American capital and management. The total American capital invested in India is about 100 million dollars. The most important example of this economic cooperation is the establishment of two oil refineries by the Standard Vacuum Oil Company and the California Texas Oil Company, the former in Bombay and the latter in an eastern part of India, Vizagapatnam, on the Bay of Bengal. As soon as these oil refineries are ready, along with another being built by the Burmah Shell Company of U.K., India will produce a substantial part of the petroleum products that she requires. Although crude oil will be imported at present, it is possible that in future such oil might be obtained in India itself as a result of drilling operations to be undertaken by the Standard Vacuum Oil Company in collaboration with the Government of India. This is probably the first instance in which an oil company of this importance has entered into a direct partnership with a foreign government. Merchant ships of both India and the United States are engaged in carrying important and often strategic goods between the two countries.

During the last four years, India has also been an active participant in schemes of technical cooperation and has received technical assistance from the specialized agencies of the United Nations and particularly from this country. Under the Point Four programme, 101 Indian technicians have received training in this country and 105 American experts have gone over to India to assist in programmes of agricultural extension, irrigation, health, education, fisheries, etc. In 1951, when India was faced by a serious drought, the United States gave a loan of two million tons of wheat of an aggregate value of 190 million dollars. I might add that India has already paid the full seven million dollars of interest due on this loan by the end of 1953. Money realised by the sale of this wheat in India has been utilized for development projects, particularly for agriculture and irrigation. Let me also add that the amount of interest realised by the United States is going to be spent for educational purposes in India.

Moreover, because the United States has been conscious of our community of interests and aware of the vital importance of India's economic development that an Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement was made in 1952 under

which a total allocation of 160 million dollars has been made principally for community development projects. Important private organisations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have also been extending material and technical help. Such assistance is a truer expression of cooperation between the United States and India than pious resolutions of mutual goodwill and treaties of "eternal friendship." I must point out, however, that the foreign aid we receive, although invaluable, is marginal and supplements our own efforts. Development programmes are formulated by Indians themselves in consultation and cooperation with experts and technicians from abroad, where necessary; and the main financial burden of operating them is on the people themselves. Foreign aid can be acceptable to India if it is given with the object of furthering her economic development and not as an instrument of cold war. In order to produce the best results, it is important that economic aid and technical advice are given without creating a sense of inferiority in the recipient country or engendering any suspicions about the motives and objectives of such programmes.

It will, therefore, be evident that there has been close relationship and growing cooperation in various spheres between India and the United States. And yet, if we read newspaper headlines and follow radio commentaries and listen to stray conversations, we hear only of differences and misunderstanding between our two countries and would infer that we are drifting apart. Why is this so? We must face this question frankly but calmly, without passion or prejudice. I do not expect to carry full conviction to you in what I am going to say, but it is enough if you appreciate to some extent at any rate India's point of view. Understanding of a different viewpoint does not necessarily imply agreement. What we want is more light and less heat.

I have already referred to the large area of agreement and understanding between the two countries. Our differences have arisen mainly in the international sphere and in respect of the choice of a foreign policy that would be most appropriate for the promotion of peace, particularly in Asia and Africa. These differences arise not because of any clash of interests or any struggle for leadership. Indeed, India does not aspire to any

leadership even in Asia nor has she any economic and territorial ambitions in any part of the world ; nor are the policies of the United States designed with a view to building up an empire. Our differences do not also arise from any divergence of " ideological " approach. We believe in democracy both in spirit and as a technique for political and economic progress. We also agree that we should seek to prevent the disaster of a third world war and that all efforts should be directed to this end both in the United Nations and outside. But it is in the manner in which we should ensure peace and reduce tensions that there is a divergence.

We are of the view that there is inadequate recognition of the importance of Asia in the counsels of nations and are distressed when we see attempts being made to settle Asian problems by ignoring the wishes and feelings of Asian countries. Asian countries no longer want to be the instruments for the ends of powerful nations. No lasting solution can be reached, whether it be in the Middle East or the Far East, if it does not take fully into account the aspirations and sentiments of the people of these lands. India desires nothing more than to bring to the consciousness of the Western world the new forces which are pulsating in Asia and Africa and which can be ignored only at peril to international peace and stability. This is no exclusive cult nor any trans-continental doctrine of " Asia for the Asians "; it is only a desire to develop our own systems and economies without domination from outside. We want to be friends, not satellites. Independent countries must be accepted as such, not as " camp followers " of countries with immense military and economic power. Enlightened opinion in this country recognizes the strength of this feeling and stresses the fact that the United States wants allies and partners. However, the attitude and policies of important Western countries are not always formulated in the spirit of what is called the " free world." Important Asian countries are often ignored in the United Nations and at conferences convened to discuss problems in Asia. Decisions, so reached, can only be regarded as impositions which go against all the canons of freedom.

Closely related to this is the attitude to be adopted towards colonialism and racial discrimination. If colonialism is

supported, may be for ulterior reasons, and undemocratic and unpopular regimes are bolstered up, how can the moral support of the peoples of such countries be elicited and their energies mobilized for democratic progress? Because of our struggle for freedom, people in our country have an instinctive sympathy with similar struggles in other countries, particularly in Asia and Africa. No structure for world peace can be built on a denial of freedom to countries and large masses of people. It is not without significance that countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Philippines which achieved independence after the Second World War have successfully resisted subversive activities within their borders and are building up their own economies while those countries which have been denied freedom are in a state of chaos and fall an easy prey to extreme doctrines and movements.

The differences in the policies of U. S. and India arise mainly from the fact that whereas to the U. S. the fight against Communism is the supreme issue to which all other problems should be subordinated, India holds that the real enemies of mankind are economic and social evils such as poverty and hunger and disease, racial discrimination, domination and exploitation of weaker peoples by the powerful nations of the world. These problems would confront us even if the teachings of Karl Marx had not influenced Lenin and even though Mao Tse-tung had not been the ruler of China. As Mr. Lester Pearson, the distinguished Secretary for External Affairs of Canada, has observed, " the conflict [between forces of communist imperialism and free democracy] may not seem so simple to people who are preoccupied with the struggle for self-government and economic progress, millions of whom live under the recurring threat of starvation and who may be pardoned for thinking that hunger and servitude are worse enemies than Marxism." India's Government and leaders, therefore, give the highest priority to " freedom from want." Mr. Chester Bowles, the former U. S. Ambassador to India, mentions in his *Ambassador's Report* that Sir Gerald Templar, the British General in charge of the war against guerillas in Malaya, told him: " Give me a hundred more divisions and I still couldn't destroy the Communists without the necessary reforms. My job is only 10 per cent military. The remaining

90 per cent is political and economic." In other words, the theory and practice of Communism have to be studied as a historical process rather than as a malignant ulcer to be merely exterminated. So long as countries are not aggressive and have no extra-territorial ambitions or militant programmes under ideological masks, no harm is done by peaceful co-existence and competition between different political and democratic systems. We believe, therefore, that the surer method of ensuring stability and progress in the East is to give the common man the hope of a better and a fuller life than to strengthen military defences and put up bases which may only succeed in increasing tensions and even create dissensions between countries in that area. In this connection, I cannot do better than quote what a distinguished American, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, said the other day in the last of his Godkin lectures at the Harvard University. After pointing out that much of the world in Asia, Africa and the Middle East was " trying to telescope centuries into decades " in the " drive " for industrial and technological development, he emphasized that a policy based on anti-Communism and military potency was not in the spirit of this drive and " will win few hearts." That challenge, he said, was " for us to identify ourselves with this social and human revolution, to encourage, aid and inspire the aspirations of half of mankind for a better life, to guide these aspirations into paths that lead to freedom."

In this imperfect world of ours, no country can afford to neglect its armed defences but it is well to remember that modern weapons have become so destructive that war has now ceased to be, if ever it was in the past, a solution of the differences and dissensions of nations. Two world wars have shown that war is no instrument for attainment of social and economic objectives or even for the annihilation of systems which are regarded as evil. But now the way to war is the surest path to disaster. It is, therefore, of vital importance that while military preparations are made as a guarantee of self-preservation, everything humanly possible is done to ensure that such preparations do not produce the opposite effect by bringing us nearer to war. In other words, the climate of peace should be cultivated and extended by every means possible. The consequences of military thinking dominating

political considerations are almost as disastrous today as those of neglecting essential military defence. As Mr. John Foster Dulles, the distinguished Secretary of State of this country, has observed in his book *War or Peace*, " Military needs are important, and a strong military establishment is a necessity. But we shall fail in our search for peace, security, and justice unless our policies, in reality and also in appearance, give priority to the hopes and aspirations for peace of the peoples of the world."

The worst impediment in the way of full understanding and cooperation between our two countries is, I repeat, not any clash of interests nor any differences in ideologies ; nor any subtleties of oriental psychology and wiles of occidental diplomacy but plain lack of patience and tolerance. Indeed, during my stay in this country extending over a year and a half, I have found that American and Indian character is similar in some ways. We are both informal, friendly and hospitable, but also apt to be sensitive. But there are sharp differences, too. The American mind is essentially an engineering mind : it is positive, constructive and believes in continuous experiment, innovation and action. The Indian mind is more contemplative : it is reflective, somewhat cautious, slow in tempo, believing in eternity rather than in a few seconds. There are radical differences in economic conditions between our two countries and we have divergent traditions and customs. Both our peoples would benefit if each could imbibe some of the traits of the other. In India, there is great admiration for the high standards of life in America and there is eagerness to learn the techniques which have made this remarkable progress possible. In this task of improving the lot of our peoples we do not and shall not shut out light from other lands or reject the helping hand of a friend.

Relationship between nations is a sensitive plant, never more so than today when there is frequently a tendency to treat any difference of opinion as almost an act of defiance. Mutual confidence is a slow growth, particularly between a country which has just achieved independence and has, therefore, pardonable sensitiveness and a country which is the most powerful in the world today through its immense financial and technical resources and which feels aggrieved

that its unparalleled generosity in assisting the rehabilitation of countries from the ravages of war and in the development of economies of poorer lands is not adequately appreciated. What will maintain and promote good relationship between our two countries is not gifts of money nor aid of arms but a sense of equality of status and a sharing of common objectives. It is only natural that Indo-American relations should be subject to all the strains and stresses which characterize relations between two free, independent and friendly countries. But so long as the spirit of idealism which inspired your Founding Fathers and your great leaders guide you and so long as we are true to our cultural heritage and our faith in democratic values, we have nothing to fear.

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS IN A NUCLEAR AGE*

I HAVE ALWAYS felt that commencement addresses, however well-meaning and high-sounding, might be somewhat of an imposition on the cheerful and enthusiastic youth who perhaps feel that the courses they have taken and the tests and examinations they have undergone have been a sufficient burden on them! If teaching in a university or a college for a number of years has not been adequate in preparing young people for life, in battling with its problems, in infusing knowledge and developing character, a half hour's or an hour's address is hardly likely to do so! Besides, it is somewhat presumptious on the part of one like myself who has had no direct teaching experience or knowledge of pedagogy to mouth some platitudes and sapient advice. I am told that many persons delivering commencement speeches meticulously go through collected volumes of previous such addresses and hunt up books of quotations for appropriate citations! Be that as it may, I could not decline the kind invitation of your President especially, as it gave me one more opportunity to visit on an eventful occasion an important educational institution in this great country.

During my term of office, I must have visited over 80 universities, colleges and educational institutions from Maine and Vermont in the north to Florida in the south, from New York and Boston in the east to Berkeley and universities of California in the west. I have also had the privilege of giving commencement addresses at three places—at the Fisk University, Nashville in Tennessee, at Simpson College, Indianola in Iowa and at San Mateo College in California so that I am glad to be in the Mid-West on this occasion. It has been, indeed, a rich and rewarding experience to visit these educational centres which are a source of vitality to this nation. It is not only that the buildings are impressive, even magni-

* Address delivered at the Forty-fourth Annual Summer Commencement of Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, U.S.A., on August 24, 1957.

ficent; not merely that the technical equipment of their laboratories and their libraries are invaluable; but it is the spirit of free inquiry, intellectual curiosity and mental vigour prevalent in several of these centres which is a source of inspiration. These institutions and those devoted to them make the United States powerful and dynamic. It is a heritage which the people can cherish and be proud of. But with power comes responsibility. For, power without responsibility is the definition of tryanny. And those who have power—physical or technical, social or religious—cannot for a moment forget their obligations to those around us. Which means not only our city and state and country but men and women everywhere. For, we are not apart from the world but a part of the world. As Arnold Toynbee has observed, "We should get accustomed to the idea that the West is now surrounded by the world."

I need hardly remind you that in the world in which we live today, we cannot isolate ourselves from other countries unless we transplant ourselves to another planet. We have all become, for good or evil, next door neighbours. Economic forces have an impact transcending national boundaries. National economies can no longer be insulated against world forces. As has been remarked, a cold in the United States would bring about pneumonia in Europe! It is not only the Asian 'flu that you import but also manganese and tin and oil, and their price fluctuations affect you even as your production and prices influence world markets. Poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere. Moreover, air travel has annihilated distance and radio communications traverse space. But, above all, the development of atomic energy has made us more conscious than ever that we have all to live or die together. Radio-active waves do not respect geographical frontiers. We shall not be able to avert poisoning of the air by trade barriers. Internationalism in the sense of realisation of the primary obligation of man to men everywhere is no longer the vision of impractical idealists; it is a stark reality we cannot escape. But if we have to live in hope and build the future in harmony, it is imperative that we know more and more about one another, whatever our nationality, race or religion. "To know all," says a French proverb, "is to

forgive all." Yet, understanding others is by no means easy. Indeed, some philosophers have maintained that it is impossible, in the ultimate sense, to comprehend another person —perhaps even to understand ourselves completely. If we cannot always understand members of our family or people in our community or our own compatriots, how much more difficult it is to understand people from far off lands with strange customs and different traditions and divergent ways of life ! Perhaps, that is why there is so much misunderstanding on this question of mutual understanding !

At the outset, let me say that even among those who are informed and responsible, there is a tendency to confuse understanding with agreements. We may understand another man's point of view without necessarily agreeing with it. No doubt, agreement when it is genuine and rational implies understanding. Unfortunately, we expect everyone to agree with us always and think that a man does not understand us if he does not agree with us. But along with this is the psychological fact that we are all more eager even in our personal relationships *to be understood rather than to understand.* We are more anxious to put across our own point of view than to try to appreciate the motives and objectives of the other fellow in following the course that he does. And, yet, understanding is a two-way traffic ; it has to be reciprocal. I am reminded of the reply an Indian student gave me in Pittsburgh last year when I asked some of our young men whether during their discussions with their American friends, they were able to get their viewpoint on various matters properly understood. He said quite rightly that it was our duty not only to explain our own point of view but also to try to understand what the American point of view was. We need not necessarily assume that we are in the right and that others should modify their views to coincide with ours. Our own case seems so self-evident to ourselves that we think it hardly needs explanation. We believe that those who disagree with us are on the defensive because the validity of our case and the purity of our motives are obvious to ourselves. Indeed, if this was clear to others, if there was no ignorance, no prejudice, no clash of interests, the question of removing misunderstandings would not arise at all. Self-righteousness is no small impediment to creating a

better understanding. In our day, glass houses have become more brittle than ever while those who throw stones want to have them back to repeat the performance !

A principal difficulty in mutual understanding is that we all tend to over-simplify other people's opinions, attitudes and policies. Several years ago, Walter Lippman said that public opinion is a series of stereotypes and such stereotypes are nowhere more evident than in international relationships. After all, any generalisation about a whole nation is apt to be superficial. As Burke said, we cannot indict a whole people. We say, for example, that the British are pragmatic, the French logical, the German theoretical, the Hindu mystical and so forth ; but we forget that it is not what people profess but how they act that matters. It is significant, moreover, that when we speak about our own people or nation, we fall back on the explanation that we ourselves are a complex people ! That is because we know much more about our own people and do not wish to make hasty generalisations. I have heard, for example, foreigners emphasize the standardization of opinions and values in the United States. But a couple of months' stay in this country would show the wide diversity in the outlook of the people in this land. We should, therefore, be wary of thinking of other people in terms of symbols and interpreting their attitudes in cliches. I wish that a comparative study could be made of national superstitions and obsessions as part of the discipline of anthropology. If this were done, a general or a statesman at the end of a war would be able to say, " I have brought back peace with humour " rather than with Honour or National Glory or the halo of a Master Race.

Unfortunately, this tendency to over-simplify issues has been accentuated by mass media of communication like the press, radio and television. These media are presumed to give information and spread knowledge and thus create a better understanding. I cannot help feeling, however, that for various reasons into which I need not go here, they tend to stereotype opinions and over-simplify problems. Because of their tendency to be snappy and sensational rather than to enable people to think calmly and honestly, men and women are instilled with slogans through press headlines and excited commentaries. The mass of people who have neither the leisure nor the inclina-

tion to get below the surface take whatever comes out of these mass media as facts. As totalitarian movements have shown, fanaticism and mass hysteria can be skilfully and efficiently developed through propaganda and technical apparatus which are exploited to intensify religious, racial or political bigotry and hatred. Adolph Berle has sensibly said, " We are living with ghosts . . . all the ghosts have organized armies of conscripts, living conscripts of outworn ideas with little reality today." These are various " isms " whether it be capitalism or communism, nationalism or imperialism, and notions of race superiority and spiritual supremacy. For these ghosts, men are prepared to fight and die, not realising that many of these are dead and unreal and others are merely systems or instruments for achieving specific objectives. Popular misconceptions have, therefore, to be removed through study, discussion, travel, if we are to know one another as human beings, with all our weaknesses and strength, rather than as mere abstractions and national entities. Differences need not deter us, divergences should not impede us. For, as was said two thousand years ago, in my Father's House there are many mansions. Even as an ancient Sanskrit verse has it, to the broadminded, the entire world is one family.

It is a curious fact that, by and large, dissimilarities and differences strike people much more than similarities in modes of living. What is still more significant, however, is that we tend to focus attention on differences or disagreements on certain aspects of policies of governments rather than on areas of agreement. For instance, the United States and India both have democratic forms of government, respect the rule of law and strive to achieve economic development through cooperative effort and methods of persuasion. No doubt, the systems of production and distribution in the two countries are radically different, and so is the pattern of living. But the fact that during the last ten years, we by our own free will have committed ourselves to democratic principles, have adopted a secular constitution, have had two free and fair general elections and are implementing a programme of agricultural and industrial development for raising living standards should be appreciated in countries which believe in these concepts. So, too, there is active and continuous Indo-

American cooperation in industrial, commercial and technical spheres. We, on our part, have to recognise the invaluable assistance which the United States has given through loans and grants and surplus agricultural commodities to enable us to overcome our food deficit, counteract inflation and finance our development programmes ; governmental aid in this respect has been supplemented by Foundations like the Ford and the Rockefeller. American technicians and experts are working in close cooperation with Indian officials in formulating and implementing our plans. Nearly 2,300 Indian students are studying in this country while under various exchange programmes, young farmers, teachers, librarians and others come to this country and young men and women from this country go to India and live there on farms and with Indian families. These are ways in which better understanding can be developed. These contacts, individual and at the grass roots, help to remove psychological impediments and create a sense of community. Nevertheless, so far as a large section of the press is concerned, these links and communications seem to be of no moment. What apparently matters, to the exclusion of all else, is differences on certain issues of foreign policy. Both in this country and in certain sections of my country, people concentrate on such differences to the neglect of all other social, cultural and technical aspects of our relationship. Despite the fact that India shares democratic conceptions with the people of this country and is seeking to translate them into practice, what most people seem to be interested in is what is miscalled India's " neutralism " or India's support to the admission of China into the United Nations. Undoubtedly, foreign policy is fundamental in international relationship, especially today when issues of peace and war not only concern soldiers and sailors but involve the very survival of the human race. And yet, I cannot help feeling that we are apt to get a distorted picture by confining our attention to differences about governmental policies for achieving peace and stability, and by exaggerating these differences out of all proportion. Even in regard to such differences which arise from time to time on specific issues, it is well to recognize that they relate to the most effective means of achieving common objectives rather than to the objectives themselves. It is true, of course, that

even a difference in methods might be vital. But such differences are bound to arise between free and independent countries. It is because we are free countries that we can differ and still cooperate for common purposes. It is the hallmark of totalitarianism to insist on conformity between nations ; it is a characteristic of independent and democratic countries to accept diversity. The motto of the Republic of Uruguay which says, " With liberty, I neither offend nor fear " has a significance wider than when it was first coined. Could we but live up to this objective, we would build a better world. For, we should realise that none of us has the complete answer to our riddles. No one has simple, readymade solutions for achieving peace and harmony. What we need, above all, for a better understanding is patience, tolerance and humility. As the poet said :

> Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell.

Better understanding between independent and free countries can be promoted through equality of status and sharing of common objectives and ideals. This does not mean that the two countries concerned need be equally prosperous or powerful. Obviously, this is not possible. What is essential is that there should be no feeling of such dependence of one country on the other that it is unable freely to exercise its judgment, and that the more powerful country should not seek to dominate the thinking and activities of the less powerful country. As Lord Rosebury, a former British Prime Minister, said years ago, " Cordiality between nations can only rest on the basis of mutual self-respect." Nothing impedes such cordiality and understanding more than a sense of inferiority on one side or a subconscious sense of mission, holy or ideological, on the other. In a world knit together and which is in a ferment, with nations sensitive and proud of their newborn freedom, what we want is a sense of partnership rather than leadership. Mutual consultations and free and frank exchange of views are essential for strengthening the bonds of friendship. And where there are honest differences of opinion, these should be accepted even as we accept differences between

political parties and various interests within a country. Mutual understanding does not require treaties or pacts or subsidies; it demands cooperation on a free and equal basis. What is necessary is mutual esteem and respect: an appreciation of one another's point of view, not an insistence on identity of opinion and a dead level of uniformity.

If science which can destroy us is to save and sustain us, let it be allied to a universal ethic which is the essence of all religions. It was a Greek philosopher who said that Man should be the measure of all things. That is the faith which should inspire us, old or young, American or European, Asian or African. The world has outgrown narrow nationalism and even if some dictators or isolationists so desire, countries cannot remain aloof any longer. United in many essentials of living and thinking, we cannot remain divided in spirit. We must steadily, relentlessly seek the ways of peace, not build fretfully and perpetually for conflict and war. That is a task to which the young men and women who are now emerging from colleges and schools could well dedicate themselves. Let them seek harmony in a diverse world, cultivate goodwill where there is so much bitterness and hatred, help to promote equality instead of domination. Well could they sing with the poet:

We are the music makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea breakers
And sitting by desolate streams;
World losers and world forsakers
On whom the pale moon gleams,
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world for ever, it seems!

ASIAN NATIONALISM*

NATIONALISM IN ASIA, as we know it today, is undoubtedly the most significant development of this century. Although its roots are embedded in ancient cultural heritage, it emerged and grew in Asia after it had appeared in Europe. But we should not forget that in Europe also nationalism in the sense in which this term is now understood became a force since the eighteenth century, mainly as a result of resistance to foreign aggression or domination.

The development of Asian nationalism like its origins has been different from that of European nationalism. Historically, the development of Asia has been in terms of regional rather than national groupings such as China and East Asia ; India and South East Asia ; West Asia comprising the Arab lands ; and Central Asia. The great religions of Asia—and I may add that all the spiritual religions have had their origin in Asia and the East—Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam spread over the continent at different times and in different phases and complexions. These religions have in many ways been a primary impulse for the regional groupings and cultural inheritance of Asia. Similarity of culture is often as important as common racial origin. Within each of these religions there has been a variety of ethnic, cultural, economic and political associations. But the concept in each case may be compared to that of Christendom in post-Roman Europe rather than to that of separate nation states. Within these regional groups, there have, no doubt, been different competing states, princedoms, tribal groups and so forth. Regional rivalries and contests for local supremacy have divided them, but these have taken the form of a struggle for domination within the group rather than of country against country as in Europe where one of the factors making for the development of dis-

* Speech delivered to the Sixty-second Annual Meeting of The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia on April 12, 1958.

parate nationalisms was the struggle between different countries.

In ancient and medieval times, peoples of Asia were, indeed, as adventurous and aware of the world at large as Europeans, if not more so. Archaeological remains and other evidence show that there was flow of commerce and culture between India and Sumeria as well as later Mediterranean civilization and ancient Greece. In the Buddhist period, contacts were developed through missionaries and others by way of what is now Afghanistan and Turkistan with China; also with Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China and Indonesia. Geographically, the extent of these contacts is much greater than that of the Mediterranean region which represented the whole world to the Romans. There is evidence to show that even the American continent, north and south, had contacts with Asia, and the peoples of Asia migrated to these lands. Such exchanges and migrations were largely peaceful, and those who took culture and trade abroad often settled in the new lands they discovered; for instance, there were ancient Indian dynasties in Ceylon and countries in South East Asia. Even the Mongols who established their sway over China and India became assimilated and in course of time ceased to be alien rulers.

But it was the coming of Europeans into Asia that produced a tremendous impact. Europeans first came to Asia as traders and it has been said that they acquired their empires in Asia unintentionally and as though by accident. India, said the historian Seeley, was conquered by the British in a fit of absent-mindedness. Unfortunately, however, peoples of these lands did not have the necessary presence of mind to counter the absent-mindedness that was so positive. The fact is that Europeans were pushful, aggressive traders prepared to use force and to hold territories to the extent necessary for commercial exploitation. It was rather the Asians who lost their freedom—political or economic or both—through inadvertence. Inspired by local rivalries rather than national feeling, many a ruler sought the help of one European power or another against his rival, only to find that he himself had become subject to his foreign friends.

If I may digress for a moment, I was somewhat surprised

that such a penetrating and balanced thinker as George F. Kennan does not believe that the West need have some sort of " cosmic guilt or obligation vis-a-vis the under-developed powers of the world."* It is hardly necessary to point out to such a distinguished historian as Mr. Kennan that the plight of many of these countries can be traced directly to their domination and exploitation by powerful countries of the West. The way their economies were developed so as to produce and supply certain raw materials for manufacture by ruling countries while closed markets were developed for the finished products of the dominant country is, I suggest, an adequate comment on the " moral responsibility " of the Western powers which conquered and dominated lands whose main crime was their military weakness. Moreover, the plunder from some of these countries such as India in the early days of the East India Company helped to enrich the " Nabobs " whose affluence contributed to the industrialization of Britain. Countless examples can be given of the manner in which cheap labour of these " backward " countries was utilized to build up fortunes in imperial or metropolitan countries and to show how the most elementary needs of populations in these lands were not met and their social and economic amelioration neglected by an imperial governing caste. This is not to deny that what is loosely called " colonialism " did bring some benefits to these peoples and lands. Apart from the spread of literacy, better health standards, communications and rudiments of industries—which, incidentally, would have been possible through contacts with the West without alien domination—Eastern countries owe to the West, concepts of law and forms of representative government, and organized administrative systems. Even Marxists do not deny that such alien capitalism could be a step forward from indigenous feudalism. No impartial person can deny many concrete advantages which foreign rule has brought to Asian countries. Moreover, what an eminent Irishman, Sir Horace Plunkett, said about his own country is equally pertinent for Asian countries which have been under foreign domination, that " Irish history is something which Britishers should remember and Irishmen should

* *Russia, the Atom and the West*, George F. Kennan, p. 74.

forget." Nevertheless, it is simply not true that the Western countries have no moral responsibility or obligations to countries which have enabled them to a smaller or greater extent to build up their wealth and power.

European dominance over Asia had the effect of cutting off contacts among Asians and shifting their political relationships and economies to the West. But it was this very domination which generated in course of time a spirit of resistance against foreign rule and engendered the growth of nationalism in different countries of Asia. Yearning for freedom and movements for achieving national independence were inspired and stimulated in the nineteenth century by the impact of Western ideas—the English liberal philosophers, the French Encyclopaedists and the French Revolution, and the American Revolution with its Declaration of Rights. Garibaldi's and Mazzini's fight for independence of Italy and Ireland's struggle for Home Rule fired the imagination of the intelligentsia in my country. Byron's immortal verse captivated the youth :

> For freedom's battle once begun
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft
> Is ever won.

It is of interest to mention that the British Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's memorable words, " good government is no substitute for self-government " after the Boer War became a sheet-anchor for those striving for self-rule. Asian peoples were thrilled by Japan's victory over Russia (1904-5) which they hailed as the triumph of an Asian nation over a European power. Japan's development into a modern state was followed with keen interest until Japan's conquest of other Asian countries produced a feeling of revulsion. It should be stated, however, that Japan's relations with the Western powers were not all of her own seeking. Japan became aware of Western aggressiveness and her rulers felt that there were only two ways of dealing with Western powers, either to submit to them or to fight them with their own weapons. Japan came to be considered a great power and was given an equal status at Versailles because of her armaments and

economic strength. But Japan's error, if I may say so with all deference, was that the Japanese wanted only themselves to be regarded as belonging to the West and did not wish to destroy a belief in Eastern inferiority.*

When, during the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson enunciated the principle of national self-determination, countries in Asia were immensely enthused and demanded that this principle be applied not merely to the subject nations of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire but also to those who were under the domination of the Allied Powers. There was a ferment in Asia towards the end of that war and it was then that the constitutional agitation for self-government in India became a dynamic mass movement. Leaders, like Mahatma Gandhi, Sun Yat Sen, Mustafa Kemal and Nahas Pasha became the pioneers of a resurgent Asia.

The freedom movement in Asian countries got a fillip during the Second World War. The ostensible objectives of that war such as safeguarding of democracy and liberty against Fascism and Nazism stimulated a demand for realization of these ideals in subject countries. The "four freedoms" proclaimed by the late President Roosevelt became a beacon for dependent and economically under-developed countries. National independence was demanded as implementing the principles for which the Allies fought Germany, Italy and Japan; and a desire for economic development received stimulus from the emphasis on "freedom from want." On the other hand and paradoxically, dramatic Japanese military successes were hailed by many in Asia, including those who detested militarism and Japanese chauvinism, as evidence of what an Asian country could achieve if it had the opportunity to develop its strength. Many Asians derive similar satisfaction from China's emergence as a powerful country; they look upon it less as a Communist phenomenon than as evidence of Asia's revival.

Japan is once again rising and re-emerging on the international scene. Although not then a member of the United

* Bertrand Russell in his *Problem of China* written thirty-six years ago said: "Not that Japan has been worse than we have, but that certain kinds of crime are only permitted to very great Powers, and have been committed by the Japanese at an earlier stage of their career than prudence would warrant."

Nations, Japanese delegates attended the Bandung Conference and their representatives were also present at the recent Afro-Asia Conference in Cairo. Japan is having increasing commercial contacts with countries in Asia and is becoming a keen competitor in many markets. While Japan wants to bring about better understanding between Asia and the West, her leaders are anxious to maintain the Asian complexion of the country.

The resurgence of Asia after the end of the war is the most significant event of the present century and is, as Arnold Toynbee has observed, " more explosive than the atom bomb." During the last ten years, over 600 million people of the world have emerged from their dependent status covering nearly 29 countries. These countries have achieved national freedom mainly through the enlightened policies of the ruling powers but partly also because of the collapse of imperial authority. In this ferment, there was a renewed desire to re-establish old contacts and make new ones within Asia. One of the earliest expressions of this widespread feeling was the Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March, 1947, when India herself had not achieved full independence. The first meeting at governmental level took place, again in New Delhi, in January, 1949, in the conference on Indonesia. This was a regional rather than a specific Asian conference because Australia and New Zealand participated in it as countries interested in peace in the Southern Pacific area. But the most important and organised expression of Asian consciousness was the Bandung Conference in April, 1955 where the leading statesmen of 29 countries of Asia and Africa representing 56 per cent of the world's population met together. These countries have different political, social and economic systems ; some are members of mutually hostile military and political groupings while some are not aligned militarily to either power bloc. Nevertheless, the governments of these countries found enough in common to issue a unanimous declaration of principles and the peoples of these lands were eager that mutual cooperation should be fostered despite differences in their ideologies or social systems. The Bandung declaration, it will be recalled, stressed respect for national sovereignty and integrity ; equality of all races and nations, great and small ; and the need for

international cooperation. It has been evident that Asian countries are determined that they will no longer be under alien domination or permit themselves to be exploited because of their race or colour. It is also significant that they are asserting themselves despite the fact that they lack economic strength or military power. This movement for equality and dignity is not simply negative, it is not only a revolt against political domination, economic exploitation and racial discrimination. It is also a call for cooperation and partnership with the West on a free and equal basis.

The so-called Asian-African group at the United Nations now comprises 29 members. Even after some possible reduction as a result of recent mergers of some Arab States, its future strength is likely to be greater with the addition of new members. 31 new members have joined the United Nations since its inception ; 19 of these or over 60 per cent are from Asia and Africa. Further additions will be mostly from these two continents. Although members of this group are free to take their own decisions and frequently vote on different sides on important issues, their collective voice is becoming increasingly important and their views cannot be ignored on matters affecting Asia and Africa, colonialism and racial tensions. Many of these countries also hold strong views about their being made helpless victims of a nuclear holocaust as a consequence of hostilities between great Powers and some of them have an aversion to military alliances or membership of any bloc. These countries taken as a whole account for the bulk of the world's population and their voice has to be heard on important international issues such as disarmament. Besides, most of these countries are under-developed and although comprising the majority of the world's population, have only 15 per cent of the world's income ; their common economic and social problems are, therefore, an additional link between them and engender similar approach on many economic questions. Cooperation between Asian nations is also being furthered through regional organizations inside and outside the United Nations such as ECAFE and the Colombo Plan. There are from time to time unofficial meetings and gatherings of workers, athletes and cultural groups.

The independence of these Asian nations is incomplete

until they can get rid of foreign bases as well as their stagnant, undiversified economies which, in part, are the legacy of alien rule. There is in these countries, "a revolution of rising expectations" and the vast masses of these lands will no longer remain content with their lot. As Bertrand Russell has recently pointed out, it is "scientific technique" that "the East regards as important and distinctive in the West" and it is "this alone that the East is willing to learn from the West." It has been estimated, for instance, that less than two per cent of the world's armaments budget could provide Asia with more than three times her power capacity. Asia's transformation depends, in the last analysis, on removing gross poverty and drudgery, hunger and malnutrition and disease, on eradicating illiteracy and providing better opportunities of employment; in other words, the emancipation of Asian nations is not complete until life is made more bearable for millions of people giving them some sense of hope and confidence. It is because Communism claims to be able to remove the social and economic evils of poorer countries promptly, methodically and completely that it appeals to many down-trodden peoples. "Nuclear power does not mean bigger and better bombs on Asia," says Mr. Leon Maria Guerrero, "it is the best hope of peaceful progress and development for people few of whom have ever enjoyed the help of electricity. For the future of Asia, Zeta is surely more significant than sputnik or the Explorer."*

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that nationalism in these times is inadequate unless it has an economic and social content and unless it accepts its limitations within the framework of a world society with its obligations and responsibilities. It cannot be gainsaid that in some countries nationalism has been divorced from democratic concepts and does not retain the primary impulse of liberalism. But we should not make the mistake of insisting that forms of government and structure of economy in countries with radically different conditions should necessarily conform to Western patterns. Moreover, freedom and equality as political concepts can have little

* "An Asian on Asia: Unfinished Revolution"—Series of three talks on B.B.C. by Leon Maria Guerrero—*The Listener*, February 27, 1958.

meaning or significance without social reform and economic betterment. Indeed, if democratic institutions are to be built up in countries which have abysmal poverty and illiteracy, economic development has to be a primary task of governments. It is also true that some manifestations of resurgent or triumphant nationalism have been unhealthy and extreme but suppression of popular upsurge by colonial powers is a remedy worse than the disease. Those who fear that withdrawal of imperial overlordship would lead to a vacuum in which the Communists would walk in should not ignore the danger of a nationalist movement turning into a totalitarian movement, supported openly or covertly by powers which are opposed to the West. Nationalism in Asia is not necessarily anti-Western because it was born in opposition to Western imperialism ; indeed, Asian nations have been reconciled in most cases to a new relationship with the West which has to be based on equality and self-respect rather than force and conquest, on treaties and agreements instead of extra-territorial rights and privileges and preferences.

In Asia, as in the rest of the world, there are many unresolved problems between countries. For instance, there are differences over demarcation of frontiers as between Burma and China and there is mutual suspicion and distrust and fear of extraneous interference. Such differences have to be resolved through peaceful means and adjustments arrived at without resort to force. So long as there is no attempt at infiltration or subversion, these countries can even benefit by competition in ideas as much as cooperation in trade and culture. It is imperative that countries like India and China with large populations and immense potential resources and with populations settled abroad should be wary in their relationship with other countries and reassure their neighbours as well as smaller countries that they have no aggressive designs or ideological ambitions. We in Asia have to think in terms of partnership and not leadership. Indian populations in Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and elsewhere do create some difficult problems which are mainly economic in nature but here, too, given mutual goodwill and a spirit of accommodation, adjustments can be made in course of time. The Indian Government for its part has emphasized that the primary loyalty of such populations

should be to the country in which they have settled down. But the right of any country to give preference to its own nationals or safeguard its own population cannot permit such racial discrimination and humiliation as obtains in South Africa. It is essential to remember that Asian or African reaction to Western dominance is in proportion to Western practice of the doctrine of white man's supremacy.

Frequently, there is discussion of rivalry among nations in Asia, as, for instance, competition between industrialized Japan and India or the " race " between India and China. The peoples of Asia like those in other countries closely follow economic developments, social trends and political movements in neighbouring countries and elsewhere in the whole region. But differences in the mode or rate of development need not necessarily be categorised in terms of the cold war. Social and economic evils exist in Asia irrespective of Marxism and have to be fought and removed with intelligence and determination. Different countries follow various paths to achieve the aim of social welfare and economic development. Provided there is no attempt to impose one system or the other by force or by subversion, those who believe in democratic values should have enough confidence to meet the challenge.

I should like to add one word about Indo-Pakistan relationship. This is not a struggle of rival nationalisms. Nationalism grew on the Indian sub-continent as an all-India concept and the creation of Pakistan because of personal and sectional rivalries constituted a defeat for the spirit of Indian nationalism. Even now, while India shows a sense of national consciousness, has translated the conception of a secular state in its constitution and endeavours to live up to these principles —for whose vindication our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, laid down his life—this national consciousness is largely lacking in Pakistan except negatively when directed against India. Although I do not wish to comment on the internal affairs of another country, it is no secret that rivalries between East and West Pakistan cut right across any sense of national entity. Differences between India and Pakistan as symbolised in Kashmir represent a conflict between nationalism and sectionalism.

The existence of a nation, said Renan, is a daily plebiscite.

It has been in Asia an assertion of the right of a group of people to determine their destiny free from alien interference and domination. But it has been something more. It has been an awareness of an entity submerged or forgotten in the dim past : a consciousness of a new dignity and self-respect for a people. We in Asia have to realise that new freedoms bring new responsibilities, that the right of self-rule carries with it a moral obligation to be a responsible member of a world community. Our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, was conscious of the risks of some phases of nationalism and of its possible unhealthy manifestations. I cannot conclude my speech better than by quoting his eloquent words which have a warning for great powers as well as nations which have just become free :

" Hatred will kill the real national spirit. Let us understand what nationalism is. We want freedom for our country, but not at the expense or exploitation of others, not so as to degrade other countries. For my own part I do not want the freedom of India if it means extinction of England or the disappearance of Englishmen. I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilized for the benefit of mankind.... My love, therefore, of nationalism is that my country may become free, that *if need be the whole of the country die, so that the human race may live.* There is no room for race hatred there. Let that be our nationalism."

INDIA'S PLANNED ECONOMY

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN INDIA'S PLANNED ECONOMY*

I HAVE CHOSEN TO SPEAK about private enterprise in India's planned economy, not only because I am an Indian but because India being one-seventh of mankind, it will be sufficient if I do not roam further afield. I speak about "planned economy" because, as I hope to show, an under-developed country where resources are limited and the needs are many has to assess its resources—material, capital and human—and determine the priorities for its developmental plans and the stages in which such plans should be implemented. Although conditions in different under-developed countries do differ, more or less the same problems confront them, such as a low standard of living, undiversified economy and unutilized resources, lack of capital and underemployment. While all that I say may not be applicable in its entirety to other undeveloped countries in the East, I believe it will have some relevance to the vital problems which concern all of them.

When power was transferred to our National Government five years ago, it found a country not altogether untouched but certainly only touched at the fringes by the great material improvements which the last century and a half had brought about in Western Europe and North America. It is not that we did not have roads and railways and electric power, rudiments of industrial development and modern methods of agriculture: we were, in fact, and are the seventh largest industrial nation in the world, but compared to our population of 362 million people, we did not have and do not have enough of developed resources or essential equipment and goods. The result is that the *per capita* income of India is no more than $53 per annum compared to $1,584 per annum in the United States. The problems which the Government of India faced were, therefore, not only urgent but also gigantic. India, as you know, believes in a democratic system

* Address delivered to the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, New York City, on October 24, 1952.

of governance, and its Constitution provides all the rights and freedoms for the individual which are provided in your Bill of Rights. These are rights which the people of India cherished and which the Government of the land are fully determined to maintain. It is not, therefore, open to them to adopt methods of economic development which involve coercion for bringing about a realignment of productive forces nor do they believe in violent shortcuts for achievement of objectives. The Government and the people of India are not prepared to trade human liberty for some schematic conceptions or sacrifice fundamental moral values for a creed. But, equally, they are not prepared to go on waiting indefinitely in loyalty to any economic and political system which does not produce beneficent results.

Soon after the Constitution of India was passed on January 26, 1950, the Government of India appointed the Planning Commission, of which I had the honour to be a member since its inception. The Commission had directions to formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the country's resources. If the Plan had to be realistic, it had to take into account the limitation of our resources, particularly of capital of which we are exceedingly short. The task of the Commission was to assess these resources, investigate the possibilities of augmenting them in relation to the nation's requirements, determine what were the most urgent needs of the country and where available resources should be applied to the best possible advantage of the community as a whole. In short, we had to take stock of what we had and what we needed so as to establish an order of priorities for allocation of resources. This does not and need not mean regimentation. Indeed, the importance of such a programme of development plans was emphasized by the group of experts appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to devise measures for the economic development of under-developed countries. Their report stated that the Government of an under-developed country should "establish a central economic unit with the functions of surveying the economy, making development programmes, devising the measures necessary for carrying out such programmes and reporting on them periodically." The fact that social and

economic development in such a country cannot proceed without a careful scrutiny of projects and without a system of priorities determined after careful examination of the conditions and needs of the country, has been recognized by several international bodies and authorities.

I do not propose to dwell at length on the Five Year Plan for economic development whose Draft Outline was prepared by the Planning Commission in July, 1950, and many of the schemes embodied in which have been in operation for a year and a half. The final report of the Commission is expected to be ready in the course of a few weeks. But I propose to give you some idea of our approach to this whole problem and of the way in which we are planning the utilization of our resources. The powers and functions of the state in relation to industry and commerce in different countries depend not so much on theoretic considerations as on historical developments and economic needs. In our country, for instance, railways and large irrigation projects, telegraphs, telephones and broadcasting are all owned and operated by the state ; so are munition factories, railway workshops and even some collieries and salt works. The state is also the ultimate owner of land in many parts of the country ; it was an interesting point of controversy in the past whether the land revenue that was paid was a tax or a rent. On the other hand, private enterprise including foreign enterprise has established and developed many industries in the country whether those dealing with plantations such as tea, coffee and rubber ; mining such as coal, manganese, mica, gold and copper ; or manufacturing plants for steel, textiles, cement, sugar, paper and a host of chemical and engineering industries. In other words, we have what is popularly called a "mixed economy", which, if I may suggest, obtains in most countries where certain industries and services are owned and operated by the state and others by private industrialists and businessmen. We believe that in the conditions of India today where development has to be not only as rapid as possible but also balanced and coordinated, some measure of public control and regulation is necessary and unavoidable. But there is ample room for the private sector which plays and will continue to play an important part in production as well as distribution. As

the Prime Minister of our country recently said, "private enterprise has an honourable part to play in our national economy." Undoubtedly, private enterprise, like any other social institution, will endure and justify itself so far as it proves to be an agent for promoting the public good.

In consonance with this approach, we are endeavouring first of all, to create those material conditions which are basic for economic development. Our most urgent need has been the increase in our food production and this was to be achieved through making available to the cultivator more water, apart from fertilizers and manures. The provision of water involves the building of dams and since shortage of electric power is one of the principal hindrances to the development of industry, it was decided to generate power through these dams. We decided, therefore, to devote no less than 43% (or 1284 million dollars in the course of five years) of the entire expenditure under the Plan to agriculture and development of irrigation and power. We hope by 1955-56 to have provided an addition of 16.5 million acres with irrigation and to generate 7 million kilowatts of additional electric power. These improvements are expected to result in a substantial increase in our food production. We hope to be able to feed our people a little better than we are doing today at the end of the first planning period and to dispense with the necessity of heavy imports of foodstuffs from abroad thereby effecting a saving in foreign exchange which can be utilized for establishing and expanding industries, exploiting mineral resources and extending transport services.

Apart from agriculture and irrigation, another basic condition for rapid economic development is the provision of adequate communications. Our railway system, inherently sound and progressive as it is, is insufficient to meet the requirements of the country whether for transport of passengers or goods. Our road system does not reach our 500,000 villages, so that it is difficult for the farmer to bring his produce to the market and for the manufacturer to carry his wares to the population of the villages. We have devoted 26.1% (or 776 million dollars in five years) to the development of transport and communications. The third priority was the provision of services like education and health. It need hardly be pointed

out that there can be no increase in productivity, if workers whether in the field or in the factory suffer through malaria and other debilitating diseases. Nor can efficiency be increased unless the worker has at least some rudiments of education. Unhappily, our services in this respect have been woefully deficient owing to lack of resources and despite the keenest desire to extend and improve them. We therefore decided to devote no less than 17% (or 508 million dollars in five years) to the provision of these services, in addition to the amounts already being spent on them.

In the Draft Outline of the Five Year Plan, no more than 6 % (or 212 million dollars in five years) is earmarked for industries. This has been the subject of some criticism and misunderstanding. It is, therefore, necessary to explain that this allocation is in respect of such industries as were already established by the State, such as, for instance, for production of fertilizer and manufacture of machine tools, as well as for assisting certain basic industries like steel and ship building and for assisting cottage and small-scale industries as well as for scientific and industrial research. No provision is made under this head for industries established and operated by private enterprise which finances its own activities and raises its own resources although it is encouraged and assisted by the State in various ways. It will be evident, therefore, that we are trying to develop basic resources and create conditions essential for economic development. We are building roads which private enterprise in India at any rate cannot do. We are modernizing our railways which have been for a long time the property of the Federal Government ; we are providing irrigation for the agriculturist since it is quite beyond the power of any group of private individuals in India—as in most countries—to raise vast sums of money required for large irrigation schemes. We are providing power which again is a part of the framework without which private industry cannot thrive. We are also providing finance and other forms of assistance to industry. The Government of my country has no ideological objection to going into business nor has it any doctrinaire obsession for taking over things without regard to the administrative machinery at its disposal or the resources which are available. As the Planning Commission in its report has

stated, "The resources available to the public sector have, at this stage, to be utilized for investment along new lines rather than in the acquisition of existing productive capacity." Apart from industries vital to the defence of the country and some other activities of which the provision of electric power is a conspicuous example, we wish to limit ourselves to those fields which require more capital than is available in the hands of private capitalists in India. The Government of India does not, for example, own or manage cotton or jute mills or cement or sugar factories. If it had surplus resources, it would rather use them for establishing new industries, new techniques and processes than in seeking to supplant the old. What the State would do is to establish factories where private industry is unable or unwilling to take advantage of the opportunity afforded to it. We have, for example, established a factory for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate with an annual production of 350,000 tons. The capital cost of the factory was $48 million. For the United States, this amount may seem almost insignificant. In India, it has been found impossible to raise it in the private capital market. The alternative before us was, therefore, either to do without fertilizers or to establish a fertilizer factory owned and managed by Government. Obviously, there was only one course to adopt. Similarly, the Government has also a plant for the assembly and eventual manufacture of aircraft which, it is interesting to recall, was established in collaboration with an American firm and run in the initial stages with the assistance of American technicians; it has also a plant for the manufacture of locomotives, receiving full technical aid from the Locomotive Association of the United Kingdom; a machine tool factory for the production of certain basic types of machine tools which are not manufactured by private industry, in cooperation with Oerlikons of Switzerland; a factory for the manufacture of telephone apparatus and another for production of dry-core cables, both in cooperation with British concerns.

It is of interest to mention in this contex that both Government and private enterprise participate in the same industrial sphere. For instance, while Government owns collieries, the major portion of the coal industry is owned by private enter-

prise; salt works fall both in the public and the private sector. Similarly, the production of ammonium sulphate fertilizer will, in future, be principally undertaken by the Government factory at Sindri in the State of Bihar, while this fertilizer is also being produced in small quantities by private industry. Another fertilizer, superphosphate, is, on the other hand, produced almost entirely by private industry. Again, while locomotives are to be manufactured in the Government plant, its manufacture has also been undertaken by the wellknown industrial group of Tatas, although this plant is also financially assisted by Government. Production of machine tools, similarly, falls in both the sectors. Another point worth mentioning is the establishment and growth of what one might call "mixed enterprise" in our country. This system under which both Government and private enterprise contribute to the capital investment and participate in management was developed in some of the Indian States in the past, particularly the State of Mysore in the South. Owing to lack of capital resources and the need for mobilizing managerial and technical experience, this form of enterprise has been found suitable in many cases. It obtains in international aviation and overseas shipping services as also in several industries. This form of enterprise would, if properly organized and conducted, combine the advantages of initiative and flexibility with a larger conception of public welfare and avoid meticulous control and complicated regulations. Government does, however, retain and exercise a certain measure of control where shortages develop or restrictive practices prevail. Suitable machinery is also being set up which would enable each industry to organize itself better and help it to bring about a steady improvement in the standards of productivity, efficiency and management through development councils consisting of representatives of industry, labour and technicians.

Not only is Government creating basic conditions for the development of industry and commerce, it is also assisting them in various ways including provision of financial incentives. Government in my country has been helping industry and trade through commercial agreements, tariff protection to nascent industries, tax concessions, financial aid and other

instruments of policy. It is true that industries do suffer there as in other countries from several handicaps such as shortage of materials, unsatisfactory industrial relations, difficulties of obtaining requisite capital, whether for replacement or expansion, and a restricted market; but measures adopted by government have undoubtedly helped indigenous industries to expand their production and appropriate an appreciable portion of the domestic market. The shortage of foreign exchange itself acts as a protective factor of considerable significance and is a fortuitous aid to industry. Government has made important concessions comprising liberalization of rules on plant and machinery for income tax purposes, exemption from income tax of new industrial undertakings subject to certain conditions, and relief in respect of customs duty on industrial raw materials and machinery. This is hardly the place to recapitulate several facilities which have been made available to industries and various concessions made in successive budgets during the last four years in order to stimulate investment and create confidence in the private sector. But no one who impartially surveys the industrial field in India can deny that the attitude and policy of government since independence have been one of encouragement and helpfulness to industry and commerce while no doubt maintaining essential powers of control in the larger public interest.

As a result of all these measures and policies, considerable industrial expansion has taken place both in the way of establishment of new industrial enterprise as well as expansion and modernization of existing plants. Those of you who are interested in the economic conditions of India must have observed that industrial production has, during the last few years, shown a rapid upward movement. I think I am correct in stating that there is hardly any field of industry in India today which is not breaking a record. We are mining more coal, we are spinning more cotton, we are manufacturing more cement, we are producing more sugar, we are making more diesel engines, bicycles, sewing machines, electric motors as well as more soda ash and caustic soda and other chemicals than we ever did before. This would not be the case if private enterprise had been unduly restricted or if

controls had hamstrung production. The industrialist, the technician, the worker and the government official are putting their shoulders to the wheel in order to see that there is more production in the country which is the final solvent of the twin evils of inflation and unemployment. The Indian industrialist cannot do as much as he would like to do because in a poor country like ours, the amount of capital, which after all, is a surplus of production over consumption, is limited.

This brings me to the role of a foreign investor. The Planning Commission has in its report stated that when finance is the main handicap in the progress of industry, a free flow of foreign capital should naturally be welcome, particularly because it would ensure the supply of capital goods and technical know-how and make it possible to utilize foreign patented processes. The inflow of capital needs, besides the prospects of a fairly good return, certain assurances in regard to the facilities for the transfer of profits, compensation in case of nationalization, and so forth. These have been expressly provided in the policy announced in the statement of the Prime Minister of India in April, 1949. India presents a field in which there are none of the hindrances and impediments which frequently prevent the flow of private capital. First of all, there is a stable government and an efficient administration. There are adequate facilities for repatriation of capital and due processes of law for compensation. Besides, there is an enormous potential market not only because the level of consumption of our vast population will undoubtedly increase but because India is favourably situated to supply manufactured goods to many of the countries of the Middle East, South and South East Asia. In the course of the last few years, a number of Indian enterpreneurs have entered into agreements involving technical and financial collaboration with foreign companies, including those in the U.S.A. I do not wish to tire you by giving examples of such collaboration which extends over the whole field of industry from aluminium to dye-stuffs and heavy chemicals, from textile machinery to bicycles, electric motors and batteries. Indeed, if an enterprise which is intended to be undertaken is of vital national importance, favourable concessions consistent

with the national interest are given as shown in the recent agreements with the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Burmah-Shell for establishing oil refineries in the country.

There are, as you well know, investment opportunities in all countries where profits and high returns can be made without leaving behind in the country concerned any lasting or material advantage. In this kind of foreign investment we are obviously not interested. There is, secondly, a field in which Indian industry is itself alive and vigorous and where there is enough internal competition to keep it up to the mark. In such fields—the cotton textile, cement and sugar industries are good examples—there is not likely to be much advantage to the foreign investor and hardly any to the country. Thirdly, all foreign investment creates foreign exchange liability and of foreign exchange, particularly dollars, we are always short. Our policies have always been so framed as to ensure that whatever liabilities we incur we should be able to meet them. If I may say so, we have a record which is almost unique in the payment of our debt, whether external or internal, which was continued without interruption even during the harrowing years of the depression when, as you will appreciate, payment was not easy nor would the declaration of a moratorium have met with more than a formal objection. In our borrowing policy today, we are careful to keep well within the limits of our capacity for repayment. In the allocations of foreign exchange made by the Government of India, the first priority is given to the payment of the service charges on debt and for the remittance of profits and dividends. It is only after these obligations have been met that foreign exchange is released for other requirements. We are anxious to ensure the continuance of this policy and if we permit indiscriminate foreign investment, we might get into a position where our foreign exchange liabilities would increase without countervailing increases in exports or reduction in imports to meet them.

I do not mean to suggest that investment opportunity for the genuine industrialist is limited in any significant degree. I have already mentioned a few examples of enterprises which have been willing to enter various fields of chemical and engi-

neering production. There are several other industries which we want to build up: such, for instance, as a new steel plant, manufacture of heavy electrical machinery, manufacture of ferro-manganese, production of raw films and carbons, nitrogenous fertilizers and some basic plastic materials. I can expand this list, but I am mentioning only a few examples to show that the screening requirement is and would be no bar to collaboration in the field of industrial development on terms of mutual benefit.

The challenge to democracy is plain and in the East, it is even insistent. No longer are men prepared to look upon poverty and disparities of wealth and income as inevitable or upon drudgery, disease and filth as unavoidable. We have to show that by mutual adjustments, common effort and a spirit of dedication and service, we can steadily raise the standards of health and education of the mass of people; that national resources can be utilized and technology applied for common and beneficent purposes; that we can utilize private enterprise no less than the public sector as an agency for advancing the welfare of the community. Our incentive should not be Utopian dreams but a vivid conception of national welfare.

INDIA TODAY: PLANS AND ASPIRATIONS*

THE COUNTRIES of the Middle East and the Republic of India have much in common, especially with regard to their hopes and plans for the future. Assuredly, there are many differences between the two regions ; there are religious, social and political diversities between them just as there are differences within the individual countries. India has nearly four times the population of the entire Middle East crowded into an area one-third the size ; the great mineral resource of petroleum looms large in the economic affairs of the Middle East, whereas India's basic reserves of wealth lie in agriculture, minerals and industry. But these are differences which are only to be expected in widely separated areas. More basic in our mutual activities are the similarities which should bring us together in a cooperative effort to achieve peace and economic progress. I refer to the need to raise the living standard of our people, which is so low compared with that in Western countries and to achieve that measure of economic stability, strength and viability as will enable us to protect and support our cherished social and political institutions. Incidentally, conditions are analogous in one other respect. As a result of partition of countries, we have also a problem of displaced persons, perhaps the largest in the world comprising nearly 8 million people. Rehabilitation and resettlement of these displaced persons has been a matter of vital concern to the new Indian Government. It is now recognized that improvement of the economic condition of the " hungry two-thirds " of the world is an imperative necessity for the continued preservation of peace and stability. It has been stated that since the war, the average real income per head in the rich countries has probably increased by about 3 per cent a year, while in the poor countries it has not risen appreciably. Both in the Middle East and in India, growing populations press heavily on the means of

* Speech delivered at the Middle East Institute Eighth Annual Conference at Washington, D.C., on March 20, 1954.

subsistence, capital is in short supply, and outmoded methods, lack of education facilities and poor health standards restrict the ability of the people to make any significant advance. In these circumstances, mobilization of available resources and their effective utilization on a planned basis are essential. This does not necessarily involve extensive governmental participation in production, but it does require direction, guidance and assistance to private industry and agriculture to ensure as rapid and balanced a growth as possible. During the past decade, a number of important development projects have been undertaken in countries of the Middle East in agriculture, industry and transport and we in India appreciate the efforts and achievements of our neighbours to the west in raising agricultural and industrial output. Schemes of a similar nature are also being pursued in India, integrated into a Five Year Plan which has been under way since 1951. I am sure you would also like to hear of our endeavours and achievements in this, our first concerted effort in the economic field, since some of our problems are comparable with those experienced in the Middle East.

India's need for rapid economic development is urgent ; the standard of living of our people has always been low, appreciably lower than that in the Middle East *as a whole*, and the problem of raising this standard is imperative. India's population, now over 360 million, increases by some five million every year. The pressure on the basic necessities of life is consequently very great so that unceasing effort is required from agriculturists, industrial management, workers and Government to increase production steadily. But it is not enough to maintain existing standards ; there can be no hope of lifting the masses from their poverty unless there is an appreciable margin of resources to apply to basic economic improvements. Accordingly, our Five Year Plan has been as ambitious as we could make it, having consideration of our resources and our acceptance of a democratic way of life. The total outlay over the five years is estimated at about $4.3 billion. India's national income is only $19 billion per annum (about $56 *per capita*) and a higher outlay, although very desirable, would not be practicable. The margin of savings must necessarily be low with such extremely low income levels and any highly inflationary methods of financing would largely

defeat the purposes of the Plan. Hence, our immediate objectives must be limited to our capacities, and this first Plan does not aim further than strengthening the basic structure of the economy. An increase of no more than 11 per cent in consumption standards at the end of five years can be expected, but the Plan in providing strong, expanded heavy industries, power, efficient agriculture, communications and so on will bear fruit in later years by enabling rapid expansion of secondary and consumer goods industries.

The first Five Year Plan could not be merely an attempt at industrialization and we have had to resist the temptation of giving industry and manufacturing first place. A balanced growth is essential for stability, and since over 70 per cent of our people live on the land and the bulk of national income comes from the soil, agricultural progress must take pride of place. This is also necessary because the dietary standards are still inadequate and the threat of famine, although greatly reduced in recent years, is by no means just an ugly memory of the past. There is no question whatever that raising the output of basic foodstuffs is by far the most important priority for countries in India's position.

The fundamental problem in agriculture is extension of cultivation. We are trying to expand the area of cultivation by reclamation processes and irrigating formerly arid areas, but there is also much scope for improvement of techniques of production, extended use of fertilizers, and irrigating areas already tilled. Of the $4.3 billion, 17.4 per cent is being applied directly to the improvement of agriculture, to the promotion of measures designed to raise the yield per acre. No less important for agriculture are the schemes for irrigation and power which will absorb 27.2 per cent. For a long-term solution of the food problem, it will be necessary to double the cultivated areas. These irrigation works range from several huge multi-purpose river-valley projects similar to T. V. A. to small local undertakings covering a few acres including a programme of tubewells.

The electric power generated at the larger establishments will provide partial electrification of rural areas and also of industries and cities in the vicinity. However, the task of raising agriculture to new levels of efficiency and well-being is wide

in scope and includes health and education services for the villagers and a reorganization of the system of land tenure, which in the past has been the source of much stagnation and indebtedness in rural India. In these broader schemes for the betterment of farm life, we are receiving invaluable assistance from the United Nations, the Point Four organization of the United States Government (the Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1952 formalized this assistance on a cooperative basis), and from bodies such as the Ford Foundation. The Indian side of this work is organized under two comprehensive schemes—the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service—which will reach 120,000 villages covering nearly one-fourth of the rural population. The community development projects now under way in India are unique both in scope and coverage and they have attracted favourable attention from specialists from abroad. These schemes are progressing steadily and are evidence of practical cooperation between Indian and foreign experts and technicians.

By measures such as these, we hope to achieve that margin of production over consumption which will allow us to forge ahead in other fields. Modern and scientific agriculture is important to India not only as a source of essential foodstuffs but as an important earner of foreign exchange (by the sale of " cash " crops such as jute and cotton) and as supplier of vegetable and animal raw materials to India's growing industries.

The benefits of agricultural and industrial development cannot be fully used unless there are facilities for rapid and easy movement of persons and products. Access to raw materials and markets is vital if the development itself is to run smoothly. Accordingly, the second major priority of the Five Year Plan is the improvement of communications. India already has an efficient and widely established railroad system, but its capacity is far below the demands which will be made upon it as development in other sectors proceeds. The Government of India have built a complete factory for the manufacture of locomotives which produced its hundredth unit last year ; beyond this, the whole system is under a process of enlargement and re-equipment. Roads to connect our 560,000 villages must

be laid, and there must be additions to the few trunk highways spanning the country. Our ports are even now congested and facilities need enlarging, particularly in view of the continued growth of our foreign trade. India's mercantile marine and air services, as yet small and in the early stages of growth, need help and direction for their adequate development. In the whole field of transport, $1,440 million, or 24 per cent of the total is to be spent.

Health and education services for as many of the people as possible are an important feature of the Five Year Plan. If we are to take advantage of modern techniques, our people must have the rudiments of education, and an adequate pool of trained technicians should be built up. Similarly, full productive contribution from the population cannot be expected if disease is widespread and physical well-being difficult to attain. Moreover, health and education facilities are called for on humanitarian grounds.

The three main sectors of the Plan, agriculture (with irrigation and power projects), communications and social services absorb 85 per cent of the allocated expenditure of the Plan. Beyond this, expenditures are scheduled for the rehabilitation of displaced persons and for miscellaneous outlays connected with the Plan's administration. This leaves very little in the public sector for industrial development. Industry will, however, benefit greatly from the increased availability of electric power, better communications and higher agricultural productivity. Also, the bulk of industry being in the private sector, it is more or less self-operating with such financial and other assistance as government can and do give it.

I would like to mention here that the high level of government investment in other areas does not imply any policy of concentrating economic activity in the hands of the state. There are some necessary projects which private enterprise could not handle at the present stage owing to lack of resources. Efforts are being made to augment these resources through foreign aid if necessary. In the main, industrial development is predominantly in the hands of private enterprise. The basic industries such as steel and chemicals are to be encouraged and foreign capital is welcomed in India and given not less than equal treatment with domestic capital. Already, arrange-

ments have been made for large investment by foreign oil companies in refineries and processing plants. These will multiply the amount of petroleum and lubricating oils available on the basis of crude oil imports principally from the great reserves of Middle Eastern countries. We are also developing several light manufacturing industries which can supply a range of useful products needed by the domestic economy and by the economies of the neighbouring regions of South East Asia and the Middle East.

The Plan is in its third year of operation. Impressive progress has been made in the production of foodgrains, which was raised by more than a million tons in the first year and in the second year by nearly 4½ million tons. Irrigation water has been provided by minor works to about 2½ million acres. A half million acres were reclaimed from waste areas and new land of about 1½ million acres were brought under irrigation by the river-valley projects. The production of chemical fertilizer, cement, cotton yarn and cloth has increased significantly. These are only a few examples of the progress which is being made. One important achievement has been the containment of inflationary pressures, which were the cause of much anxiety at the time the Plan was formulated. But difficulty is being experienced in regard to provision of adequate employment. Disinflationary trends have accentuated India's unemployment problem and schemes are being evolved for an additional $14 million of projects designed specifically to increase the volume of employment.

India's economic development and her trend toward industrialization do not in any sense mean that her trade with the rest of the world will diminish. On the contrary. A developing country needs machinery and equipment, industrial raw materials and even some luxury goods, while the export trade must be maintained and expanded in order that these goods may be paid for and an export surplus eventually established for the servicing and repayment of foreign loans. Also, India's trade with her immediate neighbours to the east and the west may be expected to grow both in volume and in the diversity of commodities exchanged. India has long been an important supplier of cotton textiles to the Middle Eastern countries, and the availability of these goods will be continued and improved.

Under-developed countries cannot in any circumstances be expected to provide the resources for economic progress entirely from within their domestic structure. It would be a contradiction in terms to speak of a developing region without an import surplus, at least in the early stages. This implies that an inflow of capital is necessary. Before the last war, nearly all development capital was supplied on a private basis. For most areas, the flow of private foreign investment has now practically dried up, and it is proving very difficult to get it moving again in the volume needed. The causes are largely outside the control of the potential host countries—the war has left an atmosphere of political instability in the world, which is sufficient to deter investors in the prosperous countries from venturing their capital in regions not closely associated with their own country's sphere of influence. Moreover, profitable opportunities in the industrialized regions are at present plentiful. No doubt, given a strong enough incentive, the flow of foreign capital shows signs of its earlier vigour, of which the continued investment of the Western oil companies in the Middle Eastern fields is a prime example. However, countries like India suffer from the worldwide immobility of private venture capital at the present time, despite many efforts and guarantees to make smooth its path. In these circumstances, we have to look to governments and international organizations for the loans and credits we need.

The benefits of this kind of assistance are not entirely one-sided. The prosperous and industrialized countries are recognizing the fact that their continued peace and progress depend to a large extent on stable economic as well as political conditions in other parts of the world. On the other hand, economic and democratic progress are indissolubly linked in under-developed countries. Economically advanced countries are anxious that the under-developed nations have a firm economic base for their social and political institutions. It is widely appreciated that any assistance which involves political commitments or surrender of national sovereignty would be self-defeating for this purpose, and that aid from advanced countries must be regarded as supplemental and in no way reducing the need for the recipients to use their full efforts and resources to their own economic betterment. There should

never be an attempt to import Western methods indiscriminately as if the two kinds of economy were wholly similar ; rather there should be a selective introduction of technological improvements where these are suited to local conditions. Accordingly, no hard and fast rules can be laid down for economic development ; success depends very largely upon the resourcefulness and understanding of the people on the spot—the technicians, the administrators and the local workers.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC TASKS*

THE MAIN EMPHASIS of the First Five Year Plan was on the improvement of agriculture. As much as 46 per cent of the public investment of the Plan was devoted to measures for increasing agricultural production and to irrigation and power projects. We aimed at increasing the production of foodgrains by about 14 per cent at the end of five years. Similar targets were fixed for increasing the production of cotton, sugarcane and other agricultural commodities. The annual production of foodgrains during the last two years was 20 per cent above the foodgrain production during the year preceding the Plan. Cotton production during 1954-55 reached a level of 4.3 million bales, exceeding the target of the Plan. Production of agricultural commodities, notably sugarcane and oil seeds, has also increased. This improvement in the supply of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities has enabled us to meet the daily needs of our people without making any large demand on our foreign exchange reserves and without the continuation of rationing and other controls which had been retained in India for over a decade.

A part of this improvement in agricultural production can, no doubt, be attributed to better rainfall during the last two years. Nevertheless, a significant part of this improvement is due to specific measures of development and to the completion of a number of projects. The Planning Commission has estimated that about half the increase in production has resulted from developmental efforts. As further evidence, I should add that although a number of our major multi-purpose projects of irrigation and power are still in the process of construction, there has already been an addition of something like 12 million acres or nearly 25 per cent to the acreage under irrigation. Fertilizer consumption has increased from less than 200,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per annum to nearly

* Speech delivered to the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, Inc. at New York, on October 21, 1955.

600,000 tons during the current year. Similar expansion is noticeable in power supply—electric generating capacity having risen from 2.3 million K.W. to 3 million K.W. in the course of three years. With the gradual completion of the multi-purpose projects during the next year or two, significant increase is expected in acreage under irrigation as well as in power supply.

In the industrial sector, several new major industries have come into production. Among the state undertakings, I might mention the fertilizer factory at Sindri which, with a capacity of 1,000 tons a day, has been in production for over two years; locomotive works which are now producing as many as 100 locomotives per annum; penicillin and DDT factories which have recently gone into production, and a newsprint factory which will shortly supply nearly 40 per cent of our internal requirements. Only a fortnight ago, two large factories commenced production—a factory for making railway passenger coaches and another for the manufacture of machine tools. Private enterprise has also risen to the occasion not only in stepping up production in the existing factories but also in undertaking and putting into operation a variety of new units. The overall index of industrial production increased from 105 in 1950 to 152 in the first quarter of 1955. This upward trend continues. The cotton textile industry has reached a record production of 5,000 million yards of cloth per annum enabling India to be the world's second largest exporter of cotton textiles. The paper industry has increased production by 50 per cent. The production of cement has gone up from 2.7 million tons in 1950-51 to well over 4 million tons in 1954-55. We are now able to meet more than half the requirements of rayon yarn. A number of factories have been manufacturing a variety of light engineering products and are working almost to capacity. Private foreign investment and technical skill have also made their contribution to this industrial development. You are aware of the three oil refinery projects, two of which are already in production. Not so well-known perhaps is the fact that there are a larger number of industrial undertakings which have had the cooperation of foreign capital participation, or foreign technical skill in developing new lines of production such as manufacture of dyes, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, industrial explosives,

various types of machinery and several engineering products.

The picture which I am thus able to present to you is of steady and comprehensive progress in public and private sectors, in agriculture and in industry, in transport and electric power supply, in fact, over the entire economic field. So, too, in education, health services and social welfare, there has also been a distinct advance. The Plan envisaged an increase in the national income of 11 per cent at the end of five years. In three years, however, the national income, in terms of constant prices has actually risen by 12.4 per cent. Even if some adjustment is made in this figure on account of favourable monsoons during the last two years, the annual growth in the rate of national income well exceeds the rate of population growth.

And the development effort is mounting from year to year. In 1954-55, development expenditure in the public sector was estimated to be the equivalent of 1.1 billion dollars. During the current year, the Central and the State Governments have appropriated as much as 1.5 billion dollars for developmental expenditure. And in the twelve months ending July, 1955, as many as 377 permits were issued to entrepreneurs for establishment of new industries or expansion of existing ones; of these, 105 were for new industrial undertakings and the balance for a substantial expansion of existing plants and factories. The tempo of development has thus been rising but there is no desire to rest on our oars. On the contrary, a new confidence is now manifest which recalls an old Sanskrit saying that "Efforts rewarded re-emerge with added vigour."

What has so far been achieved is, indeed, only a beginning. We have no more than completed the task of reconstructing the economy from the effects of the war and partition. A sound foundation has been laid but the more arduous task of erecting a solid structure thereon still lies ahead of us. The *per capita* income of the Indian people, although it has increased from $53 to $58 per annum is still woefully low. There is continuous pressure of population on land since factory undertakings account for a little over 3 per cent of the total number of workers employed. There is considerable unemployment and underemployment both in the villages and in the towns. Further, there is an annual increase of between 1.5 and 2 million people

to the work-force seeking opportunities for employment.

It is against this background that the Second Five Year Plan is being formulated. Planning in India is a democratic process which, in turn, means that there is considerable public discussion on the needs and resources and relative priorities of a programme. As the Second Plan is still in a formative stage, it is not possible to give details of its magnitude and content. Certain broad aspects of this Plan are, however, sufficiently clear.

The primary objective of all developmental effort in India as in most other countries similarly situated is to raise the living standards of the people as rapidly as possible. And where living standards are low, the leeway to be made up is very large and, therefore, the time factor is vital. The experience of the First Five Year Plan indicates an achievement of 3 per cent of annual growth in national income. The economic experts who have prepared a plan frame have advised that given a determined effort, the rate of annual growth in national income could be stepped up to 5 per cent. Discussions are now proceeding to determine whether requisite resources could be mobilized to achieve this end and to devise measures which would be necessary to step up investments to the requisite level. While it is premature to anticipate the final outcome of this debate, it is clear that the Second Five Year Plan will have for its primary objective a higher rate of economic growth and will, therefore, call for the maximum effort that our resources permit. The investment targets of the Plan will considerably exceed those of the First Five Year Plan.

Another important aspect of the development problem in a highly populated and predominantly agricultural country like India is to diversify the economy and expand avenues of employment. Precise estimates of the volume of employment are not available but the Finance Minister of India stated a few months ago that his own estimate of unemployment and under-employment was, in terms of fully unemployed people, something like 15 million persons. For social stability no less than for economic health more adequate employment is essential. The plan frame prepared by the economic experts recommends the creation of 11 million jobs during the next five years as a suitable target for the Plan. What is important, however,

is not so much the precise volume of employment as that the programme is adequate in size and diversified in scope. Unutilized resources have to be exploited by hands which are idle.

The First Five Year Plan gave a relatively low priority to industrial development because we faced at that time an acute shortage of foodgrains and agricultural raw materials. It was also imperative at the time to remove from rural areas the sense of stagnation and frustration. As I have already mentioned, progress has been made in these directions during the last three years. It is, therefore, important to devote increased attention and efforts to development of industries so as to provide a greater volume of employment and ensure a more rapid increase of national income. The Second Five Year Plan will, therefore, direct a larger proportion of its investment outlay towards the promotion and establishment of new industries and the expansion of existing ones. Production of capital and durable goods like steel and cement provide a base for continuing investment activity. Efforts are being made to increase the production of cement during the next five or six years to about 10 million tons per annum. Plans are already under way to increase the production of steel from 1.5 million tons to about 6 million tons during the same period. This does not, of course, mean that development in other sectors would be neglected. Indeed, development of industries itself cannot go far without an expansion of basic facilities like transport and power supply, without increased production of mineral and other raw material resources or without the growth of purchasing power to absorb the increased supply of industrial products.

Planning in a democratic country must necessarily take cognisance of the aspirations of the people as well as the incentives that are required towards ensuring their enthusiastic cooperation in developmental activities. All the world over today there is a deep-rooted feeling that the benefits of developmental measures should be shared as widely as possible among all classes and that progress should not involve an undue concentration of economic power in one section of the society. It is this "revolution of expectation" which finds reflection in the acceptance by the dominant political party in India and subsequently, by the Indian Parliament

of a "socialistic pattern of society" as the objective of our economic planning. I am aware that this objective and this policy have caused some misgivings outside the country and I propose, therefore, to explain briefly some of the broad implications of this approach.

The object of a "socialistic pattern of society" is, indeed not new for us. Rather, it is a synthesis of ideas which have been guiding our social and economic policy since our independence. The Constitution of India itself sets before us the ideal of a welfare state based on social justice where the ownership and material resources of the community are so distributed as to serve the common good, and where the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and of means of production to the common detriment. We desire to achieve these objectives, however, not through coercion but by consent. I cannot do better in this connection than quote from an illuminating article which appeared recently in *The World Today* published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It stated : "India does not abolish, she modifies ; she is absorbing the ideas and techniques that the West offers, assimilating them into her own, mainly Hindu, tradition, creating a new synthesis which will in due course offer the world's under-developed countries a model of change without violence, of equality without terror. . . The Indian political tradition values continuity, not the barricades ; properly constituted authority, not revolutionary legality." We believe in planning for the people and by the people—not in an authoritarian plan imposed upon the people and worked by the fiats of a central bureaucratic body.

The pattern of society as we envisage it does not and need not mean elimination of private enterprise. Indeed, there is a wide field in which measures of economic growth and productive activity are left to private enterprise. The very fact that there has been industrial development and expansion of production during the last three years shows that private enterprise is not "cribbed, cabined and confined." While on this subject, I might mention that some of the recent measures which have been subjected to criticism are designed to promote and safeguard public interest. For example, the Fourth Amendment to the Indian Constitution adopted by the

Indian Parliament, while altering the procedure of compensation in case of acquisition, fully preserves the conception embodied in our Constitution that no one will be deprived of his property except by the due process of law and save on grounds of public interest. Then, again, the Indian Government have by law formed a state-controlled banking institution which has as its primary object the rapid expansion of rural credit. It has been made clear by the Government that they have no intention of interfering with the work of commercial banking institutions, and the management of the new State Bank has been placed in the hands of a competent and autonomous authority. Compensation has been given to stockholders on the basis of the market value of their holdings which incidentally was as much as three and a half times their face value. Take, again, the amendment of the Indian Companies' Act: this law has been revised after nearly twenty years because of certain abuses which were brought repeatedly to the notice of Government by the stockholders themselves from all over the country. Legislation was undertaken only after detailed investigation into the present Company Law by a Commission on which were represented industrialists, stock exchange members and stockholders. I do not wish to weary you with details of this legislation but I need only say that this measure seeks to reform and improve the system of management of private industry so as to restore the confidence of investors in corporate activities and regulate them in wider public interest.

Our Government do not wish to nationalize private enterprise in obedience to any creed or unnecessarily interfere with the working of industries. Indeed, the most important sector of our economy, namely, agriculture is in the hands of the individual farmer and we want the tiller of the soil to own and cultivate the land and work it, if possible, cooperatively so as to increase productivity. Our experience during the last few years has shown that there are several possibilities of Government and private interests including foreign concerns working together and participating in mixed enterprises. This is being done in several spheres such as shipping and shipbuilding, manufacture of locomotives and coaches, machinery and machine tools, and exploration of oil. On the

other hand, Government have been willing and anxious to provide all reasonable facilities and assistance to private industry whether through financial aid by loan or capital subscription, export promotion, tariff protection where justified as well as through research and training institutions maintained by the state. You are, no doubt, aware of the establishment this year of the Industrial Investment and Credit Corporation of India which has shareholders from three countries and which has been placed entirely under private management. The Indian Government's contribution has been in the form of a long-term interest-free loan to this Corporation. We have also decided to join the International Finance Corporation which is designed to assist private enterprise.

The expansion of the public sector has, indeed, stimulated in many ways the growth of private initiative and there has been increasing collaboration and a closer understanding between the Government and the private sector. I suggest that we should not judge the problems of today by the slogans of yesterday which themselves are frequently based on the conditions of day before yesterday. As a British Conservative leader said several years ago, "We are all socialists now!" What he meant was that governments these days cannot absolve themselves of their responsibilities and obligations to the community at large, either to prevent depression or to raise living standards. I read recently that an economists' conference in Boston reported that if the economic organization in the United States of a generation ago were taken as 0 and socialism as 100, the present economic system in this country would be 56. Active participation and direction by government are even more essential in under-developed countries where democracy cannot survive without economic well-being. Since all efforts, public and private, are necessary to achieve the objectives of increased production and a wider distribution of incomes, it is essential to ensure that such limited resources as exist are properly mobilized and utilized.

I have not referred specifically to the prospects of foreign private investment in India because we make hardly any distinction between foreign and Indian enterprises of a productive nature. Our Prime Minister stated only recently that for improvement in the standards of production of our industry,

relations and contacts with other countries should increase and be closer. You may be interested to know the extent of foreign investment in India during recent years. The Reserve Bank of India has recently completed a census of foreign investment in India and this shows that during the five years, 1948-53, private investment of a long-term character increased in net by a little over ¼ billion dollars. As an addition to our capital resources, this is not a large amount since a considerable part of this amount was in the form of voluntary reinvestment of profits. However, the amount indicates the measure of confidence which such foreign investors as are familiar with the policies of the Indian Government and with the investment opportunities in India are prepared to place in the growing strength of the Indian economy. I need hardly refer in this context to India's sound monetary position nor dwell on India's enviable record in meeting her external obligations. We have made our attitude abundantly clear in regard to foreign capital. We shall not permit any discrimination or expropriation or confiscation because that is a matter not merely of economic relationship but one that affects the fundamentals of social morality.

The pattern of our future society as we visualize it assigns a positive and constructive role to the state in ensuring favourable conditions for economic development, in preventing undue concentration of wealth and economic power and in securing an equitable distribution of national wealth. We want our criterion in every instance to be common welfare and how best it may be promoted, irrespective of vested interests or preconceived notions. Our approach is pragmatic, not doctrinaire. We believe in the method of "trial and error" which is the only way open to those who temper their idealism with a sense of realities. All *isms* have, indeed, become *wasms*. In this age, we have to translate social justice into terms of economic policy. The state has to be an agency of common welfare, an engine of constructive dynamism—not an instrument of class domination or a vehicle for ideological exploitation. That is a great challenge we face but it is also a noble adventure. In this arduous task, I am sure, we have and shall continue to have the understanding and cooperation of all those who value liberty as well as equality.

INDIA'S EXPANDING ECONOMY: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT*

THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN formulated in 1951 has just completed its period with a fair measure of success and the Second Plan is now being worked out. The experience gained in implementing the First Plan has given us an idea of the methods and limitations of economic planning and also a more precise assessment of the problems which have to be faced during the next five years. This is, therefore, an appropriate moment to review what has so far been achieved and outline the prospects for the next few years.

As a member of the Planning Commission which drafted the outline of the First Five Year Plan, I recall vividly the atmosphere in which we commenced our work. We had then a formidable task as we confronted an economy that was lopsided in its growth and was affected seriously by an acute post-war inflation and shortages of essential commodites and raw materials. In a sense, the imbalance of the economy was a concomitant of retarded development under foreign rule although during the last thirty years, India did begin to develop industrially. Nevertheless, the national economy remained stagnant with a subsistence agriculture and incipient industrialization, with the resources of the country not adequately developed, and rural areas largely neglected. We were, indeed, more planned against than planning. No doubt, these policies were modified from time to time, especially in the inter-war years and during the period of the Second World War. None the less, the standards of living of the country remained woefully low, its production and consumption of food, cloth and elementary necessities were much below a decent minimum standard and the *per capita* income, one of the lowest in the world. We had, therefore, to contend, in the first instance, with a legacy of economic backwardness and neglect and had

* Speech delivered to the Twenty-sixth National Business Conference of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration at Boston (Mass), on June 16, 1956.

to take active measures to rectify the imbalance through a well-conceived and coordinated development programme.

On this stagnant and unbalanced economy, the last world war came with a heavy hand and left behind a legacy of inflation and economic shortages; patterns of production, investment and trade were severely distorted. What is more, the transfer of power from British to Indian hands coincided with the transition from war to peace economy. On the other side, there was "a revolution in expectation" as a result of the independence of the country. Popular aspirations for economic amelioration and advancement demanded positive measures by the national government. Numerous schemes of economic and social development had been worked out and others were in various stages of consideration and execution. It was in this environment of inflation and scarcities of essential commodities brought about by the war and the partition of the country on the one hand, and an atmosphere of hope and expectation on the other, that the First Five Year Plan was formulated. The need was vital for more rapid industrialization of the country in order to diversify the economy, improve standards of living and provide opportunities of employment. Yet because the conditions so demanded, the First Plan had to give a high priority to schemes for overcoming shortages of food and essential raw materials, for expansion of supply of consumer goods by fully utilizing the capacity of various industries and for rehabilitating railway transport services which had been overstrained during the war. It was for this reason also that the Plan attached importance to the development of agriculture and irrigation, and the revitalization of the villages and rural areas through community development projects and extension services.

Having taken stock of all the resources—financial, human and technical—that we could mobilize and the likely availability of resources from outside the country, the Plan was formulated on a fairly realistic basis. When at the end of the first year of the First Plan, the Korean boom intervened, we made good use of the improvement in terms of trade to tax away the windfall in surplus earnings of our exports and utilize it for purposes of development. This helped to some extent to reduce our reliance on external resources. During the five-year

period, taxation, both federal and state, was increased substantially and large amounts mobilized through public borrowing and some savings. We were also fortunate to obtain external aid to the extent of over $500 million mainly from this country in the form of loans and grants in addition to the use of sterling balances to our credit in London. The actual aid (that is, grants as such) constituted about one unit out of every twenty of the total investment in the public sector. You will thus see that in the planning of our programmes we have tried to raise ourselves by our bootstraps and not only endeavoured to mobilize our resources but also augment them by demanding from our own people whatever sacrifices we reasonably could. While we are deeply grateful for whatever assistance we have received from abroad, we can legitimately pride ourselves on evolving a programme of self-reliance.

Let me pause here to emphasize that all this has been done by a democratic process. If I may borrow a historic phrase of one of the greatest Americans, we believe in planning of the people, for the people and by the people. We believe that the economic development of India should be based on the needs and demands of the people in the villages rather than on *a priori* doctrines and rigid theories. Economic planning in India is fundamentally democratic in character—in its conception, formulation and execution. It is after public debate, both within and outside Parliament, and by persuasion and agreement rather than compulsion, coercion and violence that the Plan has been operating. Undoubtedly, it is an unusual experiment. In times when there are regimented economies and when economic planning is regarded as being tainted by totalitarianism, India is seeking to show that a new way of life for its masses can be brought about purposefully by the state through democratic means. For, we believe that plan is for man, not man for plan.

As a result of planned effort during the last five years, the spell of stagnation has been broken. The national income is estimated to register by the end of the First Plan period, an increase of 18 per cent as against the 11 per cent envisaged by the Plan. The output of food in 1954–55 was 65.8 million tons which exceeded the planned target by about 4 million tons. The index of agricultural production during this period has

risen by 13 per cent and of industrial production by about 11 per cent. A year before the termination of the Plan period, the production of cloth exceeded the target for the First Five Year Plan by 387 million yards and equally good performances were registered in jute, cement, paper, chemical and light engineering industries. During this period of development, price levels have remained stable and the cost of living registered a small decline. Our payments position externally remains stable at a much higher level of exports and imports than before and we were able to repay to the International Monetary Fund an amount of almost $100 million which we borrowed as short-term accommodation during a period of food crisis in 1949.

But the success of the Plan has to be judged not merely in the achieving of physical targets, important though that is. What is still more vital is the creation of a new spirit among the people—a spirit of enthusiasm and confidence. From this point of view, the progress of community development projects is one of the most hopeful signs of resurgence of the country. A useful yardstick of the success of community development projects and national extension service is the extent of voluntary contribution of the people under various schemes. The estimated total voluntary contribution of the people in cash, labour, materials and so forth has been nearly half the Government expenditure during the same period. Indeed, everywhere round the country, people in villages demand schools and medical dispensaries, roads and bridges and railway connections, but, above all, more water through irrigation works, large and small. The "apathetic" masses are awakening and by and large cultivating a healthy discontent with their living conditions and their lot inherited through generations.

It is against this background that the Second Five Year Plan has been formulated and has now been placed before the public. Before I come to some of the salient points in this Plan, however, I should like to refer briefly to some of the basic ideas on which the Plan frame is constructed.

To begin with, the broad objective of the Plan is to build a socialist pattern of society. This broad objective has been widely accepted in our country. With the gross poverty of the people, a majority of whom are still on a subsistence level,

with squalor and ill-health, with chronic unemployment and underemployment and with wide disparities in income and wealth, it is inevitable that there should be an insistent demand for economic betterment as well as equality. Lacking as we do large capital resources and confronted by serious economic ills and social evils, there is little hope for the requisite degree of amelioration to be achieved solely through private action and enterprise. We are trying to do in decades what has been achieved elsewhere in over a century. We need not, indeed, be afraid of words—whether it be socialism or any other "ism". All civilized governments today seek to establish for their people some kind of welfare state or society in which concerted efforts are made to improve standards of living, provide the widest possible social and educational opportunities, ensure an increasing degree of economic security, adopt measures to prevent inflation and offset depression, and enlarge the scope of essential social services for satisfying basic human needs. In this sense, as Sir William Harcourt, a former British Chancellor of the Exchequer observed in introducing the Death Duty Bill in Parliament, "we are all socialists now." No sensible person could support unfettered exploitation of economic resources for private gain. No healthy adult citizen has a right to enjoy the fruits of other people's labour without contributing a fair quota of his own. Economic development anywhere involves today a certain measure of control and regulation in the wider interests of the community. We cannot surely agree with the multi-millionaire oil magnate who remarked that "Communism began in the United States when the Government took over the distribution of mail." Indeed, the state does intervene even in free economies to guarantee prices, protect and subsidize industries and transport services, grant preferences to domestic producers and assist national investments abroad. The functions performed by the state in a national economy depend, in the last analysis, on the conditions of the country. In a country like the United States, for example, where there has been a balance between numbers and resources, it has been possible for private enterprise to achieve economic development along with increasing social equality and security. With us, however, the problem is one of too many people having to work on too few available

resources. If economic growth is entirely left to private interests, not only would the progress be slower and uncertain but the priorities might not be in consonance with the basic economic needs of the country and the limited resources available might be utilized for purposes which are not socially desirable and needs which are not urgent. It is this basic difference in the relationship between numbers and resources and not any doctrinaire considerations that actuates us to organize development on a pattern of overall guidance provided by a democratic state and in conformity with planned priorities adjudged necessary for social and economic stability.

I should also point out that since ours is an economy which has large manpower but inadequate capital, the scale, structure and pace of our industrial development have to be adapted to meet these conditions. We have to maintain a balance between human labour and machinery and we cannot indiscriminately adopt labour-saving devices suitable to conditions in other countries. After all, the pace and degree of mechanization have to be determined in the light of the conditions of the country and the needs of industry, agriculture and transport. Our emphasis has, therefore, to be not only on small-scale and rural industries but also on what we might call "labour intensive" industries. We are not unaware of the fact that such an economy would not provide the same standards of living as employment based on an intensive use of capital. But we have to build on our own foundations and in our own environment. We can and should be able to do without a number of commodities, facilities and services which are regarded as essential in more developed economies, at any rate during the time we are trying to provide the necessities of life to the mass of people. We, therefore, wish to ensure that all enterprises, public and private, conform to a pattern of development suitable to the conditions of the country and making for economic stability.

I am frequently asked about our attitude to foreign capital. We welcome foreign capital within the broad framework of our Plan. The investment of foreign capital is licensed as is indigenous private capital so as to conform to an order of priorities. But once a foreign enterprise is set up in the country, there is no discrimination between an Indian and a non-Indian

concern. Foreign enterprise is free to remit its current earnings without any restriction as well as repatriate all investments made in the country after 1950 at any time the investors choose. India has had an enviable record in regard to meeting its foreign obligations and its credit is high in the world market.

The Second Five Year Plan will provide ample opportunities for extension of trade, sale of machinery, machine tools, specialized types of steel and industrial raw materials. The services of technicians and adaptation of technical knowledge would also be essential. Several British, German, French, Italian, and Japanese firms are collaborating not only with Indian manufacturers but also with the Indian Government to set up or expand various industries such as steel, heavy electrical equipment, machine tools. Many American firms are participating technically and financially along with Indian firms for manufacture of sulpha drugs, dye-stuffs, fine chemicals, textile machinery, plastics. Soviet, Czech, Rumanian and Polish technicians are assisting in steel, oil, and mining. Governmental relations with such foreign industries as operate in the country have been businesslike and cordial and there has been close and friendly cooperation between Indian and foreign experts and technicians in various fields. Both government and private enterprise will require such cooperation in an increasing measure. Here is a large and growing area of economic cooperation in mutual interest.

As living standards go up in countries like India, demand for American products would tend to increase. Many European countries with much smaller populations buy more from the U. S. A. than India with its population of 370 million. Very considerable expansion is possible not merely in domestic production but also in international trade through economic development of countries in Asia and Africa and by increase in their purchasing power. On the other hand, the United States itself is becoming increasingly dependent on the outside world for raw materials and might have to seek markets for some of its specialized goods and manufactures. In this connection, I might refer to an interesting article in the April issue of *Harper's* by Mr. Peter F. Drucker in which he has stressed the need for fresh thinking on the question of foreign economic policy and economic aid.

The Second Five Year Plan envisages a substantial increase in investment for which not all the resources are yet in sight. The total magnitude of the Plan is over $10 billion. We have fairly clear notions regarding further intensification of efforts for mobilizing domestic resources. We hope that our schemes when they mature will extend the areas under irrigation and augment industrial production which will provide some necessary additional resources. We also expect that friendly countries will continue to give such aid as is possible during the crucial stages of our economic growth. But should there be a gap even after this, that must serve as an incentive for the people to strive to attain the social and economic objectives set forth in the Plan. A plan is not a mere inventory of schemes; it must stimulate effort, inculcate initiative and strengthen creative forces. There is always embodied in all such projects and endeavour an element of hope. A sound and progressive economy should be able to generate its own momentum and derive strength from the people. Browning said that it is better to strive for a million and miss it than reach out for a hundred and get it. And if you feel that this is poetic licence which is not wholly relevant where hard economic facts are concerned, let me quote what a distinguished economist of the Harvard University, Professor J. K. Galbraith, said recently about the magnitude of our Plan. " A large plan has the advantage of being a direct inducement to a large effort," he said : " It is important that people must feel that the Government is making a maximum effort on their behalf. Against the dangers of a big programme must be set even greater dangers of frustration of the democratic spirit which would follow from one that seemed reluctant, inadequate or even insufficently bold." As against the risks of inflation, we have to consider the prevalence of chronic unemployment and underemployment with its maladjustment, waste and social discontent. In the preparation of our plans, we do not have a totalitarian conception which lays down in short and precise terms the quantum of everyone's contribution and measures it by bureaucratic yardsticks. We proceed by the method of trial and error and while keeping steadily the objectives in view, we try to maintain a degree of flexibility. Above all, we continuously remind ourselves that the human being in the

farm and the factory is at the centre of all national effort.

In the scale of relative priorities for the Second Plan, outlay in industry has been substantially increased although the absolute expenditure on agriculture remains higher than during the period of the First Plan. Of the total allocation, agriculture and community development receive 11.8 per cent, irrigation and power 19 per cent, industry and mining 18.5 per cent, transport and communications 28.9 per cent, social services 19.7 per cent and miscellaneous 2.1 per cent. It is also proposed to allocate much more than in the First Plan under transport and communications. Among the industries to be developed are such basic ones as iron and steel, aluminum, cement and mineral oils, fertilizers and some important chemicals as also industries like locomotives, shipbuilding and machine tools. Each project is worked out after careful assessment of the technical aspects and marketing prospects of the case. In all these industries, there is to be a measure of state guidance and direction. Recently, the Government of India have re-enunciated their industrial policy which has been widely appreciated and welcomed by representatives of private enterprise. While this resolution on industrial policy demarcates the broad spheres of public and private sectors, it lays emphasis on the need for cooperation between the two sectors for promoting and developing industries. The resolution also lays down that there would be no discrimination in Government's attitude to existing or incoming foreign or Indian capital. In the sphere of agriculture, the consumer goods industries and even some basic industries, the field is open to private enterprise subject to the pattern of development laid down in the Plan frame. Such industries include cotton, jute, wool and silk textiles, manufacture of paper, sugar, light engineering products, pharmaceuticals, drugs and chemicals, automobiles and several other miscellaneous commodities produced in small or large-scale industrial establishments. Along with the development of basic industries, we want to build up small-scale and rural industries in a country where 80 per cent of the people live in villages. We realize that without a prosperous agriculture, industry cannot thrive. The total investment in agriculture and community projects are, therefore, to receive nearly 50 per cent more in investment in the

Second Plan than in the previous one. This includes such development as flood control, rural electrification, construction of dams both for irrigation and power. Among social services, education has the highest priority with investments on health following closely. Labour and labour welfare activities also have received attention. If the Plan succeeds as we trust and believe it will, it is expected to lead to a growth of employment of about 10 million persons over the present level and an improvement in the national income of about 25 per cent which would mean an increase of about 18 per cent in *per capita* income. Through accelerated development on this pattern, it is hoped that the national income will be doubled by 1967–68 and *per capita* national income by 1973–74. It would work out an increase in the proportion of investment for economic growth from the present rate of 6 to 7 per cent of net national income to about 10 to 11 per cent.

Such a Plan would be regarded as a bold experiment if we consider only our resources and an unambitious one when we consider all our needs and demands. But as President Eisenhower observed in another connection, we want to keep our feet firmly on the ground and our heads in the stars. We want to retain our vision without being visionary. This is by no means easy. While conscious of our limitations, we wish to realize our ambitions which should spur us to greater efforts. For, with the success of these efforts is bound up the future of democracy in our country and the freedom and dignity of 380 million men and women.

THE COLOMBO PLAN— HOPE FOR ASIA*

THE MOST IMPORTANT feature of the Colombo Plan is that it is not a plan at all. It is not a blueprint of a regional development programme. While the Colombo Plan is an arrangement for international economic cooperation, it has no central organization, no irksome rules of procedure, no headquarters and no permanent secretariat. In these and many other respects, the Colombo Plan is essentially different from the numerous regional organizations that have come into existence during the postwar period for dealing with comparable problems of regional economic development.

And yet the Colombo Plan which has no shape or form is a living organism which works and fulfils its purpose in a manner and to a degree which has surprised many people.

What are, then, the main characteristics of the Colombo Plan and what are its achievements ?

First, the membership of the Colombo Plan is open to all the countries of South and South East Asia and to such other countries as have a genuine interest in and a desire to promote the economic development of that vast region. The membership is entirely voluntary and it carries with it few obligations. When the Plan was inaugurated in July 1951, only seven Commonwealth countries were members of the Plan. This membership has grown from year to year and it now comprises all developing countries in South and South East Asia, together with six other countries from outside the region. The extension in membership clearly demonstrates the appeal that its flexible nature makes to all those interested in the economic development of South and South East Asia.

The only organizational support for this so-called Plan is its Consultative Committee comprising ministerial representatives of the member countries. The Committee meets annually at different places and provides a unique forum for a frank,

* Speech delivered to the English-Speaking Union of the United States and Foreign Policy Association meeting at New York on May 5, 1955.

full and free discussion of the development problems of the countries of this region. To the developing countries, this is an opportunity for informed self-criticism, for scrutiny of its programmes and for an exchange of view amongst colleagues. To the member countries outside the region, it provides a broad picture of the progress achieved, difficulties encountered and possibilities anticipated.

The first meeting of the Committee which was held in London in September, 1950, provided an initial appraisement of the problem. Its conclusion showed in concrete terms, what was apparent from the very beginning, that for significant economic growth in the region, an injection of external aid was not only desirable but necessary. The six-year development programmes of the four Commonwealth countries of the region who were then members of the Plan aggregated to a little over 5 billion dollars, whereas the internal resources they could devote for the purpose were somewhat less than 3 billion dollars.

This picture of gap between needs and resources evoked immediate and favourable response from member countries who are economically more advanced. An important decision taken at the London meeting was that all external assistance, whether technical or economic, should be given and received bilaterally. This decision facilitated the discussion of details on a practical level of all voluntary offers of assistance received from abroad. Significant contributions have been received by the countries of the region for their development programmes. Canada, Australia and New Zealand have contributed, during the last four years, as much as 140 million dollars in economic assistance alone. In addition, technical assistance of a varied character has been rendered in support of development projects.

The decision for a bilateral approach was an important one. It helped to facilitate the entry into the Colombo Plan of an important country like the United States of America. The technical assistance of the Point Four Plan and the economic aid sanctioned by successive legislations in the United States readily fitted into the framework of the bilateral approach of the Colombo Plan. Its contributions to the developing countries of the region, which have taken various

forms such as economic aid, technical assistance, loans from Export Import Bank, have amounted to nearly a billion dollars during the last four years.

The Colombo Plan embodies the idea of mutual help and the countries of the region have been assisting one another with measures of technical assistance. India, for example, has promised to spend 2.1 million dollars in providing technicians and training facilities to the other countries of the region. Trainees and students from Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon have been receiving training in Indian universities and other institutions such as the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta and the Rice Research Centre in Cuttack. Irrigation engineers, tax experts and textile technologists have gone from India to advise Ceylon on its development projects. Similar technical assistance has been rendered to Indonesia. Recently, on the visit of Prince Norodom to Delhi, the Indian Government has promised to extend technical assistance to the newly independent country of Cambodia.

Substantial as these material benefits of the Plan are to the developing countries of South and South East Asia, what is even more important is the spirit of goodwill and understanding that the Colombo Plan has fostered. It is this spirit of goodwill and understanding which lies behind all its accomplishments. The annual meetings of the Consultative Committee provide an invaluable opportunity for friendly contacts between top-level representatives of the member countries. The bilateral discussions on practical measures of assistance between the donor and the receiving country continuously strengthen these bonds and constitute an achievement in international cooperation. It is this spirit of cooperation which stimulates the developing countries of South and South East Asia and gives them greater confidence in their ever-increasing effort towards their own economic uplift. The development expenditures of these countries have been growing. The latest report of the Consultative Committee shows that in 1953-54, the developmental outlay of the countries of that region was 27 per cent higher than that during the preceding year. For the current year, it is expected to be 31 per cent higher than the last year.

So, the Colombo Plan grows from strength to strength.

Indeed, its present growth is well beyond the expectations of the originators of the Plan. The prospects for the future are bright. Although the Plan confined itself to a six-year development period, from 1951 to 1957, I have every hope that the Plan will continue in existence even after that period. Another recent development is that, while the Colombo Plan continues to be on the basis of a bilateral approach, the possibility of providing for cooperation between more than two countries is being actively explored. It is the organizational flexibility of the Colombo Plan which permits this type of cooperation. The Colombo Plan has thus become a living embodiment of the philosophies of self-help and mutual help and of that spirit of international cooperation which can be truly characterized as a major achievement of our times.

INDIA AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE*

THE CONCEPT of technical assistance on an international scale began with a worldwide realization that peace and prosperity are not merely cause and effect but also interdependent. World harmony and world poverty are mutually exclusive. The Second World War and the problems of its aftermath brought home wide discrepancies in living standards between countries and the menace to international stability which they constituted. The United States emerged from the war as the dominant economic factor in world affairs. She expended large sums as an emergency measure for the rehabilitation of Western Europe and Japan, with highly successful results. The problem in under-developed countries was, however, different. Here it was not a matter of restoring mature economies to former levels of productivity and stability, but a more fundamental problem, involving areas which had never been prosperous in the Western sense, where living standards were woefully low and where material progress of the last two hundred years had left vast multitudes virtually untouched. Many of the countries in this position were new national entities with a strong sense of urgency for improving their economic condition. One of their fundamental tasks was to apply as extensively as possible the techniques and methods which had brought advanced countries to high levels of productivity and efficiency, where appropriate to local conditions and particularly in agriculture. The main burden of development was the responsibility of the underdeveloped countries themselves, but there was a marginal yet vital contribution which could be made by the United States and other advanced countries associated with her in the United Nations. Given the desire of highly developed countries to assist economically backward countries and the

* Address to the Conference for Agricultural Services in Foreign Areas at the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., on February 9, 1954.

latter's urgent need for economic development, the technical assistance programme is a step in the right direction. Like many great ideas and projects, technical assistance seems rather obvious in retrospect.

In a recent publication by the Food and Agriculture Organization it is observed, in reference to technical assistance, that "it may be said, in fact, that international aid carried out for no other purpose than for the benefit of the underdeveloped countries is the most important and perhaps the most outstanding and possibly unique constructive idea to have emerged from the confusion and disruption of the postwar period." I agree wholeheartedly with this appraisal except for the words "for no other purpose than for the benefit of the under-developed countries." Surely, all countries will benefit from a higher level of international trade and from a more stable political and economic situation in the world, which will result from the objectives for which technical assistance operates.

India has been and continues to be an important participant in the programme of technical assistance, especially in cooperation with the U.S.A. Technical assistance has been received in my country since the inception of the Point Four Programme and the negotiations with the American Government in 1951 produced a formal agreement in January, 1952, under which many local agricultural development schemes are being pursued on a joint Indo-American basis. United Nations agencies are providing technical advice and guidance in the field of land reclamation, animal husbandry, farm machinery, forestry and fisheries. Similar work is being performed by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, as also under the Colombo Plan. India is a fruitful ground for technical assistance in the fields mentioned, which is acting as a catalyst to the progress of our own economic development plans. However, I feel that the term "technical assistance" does not adequately describe the nature of the projects which are now contributing so much to the advance of Indian agriculture. We should prefer the term "technical cooperation," which fully emphasizes the point that these projects are the results of joint Indo-American effort. In the two years 1951-52 and 1952-53, the total aid given by the U.S. under the U.S.

Technical Cooperation Assistance Programme amounted to $87.78 million. Authorization for the current financial year amounts to $77.1 million. These are substantial amounts, but I should like to point out that the bulk of expenditure on the various projects which have been launched under the Agreement will be borne by the Government of India. What makes the scheme so eminently worthy of the description "cooperative" is the fact that the immediate beneficiaries, the people of the area concerned, are contributing labour and material to the utmost of their capacity. For instance, many roads connecting villages have been built with the voluntary labour of the rural population. Certainly, this is the most favourable basis for the utilization of assistance from abroad. The critics of the United States' foreign aid programme have asserted that a certain resentment, based no doubt, on a sense of dependence or obligation is sometimes detected among recipients of foreign aid. Whether this psychological phenomenon actually occurs and whether it is of any great significance I do not know. But I do know that it does not and cannot occur among the people of India. The contribution of the United States is important and valuable to the success of the projects, but it is supplementary to the people's own efforts and there is consequently no danger to their self-respect or to their incentive to self-help.

The projects under the 1952 agreement are an integral part of our current Five Year Plan. Over 17 per cent of the $4.3 billion of expenditure under the Plan is for improvement of agriculture. Cash crops such as cotton and jute are our principal foreign exchange earners, but of much more importance are the staple food crops—wheat, rice and millets, for the provision of an adequate diet for our 360 million people.

India is still a net importer of food and the nutritive intake of the bulk of India's population is even now sub-standard. The major emphasis of the Five Year Plan is, therefore, inevitably on agriculture. We cannot hope to build up a sound industrial structure in a country like ours except on the basis of agricultural wellbeing. It involves the provision of water to arid regions, increasing the availability of fertilizers, soil erosion control, better seeds and also the improvement of the whole environment of the peasant's life. The opportunities

for the application of technical assistance are manifold. Already, the construction of 2,650 tubewells in the Gangetic plain is under way as part of the programme of the 1952 Agreement. United States technical assistance is coordinated with our own Community Development Programme and National Extension Service which are aimed to elevate 120,000 villages, covering roughly one-fourth of the rural population. These programmes lie at the very heart of our Plan for overall economic progress. They include land reclamation, small irrigation works, improved marketing and credit institutions, communications, employment schemes for landless labourers, housing and community building and park construction, training of technical and administrative staff, and social welfare.

For instance, the latest report on India's Five Year Plan states that one villager out of every eight is receiving attention either under the community programme or National Extension Service. Also, over 47,000 villages with a rural population exceeding 37 million have been covered so far.

We cannot expect technical assistance to solve all our problems. Some problems we have in common with the United States and the experience of American agriculturists can be most useful. For example, techniques and methods of the Agricultural Extension Programme are capable of adaptation to India. I need not dilate on details of such a programme but they are being worked out in several villages day after day all over the country. Similarly, soil erosion is probably as serious a difficulty in India as it is in the United States. The Five Year Plan includes our first concerted effort for the preservation of the soil which is our major source of wealth, and we seek the expert advice of American soil conservation technicians. However, our economy is such that there are basic problems requiring special study and the resources of a national government for their solution. The reorganization of land ownership and control to eliminate indebtedness and exploitation of the farmers is one of these. Another is of psychological origin and can be attacked only by government publicity and persuasion. I refer to the state of mind which gives manual labour an inferior status. Our economy cannot absorb a large proportion of administrative and service

occupations without sacrificing efficiency and productivity. Here, in the United States, the social virtue of labour lies in its usefulness and no honest labour is stigmatized because it is physically demanding or because it involves soiling the hands. Unfortunately, we have not yet reached this realistic and democratic attitude in India and there is some difficulty attached to the reconciliation of education and the needs of the economy.

However, the field of technical assistance is broad. It involves intensive study of local conditions and problems, and projects flexible enough to be adaptable to particular needs. We must avoid the idea, for instance, of mechanization as a panacea for our economic ills. The introduction of farm or industrial machinery must be done carefully with an eye to avoiding the addition of technological unemployment to other kinds of unemployment. The objectives of increasing productivity and maintaining employment are not wholly incompatible, especially in an expanding economy, but care must be taken to prevent imbalance where labour is not sufficiently mobile to adjust itself to rapid and extensive change in the structure of agriculture and industry.

A useful expression of cooperative action to widen knowledge and experience is the exchange of farmer delegates under the joint auspices of the International Farm Youth Exchange, the 4-H Foundation and the Ford Foundation. Last year, thirty young Indian farmers were brought to the United States and ten American student farmers went to India for living in rural surroundings and studying agricultural problems. I had the pleasure of meeting these young Indian and American farmers both here and in Kansas City (Missouri) and was impressed by their grasp, receptivity and outlook. Technical assistance has been received enthusiastically and gratefully by the farmers of India. They see in it the opportunity to lift Indian agriculture out of the archaic and inefficient ways which are still prevalent. There is no desire among them to cling to the old methods merely for the sake of tradition. For a long time there has been a mistaken concept that agriculture in countries such as India is stagnant and unprogressive because of the sheer inertia of the cultivators who are said to prefer the ways of their ancestors and resist

innovation and change. Even if there is an element of truth in this, it is a gross over-simplification. The Indian farmer knows very well that his output and efficiency could be improved with modern methods and would like nothing better than to be able to learn them and apply them. The Government of India have long fostered the advancement of agricultural science and our research institutes can stand comparison with those in advanced countries. But our resources have been too small to permit application of the research to more than a small sector. Even if the rural population were generally literate and able to benefit from government publicity of improved methods, the results could not be widespread unless there were some way of providing them with needed materials and equipment free of charge. The typical farmer simply has no margin of income to invest in tubewells, tractors, buildings, or even fertilizer. His annual income is meagre and most of that is real income (produce) rather than cash. He is obliged to retain his existing system of cultivation with which he is at least familiar and which does not involve any extra investment. For, the question of costs is a vital one in an economy such as India's.

All this has relevance to technical assistance. It is not just a matter of mechanizing agriculture and introducing Western methods wholesale. If you do that there is a danger of the costs of production in agriculture rising at a faster rate than the output. The objective should be to increase output without appreciably increasing costs ; in other words, to increase not merely production but also *productivity*. Thus, the answer is not so much in machinery, expensive to run and maintain, or in new processes involving expenditure on chemicals and equipment, but rather in demonstrating better methods with existing resources. It is, of course, not possible to rely exclusively on improvements at no cost or at low cost ; there are some projects which have to be undertaken even if they are costly. In our Five Year Plan, we are spending $750 million on various forms of agricultural reorganization and development. A large fertilizer factory is in operation, several river valley projects and hydro-electric schemes are under way, and land reclamation and soil erosion control have a high priority. The $750 million which is only 17 per cent of

the total cost of the whole Five Year Plan, must come mostly from internal resources such as taxation and loans and even some deficit financing. We cannot avoid a certain amount of forced saving through a higher price level. But the large government expenditures have been carefully allocated with a view to an immediate and rapid rise in agricultural output.

For the reasons I have mentioned, it is essential that our outlays on agriculture should have speedy results. Production increases delayed for ten years would not do us much good then. Inflation and food shortages would have taken their toll.

It will, therefore, be seen how important are the efforts to increase production at the village level. There the results are likely to be immediate. The Technical Cooperation Agreement projects although less spectacular are just as important as any of the huge irrigation schemes which will bring their full fruits after some years. The latter are essential for continued progress at an ever-increasing rate after our immediate crisis has been overcome : the former are helping to give us the necessary margin of food output over immediate needs without which progress in any sphere is impossible.

We are, indeed, running a desperate race against time in India. I wish I could say that our food problems have been solved, that we never need again face the threat of famine. Although great strides have been made over the past two or three years, and the goal of self-sufficiency in food is in sight, the bulk of our energies must still be bent towards the improvement of agriculture. Our population increases by 4 or 5 millions a year and even the maintenance of existing consumption levels implies continuing expansion of foodgrains output by several million tons a year.

To sum up : technical assistance is one of the most important constructive methods evolved in the sphere of international cooperation. It is a technique for developing the latent resources of an economically backward country, of mobilizing its energies, and of steadily raising its standards of living. It must, however, be selective in its scope and discriminate in its application. We could have too many technical "experts" or not enough of the right type. While technical experts themselves must be inspired by a spirit of

service and intellectual humility in a strange land, the people of the country should not have a sense of inferiority about receiving such technical advice and guidance as they can obtain nor entertain suspicion about the motives and objectives of such programmes. For this reason, the main burden, both in finance and in manpower, should be on the recipient country. The programme should be worked out principally by the people of the country concerned and also operated by them. Too much reliance on foreign help even in the technical sphere is likely to sap the initiative and enterprise of the people themselves. But if we ourselves are aware of the magnitude of our problems and visualize the ways in which they should be tackled, then we should wholeheartedly welcome knowledge and experience from elsewhere. In other words, technical assistance like other vital programmes must be cooperative in its endeavour. After all, it is true of nations as of individuals that God helps those who help themselves.

A CASE STUDY OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA*

WITHIN THE SHORT time at my disposal, I doubt whether I can cover the whole subject of technical assistance and development in India adequately but I shall try to give a glimpse of the problems that face us in regard to technical assistance in India. If I may suggest it, I prefer to use the term " technical cooperation " rather than " technical assistance " because it should be a two-way traffic. As the third annual report of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan said, " it is and must remain the responsibility of the recipients to initiate requests for assistance, and the speed and effectiveness of the technical assistance programme depends primarily upon them."

Secondly, it should be a two-way operation in the sense that in so far as such countries can afford it, they must also provide technical assistance and training facilities for other countries similarly situated. For instance, countries in South East Asia could, in so far as they have such technical knowledge or equipment or experts available, make them available to other countries as is being done under the Colombo Plan.

Technical assistance covers expert advice, training facilities, compilation and dissemination of information and supply of equipment. Now, it might be asked, what is the reason for providing such technical assistance and what is the need for it? It is evident that for under-developed countries—although I am told some people do not like that word, let's say " less developed," or, shall we say, " economically and technically emerging countries "—the provision of finance alone does not enable development programmes to be implemented.

In such countries, investment and finance are very important because lack of financial resources is a great handicap. Even if there are potential resources, in order to activate them you have to have some initial resources which are not easily available because the margin between saving and consumption

* Speech delivered to the National Workshop on World Economic and Social Development, at Washington, D.C. on January 28, 1955.

is not large since the majority of the people living on a margin of subsistance cannot have adequate savings to invest.

Initial finance is always necessary but essential as it is, it is not enough. There is need to apply whatever resources are available to the best possible use, and for this purpose there is need for experts, technicians and skilled workers both for formulating schemes and implementing them. I do not think I need labour this point to an audience like this. The importance and value of technical aid were well explained by Mr. Truman when he was President of the United States in his famous Point Four in which he said *inter alia* : "We must embark on a complete programme for making the benefits of our scientific and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" ; and he went on to say that our aim should be " to help the free peoples of the world through their own efforts to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens." Also, if I may add, more gainful employment which is very important in those areas.

There is not an adequate body of knowledge or enough technical personnel or necessary equipment for the most effective utilization of available resources, for augmenting them and for application of such knowledge as exists at points where it can be most useful. In many countries, there are resources but enough is not known about such resources because of lack of surveys in the past, lack of statistical data as also want of adequate resources to undertake such surveys.

Moreover, it is not only a question of applying the existing resources to needs, although that is very important in a short-term programme. We have to try and see how resources can themselves be increased in a sufficiently reasonable time. For all these purposes, countries which have experience in the particular fields could provide some advice and guidance.

Undoubtedly, such foreign experts or technicians have to have knowledge of local conditions and problems, of local customs and even prejudices. However, certain techniques are developed only in some countries and they could be made available by them only. I mention only one example : in the construction of our big dams, we have had the benefit of the advice of your experts who have had considerable experience

of multi-purpose projects—experts from the T. V. A. or the Bureau of Reclamation or the Army Corps of Engineers. On the other hand, we ourselves have built quite large dams in the past and I was told by an American engineering expert that in the matter of constructing certain types of irrigation dams such as exist in India for the last half a century or more, we have very little to learn from outside.

But that does not mean that we should not try and obtain whatever techniques have been developed in other countries.

What are the types of technical assistance programmes now operating in India ? First, there is what has been called in the past, Point Four and which is now being looked after by the FOA.* Under this programme, nearly 190 American technicians and experts have been working in different spheres in India and about the same number, that is, about 200 of our men have come to this country for training. In other words, it is an important part of the technical cooperation programme that not only should technicians be made available to the country concerned but that their men should also receive training abroad.

The second programme is what has been known as the Colombo Plan. It would take me some time to explain the genesis of the Colombo Plan but I am sure many of you are aware of its broad features. It was started in 1950, in Colombo, Ceylon, mainly by countries of the Commonwealth of Nations. Its basis was cooperative endeavour and it has been steadily expanded. Its last session was held early in October, 1954, in Ottawa, and now many countries which are outside the Commonwealth including Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines have decided to participate in this Plan. Under this Plan, India has both received and to some extent given technical assistance in various spheres. I have not got the latest figures before me, but I believe nearly 130 trainees from other South East Asian countries have been undergoing training in India. For instance, the Government of India offered to provide to the nominees from the countries of the region, that is the region covered by the Colombo Plan, various kinds of training

* Foreign Operations Agency now called International Cooperation Administration.

facilities in engineering colleges and research institutes for graduates and post-graduates as also practical training in railways, post and telegraph, irrigation and power, health, education and industry. At the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta, training facilities have so far been provided for 72 candidates from countries in this region. Four Indian experts, making a total of seven so far, have been sent to Ceylon in the fields of organization of urban milk supply, railways, irrigation, electrical engineering, iron and steel manufacture. Similarly, others have gone to Burma and Indonesia. This programme is, therefore, a two-way traffic and it is a cooperative enterprise. It has not been superimposed by anybody. It is being worked by voluntary agreement between these countries.

The Indo-U. S. Technical Cooperation Agreement has been operative since January, 1952 under which a programme of community development projects has been worked out and has been integrated with the National Extension Service. This is not the occasion to explain at length the objectives and working of these community development projects but their main purpose has been to augment agricultural production while also evolving a coordinated and integrated programme of rural development. This programme was launched on October 2, 1952, that date being selected because it is the birthday of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi.

The development of the countryside, and the revival of villages were very near to Mahatma Gandhi's heart; there are 560,000 villages in India and nearly eighty per cent of the people live in them. India, therefore, truly lives in its villages. During the last three years, 85,000 villages have been covered by this programme comprising nearly 56 million people. This programme was integrated in 1953 with the National Agricultural Extension Service. We expect that in the course of the next year, that is by the end of 1956, when the period of our first Five Year Plan would be over, nearly one-fourth of India would be covered by these services.

The main emphasis of this programme is on agricultural improvement but both these programmes, community development and agricultural extension, could be described as " aided self-help " programmes, since basically their aim is to help the villagers to help themselves. Technical assistance in various

spheres such as administration of these projects is also vital. It is not simply a case of putting a number of schemes on paper, on government files. People have to work them. In order to work them at the village level, we have to have a sufficient number of experienced administrators and village workers.

For the administration of these projects we have received technical assistance to train village workers from the Ford Foundation. One of the serious difficulties of Indian agriculture has been lack of an adequate and regular supply of water. It has been estimated that only about six per cent of the total rainwater that comes from the skies is utilized, the rest goes to waste. While we do want multi-purpose projects and major irrigation works, we also want minor irrigation works like tube-wells, artesian wells, tanks and so on, and for these tubewells and minor irrigation works we have received both financial and technical assistance under the Indo-U. S. Technical Cooperation Agreement. I believe nearly 5,000 tubewells are going to be constructed and I understood from an Indian agricultural expert who has recently come to this country that this programme of 5,000 tubewells is likely to be completed by the end of this year.

Then, again, the conception and methods of agricultural extension which have been developed in this country are being adapted in India. That does not mean that we have to copy your methods blindly or indiscriminately but there are certain ideas and techniques which we can well adapt. Transplantation of techniques and institutions is not free from the risk of copying the obvious and leaving out the essential.

Therefore, we have to adapt alien methods to our own conditions but there are certain conditions and problems that are common to all countries and common techniques could well be studied.

Apart from this, India receives technical assistance through specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as WHO, FAO, UNESCO, ILO as well as the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund ; also, under the U. N. Technical Assistance Scheme. Foundations in this country, like the Ford and Rockefeller, have played a very important part in schemes of technical assistance, by providing technical advice and experts in India, as well as by providing facilities for training of Indians in this country.

The Ford Foundation, for example, has provided funds for the training of village workers for the community development programmes to which I have already referred as also for the study of public administration, and the study of the development of small-scale and rural industries, to mention only a few instances.

The Rockefeller Foundation has similarly provided training and advice on matters of public health and sanitation and also for several cultural activities. As you are aware, the U. S. technical aid is given with the assistance of several public institutions. There are also several university and private funds. For example, when we wanted to study the public administration of our country and to know how we could improve it, Dr. Appleby who was then with the Syracuse University was sent over with the help of the Ford Foundation and he made a report which was found useful. Although Dr. Appleby was critical in certain respects he said that India was one of the eight best governed countries in the world. Nevertheless, we are not complacent and we want to know what our defects and faults are.

How do the technical assistance programmes work in India? These programmes have been integrated with the national plan of development. There is, therefore, no superimposition nor any kind of interference because the main responsibility for formulating and implementing the programmes as well as for financing them is that of Indians. In regard to the community development projects, for example, about ten per cent of the total expenditure on them is derived from the Indo-U. S. Technical Cooperation Agreement; the rest of it, that is 90 per cent is borne by India. If you take the whole of our Plan, that is what is being done by the Government, Central and State, in all spheres, then nearly 14 per cent of the total expenditure is derived from foreign aid of various kinds including loans from the International Bank, Colombo Plan, Indo-U. S. Technical Cooperation Agreement and so forth. The risk of overlapping and duplication as between these different agencies must be obviated especially where there are different technical aid programmes and various agencies. This risk of overlapping and duplication has been largely overcome in India by having a coordinated plan of economic development

and secondly, by a machinery of coordination provided through the Planning Commission.

Incidentally, private enterprise is also assisted in India through these programmes of technical assistance. If private industry wants a technical expert, say, for foundry or industrial management, and Government consider such request reasonable, then the U. S. or U. N. agency is requested to provide such aid. Let me add that there is mutual respect and confidence between Indian and foreign, mainly American, technicians and experts, in working out these programmes. Two years ago, an American lady journalist who had been to India told me that the relations between Indian and American experts and officers who were working there were so cordial that they could not be better, they could only be worse! It is, no doubt, difficult at times to be helpful without being patronizing or supercilious and it is difficult to be critical without giving offence. But, underdeveloped countries must welcome honest and frank advice. They should not resent it nor suspect the motives of those who give it. Moreover, Indian authorities try to assess the capacity of absorption of the country in respect of each programme. They try and utilize the aid to the best possible advantage. Indeed, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, we have got a separate organization set up for evaluation of the Community Development Programme. We do not want mere window-dressing or show-pieces to impress foreign visitors. A programme must take root, it must be enduring, it must be continuous, and, above all, it must stimulate the people of the country itself.

And that is my last point, namely that such programmes must stimulate popular effort and sustain the poeple's spirit of self-reliance and self-help. The initiative of the people must be developed. If there is no such initiative, it should be created; if there is, it should not be undermined because, after all, the whole object is to make a country more and more independent, not more and more dependent on others.

It is not possible for me within the time at my disposal to tell you what has been achieved in India during the last three years but I shall give you only a few salient figures to indicate the progress made so far. While in 1950–51, when we started our Five Year Plan production of foodgrains was 54 million tons,

it has increased during the last three years by 11.4 million tons and the target that was laid down for us was an increase of 7.6 million tons so that production has exceeded that target. I shall not give you absolute figures but just to give you an idea of the progress made in certain directions, I shall give you figures of actual achievement by 1953–54 expressed as percentages of increases as originally planned. In the production of cotton, about 76 per cent of the increase planned has been achieved; electrical energy production shows 40 per cent achievement; irrigation, both major and minor, 38 per cent; steel 15 per cent; cement 63 per cent and ammonium sulphate 64 per cent.

Finally, technical cooperation programmes are very useful and must be steadily expanded as their need grows. Undoubtedly, there are some qualifications and considerations to which I have already alluded such as for example, that there should be no superimposition, that programmes should be cooperative, that sufficient safeguards must be taken to acquaint experts and technicians with knowledge of local conditions. Programmes must also be undertaken on the basis of the conditions of the country and should satisfy its needs and they should not be devised merely to bolster up an economy in competition with the economy of some other country which would lead to uneconomic projects and waste of resources.

We have to ensure peace not only by means of measures of security and by settling international differences through negotiation but also by satisfying the elementary needs of large masses of people in economically backward areas so that the economic causes of war are eliminated.

PLACE OF TECHNICAL COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT *

THE SUBJECT of technical assistance and economic development in India is a vast one and I can only give you today a brief account of the problems that face us and the way we are seeking to solve them, partly with the help of generous contributions from some of the more economically advanced countries of the world but mainly, through the efforts of our own people.

We in India are experiencing in social and economic spheres a transformation which is in many ways revolutionary while at the same time orderly, democratic and largely based on India's cultural heritage. Independence released social forces and national energies for purposive action, almost for the first time in modern Indian history and their effects have only begun to be felt. New ideas and new forces are at work, social patterns are changing, there is a great spurt of economic activity over the entire country and a firm resolve to give content and meaning to political independence ; all this " sea change " does not, however, imply a violent break with the past but is being brought about through democratic processes of consultation and consent in which the best of old traditions is sought to be merged with new techniques, in which freedom and initiative are to be reconciled with social justice and equality. In this bold experiment, external assistance from friendly countries is gratefully accepted but so as not to inculcate in our people a psychology of dependence on such assistance. For, in the last analysis, economic development of a country can only come about through the wholehearted efforts of its people ; external aid can act as a catalyst, it can supplement but it cannot supplant national effort.

This basic principle is embedded in our development plans including the technical assistance programmes and community development projects. Thus out of a total outlay of $4.7 billion, in the First Five Year Plan, the finances made available

* Speech delivered to the Conference on the Forward Look in Technical and Economic Development at Washington, D.C., on April 10, 1956.

from external sources amounted to $600 million (nearly $500 million from the U. S. A.), or about 13 per cent of the total outlay. Likewise, in a total planned outlay of $200 million on the community development projects (to which I shall refer later in greater detail), a total of just $12 million (six per cent) was provided by external sources. And this is as it should be, for too great a dependence on others is as undesirable as it is unworthy. Nations like individuals have to win their own salvation.

This is also the basic philosophy underlying the various programmes of technical cooperation which are referred to as technical assistance programmes. It is and must remain the responsibility of the recipient countries to initiate requests for assistance, and the speed and effectiveness of the technical assistance programmes depend primarily upon them. Again, it should be a two-way operation in the sense that insofar as such countries can afford it, they must also provide technical assistance and training facilities for other countries similarly situated. In this connection, I should like to state that the development of an extensive technical cooperation programme has been a notable achievement of the Colombo Plan. There has been an increasing emphasis on the development of training facilities within the Asian countries themselves, which has helped to ensure not only a more effective use of the financial resources available but also created a deeper understanding of the approaches to economic development. According to the fourth annual report of the Colombo Plan, up to the end of June 1955, under the various technical cooperation programmes, India secured training facilities abroad for 1,360 candidates and received 734 foreign experts, while 191 Indian technical experts were sent to assist other countries and 181 foreign nationals were trained in India.

Now, what is this technical assistance of which we hear so much ? There is a constant need to put available resources to the best possible use ; and this postulates the need for experts, technicians, skilled workers in ever larger numbers both for drawing up schemes and for implementing them. Stated simply, whenever a more efficient technique can be substituted for a less efficient one, something is obtained " for nothing " and this provides, in my view, a good reason for

technical aid programmes. The acquisition of technical knowledge and skills is, indeed, one of the notable achievements of India's First FiveYear Plan whose period has just ended; and it is even a greater achievement in international co-operation at personal level.

And if I may digress for a moment, I should like to pay a tribute to the vision embodied in President Eisenhower's address on December 8, 1953, before the General Assembly of the United Nations in which the Atoms-for-Peace programme was born. Atomic energy is a new and tremendous source of power for a better life, which, if constructively harnessed, offers endless prospects for the nations of the world, and especially the under-developed areas for raising the levels of economic activity and standards of living of their people, much more quickly than would be possible under schemes based on the use of conventional power. It is a hopeful sign for the future that efforts are being made by the nations of the world to set up an agency providing for international cooperation in this new field and for the pooling and sharing of raw materials, fissionable materials and exchange of technical atomic energy information and personnel. It is a matter of gratification that the United States, which is the most advanced country in the field of atomic energy development, is alive to the need for cooperation with other nations in the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy and has already entered into bilateral agreements with a number of countries providing for varying degrees of technical assistance in this new field. We ourselves signed recently with the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission an agreement providing for the sale to India of heavy water for use in connection with research into and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Some of our scientists are attending the reactor training school at Argonne and the isotope courses offered at Oak Ridge; others are in Canada and the United Kingdom. As humanity is entering the threshold of an atomic age symbolizing the birth of a new industrial revolution, we may well remember the lessons of history and avoid the pitfalls which led to so much suffering, inequalities and exploitation in the wake of the first industrial revolution. We should seek, through programmes of international cooperation, to utilize this energy as an instrument of common

welfare and prevent inequalities and imbalance between nations in their use.

The Atoms-for-Peace programme thus also partakes of the nature of technical cooperation programmes of which we have been speaking. I may now return to the less spectacular forms of such cooperation. The broad aggregate of outlays on technical cooperation schemes covers a myriad of activities and accomplishments ranging from the diminution in mortality by malaria and other endemic diseases and marked decline in infant mortality to improved strains of agricultural stock and grains and technical advice on such diverse subjects as multi-purpose irrigation and hydro-electric projects, educational systems and family planning.

What are the types of technical assistance programmes now operating in India ? First, there is what has been called in the past Point Four Programme, now being looked after by the I. C. A. Under this programme, the United States provided training facilities for 403 Indian candidates up to the end of June 1955 and nearly 220 American technicians and experts have been working on various projects in India. Then, there is the Colombo Plan programme which was started in 1950 and with the broad features of which most are familiar. Under the Colombo Plan, India has been both receiving and giving technical assistance, once again illustrating the two-way character of these programmes. Up to the end of June 1955, 326 trainees from other South Eastern Asian countries have been undergoing training in subjects such as civil and mechanical engineering, medicine, communications, mining, geology, tobacco cultivation, flood control, suction-dredging etc. In addition, 94 nominees of the countries in the region have been given training at the Indian Statistical Institute. Also, a total of twelve Indian experts have been provided to Nepal and Ceylon in the fields of banking, irrigation, administration.

There is, again, the U. N. Technical Assistance Programme. The number of technicians made available to India under this programme is 402, and training facilities have been obtained for 334. 191 Indian technicians have been sent to Burma, Indonesia and other countries and 181 foreign nationals have been trained in India.

And, finally, the Indo-U. S. Technical Cooperation Agree-

ment signed in January, 1952, provides for the undertaking of joint projects laying emphasis on agricultural development and in the fields of community development, tubewells, river valley development, fertilizers and steel for agricultural purposes. I should like to say a few words about the community development projects because, being essentially a programme for stimulating self-help in rural communities for the all-round improvement of their life, it constitutes an enduring basis for the economic betterment of our people. No programme which either ignores the village community or does not make adequate provision for its improvement can therefore make a real dent on the poverty of the countryside and consequently, of the country as a whole.

The revitalization of village life was one of the first tasks of our national government. Roads began to be built, schools, community centres, hospitals, demonstration farms, breeding centres, fruit and vegetable nurseries began to come up. New wells, reconditioning of old wells, paving of village lanes and drains assumed the form of a new mass movement. Men and women, young and old, joined the programme in increasing numbers and in the spirit of dedicated service.

Soon, there was a demand for an increase in the number of projects from the 55, the programme was started with; but our resources were limited in terms of technical personnel. Therefore, the Government drew up a less intensive programme which could be extended more rapidly. This was the National Extension Service which was designed to provide the essential basic staff and a little finance with which the people could go ahead on the basis of self-help.

According to the latest statistics prepared by the Community Projects Administration, 1,140 community projects and National Extension Service blocks were allotted throughout India up to February 20, 1956. These covered 124,957 villages and a total population of 81.1 million. Up to the end of September 1955, a total area of 895,000 acres had been reclaimed and 1,557,000 acres brought under irrigation. Substantial progress was also achieved in the fields of education and social education. Twelve thousand new schools were started in various community development areas and 4,359 ordinary schools were converted into the Basic type. 30,000

adult education centres were functioning at the end of September 1955 and about 605,000 adults had received training. A total of 28,631 miles of roads were constructed, of which 3,361 miles were metalled roads. The people's contribution in cash, kind or labour to the physical achievements under the community development programme during the period October 1952 to September 1955, was of the value of $39,270,000 as against Government expenditure of $65,100,000.

U. S. assistance to the community development projects has largely been in the shape of machinery for road-building, agricultural demonstration equipment, mobile cinema units for instruction, transport vehicles and a large variety of other supplies and equipment. A total of $12 million was provided for this purpose against a total planned outlay of roughly $200 million by the Government of India—itself small in budgetary terms relative to the return in the form of general village improvement and restoration of the people's faith in themselves.

A useful yardstick of the success of community development projects and National Extension Service is the extent of voluntary contributions of the people under the various schemes. The estimated total voluntary contribution of the people in cash, labour, materials and so forth has been nearly half the Government expenditure during the same period. This is the most hopeful sign in programmes of national development. For, it is far more important that such programmes should take root and be continuous than that they should be mere show pieces. Above all, these programmes should develop the initiative and self-confidence of the people rather than seek to achieve physical targets by manipulation and coercion.

I do not wish to weary you with the details of other aid projects, but mention must be made of the tubewells programme. A tubewell irrigates on an average over 400 acres of land and lack of adequate rainfall in many parts of India makes it important that every available water resource be developed for irrigation purposes. Under the Indo-U. S. Joint Programme, the construction of 3,000 tubewells was undertaken in addition to 2,000 to be built by the government from its own resources. A major part of the programme has been completed.

This account of the technical cooperation programmes operating in India would be incomplete if no mention were made of the programmes financed by private organizations like the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. The total assistance provided and promised by the Ford Foundation is of the order of $11 million and covers a broad range of programmes such as the training of personnel for rural development, development of small-scale industry, education, public administration, and research. With a grant from the Ford Foundation, an agency has been formed for evaluating the methods and progress of the rural development programme.

A basic feature of all these programmes is that they have been integrated into our national plan of development. The responsibility for drawing up programmes and formulating schemes rests where it should properly belong, namely on ourselves ; and although there is continuous consultation and collaboration between the government and the foreign agencies concerned, final decisions are made by the Government of India, which not only ensures that risks of overlapping and duplication of effort are obviated but also that the programmes decided upon are such as to stimulate popular effort, sustain the people's spirit of self-reliance and develop initiative. Perhaps because of this and also thanks to the excellent spirit of comradeship that has developed between the foreign technicians and the local officials and non-officials engaged on the various projects, the technical cooperation schemes have on the whole worked well and proved effective in promoting economic development.

I shall conclude with a few general observations on what has been achieved under our First Five Year Plan and on the draft proposals for the Second Five Year Plan.

The primary object of the First Five Year Plan was to lay the foundations on which a more progressive and diversified economy could be built. There were certain urgent problems such as shortages of food and raw materials and persistent inflationary pressures which it had to attend to. But the Plan was intended essentially as a preparation for a more rapid advance in the future.

India's economy has responded well to the stimulus of the First Plan. Agricultural and industrial production has recorded

substantial increases. Prices have attained a reasonable level. The country's external accounts are virtually in balance. Important targets proposed in the First Plan have been realized and some of them have, in fact, been exceeded. Some 17 million acres of land have been brought under irrigation in these five years and the installed capacity for the generation of power has been increased from 2.3 million kilowatt to 3.5 million kilowatt. Considerable progress has been made with the rehabilitation of railways. A large number of industrial plants both in the public and private sectors have gone into production. The Plan has introduced a new dynamic element in conditions which have been stagnant for long. The national income over the last five years is estimated to have risen by about 18 per cent as against the original expectation of about 11 per cent. The development expenditure in the public sector in 1955–56 is over two and a half times the level in 1951–52. Investment in the private sector has also been close to expectations.

The Second Five Year Plan of which the draft outline was published in February this year, seeks to secure a more rapid growth of the national economy and expand employment opportunities. In the new Plan, a total outlay of $10.08 billion has been proposed for investment in the public sector over the next five-year period. A larger proportion of the resources will be devoted to industrial development than in the first Plan. Adequate provision has, however, been made for schemes to augment agricultural production and ensure rural development. The Plan proposes, for example, an increase of 21 million acres to be brought under irrigation and an increase of 3.3 million kilowatt in electric power capacity. Transport and communications will receive greater attention, being so vital to the development of the economy. The outlay on these projects would amount to 29 per cent of the total outlay. The community development programme will be further extended so as to cover a population of 325 million—almost the entire rural area—by 1960–61. The main stress, however, is on industrialization. If the power projects are also taken into account as a part of industrial development, the outlay works out to 57 per cent. We hope to increase cement production from 4.3 million tons to 10 million tons a year, raise coal

production from 37 to 60 million tons and production of steel from 1.3 to 4.3 million tons by 1960–61. The Planning Commission believes that as a result of the outlay proposed, the national income would rise in 1960–61 to $28.3 million (22.7 in 1955–56)—a 25 per cent increase. Put in another way, the outlay is expected to produce an increase of 18 per cent in the *per capita* income.

I have endeavoured to give you an idea of the magnitude of the problems we face and of the strenuons efforts our people are making to solve them. It is a noble adventure in which I am sure we shall have, as we have had in the past, the understanding and cooperation of all those who value constructive endeavour. We are seeking to build a society of free men and women enjoying the blessings of an economic democracy.

FAMILY PLANNING IN INDIA*

BERTRAND RUSSELL has observed somewhere that the world is faced with two opposing dangers: "The human race may put an end to itself by too lavish a use of H-bombs," or antithetically: "The human population of our planet may increase to a point where only starved and miserable existence is possible except for a small minority of powerful people." The problem of population, however, is relative to that of production of food and essential necessities of life. It is in order to secure a better balance between production of food and reproduction of human beings that rational measures for control and regulation of population are essential; and at the same time, all possible measures have to be taken to augment food production, increase the fertility of soil and raise and provide necessities of life in an adequate measure. For, population can cease to be a problem only in so far as it is gainfully employed and enriches the economy of a country. "With every mouth," said Edwin Cannan, "God sends two hands." In other words, in so far as people can utilize the energy of this human power for constructive and productive purposes, the sheer force of numbers would cease to be oppressive.

Before I come to the policy and measures for family planning in India, I might give a few salient facts about the population of India. India has an area a little less than half the continental United States. Its population today is estimated at about 385 million people with an average density of 315 people per square mile. India occupies 2.2 per cent of the world's area and supports 15 per cent of the world's population. Nearly 80 per cent of the people live in villages and over 75 per cent of them derive their livelihood from agriculture directly or indirectly. The birth rate in India at the present time is 1.2 per cent representing an annual increase of be-

* Address delivered to the Planned Parenthood Association of Baltimore, on April 22, 1958.

tween four and five million people. This birth rate is lower than that in the U.S.A., New Zealand, the Netherlands and Ceylon. It is essential to emphasize that the net increase in India's population during the last 50 years has been due not to an increase in birth rate but to a decrease in death rate mainly as a result of better public health measures, sanitation and medical care. While the annual birth rate has not increased, the death rate has declined from about 40 per thousand in 1900 to about 17 in 1950.

Since the independence of India over ten years ago, Indian leaders have become more conscious of the magnitude of the problem of population and the imperative necessity for some form of population planning which would ensure a better balance between human and natural resources. The Planning Commission, which was appointed in 1950 and presented its report in December 1952, considered this question. The First Five Year Plan concerned itself not only with agricultural and industrial development but also social problems, educational needs as well as medical and health questions. The chapter on family planning in the Report of the Planning Commission begins as follows :

"The recent increase in the population of India and the pressure exercised on the limited resources of the country have brought to the forefront the urgency of the problem of family planning and population control. The application of medical knowledge and social care has lowered the death rate, while the birth-rate remains fairly constant. This has led to the rapid increase in the growth of population. While a lowering of the birth-rate may occur as a result of improvements in the standard of living, such improvements are not likely to materialize if there is a concurrent increase of population. It is, therefore, apparent that population control can be achieved only by the reduction of the birth-rate to the extent necessary to stabilize the population at a level consistent with the requirements of national economy. This can be secured only by the realization of the need for family limitation on a wide scale by the people. The main appeal for family planning is based on considerations of health and welfare of the family.

> Family limitation or spacing of the children is necessary and desirable in order to secure better health for the mother and better care and upbringing of children. Measures directed to this end should, therefore, form part of the public health programme."

In the First Five Year Plan, nearly one million dollars were allocated for a family planning programme. This money was to be used to disseminate education and information on family planning, to establish clinical services, and to develop research programmes in the physiological and medical aspects of human fertility and its control. In pursuance of this policy, nearly 165 family planning centres are working in different states, while 287 family planning clinics were opened, including 164 by state governments, 90 by voluntary organizations and 33 by local bodies like municipalities. It is proposed, under the Second Five Year Plan, to open 2,500 clinics (500 in urban areas and 2,000 in rural areas). Grants are given by the Central (or Federal) Government for this purpose.

The Second Five Year Plan seeks to extend this programme with the experience and knowledge obtained during the first five years. Nearly ten million dollars have been allocated for this work which has been entrusted to a high-powered board to co-ordinate and implement the programme. Apart from clinics, training in family planning is being imparted in the Family Planning Training and Research Centre in Bombay to doctors, medical and social workers and health visitors ; the training, administration and experimental centre at Ramanagram in South India and the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta. An All-India Institute of Demography is also being established. Biological research is being done by the Indian Council of Medical Research in New Delhi.

In 1951, the Government of India invited through the World Health Organization, Dr. Abraham Stone of the Margaret Research Institute in New York to advise the Government about the most effective methods to be adopted in respect of family planning as a means of population control. At Dr. Stone's recommendation, studies on what is called the "rhythm method" have been conducted at Ramanagram

and in New Delhi. With the assistance of the United Nations, the government also sponsored a study on the inter-relationship of economic changes. Several demographic studies have been undertaken in which work, the Office of Population Research of Princeton University has cooperated. Various other agencies and organizations have been assisted to undertake similar studies. Some of these studies are still in progress such as the one at Singoor near Calcutta sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation and the other (the Government sponsored Harvard-Ludhiana studies) at Khanna in Punjab. The All-India Women's Conference has also been actively engaged in this work for over 25 years. A Family Planning Association similar to planned parenthood groups in Western countries, has been functioning for the last seven years and has held national conferences. The third International Planned Parenthood Conference was held in Bombay in December, 1952, when delegates from 14 countries met to discuss various aspects of planning parenthood. The session created considerable interest in India. It was opened by the Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and Prime Minister Nehru sent a message to this conference. The London *Economist* remarked at the time that in few countries of the world would government have taken such an active interest and adopted such a positive attitude towards population planning.

There is no religious opposition to measures of birth control in India as neither the Hindu nor the Muslim religion specifically forbid them. Whatever reluctance or hostility there may be to family planning arises mainly from traditional behaviour, conventional habits, prejudices and ignorance rather than from any religious bans. While the Union Government is sponsoring and assisting this problem, no state government has expressed itself against this policy. Dr. Kingsley Davis in his article "Fertility Control and the Demographic Transition in India" says: "India is currently engaged in a massive experiment fraught with the greatest human significance. She is attempting, through Government action, to lower the birth-rate quickly in a predominantly rural Asian population of 370 million. If the experiment succeeds, it will point the way to similar action in other overcrowded and impoverished areas of the world, areas which embrace at

least half of mankind. India's lead may thus help to solve one of the worst afflictions of modern times, the aimless and economically deleterious multiplication of human numbers." India is, indeed, one of the few countries whose government has appreciated the significance of population problem and to implement a family planning programme as a health service on a national basis.

The problems we face in this context are difficult and complex. In a population which lives in rural areas without adequate facilities or in overcrowded cities where housing conditions are highly unsatisfactory, it is not possible to make rapid progress. Moreover, poverty and illiteracy of the people are serious handicaps. It is of interest, however, to mention that the Family Planning Association and other bodies have found widespread and keen interest in these matters in villages and among women. The improved status of women during the last thirty years, increase in age of marriage of girls, spread of education with a growing sense of responsibility towards progeny, and the stress and strain of economic life are all factors which are making people recognize increasingly the importance of family planning. A large number of educated middle class people in towns and cities are, therefore, eager to have information about methods of family planning. Medical facilities have to be enlarged in rural areas, clinics established and information and knowledge spread. To introduce family planning, persuasion as well as education are necessary. Pilot experiments, careful studies and planned methods have to be used. What is required in the conditions of India are cheap and efficacious methods made as far as possible from indigenous raw materials. Such means must be simple, inexpensive and in so far as possible, in consonance with the traditional ways of life and the standards of the people.

Although much remains to be done, a start has been made. Planned parenthood is no longer a matter of controversy in India. It is accepted by the authorities and by important sectors of the public as essential for family welfare and for national development. Indeed, the family planning programme adopted by the Government of India is not based merely on the narrow sphere of family limitations; its purpose is to regu-

late the growth of population in such a manner as would tend to promote the welfare of society as a whole. The function of a family planning scheme should, therefore, include sex education, marriage hygiene, marriage counselling, spacing of children, advice on infertility and such other measures as would increase the happiness of the family as a unit of society.

DIPLOMACY AND DEMOCRACY

DIPLOMACY—TRUE AND FALSE*

THIS INSTITUTION trains young men for careers in foreign service and diplomacy. Diplomacy is a serious business, indeed, one of the most responsible tasks in an age when foreign policy determines issues of life and death for all of us. Frequently, diplomacy is equated with duplicity. It is a rather stale joke that a diplomat lies abroad on behalf of his country. There is a less well-known story of a monarch, who, when his ambassador returned from the country to which he was accredited, asked him what the king of that country had said about himself. The ambassador trembled and would not reply. "Out with it," said the monarch ; "what did the king say about me ? " "Sire," said the ambassador nervously, "the king said you had lied to him twice." "Liar," said the monarch, "I lied to him three times and not twice ! "

From ancient times, diplomacy has had a bad odour. Kautilya, the great Hindu authority on state-craft, propounded some ways of dealing with other rulers and rivals which, to put it mildly, were not strictly in accordance with moral precepts. The belief that the law of nature, "red in tooth and claw" has to be applied to relations between states has come down through the ages. Machiavellism came to be considered the most effective method for conducting international negotiations. In this context, might has been regarded as right, the end is presumed to justify the means which themselves are not to be subject to any test except that of success, and a nation's own conception of its interest is considered the sole criterion for its action :

> The good old rule,
> The simple plan,
> That he takes who has the power,
> And he keeps it who can.

* Inaugural Speech delivered at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts, U.S.A., on September 20, 1956.

Diplomacy thus becomes merely an instrument of the state for achieving its objectives, worthy or not, and to further its interests, selfish or otherwise.

Now, I do not wish to argue that international law is as widely accepted or strictly enforced as civil or municipal law. Nor can we say that conflicts of national interest, real or imaginary, rivalries of powers, racial arrogance and narrow nationalism, religious bigotries, even notions of prestige and glory, and whims of dictators are things of the past. The starry heaven is above us but the moral law does not yet prevail in all its majesty, within us or without. It would be preposterous to pretend that moral factors although weighty and often decisive are yet vital in international relationship. Peoples and their rulers profess high principles and pay tribute to moral verities which when it comes to the final test of practice and action, more often than not, they ignore. Years ago, Wordsworth wrote :

> Earth is sick and Heaven is weary,
> Of the hollow words that states and kingdoms utter
> When they speak of Truth and Justice.

And yet to deny moral values or the validity of simple virtues even in relationship between peoples and their governments is to make realism itself shallow. Were it so, were the law of the jungle to be supreme, there would not have been a civilization worth upholding and defending. Our lives, individual and collective, would, indeed, be "petty, nasty, mean and brutish." Moral principles are essential to the successful functioning of a society. The ethical concept of *Dharma* (literally, something that holds society together) was at the root of the ancient system of Hindu law, whether regarded on a national or international basis. We have, slowly and painfully, developed a collective life and are building up deliberately and otherwise a society of nations. We have now the rudiments of a world opinion on many issues and evidence of the working of an international conscience. We fumble and stumble, we take many wrong turnings and we slide back. But even while the tired waves, vainly breaking, do not seem to gain a painful inch, "far back through

creeks and inlets making, comes silent flooding in the main."

I do not wish to elaborate this advance or illustrate the gradual, indirect and imperceptible forces making towards international understanding and harmony. We may witness this advance in programmes of health, education, labour and social welfare sponsored by the specialized agencies of the United Nations; in programmes of technical assistance and cooperation, international or bilateral; in the activities of Foundations in this country; in the spontaneous and generous gifts of peoples across the seas in times of famine, floods or earthquakes. We also see it in the growing moral influence of the United Nations and the evolution of a concept of international justice. Not that nations have yet voluntarily agreed to restrict their sovereignty or submit their disputes to international arbitrament. It is also true that international institutions are used when convenient and otherwise ignored and by-passed by powers, big or small. But to argue that such institutions are futile because they have not yet ensured perpetual peace is like contending that medical research and hospitals are useless because we have still not discovered the cure for cancer or even for the common cold! After all, it is human weaknesses magnified by rival ambitions and distorted by the clash of interests which set a limit to the utility of international bodies.

What of diplomacy as an instrument of national policy? If diplomats strove incessantly to outwit and out-manoeuvre one another, if they resorted continuously to bluff and chicanery, no stable diplomatic relations would be possible; if they tried all the time to throw dust in one another's eyes, dust would settle all around and blind us. Nor is that all. In these days of mass media of communications, wilful misleading of other peoples is hardly possible. Indeed, on the East River in New York is provided a forum where far from "lying" to one another, representatives of sovereign governments tell one another exactly what they think of them. If frankness be a measure of truthfulness, economy of truth is not certainly practised in many international conferences and bodies. Diplomacy by insult is often met by diplomacy of the loud-speaker. In fact, in many countries decisions on vital matters of foreign policy are known to the columnist and the com-

mentator even before they are made! I once compared this process to a game of bridge in which mirrors are placed behind one set of partners enabling their opponents to read their cards and lest any cards be missed, there are half a dozen observers watching the game who gratuitously proclaim what these cards are! It is imperative that open covenants are openly arrived at. But it is neither necessary nor desirable that the processes of governmental decisions on questions of grave import be laid bare to the full glare of publicity and the minds of those who bear a heavy responsibility dissected, their motives analyzed, and their wisdom submitted to ruthless and even irresponsible cross-examination. We need not hold—to quote James Thurber's moral dictum in another context—that "where there is no television, the people perish." Freedom can well be abused in such circumstances and the risks in terms of international misunderstanding and friction are not small. Questions of foreign policy should not be decided by passion but always by calm consideration and after careful examination. Anger, irritation, bombast have no place in sound diplomacy. Even notions of prestige and "saving face" have to be viewed in proper perspective. A foreign office should be prepared, like the Duke of Wellington to the Spanish Grandée, to bend the knee if a victory can be gained thereby, but a victory so achieved as to harmonise with the general desires and ideals common to mankind.

For, the basis of all sound negotiation is confidence, and diplomacy must seek to create this confidence inspired by good faith. De Callières, the author of a great manual on diplomacy, wrote nearly 250 years ago :

> "A diplomatist should remember that open dealing is the basis of confidence ; he should share freely with others everything except what it is his duty to conceal .... A good negotiator will never rely for the success of his mission either on bad faith or on promises that he cannot execute. It is a fundamental error, and one widely held, that a clever negotiator must be a master of deceit. Deceit is, indeed, the measure of smallness of mind of him who uses it ; it proves that he does not possess sufficient intelligence to achieve results by just and reasonable means."

It may be possible for some diplomats to fool some others for some time but surely, diplomatic negotiations cannot be fruitful unless they create solid and durable relations. And the achievement of international stability is and must remain one of the principal objectives of diplomacy. As Harold Nicolson has observed, "If truthfulness be the first essential in the ideal diplomatist, the second essential is precision. By this is meant not merely intellectual accuracy but moral accuracy. The negotiator should be accurate both in mind and soul."

Not that diplomacy does not require tact and adaptability combined with shrewdness, a judgment born of experience that could choose suitable means for realizing objectives, immediate and remote. Diplomacy by its very definition means the art of securing advantages without arousing hostility. Political means must be consistent with our capacity if they are to meet our needs. Ends and means must be balanced, and objectives co-ordinated with powers. Idealism divorced from a sense of rationality is apt to become vacuous even as realism bereft of moral values is the doctrine of barbarism. To maintain and practise moral principles in world affairs is difficult but not impossible ; the sloppy sentimentalist denies the difficulty while the dogmatic realist rejects the possibility. The path of history is strewn, it is true, with broken pledges and torn treaties, with sordid acts of faithlessness and aggression, with conquest and exploitation. But the story of man is not simply "a tale of sound and fury signifying nothing." It has also been the way of sweat and toil, of selfless heroism and noble sacrifices, of dedication and great spiritual heights. Let us not forget the light when we feel dejected by the shadows and the darkness. The road to a better, new world is not by any means through a shortcut ; it is a long and dreary uphill trail covered with thorns and pebbles, and on whose high plateaus we every time see a higher peak ahead of us which we have still to ascend. Only in heaven, said Bernard Shaw, there is no danger. Nor, perhaps, striving and dreams.

A heavy responsibility rests now-a-days on any one who represents his country abroad. His task is far more difficult since he has to be acquainted with complex forces which cover economic, social and even technical matters. An ambassador does not formulate the foreign policy of his country although

his opinion, if it is informed and disinterested, can and should carry weight in moulding that policy. It is his duty to represent his country in its multifarious phases and facets—its political approach, social tradition, economic activities and cultural heritage. He has to maintain the reputation and prestige of his country; for, in these days, he represents more than a state, he represents a way of life especially when he comes from a land whose customs and manners are entirely different from the one in which he serves. "Ambassadors," said Demosthenes long ago, "have no battleships at their disposal or heavy infantry or fortresses; their weapons are words and opportunities. In important transactions opportunities are fleeting; once they are missed, they cannot be recovered." It is also the obligation of a diplomat to represent the views and feelings of the country to which he is accredited to his own government. This he should do honestly and dispassionately. The temptation to say what pleases and flatters the Foreign Ministry at home is constant, particularly where disinterested advice and objective thinking are not welcomed and encouraged. Equally, the desire to ingratiate oneself with the government and people of the country where one is accredited is not proper. A man in diplomatic service, if he has been for a long time in one country or is susceptible to flattery or has the weakness of personal vanity, tends to identify himself after a time with the country where he is posted rather than with his own land. He should never forget that he *represents* his country and its government. While it is true that one of the important functions of an ambassador is to maintain amicable relations with a foreign government and create goodwill for his own country, it is not the sole purpose of his activity. He has also the obligation to safeguard the interests of his own country.

Before I left my country on my present assignment, I read a journalistic axiom that diplomats like little children should be seen and not heard. I quoted this wise saying in some of my speeches, which quotation people enjoyed without fortunately realising the contradiction between my saying this and yet making speeches! In the Middle Ages, however, ambassadors were known as "resident orators." Hence, even before the invention of the printing press, not to mention the radio and television as mass media of communications,

diplomatic representatives were presumed to know how to speak, what to speak and when to speak, and when not to. Discretion of speech is, indeed, more important than eloquence. But, as the poet said, "words like nature half reveal and half conceal the soul within." And so, it is expected of diplomats that they speak without disclosing their mind or betraying their secrets. Or, as a wag has put it, "a diplomat thinks twice before saying nothing."

But if the solemn injunction of silence was at any time enjoined on diplomats, it no longer holds good today and certainly not in this country. The desire for information, the thirst for knowledge, the quest for understanding make continuous and heavy demands on the energies and time of Heads of Missions and their senior officers. Foreign Policy Associations, World Affairs Councils, different kinds of forums, Chambers of Commerce and Industrial Organizations, English Speaking Unions, League of Women Voters, Clubs like Rotary and Lions and Kiwanis, and numerous other organizations all round the country are keen to invite and listen to expositions by accredited representatives of other countries; and this is apart from press interviews and radio and television appearances. Americans are an articulate people who love to speak and to hear others speak. Silence may be golden but not in this prosperous land where they make you sing for your supper and mutter for your lunch. And, having been four years in the country and spoken to scores of audiences in several states, I should like to pay my tribute to the courtesy and informality of common men and women. In few countries, perhaps, are so many people so anxious to know something about a point of view different from or even opposed to their own, to ascertain from a person of another country what he thinks is wrong in their own outlook and policy. This is evidence not merely of intellectual curiosity but, when such curiosity is genuine, of intellectual honesty. We are all apt to become complacent and unctuous. Righteousness exalteth a nation, but not self-righteousness.

The question, however, is not only one of speeches and meetings. It is a matter of contacts with diverse sections of a nation spread over a vast land. The notion of cocktail, starch-shirt, stiff-necked diplomacy is obsolete and sterile. A disting-

uished Ambassador in Washington, D. C., remarked that there are two kinds of diplomats there—those who "stay put" who are fools and those who go round the country and meet people to whom the benefit of doubt should be given. I do not know who discovered cocktail parties and who made them an indispensable adjunct of diplomatic life. But I cannot help agreeing with those who hold that they are one of the modern social inventions for wasting time; by many they are more endured than enjoyed. Someone said that it does not matter if diplomats are weak in their head, they have to be strong on their feet; it depends, of course, which they use more! Social functions are useful for contacts, for gathering information, even for mere relaxation but they can be overdone; and unless young men starting their careers are careful, they come to regard their work in a foreign mission as a round of parties, dinners and drinks. No wonder, some countries have had a separate officer in their missions in charge of eating and drinking! Recreation is incidental and does not exhaust the functions of a diplomat.

It is the task of diplomacy to translate national objectives in terms of current relations through policies and measures no less than by attitudes. It has always been recognized that one of the primary objectives of diplomacy is to maintain peace. War, in the ultimate analysis, is a failure of diplomacy. Clausewitz's oft-quoted dictum that "war is the continuation of policy by other means" belongs to a pre-atomic age. Instead, nations have now come to recognize that war cannot be an instrument of policy, that force should be used only as a last resort and that even national defence is not purely a military function. It is true that diplomatic channels are used to defend and promote national interests and attain national aims. But this has to be done in a society of nations; policies have to be worked out in an international context. And that has to be done in a peaceful manner. No doubt, there are "incidents" between nations; there are misunderstandings, there is friction and conflict. But there are also modes for settlement, ways of conciliation and arbitration, appeals to a supreme judiciary. And finally, there is now the Charter of the United Nations which prescribes that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means and enjoins

the renunciation of force for such purpose. Every conflict is not a crisis nor every dispute a *casus belli*. Life, as poet Robert Frost remarked, is always a predicament. It is well to realize that international problems do not have ready-made solutions like quizz programmes or cross-word puzzles or mathematical riddles. I cannot help feeling that mass media of communications tend to over-simplify such questions and treat them in terms of stereotypes and symbols. Communication between different peoples is always difficult but the manner in which national attitudes and policies are presented for mass consumption tends to distort our vision. I hope I will not be misunderstood if I say that there is a democratic method of indoctrination even as there is a totalitarian one. Such techniques influence our thinking and tend to make us impatient in dealing with complex questions concerning different peoples and distant lands. It would, perhaps, be truer to say that there are international situations rather than problems; such situations may improve or deteriorate, and our attitudes and policies may influence them. But social movements and institutions are not propelled by some mechanical means subject to known laws and methods like steam in a boiler nor are unfortunate situations capable of being improved by some simple, efficacious remedies like aspirin for headaches. There are no permanent solutions in such matters any more than there are permanent alliances and enmities between peoples. Despite enormous economic wealth and vast technical power in the world today, we should recognize the strength of imponderable forces, the movements in the minds of men, even the element of chance in human affairs. We should seek to understand, as George Kennan, one of the penetrating thinkers of our time, has said, "the way in which diplomacy really works—the marvellous manner in which purpose, personality, coincidence, communication and the endless complexity of the modern world all combine to form a process beyond the full vision or comprehension of any single contemporary." Again and again, we learn from past records as we know from our own actual experience that interest, bias, personal equations, pressures of public opinion, and necessities of the moment all deflect our judgments and determine our courses. And yet we presume

to sit in judgment over one another and preach to one another. History even is no unfailing guide, for, as Burke remarked long ago, history teaches us not principles but prudence. And in this nuclear age, prudence demands nothing less than circumspection, humility and moderation. None of us has the complete answers or final solutions. All of us are striving to seek the objective of peace with social justice and individual freedom—the goal which has eluded mankind till now but which is a basic condition now for our continued existence on this planet.

MAKING DEMOCRACY SAFE FOR THE WORLD*

SLOGANS ARE very popular during war time. The doctrine of democracy, for example, which had lived a somewhat dubious life in unpopular radical newpapers in Europe and in dreams of visionaries all over the world suddenly became a fashionable cult in 1914 on the outbreak of the First World War. Hundreds of persons who had openly preached and written against democracy raised their hats at the mere mention of its name while aristocrats and imperialists led themselves to believe that they hated the Germans because they loved democracy. Even militarists and bellicose patriots refused to lay down arms until the whole world was made safe for democracy. Politicians who had denounced the " voice of the people " worshipped at its shrine. Making the world safe for democracy was proclaimed to be one of the primary objectives of the war.

But the peoples of the East were thrilled by this new gospel. They demanded that the principles of national self-determination and of self-government should be applied not only to the subject nations of Germany and the Triple Entente but also to the dependencies and colonies of the Allied Nations. The war gave a stimulus to national movements in Asia and Africa though the struggle has not ended even after thirty years. After the Second World War, many of the countries in the British Empire and the Commonwealth achieved independence as, indeed, did the Philippines in 1946. But there are still countries in Asia and the vast continent of Africa which are denied not only national independence but even elementary civic rights. After thirty years, the world has not yet been made safe for democracy either in the East or in the West.

The aftermath of the First World War was, indeed, an ironical comment on its objective. Within four years of the conclusion of the war, Italy was swept by an anti-democratic movement and within a decade, Hitler became the Dictator of Germany

* Address delivered at the Women's National Democratic Club, Washington, D.C. on November 9, 1953.

and Central Europe. Fascism and Nazism rose on the ashes of those who perished to defeat German militarism. And a revolution convulsed the vast country of Russia wherein Czarist autocracy perished but where democracy, as understood in the West, has been completely rejected. And, once again, the world had to go to war to defeat Fascism and establish those principles of freedom which give meaning and significance to civilization. But even after this victory over Fascism, has the world been made more safe for democracy?

It is clear that war, however unavoidable and inevitable it may be in some circumstances, is not a proper instrument for achieving social objectives. It is also apparent that despite what optimistic reformers had hoped, democratic dispensation has not succeeded as a guarantee of international peace. We must, therefore, look deeper if we want to discover not only how the world must be made safe for democracy but also how democracy must be made safe for the world. We must seek to understand what exactly *Democracy* means in the modern world, to ascertain how it can function efficiently and subserve the interests of the mass of people, and how it should satisfy the more enduring values of life. We must find out as dispassionately and calmly as we can what different forms the democratic system has taken, why it has failed in certain countries, and what modifications are necessary if its ultimate purposes are to be realized.

What, indeed, is democracy? It was Abraham Lincoln who defined the fundamentals of democracy in his famous address as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Democracy is, first of all, a form of government by which the ultimate control of the machinery of the state is committed to a numerical majority of the community. It does and should mean also a general condition of society—a compendious name for all those social agencies of which the form of government is no more than one. It implies sovereignty of the people which is to be translated in organs of administration and procedures of government such as universal suffrage, responsibility of the executive to the legislature, an independent judiciary, no taxation without representation and so forth. But democracy, after all, is more than a form or a doctrine. It is a matter of spirit. "Democracy," said Mazzini, "is the

progress of all through all, under the leadership of the best and the wisest."

What, then, are the prerequisites for making a democratic system succeed in the modern world ? It is evident that there should be wise and responsible and disinterested leadership. Democracy should not mean irrational worship of numbers or blind reliance on collective mediocrity. Leaders in a democracy have to lead by persuasion and example, not by intimidation, repression and coercion. Nor should the leaders be led. While being responsive to public feelings and responsible to public intelligence, they have to tell the people not what flatters their passions and feeds their prejudices but what serves their wider and permanent interests. It has been well said that the difference between a politician and a statesman is that a politician thinks of the next election while a statesman thinks of the next generation. It is when democratic leadership is weak and effete or corrupt and selfish that the public loses confidence in such leadership and faith in the system which governs them. Opportunists are always there to take advantage of such conditions. On the other side, unless there is a broad unity of purpose, harmony of interests and a certain measure of discipline and tolerance in various sectors of the public, representative government cannot effectively function. Nothing has hampered free governments so much as the grab for power and office and the cynical clash of rival interests ; no democratic system can succeed where a determined and unscrupulous minority can use force or anti-social means to serve its own ends and defeat democratic decisions. The result is moral chaos which provides opportunity for personal aggrandizement by ambitious individuals and cliques to seize the machinery of government. People in certain countries yearn for " benevolent despotism " forgetting that no despotism can be really benevolent ; firstly, because any one with irresponsible power and authority will always have the temptation to use it for his own ends and for maintaining his power ; and, secondly, because such despotism invariably leads to intrigues and corruption at the top and moral debasement all round.

No one claims for public opinion either sanctity or infallibility. We all know the shortcomings of political opinion,

vacillations of the public, the danger of substituting cant and rhetoric for objective presentation of facts and calm argument. We are all aware of the machinery of the wire-puller, the party tactician, the spoils-man and the boss. But we also know the high and stern ideals which actuated the greatest democrats of the world whether it be Lincoln or Gladstone, Jefferson or Mazzini. We all can lay our hands on the weaknesses of human nature which are the source of the faults of the democratic system since finally it depends for its success on the strength of human nature. But to make a mockery of it is merely to quarrel with human life. Heroic methods and short cuts are likely to have results often precisely the opposite of what is intended. When once the democratic method is abandoned, there is no knowing what forces may be generated. If you can destroy the case for democracy in twenty minutes, said a teacher of mine, you can destroy the case for any other system of government in five. A good enough answer lies in the witticism that it is better to count heads than break them. Democracy provides the necessary tools and equipment by which capable men and women with enough imagination, farsightedness and determination to face the inevitable risk of majority rule and a realization that the alternative of minority rule is still more risky, can secure what liberty is possible to individuals in a modern society despite the tyranny of nature, the weaknesses of human beings and the necessity for adjustment and compromise without which no organized life is possible.

I must at this stage sound a note of caution. While the democratic concept in the sense of the sovereignty of the people is fundamental, its forms and mechanism need not be the same in all countries. You in this country, for instance, have chosen the presidential system with separation of powers ; in Britain and Commonwealth countries the parliamentary system of government prevails ; in Switzerland, there is another system evolved according to the conditions of the country and suitable to her own needs. It is necessary to emphasize this point because there is sometimes a tendency to interpret the democratic system in rigid terms and equate it with only certain forms of government and administration which exist in some highly developed countries. Asian countries, for example, will have to evolve their own patterns of demo-

cracy. Their background, their traditions and culture, their economic conditions and ways of living are very different from those of the Western world. Their economy is based primarily on land, and the village is still a vital factor in the lives of millions of human beings. It is obvious that Western democratic institutions cannot be imposed on Asian countries. Transplantation of such institutions without the social and economic *milieu* might mean copying the obvious and the superficial while leaving out the essential.

May I pause here a little to tell you something about the way we have endeavoured to build up our own political system during the last six years ? The leaders of India devoted full two years and a half for the framing of their Constitution through an elected Constituent Assembly. At the outset, it was decided that India should be a sovereign, democratic, independent Republic and the emphasis was laid on the secular character of the Constitution. Composed as our country is of large sections of different religious groups, the Constitution guarantees freedom to every citizen to follow his or her own religion and the State has divested itself of all religious affiliations. There are today in India 43 million Muslims besides 260 million Hindus and another 60 million composed of other minority religious groups. In this Constitution, all Indian citizens have been guaranteed equal rights. It has also given statutory sanction to the social revolution brought about by our great leader Mahatma Gandhi in prohibiting untouchability in any shape or form. Undoubtedly, the abolition of an age-old practice will take some time but the important fact is that there is no such term as " untouchable " in the eyes of the law of the land and the efforts of all enlightened citizens are directed towards its speedy and complete abolition. This is an illustration of the synthesis between what we believe to be the essence of our religious teaching with the best of modern democratic principle and practice. One unique feature of our Constitution is a section dealing with Directive Principles of State policy. The only parallel to this, so far as I am aware, is a similar provision in the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland. These principles are meant to be signposts or guiding lights in economic and social policies ; they are not justiciable but they are meant to be objectives the Central and State Governments

have to keep steadily before them. These principles place emphasis on social security and economic improvement. The Indian polity is a federal structure. It is a written document defining the spheres of authority of the Union and its constituent units called the States. There is an independent judiciary to define and interpret the Constitution and resolve disputes between the Centre and the States. But owing to the conditions of the country, the Constitution vests residuary authority in the Centre; all matters not enumerated in the Concurrent or State Lists are deemed to be included in the Union List. The Indian federation is a flexible one and the procedure provided for amendment and modification of the Constitution is not cumbersome. It also arms the Centre with adequate power to direct all important activities according to a co-ordinated plan. A firmly based Centre is essential for consolidating the Indian Union and preventing fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies. Deriving its inspiration from the constitutions of other free countries, certain fundamental rights are embodied in the Constitution of India such as the right to equality, and to freedom, including freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, right to property and right against exploitation and for constitutional remedies.

Under this constitution, we have had in the winter of 1951-52, a unique experiment of working of democracy through the largest general elections in the world. Impartial observers acknowledged that the growth of political consciousness among the Indian people was remarkable and that the elections were conducted with discipline and decorum which is full of promise for the future. Out of a total electorate of 176 million people—larger than the total population of the United States—107 million people voted of whom 56 million were women. In our country, there is universal adult suffrage for all men and women above 21 years of age irrespective of caste, creed or colour, property or literary qualifications. Indeed, I might observe that India is probably one of the few countries in the world which recognized the political equality of women and gave them the right to vote without a feminist or suffragist movement. This confidence in the people of India was amply justified in the last general elections.

But it is true that the democratic system will have to face

many risks in countries which have become independent and achieved self-government. There is no reason why they should not evolve their own peculiar forms of government and administration. More than that, they might, in the initial stages, adopt policies and measures which may not be to the liking of the powerful nations of the world. Some of them, for example, may become ultra-nationalistic, as indeed, have some countries in Europe on the morrow of independence. Others may choose more radical and " leftist " policies which may be detrimental to certain vested interests in such territories. But such risks have to be taken if self-government is to be a fact and not a fiction. If parliamentary or democratic system in such countries is stifled on the ground that it does not meet with the wishes of some dominant countries or powerful interests, the result will be that the discontented elements will try extra-constitutional methods to achieve their ends. For, democracy is not only for the good of the people, it is for the satisfaction of the people.

Indeed, there is a deeper reason why political democracy has been found inadequate. Modern development has awakened in the masses the consciousness of their own strength and a growing resolution to use it for new purposes of their own. Of the Four Freedoms which President Roosevelt proclaimed as the objectives of democracies, " freedom of speech " and " freedom of worship " are not so difficult of achievement in the free world. But " freedom from fear " and " freedom from want " still elude us. Fear is a sign of slavishness, said our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi : and the secret of liberty is courage. Those who live in fear of the coming war or social revolution or loss of their wealth and privileges are not really free at heart. " Cowards," said Shakespeare, " die many times before their death." Until we can create a world in which men, women and children move about without fear and with love and joy and hope in their hearts, we shall not have created a truly free, civilized and democratic society.

And, today, " freedom from want " is enjoyed only by a few nations and classes. We have poverty which is humiliating and obnoxious in the twentieth century world of plenty. Fifteen of the poorest countries of the world where more than 50 per cent of the world's people live have less than 9 per cent of its total

income. Economic freedom means the right to work, the right to choose and change a job, it implies equality of opportunity and a certain measure of social security. There cannot be true democratic freedom where rights are not based on the performance of service, where privileges are founded on birth and heredity rather than on merit and work, and where gross disparities of income and wealth persist. Economic inequalities are incompatible with a unity of interest which is fundamental in a democracy. A society which perpetuates them is bound to deny freedom. Free enterprise has, after all, to stand the test of public good. Unless democracy can, therefore, generate a social purpose, give a sense of unity and harmony and provide a method and technique for continuous improvement in the condition of the mass of people, it cannot survive, particularly in economically under-developed and backward countries.

For, it is not only democracy but the men and women who work the system who are on trial. As Bernard Shaw observed, " Democracy cannot rise above the level of the human material of which its voters are made." Democratic planning has, therefore, to be concerned not only with material resources but also the human element and, not the least, our own inner powers. We must restore the idea of quality in an age concerned with quantitative estimates and indices and figures. As has been well said, we must have the serenity to accept the things we cannot change, courage to change the things we can and the wisdom to see the difference between the two. If we must accept the inevitable, let us not regard the existing order as though it is the law of nature. Faith in the democratic way of life must be rational and positive and creative ; it must inspire us to function in a manner which is dynamic, not mechanical. The democratic way does not mean an acceptance of *status quo*, it only insists on the change being peaceful and on the transformation being achieved by consent.

Democracy has long passed beyond mere praise and blame. Disputations on its success are now futile. It is what it is. It is the only system left to be tried and if it fails us, we are politically bankrupt, indeed. Its own risks encompass it. The material power of wealth is formidable. The man in the street, like kings and nobles, has his own sycophants and parasites. The salvation of democracy, therefore, depends, in the ultimate

analysis, upon the education of the people in social purposes and moral values; it depends upon its best men and women who can tell them what they feel without passion and without prejudice. We should be under no illusions about a political system but we should not, therefore, abandon hope. We must realize the limitations of democracy but we must not exaggerate its pitfalls and drawbacks.

Our institutions depend on what we make of them. The forms of government are much less important than the forces behind them. Forms are only important in so far as they leave liberty and law to awaken and control the energies of individuals while at the same time giving them opportunities to contribute to the common good. "Democracy," said L. T. Hobhouse, the eminent British sociologist over thirty years ago, "is at best an instrument with which men who hold by the ideal of social justice and human progress can work but when those ideals grow cold it may, like other instruments, be turned to base uses." If, therefore, the democratic system fails anywhere, we have to examine not only its mechanism and its operation but also consider the ends for which all civilized government exists. We have, indeed, to search for a saner measure of social values.

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATIONAL IDEALS*

IN AN EFFORT to make myself familiar with various aspects of life in this country, I visited Harlem some months ago and brought back vivid recollections of the kindness which was shown to me by its residents; your courtesy and cordiality have made my visit to Fisk University, another memorable occasion.

This is a historic occasion as well, because I come here at a time when, through a momentous decision, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided to end segregation in American schools. The echoes of this judgment have reverberated not only across this vast country but also throughout the world, and have generated forces which will have far-reaching effect. The intimate connection between a democratic ordering of society and educational ideals has always been recognised, but it is significant how this forms the kernel of the judgment which the nine eminent judges of the Supreme Court pronounced. "Education," said Chief Justice Warren, "is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today, it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the State has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms." This weighty pronouncement has an import far beyond the immediate issue. It translates into practice the ideal of social equality which is the foundation of democracy.

I believe it was James Russell Lowell who once observed that the destiny of America was practically settled when it was decided to make education in this country not only common but compulsory. What we see today is a direct consequence

* Address delivered at the Eightieth Commencement of Fisk University, U.S.A., on May 31, 1954.

of that revolutionary process. Once again, an educational ideal is gradually working towards social and economic equality through the conscience of an awakened nation.

And yet, unfortunately, customs are known to fight stiff rearguard action ; they die hard, and, aided by the inertia of human nature, blunt the edge of reforms and impede progressive legislation. Caste systems, whether based on social order as in this country or on so-called religious precepts as in my own, do not disappear merely because they have been legally outlawed ; they change because their injustice and iniquity stand exposed and make it difficult for people to accept them any longer. This does not mean that legislation has no value, for good laws do help social reform and by means of punitive sanctions break down the resistance of the reactionary and the pusillanimous. They also give momentum to the ground-swell of revolution which keeps working silently in all societies.

Perhaps, I can illustrate this point by an example from my own country. The Constitution of India which was adopted in 1950 provides for abolition of the ageold practice of " untouchability." This was the culmination of a long and arduous crusade of Mahatma Gandhi during which he stressed that we could not claim freedom from foreign domination and exploitation if we ourselves practised humiliating tyrannies on the less privileged members of our own community. The so-called " untouchables " now occupy positions of importance such as ministerships in the Federal as well as State Governments ; they are equal and honoured members of our legislatures and national services. They are free to enter temples and clubs and schools and places of common resort, from which they were till recently barred. Legislative and administrative measures are being taken in regard to education and government service so as to help them make up for lost opportunities. And yet, in spite of all that we are doing to root out this evil, I do not claim that " untouchability " has been banished from India ; it still lurks in several places ; it still has allies in irrational prejudice and threatened privilege and unreflecting conservatism. But the government of my country is determined not to give it any quarter and our Parliament has under consideration legislation which specifically details offences against the citizens' right to freedom of worship and association,

and makes any exercise of ostracism in these spheres punishable by heavy fines or imprisonment or both. All this shows that the first successful battle in the domain of social reform does not necessarily ensure a final triumph ; the initial assault has to be followed by much hard and patient work and the victory of law which is the victory of reason has to be strengthened by education, public opinion and cooperative endeavour. The struggle for freedom and equality, for sweetness and light, for tolerance and harmony, is an unending struggle which gives point to the observation that the history of the human race is the " martyrdom of man."

Democracy demands for its maintenance eternal vigilance ; such vigilance is essential not only in the sphere of government but in the realm of ideals and of moral values as well. As an ancient country, we know only too well that nations do not continue to exist without effort on peaks of civilization once achieved ; they slide down into the darkness of the valley and have to begin the painful ascent over and over again. Take the field of education in which our traditions are as old as our recorded history. In the Vedic times, a child was supposed to have a symbolic " second birth " when it was initiated into knowledge by its preceptor. Our ancient teachers conducted school in sylvan surroundings under the spreading branches of shady trees. The beauty, the simplicity and the austerity of this tradition for a subtropical country like India was realized by Poet Tagore when he revived it by establishing his wellknown outdoor university called the *Shantineketan*. In ancient days, pupils stayed in the houses of their teachers for a period of twelve years which were considered sufficient for a knowledge of the basic texts ; to obtain a complete mastery, they often spent their whole lives in the *ashrams* of their preceptors. There were neither fees nor examinations and women had the same facilities for acquiring knowledge as men.

In ancient India, schools for elementary education were established in the villages and were generally attached to places of religious worship. In course of time, and under the impact of Buddhism, great universities were established in India whose fame spread throughout the civilized world and to which scholars, braving unimaginable hardships, came from all parts of Asia. Between the fourth and the eleventh centuries A. D.,

we had universities at Taxila, Mathura, Nalanda, Valabhi, Jagaddala, Mithila, Nadia, Odantapuri and several others. Of these, Nalanda, because of the full accounts left by Chinese scholars who studied there, is perhaps the most famous. Established around the fourth century, and therefore, ante-dating Padua, Paris and Oxford by several hundred years, Nalanda had attained in the fifth century a scholastic pre-eminence unusual in its own day and rarely excelled since then. Its majestic buildings constructed out of the endowments of merchants and kings were, some of them, six stories high and housed a total of 8500 scholars and 1500 members of the faculty. You will appreciate that they had achieved an enviable teacher-pupil ratio. Hiuen Tsang tells us that a hundred different subjects were taught to as many different classes every day and that not only was no fee charged from the alumni but they were also given, free of charge, clothes, food, bedding and medicine. On top of it all, the affairs of the university were managed democratically by the entire body of the students.

But more important than the mechanics of its operation were the ideals this education sought to achieve. One of our ancient sayings proclaims, " True learning is that which liberates "; that is, it frees one's mind in pursuit of the True, the Good and the Beautiful. Through an intimate and pervasive contact between the teacher and the student, this education aimed at the formation of good habits and the perfection of character. One of the ancient texts puts the matter succinctly by saying that " the teacher by drawing the pupil within himself as in a womb gives him a new birth." Although, because of the physical circumstances of the age, memorizing and a strict intellectual regimen were undoubtedly a part of this system, it went beyond mere attendance at lectures and advocated meditation, reflection and the self-realization of truths learnt in the class as indispensable elements of a complete education. It addressed itself more to the principles of knowing, to the roots from which all knowledge sprang, than to the mere content of that knowledge. It took within its ambit not only the facts of life but also the great fact of death, which the pleasure-loving materialism of our age invites us to shun and to forget. It was eager to understand the total content of reality and to study man against the backdrop of eternal

values. While the world of objects was important and had to be mastered, the inner self was even more important and beyond that was the ideal self which had to be realized through a long process of meditation and devotion. Thoreau who was deeply impressed with ancient Indian thought observed :

> " The sublime sentences of Manu [the Hindu law-giver] carry us back to a time when purification and sacrifice and self-devotion had a place in the faith of men, and were not as now a superstition. The Laws of Manu are a manual of private devotion, so private and domestic and yet so public and universal a word as is not spoken in the parlour or pulpit in these days."

The fundamental aim of this education was to enable men to discover the deeper meaning of existence and to achieve an inner harmony of self rather than merely attain worldly success through wealth and power. Men and women revered those who pursued knowledge and practised austerity and sacrificed possessions, and their purity and moral excellence inspired their numerous disciples and followers.

Through the vicissitudes of our history, we have unhappily lost many of these high ideals, and yet, as a great writer has remarked: " In the parliament of the present, every man represents a constituency of the past." The leaders of modern India, notably Mahatma Gandhi, have made us conscious of our ancient heritage. I do not wish to suggest that we have successfully lived up to these ideals and principles. Indeed, that has not been the case anywhere in the world. In a poignant cry in Bernard Shaw's *St. Joan* it is asked, " Must then a Christ perish in every generation for people who have no imagination ? " Again and again, we have to draw inspiration and derive strength from the thinking and teaching of great men and women whose lives shine through ages. This is all the more necessary now when the physical powers of man seem to be outstripping his moral sense and when weapons of war are becoming so terribly destructive that we must either reconquer ourselves or perish. We must firmly believe that rationality, tolerance, understanding, love are more effective and enduring than prejudice, hatred, fanaticism and violence.

I revert to our educational programme which would be of interest to you as evidence of our earnestness for national reconstruction. Our literacy at present is less than than twenty per cent and we are acutely conscious of the need to educate our unlettered but by no means unintelligent millions. Although we have thirty flourishing universities, one hundred research institutes and nine hundred colleges of higher learning, they are by no means enough to meet the needs of our people. The situation regarding schools is even worse because our existing facilities can cope with only 40 per cent of our children in the age group 6-11 and 10 per cent in the age group 11-17. There is, of course, a great shortage of trained teachers and of school buildings as well. Our educational system is not diversified and is heavily weighted towards academic instruction. There is inadequate provision for vocational training and for technological studies. But we are trying to overcome these difficulties by concentrating more on technical training and by diversifying the educational system. Our constitution requires that within ten years of its commencement, free and compulsory education should be provided to all children up to the age of fourteen. You will, therefore, see what a Herculean task we have set ourselves!

In our Five Year Plan of economic development, we have provided three million dollars for our educational development, but this sum is far from adequate for our needs. A large part of the contribution must, therefore, come from the people themselves. If I had time, I could tell you many inspiring stories of how voluntary labour and eager self-help have been responsible for setting up many school buildings in our community development projects which aim at refashioning life in India's 560,000 villages. We are, at present, concentrating on what we call basic education at the elementary stage, where according to a pattern set up by Mahatma Gandhi, instruction is grouped around and carried through one of the basic crafts. This has striking similarities with what is known as life-centred education in this country. We are also laying emphasis on education of women, education of adult illiterates through what we call social education and, in particular, on education of the economically backward classes and of our hill tribes. In short, as in this country, we are acutely conscious of the fact

that the framework of democracy requires the widest possible dissemination of education.

It is the deep, almost religious faith in democracy and progress in this country, which places a continually growing emphasis upon the right to equal opportunity. For, it is incompatible with democratic ideals to divide a community into the ignorant many and the cultivated few. The strength and vitality of democracies lie in their institutions ceaselessly striving for social justice. Under-privileged millions of the world cannot be regarded as free and responsible citizens so long as they remain in their present condition of poverty and illiteracy. And education is fundamental to this work of building a society " nearer to our heart's desire " wherein we have to relieve the misery of the masses and yet preserve the freedom of the individual. The warning uttered by H. G. Wells several years ago was never truer than today, " Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."

PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT*

WHILE I WISH to congratulate sincerely Dr. Park on his illuminating paper,† I have a grievance against him in that he has said very little with which I do not agree, and it is, therefore, difficult for me to make any comments in a spirit of controversy. And, after all, controversy is the very breath of discussion! All that I intend to do, therefore, is to supplement and amplify some of the points touched upon by Dr. Park.

In the first place, I think it is necessary to realize that it is yet too soon to judge the trend of political development in South and South East Asia. This is not only because countries in this region attained their independence less than a decade ago but also because of the international situation. What is called the " cold war " has in many ways affected domestic political situations and relations. For instance, soon after the attainment of independence by some of these countries, the local Communist parties tried to organize insurgent movements which, however, rebounded on them. A popular government having come to power on the crescendo of a national movement could not be easily upset and could rally public opinion. Moreover, the fact that most Communist parties are presumed to have affiliations with movements outside the country and are understood to take instructions from abroad, has weakened their position in countries which have just emerged from a dependent status and value their hardwon freedom. But, above all, economic and social conditions have influenced and are bound to influence profoundly political trends in these countries. Poverty, unemployment, low purchasing power, absentee landlordism, small holdings and fragmentation of land, dependence of economy on a few raw materials—these and similar conditions and problems intimately affect the political

* Speech delivered at the Conference on South and South East Asia at the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C., on August 9, 1955.

† The paper on this subject was read by Dr. Richard L. Park of the University of California (Berkeley).

environment. The difficulties of Burma in regard to disposal of rice, of Indonesia about disposal of rubber, the divergence in economic conditions between East and West Pakistan, the volume of unemployment in India are all issues which are far deeper than those of constitutional machinery and forms of government. The people of these lands will judge a political system by the manner in which and the speed with which it removes social and economic disabilities and ensures equality of opportunity. It is not necessary to be a Marxist in order to realize that economic conditions and social relations are fundamental in a political system. The community, in Prof. Barker's words, " thinks justice into existence."

We must, therefore, realize that political development in these countries even though democratic in character need not necessarily be of the same pattern as the Western types of parliamentary or presidential forms of government. While in Britain, measures of democratic reform followed the industrial revolution—indeed, universal suffrage might be called the product of the steam engine—forms of representative government have been set up in South East Asian countries although industrialization has yet to develop. Asian countries will have to evolve their own patterns of democracy. To broadbase the structure of representative government on a population that is poor and largely illiterate is by no means easy. There is the continuous temptation of preferring totalitarian methods and of exploiting the masses by forming popularly irresponsible cliques. We in India, however, have chosen the hard but straight path of democracy. Despite the warnings of pessimists and doubts of sceptics about the advisability of adopting universal suffrage, the Indian Constitution embodies this principle and the electorate has till now vindicated the trust reposed in it. Since then, we have had general elections in three of our states. In Travancore–Cochin, in the southwest of India, in 1954 the percentage of people who voted was 88.6, in the northern State of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) the percentage was 88.8 and in the more recent Andhra elections this year, the percentage was 74.9.* There has not only been widespread and

* Travancore-Cochin : Total electorate 4,426,253
Valid votes cast 3,889,836 (*contd. opposite*)

intense public interest but also a sense of discrimination and judgment on the part of the electorate which has surprised many people. No wonder, foreign observers have said that India has taken to democratic politics.

I should like to pass on to problems relating to national unity mentioned by Dr. Park. Although nationalism has been the vital force in these countries, there are racial and communal differences and regional loyalties which impede and hamper national unity. So far as India is concerned, we have a constitution which is fundamentally secular in character and recognizes no differences based on caste, creed, colour, race or sex. This is also true of Burma and Ceylon which have a Buddhist majority, Indonesia which has a Muslim majority and the Philippines which has a Catholic majority. Members of minority communities occupy not only important posts in our Central and State cabinets but also hold high diplomatic posts (the first Indian Ambassador to Washington after independence was a Muslim) ; they hold appointments in civil services as well as the defence services.* Special efforts have been made to assist the backward communities through educational opportunities and economic assistance. Because of its size and diversities, India has adopted the principle of federalism in its constitution which has three categories of power—Union, State and Concurrent. There has been in India a demand for States based on the linguistic principle, and a commission is examining the whole question of States' reorganization and is expected to submit its report next month. It is true that in the past, certain disintegrating tendencies thwarted Indian unity. But whatever the merits and demerits

PEPSU :	Total electorate	1,888,378
	Valid votes cast	1,610,909
Andhra :	Total electorate	11.5 million
	Valid votes cast	8.6 million

* There are 46 Muslim members in both the Houses of Parliament. There are two Ministers and three Parliamentary Secretaries in the Central Cabinet. There are 11 Muslim Ministers and five Muslim Deputy Ministers in the State Governments. One of the nine Judges of the Supreme Court is a Muslim. The Chief Justices of the Bombay and Bihar High Courts are Muslims. There are three Ambassadors and two Ministers who are Muslims.

of reorganization of States on a linguistic basis, there cannot be any question of a breakdown of government or administration since all the States are integrated in the Indian Union. The financial powers and control of the Union Government, the needs of modern defence and the demands of national planning would all tend to prevent any centrifugal tendencies. No doubt, India like other modern countries has and will have practical questions of coordination between the Centre and the States and of sustaining and encouraging local initiative and enterprise while maintaining national cohesion and the broad pattern of the national plan.*

Dr. Park has rightly referred to the need for leadership and discipline because a constitution is, after all, an instrument of the will of the people. I hope I can say without immodesty that the leadership in India since independence has been of a calibre which has not only held the country together but has been laying strong foundations for its future progress and has been setting it firmly on the parth of economic and social development. But Indian leaders want to lead, not to drive the people, to persuade them and not to coerce, to govern and not to enslave.† Let me also add that the transfer of power which took place in many of these countries was in the nature of a constitutional revolution ; it involved no breakdown of government or administration as happens after a violent upheaval. So far as India is concerned, the transfer of power has in some respects been taking place for over three decades both in the legislative and the executive branches. There was an administrative machinery, an efficient and loyal army, industry

* I am reminded of a saying of Lemmanais that over-centralization leads to anaemia at the extremities and apoplexy at the centre.

† "The Indian Revolution is slower, more subtle ; it offers hope for the future because it does not break with the past. India does not abolish, she modifies ; she is absorbing the ideas and techniques that the West offers, assimilating them into her own, mainly Hindu, tradition, creating a new synthesis which will in due course offer the world's under-developed countries a model of change without violence, of equality without terror.. The Indian political tradition values continuity, not the barricades ; properly constituted authority, not revolutionary legality." Article entitled "India's Revolution by Consent" in *The World Today*—Chatham House Review, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, June issue, 255.

and trade, civic bodies and municipal politics, and an educated middleclass. Above all, India has had a tradition of tolerance and compromise which are the essence of democracy.

I shall now pass on to the question of political parties. As Dr. Park has observed, parties which led the national movements in these countries head the governments because of their past services and their prestige, although this is not true of one or two countries such as Pakistan. Political parties in democratic countries have been based on divergent principles and are divided on important issues of policy. But, frequently, nowadays, many issues of foreign policy and questions of economic development cut across party lines even in countries where the democratic system of government has existed for a long time and, where, in the past, party controversies have been sometimes bitter.* It is recognised that in a country's international relations, there should, as far as possible, be a common or bi-partisan approach. Even in regard to domestic issues, the conception of what might be called a " welfare state " is broadly accepted by conservatives and socialists, republicans and democrats. It has, indeed, been suggested by some socialist writers that this is one of the reasons of the ebb tide in the fortunes of socialist parties in Europe. In countries of South East Asia, however, there has not yet been enough time to develop a party system in the sense in which it is understood in Western democracies. The national parties provide a broad platform for working on common lines. Except those who believe in totalitarian methods whether of the Right or the Left, various parties can and do work together for common constructive programmes of economic and social development. No doubt, there would be many differences of opinion and approach between different schools as well as personal rivalries for leadership. But since any party coming into office would be faced by the same problems of a stagnant economy, unemployment, low purchasing power, lack of capital resources, economic inequalities and social disabilities, they would have to address themselves to these questions irrespective of ideological doctrines, party slogans and pre-

* Reference might be made to an interesting article on the "Triumph of the Moderates" by William G. Carleton in *Harper's* of April.

conceived notions. As Prof. Harold Laski once remarked, those who speak of the Right and Left wings are apt to forget the flight of the bird. In India, the fact that the Congress Party, which was led for nearly thirty years by Mahatma Gandhi and has since been virtually headed by Prime Minister Nehru, is in a majority at the Centre as well as in all the States, has been a factor leading to stability, especially in the early stages of representative government. But this does not mean in any sense a one-party government. There are several opposition parties in the Central (or Federal) Parliament as well as in the State Legislatures ; there is a free press which is quite alert and there is an increasingly vigilant public opinion. So far as the Constitution is concerned, there are ample safeguards against any kind of oligarchy or denial of fundamental rights. Under the Supreme Court of India, there functions an independent judiciary. There are, no doubt, differences in approach to social and economic problems even within the Congress Party. This is unavoidable ; even in advanced democratic countries with a much longer tradition of party politics, such differences do exist ; we hear, for example, of the " liberal " and " conservative " wings of the Republican Party or the " conservative " Democrats of the South and the " liberal " Democrats of the North. Many people believed that the Congress Party would dissolve within a few years after the attainment of independence and that it would not be able to stand the test of a general election. But because of a leadership which is by and large sober, devoted and farsighted, and because of a general sense of discipline, the Congress Party is still active and will unitedly contest the general elections at the end of the next year.

While on this subject, I should like to mention some interesting trends. While the rightist parties, that is, those who do not accept fully the conception of a secular state or are not in favour of measures of social reform for the Hindu community made a poor showing in the last general elections, the leftist parties did much better which is not surprising in view of the poverty and economic hardships of the people. Nevertheless, since the general elections, the present Government has gained strength for a variety of reasons. Through the Five Year Plan, a sustained and concerted endeavour is being made to raise

standards of living and provide an element of hope which is essential for the survival of democracy. Revolution by consent is India's approach to realization of social justice. Community development projects have been India's answer to regimentation of rural life.

But that is not all. Contrary to forebodings and apprehensions that India's policy of non-alignment would play into the hands of the indigenous Communist Party, the expression of friendship by Soviet Russia and the Peoples' Republic of China have, if anything, placed the Indian Communist Party in a dilemma.* It can also be maintained that the part which India has played in bringing about a certain measure of understanding and harmony between countries and the international status which she has attained during the course of the last eight years have undoubtedly strengthened the Nehru Government.

Political institutions, after all, are a vehicle for the energies of the people, they are a means of the expression of " general will;" they are an instrument of social and economic forces. The democratic system of government is by no means perfect but its very imperfections are capable of scrutiny and improvement. There may be dangerous germs in the democratic body politic but there are also active resistant elements which do function and can counteract. Democracy can be successful if it is a living organism which can continuously come to terms with its environment. Or, one might meet the sad fate of the French nobleman who when told that the French Revolution had broken out remarked that he had decided to ignore it. We might, therefore, well remember Madison's warning that " any system of government, meant for duration, ought to

* *The Economist* of London in its issue of May 28, 1955, said : "The Communists' life is intolerable. On the international front they cannot criticize Mr. Nehru for being friendly with everybody when Moscow has no objections to this ; when, indeed, Moscow itself is busy making friends whereever it can. In regard to foreign aid, they are equally impotent. India gets aid from the West but it also gets a steel plant from Russia. On the domestic front, the wind is taken out of their sails by the talk of a "socialistic pattern of society," by land reforms and community projects, by loving care bestowed on handloom weavers, by equalitarian aims of the budget and the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee."

contemplate these revolutions and be able to accommodate itself to them". And the revolutions which permeate Asia today are far more complex and widespread than anything in Madison's time. For, the very foundations of our social and economic system are being challenged and democracy has to prove equal to that challenge.

INDIAN THOUGHT AND ENGLISH MEDIUM*

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE has been used by many Indians during the last several decades for expressing some of their best thought and deepest feelings. In fact, while the writ of Westminster no longer runs in India, the language in which the Mother of Parliaments conducts its business establishes invisible bonds of sympathy not only between the Indian and the British legislatures but also between our two peoples. I do not know if Bernard Shaw was right when he said that "England and America are two countries separated by the same language" but there is no doubt that India's participation in the Commonwealth of Nations was definitely facilitated by the fact that like other nations of that unique society, we too had imbibed from the same source our political ideals and democratic values.

One of the indirect though not unmixed benefits of British relationship with India has been the knowledge and spread of English language and literature. Our familiarity with these instruments of Anglo-Saxon civilization must remain ; for, as one of our distinguished elder statesman who was the first and last Indian Governor-General, and recently retired from the office of Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, has observed :

> "The Hindu Goddess of learning gave different languages to different peoples of the world. Why should we not claim what is our own ? The English people came here, and for certain accidental reasons, causes and purposes they left behind a vast body of the English language. Why should we give them back this thing ? The English are not entitled to it. It is ours."

This is a tribute which needs no comment. When I add

* Speech delivered to the English Speaking Union, at Washington, D.C., on May 19, 1954.

that all thoughtful persons in India regard English as our window upon the world and as a means of contact with scientific thought and technical achievements of the West, a contact, moreover, which we are anxious to maintain and strengthen, you will appreciate the immense significance which English has come to acquire in our eyes.

And yet, were it not for an accident, history might have taken a different road and our cultural pattern assumed a different complexion. This accident was the famous Minute on Education by Lord Macaulay, who, in 1835, wrote it for Lord William Bentinck and thereby settled the debate between the revivalists and those who, like the Indian leader Raja Ram Mohan Roy, desired a new mode of education in Western disciplines. Macaulay's persuasive rhetoric led to the decision which established English as a medium of education.

But I would not be truthful if I did not say that this has not been an unmixed blessing. It had been hoped that these educated Indians would go to the villages and carry back with them the torch of a new knowledge; instead, many of them settled down in the cities and became simply cogs in the imperial machine. Divorced from the masses, they began imitating the superficial aspects of English life and became a superior caste of gilded parvenus. The voice of an educated Indian of this type was, says Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the eminent Indian philosopher who is the Vice-President of our Republic, " an echo, his life a quotation, his soul a brain and his free spirit a slave to things." Only about 3 million out of 360 million people know English. It would take centuries to make India an English-speaking country even if it were desirable to do so. English cannot become the national language of India although it will continue to hold a special and important place in our educational system for cultural and technical purposes and as a means of communication with the rest of the world.

There is a brighter side to the picture, however, as many Indians quickly mastered the English language and made it an instrument for communicating their ideas. Many civil servants, judges and lawyers, and authors and journalists handled English with precision and perspicacity. Studying the works of Milton and Shelley, of Burke and Mill, of Jefferson and Paine,

these educated Indians conceived the dream of emancipating their country, of claiming liberty as their birthright. The annual address from the President of the Indian National Congress became a significant English publication of the year. Some of these productions were distinguished by literary merit and their high-souled liberalism has not been dimmed by time.

The economic and political uncertainties of India at the beginning of this century sent many an aspiring writer into the field of English journalism and away from the leisured profession of serious authorship. Through such journals, our writers could not only appeal to their English masters and show them how well they could handle a foreign tongue ; they could also appeal to the intelligentsia of the whole country for whom English had now become the sole medium of inter-provincial discourse. Into this world came Mahatma Gandhi, and in 1919, started a weekly called *Young India*, which till 1932 under this name, and from 1933 onwards until his assassination in 1948 as the *Harijan*, remained his channel of communication, not only with his own countrymen but with his innumerable correspondents throughout the world.

Gandhi's reputation as a politician and a saint has somewhat obscured his distinction as a writer in English though his *Experiments with Truth* (which is his autobiography) is widely admired. And yet his writings are studded with profound and incisive passages which would have sufficed to make the literary reputation of a lesser man. "The element which in men of action corresponds to style in literature," says W. B. Yeats, "is the moral element." If style is the man, then Gandhi's moral integrity, passionate convictions, and undying faith reflect themselves in his work. For, the secret of all great literature is sincerity. A person so consistently in search of essentials disdains all ornament, all rhetoric and verbal jugglery ; he uses words in their pristine purity and expresses himself in the simplest and most direct manner. Long and parenthetical sentences, the hedging by clauses, the advance and the retreat of meanings is not for him ; he must put all his cards upon the table and create an emotional impact by cleaving to essentials, by an absence of all artifices. This is precisely what we find in Gandhi as the following quotations will show :

"Strength of numbers is the delight of the timid. The valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone. And you are all here to cultivate that valour of the spirit. Be you one or many, this valour is the only true valour, all else is false. And the valour of the spirit cannot be achieved without sacrifice, determination, faith and humility."

"Let us not lose our way in the surrounding darkness of despair. We shall have to look for rays of hope not in the outward firmament, but in the inward firmament of our hearts. The student who has faith, who has cast off all fear, who is absorbed in his work, who finds his rights in the performance of his duties, will not cower before the surrounding gloom. He will know that the gloom is transitory and that the light is near."

There are no obscure corners in these observations; they are sunlit with the clarity of a master's vision.

The mantle of Gandhi is said to have fallen on Jawaharlal Nehru and not in the field of politics alone, because Mr. Nehru is a distinguished writer of English prose, although his vein is different from that of his political mentor. If Gandhi's style reminds us of the Himalayan peaks, unapproachable in their sunlit grandeur, Nehru's puts us in mind of a pleasant valley strewn with flowers and echoing with the music of invisible streams.

If politics and literature do not create a division in man's personality, I venture to suggest that some of the so-called complexities of Nehru as a politician will be understood by taking into consideration his sensitivity as an artist. He has frequently stated that he was a writer "only incidentally and accidentally"—the accident being his long confinement in jails where he wrote his three major works, *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *A Discovery of India*. All these books are, in a sense, a discovery of Nehru himself. In all of them, the drama of history, whether Indian and, therefore, partly made by Nehru himself, or international and, therefore, a backdrop for present events—the drama unrolls before the eyes of an interested spectator who is deeply moved by the misery and pain of life, but who,

like the Greek tragedians, has a profound faith in the dignity of man. His love of beauty, his subtle analysis of human motives, his ability to paint a large canvas with broad strokes as well as his exquisite mastery of detail, his keen sense of time and space, above all his "awareness of tears in all things human" make us realize how in Nehru, the gain of Indian politics has been the loss of English literature. Sincerity and passionate conviction bring to his writings directness and strength. An aesthetic sensibility and a virile imagination cast a glow upon his narrative and give it a sense of urgency and of unending quest. At the same time, his scientific training imparts to his writings a balance, a sobriety, an ability to see the other man's point of view. I cannot do better to illustrate Nehru's responsiveness to beauty against human wrong than by quoting the following passage in which he describes his brief escape into a Himalayan resort called Khali after the rigours of the Congress session in 1938 :

> "In the early morning I lay bare-bodied in the open and the gentle-eyed sun of the mountains took me into his warm embrace. The cold wind from the snows made me shiver a little, but the sun would come to my rescue and fill me with warmth and well-being.
> "Sometimes I would lie under the pine trees and listen to the voice of the wandering wind, whispering many strange things into my ears, and lulling my senses, and cooling the fever in my brain. Finding me unguarded and open to attack, it would cunningly point out the folly of men's ways in the world below, their unceasing strife, their passions and hatred, their bigotry in the name of religion, the corruption of their politics, the degradation of their ideals. Was it worth while going back to them and wasting one's life's effort in dealings with them ? Here there was peace and quiet and well-being, and for companions we had the snows and the mountains and the hillsides covered with a multitude and a variety of trees and flowers, and the singing of birds. So whispered the wind, softly and cunningly, and in the enchantment of the spring day I allowed her to whisper."

Perhaps the most tragic and stunning event of our times in India, or perhaps in the world, was the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January, 1948. Nehru had to break the news to his stunned and sorrowing countrymen on the All India Radio as soon after the tragedy as possible and the result was a deeply moving utterance which can rank with the greatest funeral orations of the past. Here is the opening:

> "Friends and comrades, the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere. I do not know what to tell you and how to say it. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him, the Father of the Nation, is no more. Perhaps I am wrong to say that. Nevertheless, we will not see him again as we have seen him for these many years.
> "The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many many years will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years later, that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present, it represented the living, the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom."

If I may now turn for a moment from the Indian writers of English prose to those who wrote English poetry, I am confronted with an array of names, beginning with the young Bengali girl, Toru Dutt, who died in 1877 at the age of 21 and whom Edmund Gosse called a " fragile exotic blossom of song " and ending with Bharati Sarabhai, a woman from Gujarat whose poetic drama *The Well of the People* has earned praise from discriminating critics like T. S. Eliot, E. M. Forster and others. The twin peaks in this landscape are undoubtedly Rabindranath Tagore and Sarojini Naidu.

Tagore wrote an enormously large number of poems and songs in Bengali, apart from plays, short stories and longer novels. He translated many of his poems into English and in 1913, published a volume entitled *Gitanjali* for which he

won the Nobel Prize. *The English versions do not have the enchanting music and the metrical subtlety of the original but he did bring to English literature a certain spiritual ecstasy, an exuberance of sentiment and colour, a delicacy of perception and a refusal to accept life-denying creeds, which were all new and which brought him a popularity in Europe that, I believe, was earned only by Byron before. Tagore conveyed to Western audiences with great charm and poetic fervour the wisdom of the East and published his lectures in such volumes as *Sadhana*, *Personality*, and *The Religion of Man*. He was well-qualified to be a mediator between the two camps because he was well aware of their shortcomings. The following analysis holds good today as it did at the time when Tagore made it :

" In the great Western continent we see that the soul of man is mainly concerned with extending itself outwards . . . Its partiality is entirely for the world of extension, and it would leave aside—nay, hardly believe in—that field of inner consciousness which is the field of fulfilment . . . It is because of this insistence on the doing and the becoming that we perceive in the West the intoxication of power. These men seem to have determined to despoil and grasp everything by force. They would always obstinately be doing and never be done—they would not allow to death its natural place in the scheme of things—they know not the beauty of compulsion.

" In our country the danger comes from the opposite side. Our partiality is for the internal world. We would cast aside with contumely the field of power and of extension. We would realize Brahma in meditation only in his aspect of completeness, we have determined not to see him in the commerce of the universe in his aspect of evolution. That is why, in our seekers, we so often find the intoxication of the spirit and its consequent degradation . . . But true spirituality as taught in our sacred lore is calmly balanced in strength, in the correlation of the within and the without. The truth has its law, it has its joy . . . When the harp is

* A poem from *Gitanjali* is given in Annexure I, p. 258.

truly strung, when there is not the slightest laxity in the strength of the bond, then only does music result ; and the string transcending itself in its melody finds at every chord its true freedom."

Sarojini Naidu was a poet of a different order although she shared Tagore's idealism and his passionate devotion to the national cause. She began by writing in the romantic vein but was advised by English critics to cease being a " clever machine-made imitator of the English classics " and to be a true chronicler of the sights and sounds and traditions of her own country. The poems which she wrote thereafter are vivid cameos of Indian life, spontaneous and melodious. Here are the *Palanquin-Bearers* carrying an Indian bride :

Lightly, O lightly, we bear her along,
She sways like a flower in the wind of our song ;
She skims like a bird on the foam of a stream,
She floats like a laugh from the lips of a dream.
Gaily, O gaily we glide and we sing,
We bear her along like a pearl on a string.

Softly, O softly we bear her along,
She hangs like a star in the dew of our song ;
She springs like a beam on the brow of the tide,
She falls like a tear from the eyes of a bride.
Lightly, O lightly we glide and we sing,
We bear her along like a pearl on a string.*

" The immense value," said Havelock Ellis, " of becoming acquainted with a foreign language is that we are thereby led into a new world of tradition and thought and feeling." Indians who have been led into this world have tried to assimilate it, until it has become a part of their mental make-up, an element of their cultural tradition. Perhaps, " assimilation " is an attribute of Indian genius ; our racial make-up, our social institutions, our philosophy and our religion have all

**The Sceptred Flute*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1946, p 3. Another poem by Sarojini Naidu will be found in Annexure 2, p. 259.

accepted synthesis of conflicting orders into a higher unity as the condition of progress and civilization. We treat the advent of the English language into our cultural pattern in the same way. When historical reasons compelled us to learn and to speak and to work and to think in English, we regarded it as only natural to use our new-found skill in a creative manner. There are Indians who write reflective prose and imaginative poetry; they write some of our philosophy also in the English language. We have excellent biographers, competent literary critics, novelists and short story writers, some of whose works have been widely acclaimed both in this country and in England and whose writings have been translated into several European languages. It has been said that the most difficult thing to learn is "humour" in a foreign language. But we have even some first-rate humorous writers in English and an English weekly of cartoons which can stand comparison with the cartoons of Low and Herblock.

Our need and desire to retain English as part of our educational curriculum was clearly demonstrated when a conference of professors of English invited by the Ministry of Education last year unanimously decided that this language should continue as a required subject of study in our secondary schools. Mark Twain once remarked: "My philological studies have satisfied me that a gifted person ought to learn English (barring spelling and pronunciation) in 30 hours, French in 30 days and German in 30 years." I do not think the average Indian student is as perspicacious as Mark Twain's gifted child. Our educationists, therefore, want him to study English in his school for at least six years. This, of course, includes spelling and pronunciation as well! The educated Indian of tomorrow will have to be a trilingual person, showing proficiency in English, in Hindi and in his mother tongue. Our knowledge and appreciation of English, will, we hope, bring fruitful results in the realm of the spirit and in the sphere of international cooperation. I leave this thought with those who are apt to exaggerate transient political differences, forgetting that the most valuable exchange between countries is that of ideas and aspirations, and that similarities of approach are more important than treaties of "eternal friendship."

Annexure I

From

GITANJALI*

The sleep that flits on baby's eyes—does anybody know from where it comes? Yes, there is a rumour that it has its dwelling where, in the fairy village among shadows of the forest dimly lit with glow-worms, there hang two timid buds of enchantment. From there it comes to kiss baby's eyes.

The smile that flickers on baby's lips when he sleeps—does anybody know where it was born? Yes, there is a rumour that a young pale beam of a crescent moon touched the edge of a vanishing autumn cloud, and there the smile was first born in the dream of a dew-washed morning—the smile that flickers on baby's lips when he sleeps.

The sweet, soft freshness that blooms on baby's limbs—does anybody know where it was hidden so long? Yes, when the mother was a young girl it lay pervading her heart in tender and silent mystery of love—the sweet, soft freshness that has bloomed on baby's limbs.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

**Gitanjali* (Song offerings), Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1946, p. 61.

Annexure 2

GUERDON*

To field and forest
The gifts of the spring,
To hawk and to heron
The pride of their wing ;
Her grace to the panther,
Her tints to the dove . . .
For me, O my Master,
The rapture of Love !

To the hand of the diver
The gems of the tide,
To the eyes of the bridegroom
The face of his bride ;
To the heart of a dreamer
The dreams of his youth . . .
For me, O my Master,
The rapture of Truth !

To priests and to prophets
The joy of their creeds,
To kings and their cohorts
The glory of deeds ;
And peace to the vanquished
And hope to the strong . . .
For me, O my Master,
The rapture of Song !

SAROJINI NAIDU

* From *The Sceptred Flute*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1946, p. 140.

TRIBUTES

AN HOUR WITH EINSTEIN*

ON THE FOURTH of April, 1953, I saw Einstein for the first and last time. The memory of this brief meeting I shall always cherish.

I went to see Einstein that Easter Saturday to convey to him our Prime Minister's invitation to attend the Indian Science Congress. He lived in a small, simple, two-storyed house in a tree-lined street in Princeton (New Jersey) about fifty miles from New York. My daughter Aparna and I drove over there. Einstein's house-keeper, Miss Helen Dukas, a courteous and gracious German lady who had been with him for twenty-five years, received us. At the top of the staircase, the great man himself greeted us with cordiality and kindliness. He wore a long gown which he always put on. His daughter Margot was with him.

Einstein rarely saw visitors. He led a quiet, secluded life with his books and notes and in the midst of his friends and fellow-workers. "I live in that solitude," he wrote, "which is painful in youth but delicious in years of maturity." But he was accessible to anyone from India. This, I was reliably told, was because of his deep respect for Gandhiji, his high regard for Jawaharlal Nehru and his affection for the Indian people.

For over thirty years, I had heard of and read about Albert Einstein—the man who had revolutionized scientific thought, the Nobel Prize winner, one of the truly great men that ever lived: the man who according to Bernard Shaw, was one of "the eight makers of the universe." (The other seven being Pythagoras, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler and Newton). And here was in front of me this intellectual Titan, now a slightly stooping figure with deep furrows on the forehead, dishevelled white hair, reflective and kindly eyes, a benign countenance. He radiated sweetness as well as light. It was not his dazzling brilliance that struck me so much as

* From *Saturday Review*.

his innate simplicity and kindliness. Whenever subsequently I saw his portrait or picture, I was filled with almost child-like delight. It thrilled me even to have a glimpse of him.

I told Einstein that our Prime Minister, the Government and the people of India would be immensely pleased and honoured to have him visit our country. I assured him that we would make all such arrangements for his comfort as were necessary owing to his age and delicate health. Einstein who spoke softly with a slight accent said that he appreciated the kind invitation and wished he could go, particularly because he had great regard for the people of India and for Mr. Nehru personally. He regretted, however, that it was not possible for him to travel so far because he was afraid that people would make "a lot of fuss" about him and he would not be able to stand the strain of the journey at his age. But he added wistfully, he wished he could go and live in India some time in future.

As soon as we entered the room, Einstein said to me that he was reading a manuscript of " a book on Gandhi " which traced the evolution of his thought and ideas. He explained that he had been asked to write a foreword to the book. He gave me to understand that the author was an American who was in military service but he did not disclose his name presumably because he had not till then made up his mind whether to write a foreword.

During that hour we were with Einstein, he spoke almost half the time of Gandhiji. It was evident that he had veneration and admiration for him and had also carefully studied Gandhiji's life and ideas.* He remarked that only India could have produced a man like Gandhi and Indians only could understand and respond to his message.

Einstein seemed to remember Poet Tagore whom he had met

* He wrote of Gandhiji :
"A leader of his people, unsupported by any outward authority : a politician whose success rests not upon craft nor the mastery of technical devices, but simply on the convincing power of his personality ; a victorious fighter who has always scorned the use of force ; a man of wisdom and humility, armed with resolve and inflexible consistency, who has devoted all his strength to the uplifting of his people and the betterment of their lot ; a man who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of the simple human being, and thus at all times risen superior."

in Berlin. Talking of Indian philosophy, I mentioned Dr. Radhakrishnan's works but he said he found it impossible to understand Indian philosophy. He praised Bertrand Russell's literary gift, his wonderful style of writing but did not say anything about Russell's philosophy. It seemed to me, however, that he had admiration for Russell's intellectual powers.

Turning to the world situation, Einstein said that it was hopeful and that he welcomed the change that was taking place. He remarked that one drawback of democracy was that it brought mediocrity on the top. But he agreed that dictatorship was no solution and was a worse alternative.

Discussing the characteristics of diplomacy and the impatience of some politicians, I told Einstein that Sir Oliver Franks, the former British Ambassador in Washington, had told me that some diplomats seemed to follow the dictum, " when in doubt, act ! " Einstein enjoyed this witticism immensely and laughed heartily.

In reply to my question, Einstein said that he was emphatically of the view that scientists should have nothing to do with the production of atomb bombs. When I mentioned that in a radio symposium in New Delhi, a British scientist had argued that scientists could not be held responsible for the eventual use of their discoveries and inventions, he observed that scientists were, after all, citizens and had moral obligations. To the contention that if one side did not carry on necessary experiments and did not manufacture such weapons, the other side would do so and have the advantage, he simply said, " that was not how your Gandhi looked at such a problem ! "

When I told Einstein that we were looking forward to that day as we were to see " a great man," he protested gently, " but I am not a great man ! "

Whereupon I said : " A great man, Sir, is never great if he thinks himself great. It is because he thinks he is not great that he is truly great. Our Gandhi never thought he was great. He used to say quite sincerely that he was like any other human being : what he did anyone else could do. Indeed, that is why he first practised his principles upon himself before asking others to do so."

" Don't please compare me to Gandhi," softly said the

savant: "Gandhi did so much for humanity. What have I done? It is true I have discovered some scientific formulas but so have many other scientists. There is nothing very unusual in that!"

There was in this no ostentatious simplicity, not the slightest tinge of pretension. It showed the innate humility of a noble soul, humility which enriched a dedicated life. And when he died, there was no big funeral and no oration. He passed away as silently and unobtrusively as he lived.

Throughout the interview, Einstein was most informal and cheerful, even jolly at times. He chuckled over his own witticisms and laughed heartily at one or two of mine.

It was a brief but unforgettable hour. I wished the principle of relativity could somehow have made it longer even while not wasting the eminent scientist's single second! Twice, since then, I was privileged to receive kind and appreciative letters from him which I deeply treasure.

When on the morning of April 18th, the radio announced that Einstein had died early that morning in sleep, the world seemed poorer. I am not competent to speak of his unique contribution to science nor how he changed our very conception of the universe. He was recognized as a scientific genius without peer in our times. He was revered as much for his great humanity and for his fearless search for truth as for his amazing scientific achievements.

Einstein had a spirituality that had nothing to do with rituals or scriptures. He looked into the mystery of space and time, he grappled with problems of mass and energy, he gazed at the wonders of the stars and the suns but he never lost his kinship with his fellow-men for whom he had deep love and compassion. He stood uncompromisingly for the freedom of the mind and detested tyranny and injustice wherever they prevailed.

As I remembered Einstein's thoughtful and benevolent face, his white dishevelled hair, his cheerful smile, I said to myself, shame—that such a man should ever die!

But even an immortal genius is in a mortal frame. He who sought to measure Time became one with Eternity.

HELEN KELLER*

HELEN KELLER has long been recognized not only as a heroic person cast in a superhuman mould: not only as one who overcame through incredible courage the triple handicap of loss of sight, hearing and speech, but also as a messenger of hope and goodwill to men and women everywhere. She has been an inspiring example of what a human being can accomplish through perseverance and faith and an unconquerable desire to seek and not to yield, to strive and not to surrender. Her forthcoming visit to India has, therefore, created widespread interest in my country and our Prime Minister has sent a message which I am privileged to read on this occasion:

> "I am happy to learn that Miss Helen Keller is coming to India. We have all heard of the noble work she has done in the United States and elsewhere and her presence in India will not only be welcome to us but will bring relief and solace to many in this country. I hope that I shall have the opportunity of meeting her when she comes to India."

It is not necessary for me to tell you that however great Helen Keller's achievement in the sphere of education for the handicapped, and in restoring to the blind the dignity of normal individuals, it is not in these spheres alone that her greatness can be properly measured. It has been aptly remarked that she has led the blind as well as the seeing to a new vision of life—a vision which embraces a more equitable distribution of material goods so that there is food for the hungry, homes for the homeless, education for the ignorant, health for the diseased and peace for all mankind. She has endeavoured to realize this vision because she believes in the unfolding of a divine purpose which manifests itself through sorrow and pain to ultimate perfection. Her faith has not been

* Speech delivered at a farewell dinner to Miss Helen Keller at New York, on February 1, 1955, on the eve of her departure to India.

a string of dogmas and beliefs but a substance that has wrought her life. It is of an order that moves mountains, or as she puts it : " Fate has its master in the faith of those who surmount it, and limitation has its limits for those who, though disillusioned, live greatly. True faith is not a fruit of security, it is the ability to blend mortal fragility into the inner strength of the spirit." This vision enables Hellen Keller to see the light of a brighter day even in the midst of darkness and gloom.

This reliance on spirit, on an " infinite sixth sense," which, beyond the limitations of the puny five " sees, hears, feels, all in one," this belief in the unity of life, this awareness that we are, all of us, " blind and deaf to eternal things " has sustained Helen Keller through a long and arduous life. These beliefs, may I say, have also been traditionally reflected in the philosophy of India and the East. And so I sincerely hope she will find a kinship of spirit when she visits my country as well as others in that vast region. This spirit cannot be described better than in Milton's lines :

> He that has light within his own clear breast
> May sit in the centre and enjoy bright day ;
> But he that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts
> Benighted walks under the mid-day sun.

Helen Keller will also find that we have a tremendous problem in respect of our blind who number two million, or nearly one-fifth of the world's total ; the incidence of 500 out of every 100,000 individuals in India is, with the possible exception of Egypt, unfortunately the highest in the world. The earliest homes for the blind were established in India in the reign of Emperor Asoka in the third century B. C. We had blind poets and singers who are famous through the ages. But in modern times, the first school for the visually handicapped in India dates from 1887. We have now fifty such schools, mostly of the elementary kind, where instruction is provided free. Recently, a large-scale blind welfare centre has been established at Dehra Dun (in North India) comprising a kindergarten school for blind babies, an elementary and secondary school for blind boys and girls, a training centre for the adult blind, a sheltered workshop, a teachers' training

department, a central Braille press and a Braille circulating library. Training is to be free at this centre and Government are providing board and lodging and clothes to the students.

Voluntary effort in India as elsewhere has played an important part in educating the blind while governments at the centre and in the states have given financial and other aid to charitable organizations. Now, happily, the emphasis is shifting from charity to a recognition of the right of the handicapped individual to live and to enjoy life like other normal citizens. This right involves a corresponding obligation on the part of society. Councils on blindness are being established in various states and at the centre, not merely to provide education but also to create opportunities for rehabilitation and, as far as possible, to eradicate the causes which lead to blindness. In addition to these measures, the Government of India remit customs duty on all apparatus and appliances imported by recognized public institutions for the blind and permit travel on the Indian railways of the blind student with his sighted companion for the payment of a single fare. Reduced postal rates for Braille literature have been in existence for a long time. The Ministry of Education at New Delhi also awards to blind students 30 scholarships a year for higher education and advanced professional training. Perhaps, you will be interested to know that we have a Member of Parliament who has a foreign degree and is totally blind.

I suppose it is well known that India has been playing an important part in the evolution of a uniform Braille script for the world. It was at the suggestion of the Indian delegation in 1949 that the UNESCO undertook this study and a substantial measure of international uniformity has been achieved as a result of various conferences. In accordance with the UNESCO's recommendations, we have evolved a common Braille Code for the principal Indian languages, which in itself is no small achievement ; fortunately, this Code can also be used in our neighbouring countries like Ceylon and Malaya. The Central Braille Press at Dehra Dun has already produced a number of Braille books in Hindi and some regional languages and it is now experimenting with the production of special games for the blind.

This brief statement is not made with any feeling of pride in our present achievement because we know how insignificant it is in relation to the magnitude of the problem as also in comparison with what is being done in this country and elsewhere. But I mention this to show you that we are acutely conscious of the vital importance of the problem and of the enormous task that lies ahead. The Social Welfare Board which the Government in India have established under their Five Year Plan of economic and social development is specially concerned with the work of rehabilitating the handicapped while the Plan itself is directed towards improving nutritional and health standards which, in turn, reduce the incidence of this disability. Preventing blindness is, therefore, an integral part of a programme of social reconstruction.

You are going to India, Miss Keller, at a time when there is a great ferment to improve the lot of the common people, the lot of those whom nature and social environment have not treated kindly. Your guidance and advice will be highly appreciated and welcomed by educationists and social workers, by government and by voluntary agencies; and your mere presence, symbolic of man's (or rather woman's) triumph over fate, will be a source of profound inspiration to all those to whom " wisdom at one entrance [has been] quite shut out."

HOMAGE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN*

I FEEL HONOURED at being invited to pay homage to a truly great man on an occasion which is enshrined in the hearts of all men who love spiritual grandeur and human freedom. I am grateful to the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania for affording me this opportunity which I regard as a high privilege.

Ninety-three years ago, on this day, Abraham Lincoln called this ground in Gettysburg where we stand, a hallowed place when he made that historic and moving speech in memory of those who had fallen here to save a nation from disruption. To millions outside your country—in Europe, Asia and Africa —this place is known and the memory of its dedication deeply cherished. This ground is, indeed, twice blessed. Hallowed by the blood of those who fell here and also hallowed by the great soul who stood here when he spoke in deep compassion of the tragic victory achieved and defined in immortal words the meaning and significance of democracy. The problem of freedom which Jefferson saw clearly in the first American Revolution, Lincoln saw superbly in the second.

Towering was the majestic figure of Abraham Lincoln, lonely and melancholy, who grew from the poverty and illiteracy of a countryside home to impress himself not merely on the mind of America but on the conscience of civilization as a supreme exponent of the democratic tradition of the nineteenth century. The story of America is of restless energy and ceaseless pioneering. It was in this tradition of seeking salvation on the migrant's road that Lincoln pressed on through Indiana from Kentucky to Illinois. He had an unbreakable conviction that man is the master of his own destiny and a faith in the future of his country which have made this land vital and dynamic. Lincoln evoked the very essence of the free spirit of America when he spoke here at Gettysburg.

* Speech delivered on the occasion of the commemoration of the Gettysburg Address at the National Cemetery, Gettysburg (Pa.), U.S.A., on November 19, 1956.

And yet what a sad irony it was that one who was a man of peace was compelled to participate in a civil war, that a man who believed in love and harmony had to face discord and fratricidal strife! But Lincoln knew that the ultimate sacrifice has to be made when there is no other alternative, and he faced the cruel choice with grim determination but with no ill-will in his heart. But Lincoln also knew that the ultimate aim of even war is not victory but peace. "Revenge appealed to him in vain." Lincoln's shrewdness and sagacity were only surpassed by his magnanimity. He longed for and strove for a union of America which was a union of hearts and minds and not merely of geographical boundaries and laws.

The words which Lincoln spoke at this place have been "heard round the world" all these years; they have inspired peoples and generated revolutionary fervor. His definition of democracy has shaped ideas of freedom and government. Today, we all recognize—or should recognize—that a free government means "government by the people, for the people and of the people." But when Lincoln gave expression to this thought, the world was just beginning to be dimly aware of the dynamic force of this conception.

As we look at a world torn asunder by suspicion, distrust and fear, and living in the shadow of terrible destructive weapons, we need more than ever to remind ourselves of Lincoln's message and to imbibe its spirit. But mere words and professions will not avail. As he observed at this very spot, "the world will little know nor long remember what we say here but it can never forget what they did here." It is for this reason that he asked that the living should dedicate themselves to the unfinished work for which men had laid down their lives: the work of liberation and emancipation not only of this country but of the world at large; for, as he said on another occasion, "the world cannot be half free and half slave."

You will, I am sure, understand if I am reminded on this occasion of the great moral leader of my land who, like Lincoln, was not merely a patriot but a spiritual figure, who guided and led the struggle of our national emancipation, and who, like Lincoln, fell to an assassin's bullet after the fulfilment of his mission and joined the rank of the world's great martyrs, Mahatma Gandhi.

There are, indeed, many similarities in the life of these two great men. Both Lincoln and Gandhi were brought up in strict religious discipline, both grew up in spiritual stature through dedication and service to their people, both held firmly and uncompromisingly to what they considered was the truth, both were peaceful men who did not shrink from sacrifice or suffering for a higher cause, both had abiding faith in God and led great masses of men through a long and hard struggle to success, and lastly, both were victims of fanaticism. But both now belong to the universe and abide where the immortals are.

THIS I BELIEVE

A PLEA FOR SURVIVAL*

DURING THE LAST five years and seven and a half months I have been in this country, I have addressed numerous gatherings of different kinds and at various places. But this evening, I find it difficult to express in words what I feel. I am deeply touched by the signal honour that such distinguished citizens of this great country have done me on the eve of my return to my country. I can sincerely tell you that this has made me feel more humble, more conscious of your generous sentiments than ever. What has been said about me indicates that truth may be a casualty as much owing to friendship as to enmity. I do not know in what language I can express my deep gratitude for what has been said tonight and for all that has been done to make this occasion what it is. It is a memorable event in my life which I shall never forget.

I should like to take this opportunity of paying my tribute to Senator John Sherman Cooper and the other distinguished Ambassadors who have preceded him as also to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker for what they have done and are doing to interpret Indian aspirations to the United States and promote goodwill and understanding between the two countries. It is a recognition of the vital importance of India that Ambassadors accredited there are selected with judgment and care by the United States Government. But I hope we may also take some credit for the fact that diplomatic representatives who have served there as well as officials working on technical programmes have become so devoted to India. Despite our limitations and failings which some of our friends never fail to point out, we must have some good qualities to win the valuable friendship of so many persons accredited in one or other capacity to India. And, believe me, this is done without any attempt on our part at indoctrination, let alone non-ideological conversion!

* Speech delivered at the Testimonial Dinner held in his honour by the National Committee at Washington, D.C., on April 30, 1958.

During the time I have been in this country, I have had nothing but courtesy and kindness wherever I have gone. The people of this country are by nature friendly and informal and hospitable; and, above all, they are generous. But their friendliness has been due in no small measure to the growing awareness of the significance of India and of a genuine interest in and goodwill towards my country. This does not mean that people in the United States always agree with what we say or do any more than we agree with all the attitudes and policies of this country or of any other. Free countries do not necessarily or always agree with one another but that need not preclude mutual esteem nor deter cooperation for common purposes. What is essential is not identity of views but community of aims: not conformity and acquiescence but comprehension, patience and tolerance. Surely, friendship if it is to be genuine and enduring should be capable of standing the strain of frankness on both sides. Misunderstandings arise as often because of a reluctance to discuss differences freely as owing to a tendency to magnify them out of perspective. Cordiality between nations rests, in the last analysis, on mutual respect. We do not want the cold war to be succeeded by a cold order of conformity and regimentation. It is the mark of totalitarianism to insist on conformity within a nation or between countries; those who have democratic values recognise that "freedom involves diversity." What we need for international cooperation are not satellites and camp-followers but partners and friends working together on a free and equal basis.

To be in Washington at any time would be a privilege; but to represent a country like India for the last five years and more in such momentous times has been something of an onerous responsibility as well as an unusual opportunity. It has been a truly rich and rewarding experience. I have frequently stated that relations between India and the United States began when in trying to discover India, Columbus stumbled upon America. We are, however, "pre-Columbus" Indians. I sometimes fancy that the tea chests which were thrown into the sea in Boston contained tea from India but I am told that that was not so. But by 1608, a company in Virginia was exporting iron ore to the East India Company at four sterling pounds a ton. And Lord Cornwallis, defeated

at Jamestown, became subsequently Governor-General of India. So, we had many ties even two centuries ago. But to turn from mundane matters, cultural and spiritual contacts developed between our two countries over a hundred years ago when Emerson, Thoreau, Walt Whitman and the Transcendentalists were influenced by Hindu philosophy and thought. Some of our great savants like Vivekananda and Poet Tagore visited this country. During our national movement, we had the sympathy and moral support of people in this country including many responsible persons in Congress and in the Administration. It was, therefore, only proper that the first diplomatic mission which was established by the national government of India after independence was in Washington. And the first foreign country which our Prime Minister visited after taking office was the United States. For the last ten years, our relations have grown closer in commercial, industrial, technical and cultural spheres and the area of cooperation has steadily widened.

The United States has been a pioneer in formulating and working out the concept of aid by economically developed countries to those less fortunately placed. The Marshall Plan and Point Four Programme are outstanding illustrations of this concept. In pursuance of this policy, valuable assistance has been rendered to my country in its plan of economic and social development. Such aid given whether by way of loans, grants, surplus agricultural commodities or technical assistance has been a marginal but a vital contribution to our endeavour for economic and social betterment. It is not merely the quantum of this aid that is important—although it amounts to nearly 1.2 billion dollars—but the spirit in which it has been made available. It has not involved any political commitments or extraneous interference in domestic or foreign affairs. Responsible people in this country recognize that such aid as has been extended to India has by and large been effectively used and that India has a co-ordinated programme of economic development which is being implemented through democratic processes. India's efforts and achievements in economic and social spheres are widely appreciated and public opinion is aware of the importance of India's development for stability in Asia and the cause of democracy.

This is neither the time nor the occasion to tell you all my impressions of the United States or deal with current international problems. But I wish to speak to you something which is uppermost in my mind about the most vital issue which concerns us—the issue of peace which in this nuclear age means nothing less than the survival of mankind. Now, what I want to say is not meant to provide facile solutions for our riddles. No one, indeed, has complete answers to our difficulties, there are no panaceas in politics. No one is entitled to adopt a superior posture or castigate others. No one can cast the first stone who has not cleansed his heart. We are all groping to find a way out of a complex and baffling situation. As Burke said, " We can never walk surely but by being sensible of our blindness."

The main danger in the international situation today is the unending, almost ruinous arms race between the great powers which unless it is controlled and eventually stopped by positive acts of statesmanship might lead to war and untold destruction. As Bertrand Russell said recently in addressing words to ordinary men and women—Americans, Western Europeans, Russians, Asians and Africans, " We are all in peril, in deadly peril, ourselves, our children, our grandchildren—not our great grandchildren unless we are successful ; for, if we fail, we shall have none. In comparison with this peril, all other questions are insignificant. What will it matter who was right and who was wrong when no human beings have survived ? " There is hardly any sensible person in any part of the world who does not realize the disastrous consequences of a nuclear war. But it is tragic that when there is such unanimity about the imperative necessity of eliminating war and resolving disputes by peaceful means, a wide gulf divides the powers and prevents a meeting of minds. The result is that neither side is prepared to make any agreement or arrive at any arrangement which would, in its view, substantially alter the balance of power based on nuclear weapons and missiles and military bases. This wide chasm is due to distrust and suspicion and fear. It is this distrust that should be reduced, this acerbity that has to be diminished if the risks of a nuclear holocaust are to be eliminated. For, under the impetus of this mutual distrust and fear which both cause and are caused

by the arms race, the objectives of diplomatic negotiations and differences between nations are lost sight of while bombs, warheads, rockets and missiles tend to become ends in themselves.

The basic point is not the quantum and nature of armament but the deep cleavage which, however, cannot be bridged primarily by military means. " Saturation " appears to have been reached so that each side is capable of inflicting overwhelming damage on the other. There is, therefore, no point in accumulating further nuclear explosives. When one can utterly destroy one's enemy in a fortnight, I confess I do not see much point in piling up still more arms so that one can destroy him in a week. There can be no such thing as a limited nuclear war. Small wars will inevitably explode into big ones once atomic weapons of any size are used. The side that begins to lose—or believes it is losing—will use bigger and better (or worse) weapons. Moreover, when there is an atomic stalemate, the deterrent ceases to deter since it is itself in a state of deadlock. Indeed, as past experience has shown, the security of one power may well mean insecurity for others ; and deterrents themselves have, in the past, become a *casus belli* or a provocation. Even those who acknowledge that nuclear war would be a catastrophe still believe and declare that if it does take place, their own side could win it. So long as people believe that victory even at a terrible cost can be won, the risk of war remains. For, although arms are acquired to prevent wars, an arms race might through accident or design lead to hostilities. No one has described the awful balance of power today better than Winston Churchill who said that " Safety is the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation." Even this balance of terror is not static because each side continuously tries to make itself stronger than the other, partly owing to fear and partly owing to a desire to get ahead. But absolute security in the present-day world is impossible of achievement and the search for "ultimate weapons" might lead to total annihilation, when guided missiles might fall in the hands of misguided men. The whole issue of atomic tests is not primarily a technical problem, it is a moral question and should be considered as such. Dr. Albert Schweitzer appealed only two days ago for a mutual approach

which would " concede to each other what moral capacity we have, " and declared that " we cannot continue in a situation of paralysing mistrust."

Force has become so destructive that for all practical purposes its utility as the final instrument of diplomacy has been seriously impaired. Indeed, violence, in a certain sense, has reached a *reductio ad absurdum* : for the very possession of nuclear weapons seems to have paralysed those who possess them since they cannot risk the consequences of their use. This was evident in the fall of 1956 in the Suez area and in Hungary. There is a Latin saying that between the guns, the law is silent. But the situation is now reversed : because of an atomic stalemate, the guns (or bombs or missiles) are silenced so that the law as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations and in diplomatic negotiations must speak.

The paramount need is, therefore, for sustained and sincere efforts to produce an atmosphere of mutual confidence. We should concentrate on our common interest of survival rather than on endless competition in producing more and more destructive weapons and faster and faster means of carrying them. " Let us by all means think for once not just in the mathematics of destruction " as George Kennan has said, " not just in these grisly equations of probable military casualties. Let us rather think of people as they are ; of the limits of their strength, their hope, their capacity for suffering, their capacity for believing in the future." We are prone to conceive of power in abstract terms, regard countries as entities and treat states as enemies. But let us not forget for a moment that the lives of countless men, women and children are involved in this suicidal race of nuclear arms. We shall have to exist even before we co-exist. We must assume the instinct of self-preservation on all sides. No country will be able to achieve world domination if there is going to be no world to dominate. Surely, it is extraordinary that an anxiety to see the human race survive on this planet should come to be regarded as visionary and impracticable! We are becoming one world in fear, let us strive to be one world in hope.

Man is conquering the air, harnessing the atom, mobilizing natural forces, reaching out to outer space. But while he thus seems to be acquiring power over almost everything, he

does not appear to have conquered himself. He cannot, so it seems, overcome selfishness and vanity, envy and lust of power, hatred and fear. Yet as Emperor Asoka said on the morrow of his triumph as he surveyed the battlefield strewn with the dead and dying, "True conquest is the conquest of self." We should, as civilized beings, learn to think in terms of harmony instead of victory, equality rather than domination, goodwill and not rancour. What avails our reaching the cosmos if there is to be chaos around us? We shall not be able to attain our own particular heaven above unless we remove the hells from amidst us—dire poverty, disease and filth, ignorance and crime, fanaticism and strife.

There can, indeed, be no peace in the world unless there is peace in our hearts. This is no mystical incantation, no inscrutable religious injunction. It is plain commonsense, a psychological fact which we cannot escape. "Real peace must always rest on peace of mind," observed Nietzche long ago, "while the so-called armed peace as it exists now in all countries is the lack of peace of mind which does not trust itself nor its neighbour and half from hatred, half from fear does not down its arms." How pertinent these words are even today!

As I recollect the awe-inspiring Grand Canyons which give a glimpse of eternity and speak silently of the transitoriness of life, or the radiant sunset on the Golden Gate which reflects a beauty that is immutable, or the rich colours of foliage during autumn in New England which illustrate vividly the continuous rebirth in nature, I have wondered how beautiful is this earth but how sad we make it because of our follies and crimes! And yet, for the first time in human history, science has placed power and tools in the hands of men which can eradicate gross poverty and drudgery, can make possible a varied and healthy life, which can enable man to work and to enjoy leisure, and which has opened out new horizons for exploration and new frontiers of knowledge. Looking at this grim contrast between what the world can be if only we will it and to what disaster it might drift, I was reminded of what someone wrote to Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War in another context, "How vain to have the power of God and not to use it Godlike!"

How infuse the goodwill and compassion and tolerance to make men use this power Godlike ? No 'ism' will avail, no doctrine show a shortcut. We want hearts warm enough to end the cold war and heads cool enough to prevent a hot one. We want science with humanity, politics with conscience, power with love. The way to peace is a hard and dreary one beset with many disappointments and frustrations. Perhaps, there has to be love and understanding between ordinary individuals even while statesmen and rulers grapple with conferences and argue about procedures and agenda. Perhaps, some simple, loving hearts have to change before the rest can follow. In a moving book, *A Bar of Shadow* by Laurens van der Post, John Lawrence, a brutally mishandled British prisoner of war, who wanted to forgive and save Hara, his Japanese jailor who had tortured him in prison, observes :

> " We may not be able to stop and undo the hard old wrongs of the great world outside, but through you and me no evil shall come either in the unknown where you are going, or in this imperfect and haunted dimension of awareness through which I move. Thus between us, we shall cancel out all private and personal evil, thus arrest private and personal consequences to blind action and reaction, thus prevent specifically the general incomprehension and misunderstanding, hatred and revenge of our time from spreading further."

But when Lawrence found that Hara had been hanged before he could reach him and be reconciled, he cried in anguish, " must we always be too late ? " And let us ask ourselves again and again, are we getting " too late " in our search for peace which has eluded men for centuries but which in this nuclear age has become the imperative of our very existence ? Time will not be invited to international confabulations but time will not wait.

THIS I BELIEVE*

THIS IS NOT a testament of faith nor an avowal of any creed. Life is too complex for any set formula or simple panacea. Besides, it is only very few great persons who can truly be said to have a philosophy of life which they not only preach but practise.

I have come to believe as a result of experience that qualities of mind are more fundamental in life than any doctrines; that feelings are more vital than formulas. In the ultimate analysis, it is how we conduct ourselves and how we behave that matters; not what we profess and enunciate. And our conduct depends on our mental attitude and our feelings—our convictions, our likes and dislikes, and also our conception of our interests.

No man can, in this sense, lay down the law for another. Each one has to formulate his own attitude and cultivate his own feelings. I can, therefore, set forth here only what I have come gradually to believe.

To me, peace of mind seems more important than exercise of power or material success. Let me hasten to add that this does not imply a cult of poverty or renunciation of worldly goods. It would be gross hypocrisy if I said so. What I mean is that I would not care for anything if I felt that I would not be inwardly happy by having it or being in it. We cannot live in harmony with others unless we are at peace with ourselves. This is no metaphysical doctrine, it is plain commonsense. Different people, no doubt, feel happy in different ways and in different degrees. Our own feelings of happiness might also vary from time to time and may change as we grow older. But fundamentally, we have to have sufficient inner harmony before we can achieve anything or even live usefully.

And in order to do this, we must not expect too much of

* Radio broadcast in Edward R. Murrow's programme "This I Believe," a series of five-minute broadcasts, in which men and women in all walks of life present their personal philosophies.

life. The world was not made for us though in our egoism we think so. We must, therefore, cultivate a sense of proportion about men and affairs. This sense of proportion would teach us a certain degree of self-restraint, moderation and even a spirit of resignation in respect of things which cannot be changed and must be endured. Out of such a sense of proportion must grow genuine humility and intellectual honesty.

We must not presume that whatever little we might have achieved is all the result of our own efforts. We might have chosen our parents wisely: some stray incident might have helped us; our education and the cooperation of others who work with us could have been valuable; and apart from the social heritage which has come down to us, conditions beyond our control might have been favourable.

I am all the time conscious of the fact that what little I know is insignificant compared to what I do not know; I am aware that we can, if we will, learn something from every one; and that we should be somewhat modest in trying to teach and preach. We should be less strict in judging others and less lenient in judging ourselves.

Above all, this sense of proportion is the obverse of a true sense of humour: a sense of humour which enables us to see the ludicrous in life and not to take life too seriously or give trivial things undue importance. I try and console myself with the reflection when anything goes wrong that things could have been much worse; if, for instance, a plane is delayed that it is better than an air crash!

Only experience can cultivate such an attitude, not copy-book maxims. And it can come if we do not fret and fume at the slightest provocation and do not exaggerate our own importance in the scheme of things. In other words, this demands a sense of humour. For, a sense of humour is derived from a sense of values. All human endeavour being short of perfection, we can afford to laugh at ourselves for our inability to achieve it.

We are for a brief moment in this world—beautiful yet sad. In this short time, we must make the best of it, not merely in the sense of enjoying what is best in it but also by spreading cheerfulness and joy as much as we can, by bringing some ray of hope to others. Life is too short, I feel, for quarrels

and intrigues, for bitterness and malice and hatred. I must confess I do not have the spirit of the crusader, the zeal of the reformer. It is enough if in the course of my own insignificant life, I can, to some extent, imbibe some of the qualities which I value.