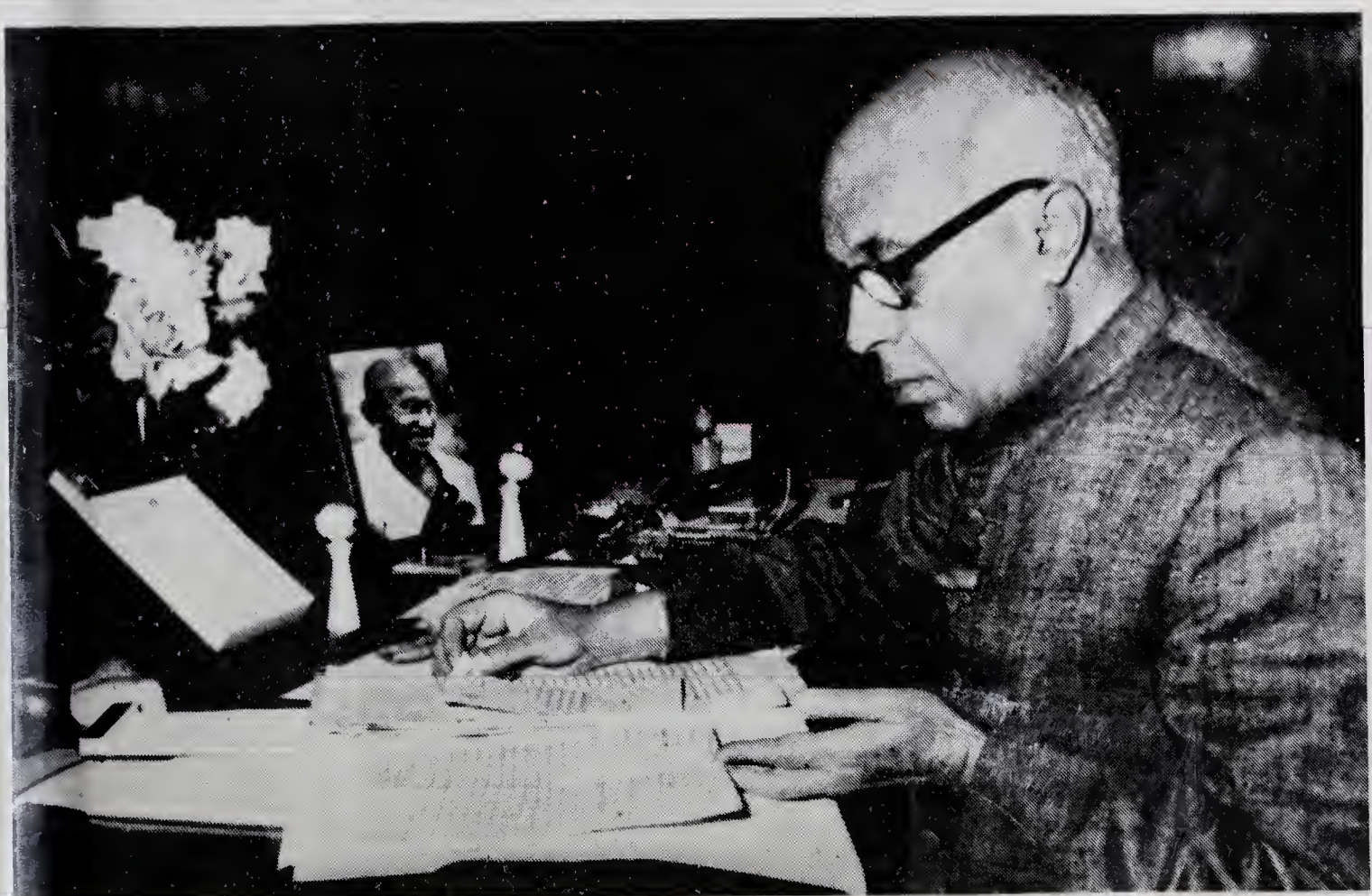


Jawaharlal Nehru

Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964

Volume 5
1958-1964



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The fifth and last volume of Jawaharlal Nehru's Letters to Chief Ministers covers the years from 1958 to his death on 27 May 1964. He regretted that he had not been able during this period to write with the same regularity as in the earlier years; but even so, these ninety-one letters are indispensable to an understanding of momentous events. The large-scale aggression of China in 1962, with the events leading up to it and the spirited response of India under her Prime Minister's leadership naturally occupy the centre of the stage. But there was no diminution of Nehru's interest in other matters; indeed he saw the picture as a whole and urged the Chief Ministers to recognize that India's development in all other fields had a direct bearing on the resistance to China. So he stressed the urgency of land reforms, educational programmes, cooperative farming, *panchayati raj* and greater productivity in agriculture and industry. Only a strong India, strong not just in military muscle but in economic strength and social morale, could stand up to the pressures of foreign expansionism. So too, in foreign affairs, it was shallow to abandon the established policy of non-alignment at the first threat of invasion. It was both ethically justified and tactically prudent to remain calm and defend independence without casting off the anchorage of self-respect. These years when the country was threatened from without and integration seemingly corroded from within show the Prime Minister in many ways at his best.

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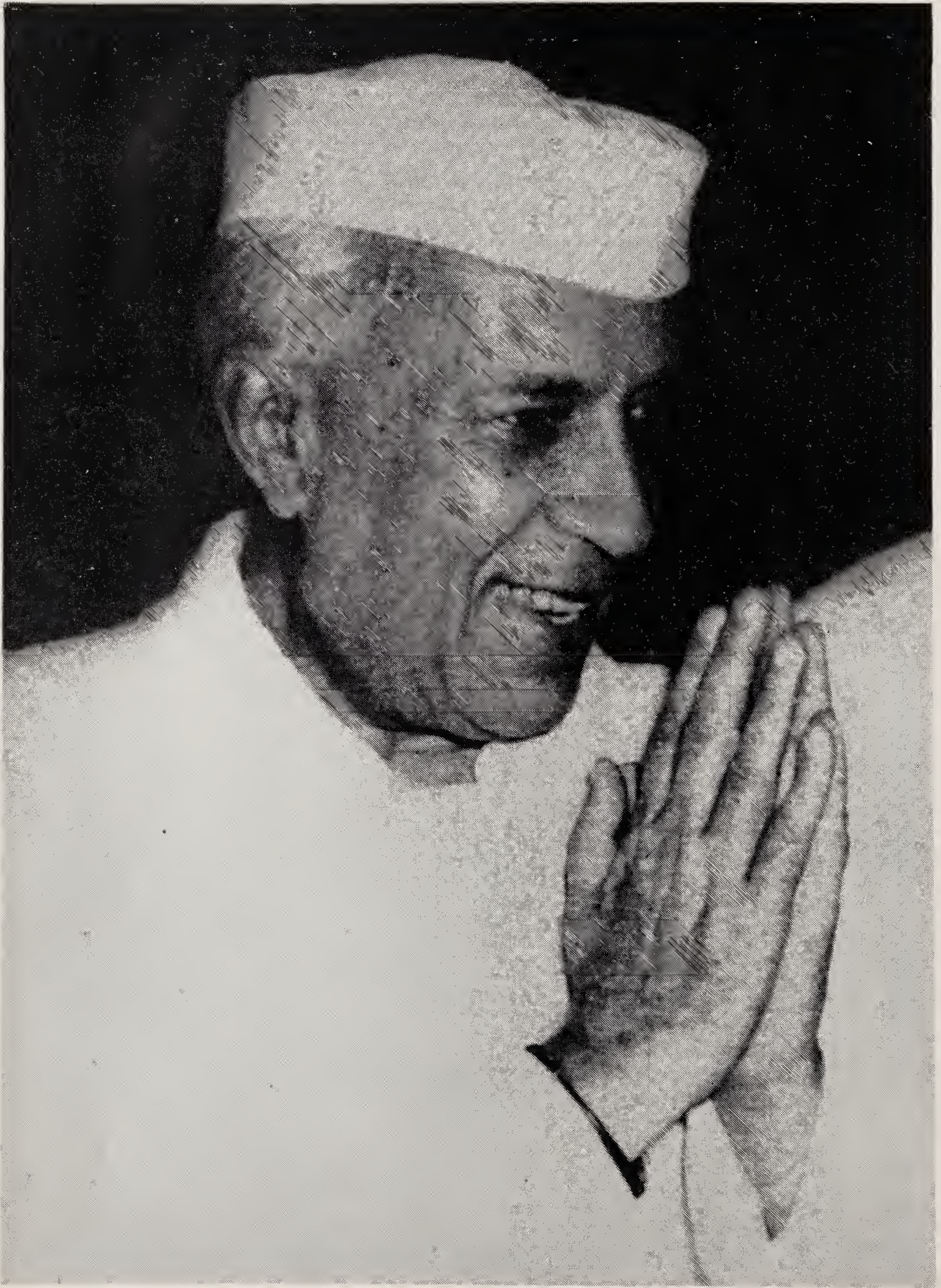


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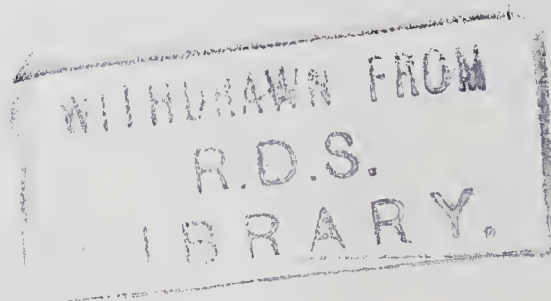
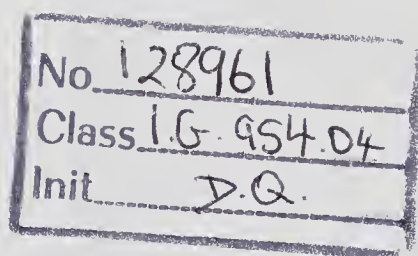
Letters to Chief Ministers
1947-1964

Volume 5
1958-1964

General Editor
G. Parthasarathi

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Government of India, 1989



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PRIME MINISTER

FOREWORD

The Indian Republic is built on the foundations of liberty and the sovereignty of the people. It believes that all decisions and policies should be actuated by the desire to lighten the burdens of the people and lead them to a higher level of self-respect and autonomy. In our system the state does not subscribe to any religious dogma. This grand vision of a nation growing in freedom is a legacy to us of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Our constitution itself is an expression of the democratic spirit that our freedom movement exemplified. Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in drawing millions upon millions of our people into that movement. He did it in spite of the prevalent illiteracy and the fact that in his day the media had no mass reach. The mystery can be explained only by the fact that Gandhiji's incandescent words came out from the depth of truth. The Indian freedom movement became the world's largest democratic movement because of the constant dialogue between the leaders and the people.

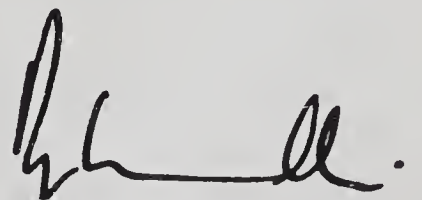
Jawaharlal Nehru shared his master's gift for communication with the people. He knew that a democratic mass movement gained inner strength only when a common set of ideals was shared, through the exercise of reasoned examination, by the largest number of people. It is in order to convince the people of India of the conceptual and practical soundness of his beliefs and courses of action that Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote so copiously and tirelessly. His three great books, the hundreds of articles he wrote, and the thousands of speeches he delivered, whether to kisans or urban audiences or intellectual groups, had this aim.

Naturally the habit continued when he assumed office. A prime minister, it is said, is the nation's prime persuader. Jawaharlal Nehru, as the first Prime Minister, was convinced that the task of building institutions and conventions, so vital in a democracy, demanded that he share with his colleagues his reasons for whatever decisions he took and courses of action he pursued. Change through consent and greater social justice were the theme songs of Panditji's prime ministership. He insisted that right ends should be matched by the right means. He wanted to leaven Indian society with the new ideas of political freedom and social equality. He was impatient to overhaul the judiciary, the civil service and other governmental and social institutions for meeting the demands of the new age. He set about using modern science and technology and the insights of socialism to overcome the problems of poverty. In the international field, he wanted resurgent India to champion the cause of all peoples who had suffered from colonial subjugation. He also wanted the message of non-violence and conciliation to go out to a world divided into rival blocs and threatened by the prospect of nuclear war. He sought the willing involvement of the Indian people in this great adventure. He devoted a great deal of time and thought to the letters he wrote to Chief Ministers once a fortnight expounding his ideas and aspirations.

These fortnightly letters have long been regarded as a basic text in nation-building and in open statecraft. But they had so far not been available to the general public. When the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund approached the Government with a proposal to publish them, the Government readily agreed. These letters reveal a great mind and a large heart at work. But I am sure they will also be a major source of education for everyone who wishes to work for a strong, prosperous and wise India.

New Delhi

November 5, 1985

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Rajiv Gandhi', with a stylized, flowing script.

(RAJIV GANDHI)

Editorial Note

The fifth and last volume of Jawaharlal Nehru's Letters to Chief Ministers covers the years from 1958 to his death on 27 May 1964. He regretted that he had not been able during this period to write with the same regularity as in the earlier years; but even so, these ninety-one letters are indispensable to an understanding of momentous events. The large-scale aggression of China in 1962, with the events leading up to it and the spirited response of India under her Prime Minister's leadership naturally occupy the centre of the stage. But there was no diminution of Nehru's interest in other matters; indeed he saw the picture as a whole and urged the Chief Ministers to recognize that India's development in all other fields had a direct bearing on the resistance to China. So he stressed the urgency of land reforms, educational programmes, cooperative farming, *panchayati raj* and greater productivity in agriculture and industry. Only a strong India, strong not just in military muscle but in economic strength and social morale, could stand up to the pressures of foreign expansionism. So too, in foreign affairs, it was shallow to abandon the established policy of non-alignment at the first threat of invasion. It was both ethically justified and tactically prudent to remain calm and defend independence without casting off the anchorage of self-respect. These years when the country was threatened from without and integration seemingly corroded from within show the Prime Minister in many ways at his best.

The editorial staff consisting of Shri Lakshman Dewani, as Associate Editor, Shri Sudhir Chandra Mathur as Research Officer and Shri U.K. Tewari as Production Officer began work on the project in November 1984.

Shrimati Soumya Ramaswami who joined as Assistant Research Officer in September 1985 left by the end of the year. Kumari Seema Srivastava and Dr. A. Murali worked as Assistant Research Officers between 1985 and 1988 and 1986 and 1988 respectively. Shri Tewari had left in 1987. Shri N. Rajamani has been working on the project as Assistant Research Officer since July 1988. Shri Ashok Kantha and Shri V. Ayyaswamy also helped at the time of the printing of the first two volumes. Shri N.C. Bali, Shrimati Kulwant Kaur and their other colleagues have also been most prompt and efficient in typing the manuscript for the press.

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Abbreviations

A.D.C.	Aide-de-camp
A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
B.D.O.	Block Development Officer
b. fn.	biographical footnote
C.E.N.T.O.	Central Treaty Organization
Col.	Colonel
D.M.K.	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
E.C.M.	European Common Market
G.O.C.-in-C.	General Officer Commanding Incharge
I.C.C.	International Control Commission
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
Lt. Gen.	Lieutenant General
Maj. Gen.	Major General
M.L.As.	Members of Legislative Assembly
M.Ps.	Members of Parliament
N.A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
N.C.C.	National Cadet Corps
N.D.C.	National Development Council
N.E.F.A.	North East Frontier Agency
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
S.E.A.T.O.	South East Asian Treaty Organization
U.A.R.	United Arab Republic
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
V.I.P.	Very Important Person

1

New Delhi
12 January, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

We have had a spate of distinguished foreign visitors and they have kept us in Delhi very busy. Among the latest of these have been the Prime Minister¹ of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Soekarno,² President of Indonesia, and Mr. Macmillan,³ Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. President Soekarno's visit was a private and informal one, meant to be for rest. The other two were formal State visits. We gave them warm welcomes as is our custom, and I think both of them appreciated this very much. The welcomes we gave did not mean that we accepted the policy of either of them completely. Indeed, we pointed out that in spite of our differences of opinion in regard to certain important matters of policy, we nevertheless wished to have friendly and cooperative relations. This was the essence of the policy of peaceful co-existence that we advocated.

2. These visits, and especially Mr. Macmillan's visit, coincided with Soviet approaches for a high level conference

1. Villiam Siroky. For b. fn. see *Letters to Chief Ministers*, Vol. 4, p. 206. He visited India from 3 to 16 January 1958.

2. Ahmed Soekarno. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 222. He visited India from 6 to 13 January 1958.

3. Harold Macmillan. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 220. He visited India from 8 to 11 January 1958.

to consider disarmament and like problems.⁴ In the course of the last few days, I have had three messages⁵ from Mr. Bulganin.⁶ One was in answer to the appeal I had made to the leaders of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.⁷ This was published in the press. Another message came soon after, which was largely meant to inform me of their viewpoint so that I could convey it to the British Prime Minister. The third message came two days ago. This contained an elucidation of the various proposals made by the Soviet Government recently and which had been sent to Mr. Macmillan⁸ and possibly to other Prime Ministers also. He sent me with this a copy of the letter he had sent to Mr. Macmillan.

4. Between 10 and 14 December 1957 Bulganin proposed to Heads of 82 U.N. member-States: (1) immediate suspension of nuclear tests, (2) creation of demilitarized zone in Central Europe, (3) signing of non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw treaty countries, (4) normalization of West Asian situation by renouncing the use of force and adoption of the principle of non-interference by all Powers, and (5) maximum economic, cultural and scientific collaboration between all countries. He also suggested a summit conference to resolve the cold war issues.

5. On 11 and 15 December 1957 and on 8 January 1958.

6. N.A. Bulganin. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 217.

7. In an appeal on 28 November 1957 to Great Powers to suspend all nuclear tests, Nehru said: "while man in his pride of his intellect and knowledge forced his way into outer space and pierced the heavens, the very existence of the human race is threatened." Bulganin, in his reply on 10 December, assured Nehru that the Soviet Union would stop nuclear tests and hoped that other countries also would do the same.

8. In his letter to Macmillan on 9 January, Bulganin feared that the danger of atomic war "will mount ever more" unless Government leaders meet "over the table." He drew his attention to the protests by the local populations in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen over the British decision to permit installation of U.S. rockets. He welcomed Macmillan's suggestion of 4 January for a "non-aggression pact" and assured him that "the Soviet Union had not resorted to and does not intend to resort to a policy of strength."

3. It is clear from all this that the Soviet Government is anxious to break the present deadlock and to have some kind of a top level meeting for this purpose. There may, undoubtedly, be an element of propaganda in this. But I have little doubt that this is not merely a propagandist effort, but is a serious attempt to find some solution to the grave problems that confront the world today. These problems are undoubtedly difficult of solution because behind them lies fear on both sides and neither side wants to take a step which might give some advantage to the other.

4. In order to get out of the deadlock, it is obviously necessary for the matters to be discussed between the rival parties, but big conferences are usually too formal and rigid for any successful outcome. The only real purpose they serve is to give form and shape to agreements arrived at informally and privately. Therefore, if a conference is to be held, as I think it should be, this will have to be preceded by informal and more intimate contacts.

5. I took advantage of Mr. Macmillan's presence here to discuss these matters with him and impressed him, both in public and in private, with our earnest desire for a step forward to be taken towards some peaceful solution. More than the words I used to him, the general atmosphere of India, which was friendly and yet strongly attached to peaceful approaches, affected him. What the final result will be, I do not know. But I think that opinion all over the world is progressively demanding with an ever louder voice that these problems should be discussed face to face by the principal antagonists. It is no longer good enough merely to criticize or condemn each other.

6. As you must know, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah⁹ was released¹⁰ from his internment a few days ago. He has now reached Srinagar. Ever since his release, he has given

9. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 8.

10. On 8 January 1958. He had been arrested in August 1953. See Vol. 3, pp. 354-364.

expression¹¹ to violent sentiments in regard to the Jammu and Kashmir Prime Minister¹² and his Government, the Sadar-i-Riyasat¹³ and India. He has attacked the Constituent Assembly of the State and the Constitution it produced. He appears to be on the war-path. Further developments will no doubt be interesting. It is unfortunate that he should behave in this manner, even though he might differ from us completely. What is still more unfortunate is that he appears to be appealing to communal passions. The Kashmir Government appear to be dealing with the situation calmly and yet firmly, and with some confidence.

7. Today, we had a meeting of the National Development Council, at which most of you were present. This meeting dealt especially with food production. The outstanding impression that I gathered from this meeting was of our failure to take advantage of the resources already available to us in various parts of India. There is a constant demand for new projects, and yet we do not seek to profit fully by the projects which have been completed. It is an extraordinary fact that, with the available resources, four million additional acres of land could be cultivated. A very easy calculation would demonstrate that, if these four million acres were cultivated, food production would be more than adequate for the country, and no question of importing foodgrains would arise. And yet, instead of profiting by

11. In his public utterances, Sheikh Abdullah had accused the Indian Government of practising "anti-Muslim" policies in matters of recruitment in the Army and the public services. He also said that Kashmir's accession to India had lost its validity after his dismissal in August 1953 and demanded holding of a plebiscite and termination of Kashmir's constitutional relationship with India. He also questioned the validity of the State Constitution as passed by the State Assembly which according to him had lost the confidence of the people after August 1953, and described some of his former colleagues as "betrayers" who had "usurped power."

12. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 89.

13. Karan Singh, For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 173.

what we have got, we yearn for outside aid. Surely, there must be something wrong about our approach to this problem.

8. In view of this situation, it seems to me that we must concentrate on taking full advantage of these available resources, and not hanker after new and costly schemes. This means making village irrigation channels and using water from the tubewells. The village channels should normally be undertaken by the community blocks with the aid of the village people. In many cases, they should not cost anything at all or very little. Even spending some money on them is worthwhile. In some areas of North India which have suffered from drought, some kind of help is being given in the shape of work. This work might well be the construction of these village irrigation channels as well as the repair and maintenance of tanks and minor irrigational works.

9. Then there is the important subject of soil conservation in which it appears the State of Bombay has done very good work. Also, model seed farms for the production of better seeds and green manure.

10. Another extraordinary feature of the information supplied to us is the tremendous disparity in the yield per acre in various States. The statistics may not be quite correct. But, nevertheless, the difference is too great and disturbing. The National Development Council decided to have this matter looked into closely, that is, an improved system of collecting these statistics should be devised, and reasons for this disparity should be enquired into.

11. Yesterday, the Head of the Soil Conservation Division of the U.S.A., Dr. C.E. Kellog¹⁴ said at a press conference at Dehradun that if proper soil conservation practices were applied to land in India, production could be increased three to four times to solve the food problem of the country. I

14. (1902-1980). Soil scientist; Chief of Soil Survey, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1934-71; visited India, 1958-59.

would draw your attention to “three or four times”, that is 300 to 400 per cent increase in five years. Certainly, we cannot bring about these changes suddenly. But the room for change and increase is very great indeed, and most of the steps which have to be taken to this end are relatively simple, though they have to be widespread.

12. All of us realize the urgency of this problem of food production. It is time that we realized also that the best way to tackle this problem is intensive methods and the utilization of existing facilities and resources. When existing resources are not utilized fully, the question of adding to these resources hardly arises, more especially when this involves very heavy expenditure.

13. This can only be undertaken effectively, I think, through the community blocks, and it is up to State Governments to utilize these to this end. It is possible, given the energy, the application, and hard work, to change the whole picture of food production in India. If this happened, as I hope it will, a new wave of strength, optimism and self-reliance would pass through the country, and the present querulous attitudes would disappear.

14. It was emphasized during our talks at the National Development Council that the approach has to be to the individual farmer whose targets of production should be fixed, and that the village *panchayat* and the village cooperative should be made effective organs to this end. I ventured to criticize the new tendency of grouping large numbers of villages together for a *panchayat* or a cooperative. The argument is that a village by itself is not big enough to work effectively or to have resources. Also, the people quarrel there and factions grow. It is not quite clear to me how factions will cease in a larger grouping.

15. Another baneful feature in this approach of large groupings is the growth of the petty functionary who is supposed to assist the *panchayat* or the cooperative. I have often written to you that the strength of our democracy must lie on the village *panchayat* and on the cooperative. Both the

village *panchayat* and the village cooperative will not flourish if they are officialized or if an official dominates over them, however small that official might be. I am alarmed at the growth of bureaucracy in India, especially in the lower ranks. This is particularly harmful in rural areas where the higher officials are not present. My conviction grows that it is the village *panchayat*, where people broadly know each other, that should be the base organization, and this should be given adequate powers. Similarly, it is the village cooperative that should form the base of the economic approach, and not large cooperatives with, no doubt, fancy offices and buildings and paid functionaries sitting in them. Even if the larger cooperatives and *panchayats* appear to succeed, they will not build up the right type of self-reliant and cooperative human beings.

16. We considered the Balwantray Mehta¹⁵ Committee report¹⁶ about community development scheme, and more particularly their recommendation for what they call, in unhappy language, “democratic decentralization.” There was general agreement in favour of this, but there was some

15. (1899-1965). Took active part in States Peoples’ movement in Gujarat; founded Thakkar Bapa Harijan Ashram, Bhavnagar, 1927; General Secretary, All India States Peoples’ Conference, 1928-47 and its Vice-President, 1947-48; Deputy Chief Minister, Saurashtra, 1948; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50, Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Chief Minister, Gujarat, 1963-65.

16. A study team on the working of the community projects and national extension service scheme recommended in 1957 that to achieve the aims of democratic decentralization (1) the local bodies be made responsible for all developmental activities except “general supervision, guidance and higher planning”; (2) better coordination between the Centre and the States be effected; (3) women’s and tribal areas’ participation in these activities be encouraged; (4) revenue, planning and statistical departments should act as a unified agency; (5) Block Development Officers be trained properly and their work evaluated; (6) more attention be paid to primary and social education and development of rural industries; and (7) cooperative societies formed at all levels and closer links forged between the *sarvodaya*, *gramdan* and community development works.

difference of opinion as to what the basic unit should be. The village, of course, will function. But, what should be the statutory unit? Some were of opinion that the block should be the unit, others that the district or zila. This is a matter for your consideration, and you will have to decide according to the circumstances in your State. There is no need for uniformity all over India. Indeed, it would be helpful to have various types of experiments. These new proposals, when given effect to, will practically change the present structure at those levels.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2

New Delhi
23/24 January, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

In another two days, we shall complete eight years of our Republic and Republic Day will be celebrated all over India. These celebrations are growing in importance year by year and becoming a notable popular event in our calendar. India is well known for her festivals, perhaps there are too many of them, involving a stoppage of work when work is most needed. Yet, all our festivals are occasions for popular rejoicing and so they are good. They relieve the drabness and monotony of life for our people and bring out the essential vitality and joy of life that is in them. Republic Day is becoming one of our great popular festivals now.

2. Delhi celebrates this great day in an impressive manner and becomes for this event, not merely the capital of India, but the heart and symbol of this great country. These celebrations become bigger and bigger and attract vast crowds. People from all over the country assemble here and an increasing number of foreigners too witness this great popular display.

3. During the last few days there have been preparations for this celebration and there is stir and excitement all over this old-new city. There are rehearsals and there is the tramp of men on the march and gallant cavalcades, and aircraft whirring and zooming through the sky. Above all, there is the moving sight of people coming from the far corners of the country in multi-coloured attire, and folk dancers dancing their way through the streets. The air is full of song and dance and laughter. This afternoon I went to the camp in Talkatora gardens of New Delhi where many hundreds of these folk dancers and other people from the distant frontiers

of India are staying. It was a sight which moved me greatly, for here I saw the thousand faces of India, all different and yet bearing the common impress of our land. They were full of the spirit of joy and in their great variety there was a unity and harmony.

4. On Republic Day there will be the great parade and hour after hour this moving pageant of India will pass by. There will be men of our Defence Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, the machines of war trundling by, aircraft swooping down from the heights and breaking the sound barrier, the Territorial Army, the cadets of the N.C.C., the Lok Sahayak Sena and the smart young sea cadets, boys and girls, marching proudly and smartly. The parade will gradually change its character and become a pageant representing the different States of India, the past and the present. School boys and school girls will follow in rhythmic array. Industrial workers, trade unions and others will join this noble procession. It would seem that the past was mingling with the present and the two, hand in hand, were going into the future. It will be symbolic of the hundreds of millions of India marching to that future which they are themselves shaping. Surely, there are few celebrations anywhere in the world more moving and symbolic than this parade and pageant of India on Republic Day.

5. The next few days will witness many other celebrations and notably folk dances, which have become such an important and pleasing feature of this week. We shall forget the problems of the world and our own difficulties and live in the excitement of India of today, dreaming of tomorrow. And then, suddenly on the 30th of January, we shall be pulled back, remembering the Father of the Nation and how he laboured and died for India. His message will ring in our ears and the call to action and dedication will come to us again.

6. That call to action is always there and it has never been so insistent as today. In the recent session of the Congress,

held at Gauhati,¹ this call was repeated forcefully and urgently. This Gauhati Session was notable in many ways and I should like to draw your particular attention to the businesslike resolutions passed there.

7. There was the resolution on the question of language² which had grown not only complicated³ but embedded in people's passions, and when an approach is made with prejudice and passion, even simple problems become difficult to solve. Some of our friends and comrades in the South felt gravely concerned and feared that they might be put at a disadvantage if any rapid change to Hindi was made for all-India purposes. We must understand their apprehensions which are not groundless. The Congress considered this question calmly and objectively and laid down certain directions which have met with widespread approval. I should like particularly to pay a tribute to our comrades from the South, from Madras, Andhra, Mysore and Kerala,⁴ for the cooperative and constructive approach they made. I should also like to pay a tribute to those who came from the other States of India for their helpful attitude. It was indeed

1. At Pragjyotishpur, Guwahati, from 16 to 19 January 1958, under the Presidentship of U.N. Dhebar.

2. The resolution declared that "the official language for all India purposes will have to be Hindi" but "the transition to Hindi would necessarily be gradual," and the continuation of English even after 1965 may be "in the manner provided in Article 343(3) of the Constitution" which envisaged that English may continue after 1965 for such purposes as may be specified in law.

3. The language controversy had become acute, more especially in South Indian States. In a joint statement on 1 January 1958 the Chief Ministers of Madras, Andhra and Mysore described the Language Commission's decision to discontinue English after 1965 as impracticable. See also Vol. 4, p. 625.

4. During the debate on the language resolution, K. Hanumanthaiya, S. Nijalingappa, C. Subramaniam, and R. Venkataraman, by their forceful plea for the continuation of English, succeeded in making the Congress resolve that the change-over should be "flexible and gradual." While Hindi should be developed and made acceptable as a "national language", it should not be "imposed".

remarkable that on a subject which had apparently created so much difference and controversy, there should be a unanimous resolution. I think we are entitled to congratulate ourselves and the nation for this broad vision which demonstrated the basic desire for unity in our country.

8. There was the resolution on international affairs.⁵ There was nothing new in it, but it was well that our firm policy was reiterated and clearly stated. I think that this policy and approach are being appreciated more and more in other countries and it is realized that the cold war method must give place to something entirely different. It is true that this progressive change in opinion is due more to fear of the consequences of world conflict than to goodwill. But whatever the reason for it might be, the effect is that the old rigidity is breaking down and everywhere there is a call for a more cooperative approach. The development of mighty weapons has created the basic problem of today. However strong a country might be, it cannot escape destruction in case of a war. There is virtually no defence against the vast destructive power of hydrogen bombs and when these are available to both sides of the conflict, only utter ruin and destruction can flow from their use. Perhaps out of evil may come some good and men's minds may be turned from fear and hatred to a realization that friendly approaches are not only good in themselves, but yield security and progress.

9. The resolution on Goa⁶ was a sad reminder that in spite of our earnest desire, foreign imperialism holds sway in a small corner of India and our political revolution of

5. The resolution, expressing sense of satisfaction and relief at the U.N.'s timely intervention in some developments which otherwise might have precipitated serious conflicts, called for an end to the cold war and nuclear tests; asked the big Powers to work for complete disarmament through negotiations; condemned racial discrimination especially in South Africa; and supported the Government's policy of non-alignment and its stand on inclusion of People's China in the United Nations.

6. The resolution deplored the continuation of Portuguese rule and the repression and ill-treatment of prisoners in Goan jails.

freeing the whole of India has not yet been completed. Hundreds of political prisoners lie in Goan jails which are notoriously bad. It is depressing to think that we cannot take any quick action to put an end to the suffering of our people there; and yet we cannot allow ourselves to lose our bearings and take some action in the excitement of the moment which would have harmful results. Like many other problems in the world today, this has to wait for a solution. But a solution there has to be and will be and that solution can only be the elimination of foreign rule in Goa.

10. The resolution on educational reconstruction⁷ reminds us again of a problem of fundamental importance, for it is obvious that our future depends upon the quality of the education we give to our people. There is a good deal of discontent both at the pace of progress and the quality of the education given. The discontent is justified and yet it is seldom realized what we have actually achieved. Education produces results slowly and mere haste does not improve the quality of it.

11. We have repeatedly declared in favour of Basic Education. This need not be of one type and the methods may well be somewhat different provided the national pattern is the same. Here again, we get held up not only by lack of finances, but, even more so, by lack of trained teachers. How can we have good teachers unless we treat them as honoured members of the community and provide for them adequately? How can we have good citizens if we only teach some craft or profession without building up the character of our youth?

12. We are making considerable progress in giving technical training to our young men and women. The demands

7. The resolution drew attention to the Avadi Congress resolution (1955) which had urged far-reaching changes in the educational structure in the country. It attributed unsatisfactory progress to the lack of direction and sustained effort and emphasized that education should promote "basic loyalties" and an "ethical approach". It also advocated improving the training of teachers and raising their status.

of our Five Year Plan require this. But it has to be remembered that a widespread industrialization requires not only some trained engineers and the like, but also some basic education among the mass of the people. Free and compulsory education came to the countries of the West because this was found necessary for the purposes of industrialization. The great advance in agricultural yields in Europe is due to mass education. Elementary education must, therefore, increase at a fast pace.

13. Again, financial considerations come in the way. I have long felt that we should reduce to a minimum the expenditure on buildings for schools. We should spend much more on teachers and on equipment. Buildings are no doubt desirable, but it is possible to do even without them; it is not possible to do without the teacher or some equipment. If we could save money on buildings, we could use it for other purposes. In Santiniketan, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore started classes under the trees. They were much more delightful and healthy than great structures. I found recently there that they have constructed some very simple structures, open on all sides with a kind of an umbrella at the top. These were attractive and quite useful. I wish very much that the rules and regulations laid down by our P.W.D.s were changed in so far as these schools were concerned and any kind of temporary shed or structure is allowed to be built. There might be a room to keep equipment but most of the teaching might be done in the open or in some temporary shed.

14. The P.W.D. with its fixed and rigid approach and its rather expensive ways for the construction of buildings, pursues us everywhere. I have been surprised to find that far away in the North East Frontier Agency, we have been building these solid structures for schools and other purposes, which are not at all in keeping with their surroundings or the way of life of the people. In fact, the tribal people do not feel at home in them. A building should have the quality of "neighbourliness", that is, should fit in with its surroundings. Therefore, our school buildings and other structures in villages should not try to copy the city model.

15. Then there were two other resolutions, one on the economic situation⁸ and the other on land reform.⁹ It is distressing to find that after the first spurt we made in abolishing the zamindari system, progress in land reform has been remarkably slow in many States. The Planning Commission goes on repeating what should be done, the Congress passes resolutions to the same effect, and more or less everybody agrees, and yet the pace is slow. All the world recognizes the importance of land reform now. In fact the progress of a country can well be measured by the structure of the agricultural economy of that country and the agrarian relations and the laws that prevail there. The great poverty and backwardness of the countries of Western Asia is largely the result of the continuance of feudal laws in regard to land. For us, this is not a matter of theory but of immediate necessity, because on the success of this depends our success in food production which is so vital. I would therefore beg of you to consider this matter as one of the utmost urgency and to give effect to our repeated decisions.

16. The goal of land reforms, it has been stated, is to build up a cooperative rural economy based on the village community. This means the removal of all intermediaries in land and the limitation of the size of holdings. The village community has to be based on the village *panchayat* on the one hand and the village cooperative on the other. These cooperatives have not only to provide credit to supply the

8. Noting the stresses and strains the Indian economy had experienced in the past year, the resolution held that these “are symptomatic of the pains of growth.” It called for a large measure of economic discipline and provision of better irrigation and other facilities to increase food production.

9. The resolution reiterated its goal of “land to the tiller” and a cooperative rural economy based on the voluntary association of the village community. It welcomed the *gramdan* movement and proposed its integration with the community development programme.

other needs of the villages. Thus they should be multi-purpose cooperatives and their size must not be too large, or else the members of the cooperative will not have that intimate touch which is necessary for them to work effectively. A cooperative is something much more than a business association. It is essentially aimed at the development of self-reliance and self-dependence as well as the spirit of cooperative self-help. It is meant to build up human beings of the right type. Thus a cooperative which depends on official help and guidance too much will fail to develop these essential qualities.

17. There has been a tendency to develop large cooperatives covering thirty or forty villages. I am quite sure that this is a wrong approach and that we must concentrate on the smaller cooperative which should not normally comprise more than two or three villages. I do not suggest that what has already been done in building up the large cooperatives should be undone at this stage. But I would like to impress upon you that this process must be stopped and in future only small cooperatives should be organized. These small cooperatives could then be linked together in unions of cooperatives, so that they may have the advantage of bigness in this respect. But the essential nature of the cooperative should be small and non-official.

18. You will have noticed that recently our community development movement and the *gramdan* movement came to an agreement¹⁰ to cooperate with each other to as large an extent as possible and integrate their programmes. This has been a happy development and should result in the spirit of community cohesion and self-help and encourage collective initiative among the people. All this however does not happen of itself. It requires constant and persistent effort.

10. This was formalized by Sarva Seva Sangh and the Ministry of Community Development following the resolution passed by the Gramdan Conference at Mysore on 23 September 1957. See also Vol. 4, p. 562.

19. I come now to the resolution on the economic situation. The title covers a vast domain. But the Congress resolution, rightly I think, laid stress on developing the internal strength of the country's economy. In dealing with this matter, special emphasis was again laid on agricultural production and more especially, food production. Need I tell you again of the urgency of this matter? I fear, I must, because I find still that this sense of urgency is lacking in many States and the Agricultural Departments of these States still move in a leisurely way, embedded in their old routines. It is on these Agricultural Departments that all depends. If they cannot vitalize themselves, then there is little hope for the progress of agriculture in that State. I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, but I would like to say that some States are doing well, while others are not. Bombay State is particularly good now. Andhra and Madras are fair. Bihar, after a long lapse, is looking up. Punjab, which has always been a good State because of the vitality and hard work of its people, has not been doing as well as expected. Indeed, I am surprised to learn that a large number of tubewells are lying unused in the Punjab.

20. There is one matter to which I should also like to draw your attention. There is sometimes a tendency for officers working for rural development to be frequently transferred, and so there is no continuity in the work. New officers come and take some time to learn what is to be done. Before they get going, they are transferred for some odd reason unconnected with the work of rural development. This is obviously a bad policy.

21. In the Congress resolution on the economic situation, you will find a number of positive proposals, listing a number of things that can and should be done immediately. I shall not repeat them. But I should like you to realize that it is in the measure that these steps are taken that the work of your Agricultural Department will be judged. All these are what might be called short-term steps.

22. I have often said that it is possible for us to increase our yield much more than even the target laid down by the

Planning Commission. Some people doubt this, but I am convinced of it. Naturally all depends on the sense of urgency and the hard work put into this matter. The other day I was reading of agricultural development in Sweden. Today Sweden is the most prosperous country in Europe and its agriculture is of the highest standard. Indeed the agriculturists, on the whole, have a higher income than those engaged in industry. And yet, after the First World War agriculture in Sweden was in a very bad way. But they adopted various policies and worked hard and brought about this tremendous revolution. Why should we not do likewise?

23. If we are to move ahead faster in agriculture, it will not be at the Secretariat level but at the farmers' level. That is why it is repeatedly stated that we must go to the farmer and even fix his target for production. If the farmers take a vital interest in improved methods of agriculture, the change will be immediate.

24. I would suggest to you to appoint a committee at the State level for the coordination of agricultural programmes. The Chief Minister should be the Chairman and the Ministers for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation and Irrigation should be Members. With this committee the Secretaries and the Heads of Departments and the Development Commissioner should be associated. The committee should review at regular intervals the agricultural programme in the State and the national extension service and community development areas in particular, and report on it.

25. The Balwantray Committee on community development has presented a valuable report which you have no doubt read. At a meeting held recently the Chief Ministers agreed to one of the major recommendations of this Committee. This has been described as 'democratic decentralisation'. However heavy and unlovely these words might be, the idea is obviously good, even though it may be given effect to in somewhat different ways. I hope that your State will go ahead with this.

26. The Balwantray Committee has laid particular stress on the maximum of delegation of powers from State Governments to Heads of Departments as well as from departmental officers to districts and below. Nothing is so frustrating as to be held up because of long delays in getting petty sanctions. Our old methods of work, both at the Centre and in the States, may have their virtues, but these virtues may become vices in a programme of rapid social and economic development. Great stress was laid on this in the Appleby¹¹ Reports.¹² The Central Government considered this matter afresh some weeks ago and we decided on as large a measure of devolution as possible. To speed up work, I hope that your Government will also follow this course.

27. We have discussed all these matters repeatedly in the Central Government and State Governments, in the Planning Commission and in the Congress. All these discussions point one way. The time has now come to give effect to our decisions. I earnestly trust that this year 1958 will see the rapid implementation of our resolves, so that by the time this year also ends, we shall have shown to ourselves and the world our capacity to overcome any hurdle and any difficulty. We have been promised substantial help by the United States of America.¹³ We are grateful for this, but all this help will not take us very far. The only thing that will make us succeed in our great adventure is self-reliance and hard work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Paul H. Appleby. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 296.

12. For the reports see Vol. 3, pp. 296-297, 413-414, 424-427, and Vol. 4, pp. 382-383, 403 and 438.

13. On 16 January 1958, the Government announced that the U.S. Government had agreed to discuss sanction of a loan of \$225 million from currently available resources of U.S. Export-Import Bank and Development Loan Fund. The U.S. Government was also considering measures to assist India to meet its grain shortages.

3

New Delhi
29 January, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I hope you do not think that I take up too much of your time by my letters. But my mind is constantly revolving round the various problems that we have to deal with and I have the urge to share my thoughts with you.

2. In my last letter to you I wrote, among other things, about education. I feel more and more that we cannot proceed at the slow and inadequate pace at which we have been moving. We have to speed it up. In the old days education was considered chiefly as an avenue to employment in Government offices. That approach continues. In addition, certain cultural development is considered necessary. That is also right. But in the problems we face today, industrial or agricultural, or other, it has become patent that some measure of education is essential for progress.

3. Everyone recognizes this for technical work. And so we are paying much more attention now to technical education. But even for the vast field of agriculture, education is necessary. This is not merely to show a certain measure of literacy but to improve the farmer and the agriculturist and make him capable of utilizing the new methods available to him today. Agriculture has improved greatly in Europe because the farmer is educated.

4. How then can we spread education, both in quantity and quality, so as to reach our vast rural population as well

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

as others? The present figures supplied to me are as follows. These are for the whole of India and are for 1955-56:

<i>Stage</i>		<i>Number of students</i>
Primary	..	245,11,331
Secondary	..	68,26,605
University & Collegiate	..	7,36,124
Total	—	320,74,060

5. The percentages are in corresponding age groups:

Primary	..	53.1%
Secondary	..	13.5%
University	..	1.7%

6. So far as States are concerned, the percentages are:

	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>University</i>
Travancore-Cochin (This was before the new State was formed)	99.8%	33.3%	2.7%
Bombay	88.1%	17.1%	1.8%
West Bengal	78.0 %	18.5%	3.1%
Manipur	99.8%	17.1%	—

These figures give the quantity, not the quality. Both are inadequate.

7. Let us take primary education which must necessarily be the base. We hold it up because of lack of money and lack of teachers especially for basic education. Probably we still spend much more money on buildings than on equipment or teachers. Can we not stop putting up any buildings in rural areas and devote the money thus saved to a better class of teachers as well as to some equipment? The equipment would have to be kept somewhere and there should be a small room or hall for that purpose. But all that teaching might well be done in the open under trees or under very simple sheds. As I think I have told you, this is in fact done at Santiniketan.

8. It must be remembered that our climate helps and

normally it is healthier to sit outside under a tree or in a grove, except during the rainy season. Also our old traditions fit in with this open-air teaching.

9. It seems to me more important to have a proper house for the teacher than to put up a building for the school. The teacher could keep the equipment and teach outside. The school revolves round the teacher and not round the building. Can we develop any kind of a scheme so that village people can contribute in some way for the teacher? That was our old practice. Now, we are often offered by villagers money for a building and asked to meet the running expenses. Instead of that money for a building, could they not contribute a small sum for the running expenses and especially for the teacher? They could even contribute in kind.

10. I should like the village to give a small plot of land for the school and the teacher. A vegetable garden could be laid down there. The status of the teacher would go up even though his salary may not be as much as we would like it to be, though it would be substantially higher.

11. These are very simple and obvious suggestions which I present for your consideration and for working them out. My point is that we have to change our approach to primary education. We have to make it better without buildings. Let us have our holidays during the monsoon season, and for the rest work in the open, and let us pay our teacher much more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
19 February, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have often laid stress on the desirability of books on animals, birds, trees, flowers, etc., being issued in Hindi for our children and boys and girls. Such books in other languages are produced in other countries in abundance and are encouraged in schools. Unfortunately, in India, people pay little attention to this matter.

To my surprise, I have found that some very good books have been issued with coloured pictures. Shri Salim Ali¹ of the Bombay Natural History Society has brought them out and the Bombay Government has subsidized them to some extent. These books have been produced in English, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada. The English, Gujarati and Marathi editions have met with adequate response. Unfortunately the Hindi edition has done very badly, although our Education Ministry has put it on the approved list. This is not very complimentary to the Hindi-speaking States.

I would suggest to you to take some interest in this matter. I am asking Shri Salim Ali to send you some sample copies of these books in Hindi especially. You will then see them for yourself and I have no doubt that you will appreciate

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. (1896-1987). Ornithologist; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1958, and Padma Vibhushan, 1976; his books include, *The Book of Indian Birds* (1949), *Indian Hill Birds* (1949), *Handbook of the Birds of India and Pakistan* (1974), *Field Guide to the Birds of Eastern Himalayas* (1974), *A Pictorial Guide to the Birds of Indian Subcontinent* (1983), *The Fall of a Sparrow* (1985).

them. I would like such books to be widely used in schools so as to make our boys and girls more conscious of the world we live in with its beautiful animals, birds, trees, shrubs and flowers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5

New Delhi
26 March, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after two months—two months which have been heavy with problems and difficulties, strain and sorrow. I could neither find the time, nor develop the mood to write to you my normal fortnightly letters. Even now, it is not easy for me to apply my mind to this task. I regret to say that for some time past, I have felt mentally tired and rather stale. This, of course, is no proper condition for any person who has to discharge heavy responsibilities. I am troubled as to what to do with myself to recover some freshness of mind. I go through the normal routine of my work, being trained to it, but it gives me little pleasure to do so. And so, I wonder sometimes if I am doing justice to the responsibility that has been cast upon me.

2. I do not propose to write to you today about all the significant events of the past two months. The dominating feature of this period for us and for our country has been the passing away of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.¹ The moving and tremendous tribute paid by the city of Delhi, and indeed by the whole of India, to this great leader and comrade of ours, was evidence enough of what he had meant to us. Tributes came also from all over the world, even from those who had all along been bitterly hostile to him, but who were compelled to recognize the quality and worth of his unique personality. Of very very few men could it be said with equal justice, that he could not be replaced. He represented the learning, wisdom and charm of the old world, combined with keen appreciation of the new. From his earliest youth,

1. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 455. He died on 22 February 1958.

he was drawn to the struggle for the freedom of India and to the end of his days he pursued the same path.

3. As a result of his death and other happenings, some changes have been made in the Council of Ministers of the Central Government.² You are aware of these changes.

4. An event which attracted very considerable attention all over this country, and even abroad, was the enquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation.³ In a sense, this enquiry is still proceeding, though in a different way.⁴ It led to the resignation of our Finance Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari,⁵ and thus we were deprived of the services of a colleague of great ability and perseverance, who had played such an important part in our financial affairs during his relatively brief tenure of office as Finance Minister. His budget of 1957 was unique.⁶ His tour⁷ of

2. On 13 March, Morarji Desai, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Hafiz M. Ibrahim and S.K. Patil were appointed as Ministers of Finance, Commerce and Industry, Irrigation and Power, and Transport and Communications respectively. Earlier on 28 February, K.L. Shrimali and Humayun Kabir were appointed as Ministers for Education and for Scientific Research respectively.

3. M.C. Chagla, Chief Justice of Bombay, appointed on 7 January 1958 to investigate into the investments of the Life Insurance Corporation, reported on 13 February that the Corporation had purchased shares in some companies at inflated prices at "an artificially manipulated rate" and made investments in companies which had failed to publish their balance-sheets since 1955. The report held T.T. Krishnamachari "fully and squarely" responsible for the transaction which was "imprudent in substance and improper in procedure."

4. On 13 March the Government announced the setting up of a Board of Inquiry to investigate the conduct of officials in connection with certain L.I.C. investments.

5. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 363. The resignation submitted by him on 5 February was accepted on 12 February 1958.

6. The budget introduced wealth and expenditure taxes, lowered the exemption limit for the income tax, raised excise duties on certain items and established a food subsidy fund to check price rise.

7. See Vol. 4, p. 561.

various countries abroad was a great success. His leaving us has been a great blow to me and to our Government.

5. Shri T.T. Krishnamachari had to resign according to our conventions. An argument arose about the responsibility of Ministers and officials. That argument seemed to me rather unnecessary, because it is well recognized that the Minister must shoulder the responsibility for any decision or action of his Secretary. Indeed, it was because of this that the resignation of the Finance Minister took place. That, of course, does not absolve the Secretaries for any wrong action. Hence, the further enquiry that is taking place in the conduct of those concerned in these transactions.

6. In the outside world, an event of historical significance has been the formation of the United Arab State, by the union of Egypt and Syria.⁸ As a consequence of this, Iraq and Jordan have formed some kind of a Federation.⁹ There is a great deal of difference between these two, the Union and the Federation. The first one was obviously the result of a great national upsurge in both Egypt and Syria, which almost forced the hands of the leaders. The other one was a decision of some people at the top, reacting to the union of Egypt and Syria. By this union, new forces have been released and the whole Arab world is astir.

7. To the east of India, the troubles in Indonesia have caused us great concern.¹⁰ Indonesia is a close friend of ours,

8. The Union formed on 1 February and ratified by a plebiscite on 21 February, was to be a Republic with a single legislature, flag and army. Yemen joined the Union on 8 March 1958.

9. King Feisal and King Hussein, the rulers of Iraq and Jordan, proclaimed on 14 February 1958 the merger of the two countries to constitute the Arab Federal State with common flag and army, joint defence, common foreign policy, single Parliament and an economic union.

10. After the expiry of the ultimatum to the Central Government in Djakarta to resign in favour of Mohammad Hatta, the rebel military leaders proclaimed on 15 February 1958 a provisional government in Central Sumatra. This led to fighting between the Government and the rebel forces.

and India played a notable part when the Dutch refused to acknowledge Indonesia's independence. It is a matter of sorrow for us that the people of Indonesia should be involved in internal conflicts. We are strongly of opinion that there should be no external interference in this internal matter, and we hope that peace and stability will come to the country before long.

8. The intrusion of man into outer space continues, and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America hurl their sputniks¹¹ and explorers¹² away from earth. Very slowly it is dawning upon men and women that we are entering a new age, the age of interplanetary travel. And yet, in our narrow world, we are entangled in all kinds of rivalries and national conflicts which have no meaning in this new age.

9. There is much talk of a summit or a high level meeting,¹³ and probably some such meeting will take place in the autumn of this year. Whether it will bring success or not, it is difficult to say, for success depends not on clever formulae but on a gradual change in the minds and hearts of people and their leaders.

10. To come down from outer space and the summits to the solid earth on which we live, and day-to-day problems

11. Artificial earth satellites Sputnik I and II were launched in October-November 1957 and the launch of Sputnik III in May 1958 was being planned.

12. *Explorer* or *Alpha 1958*, the first U.S. artificial earth satellite, was launched on 31 January 1958.

13. The correspondence initiated by Bulganin in 1957 between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers was continued during the first three months of 1958. The Western Powers insisted on a preliminary round of talks between the officials prior to the Heads of State meeting, and Marshal Bulganin agreed to this in his letters to Eisenhower and Macmillan on 6 and 14 March 1958 respectively.

that face us. The Budget,¹⁴ as I described it, was a pedestrian affair. It was practically a continuation of the previous year's budget, with some rough corners rounded off. The new Gift Tax and the amendment of the Estates Duty Act were an inevitable corollary to the decisions taken a year ago. While we have our own economic difficulties, we might remember that other countries are not free of them, and even the rich and powerful United States of America are facing a severe recession which might lead to grave consequences.

11. I want to write to you today, however, on two matters which are very much in my mind. One relates to food production and the other to education. I have often written about food and the vital importance that this plays in our whole economic structure, Five Year Plan, etc. It is perfectly clear that unless we produce enough food to enable us to put an end to all food imports, we shall not be able to produce a worthwhile third Five Year Plan. Our whole future thus revolves round this question of food production and our filling the gap before the second Five Year Plan comes to an end. I have no doubt that we can do so, but it requires great effort and constant vigilance.

12. Let us confess that in spite of our frequent talk on this subject, we have neither made the big effort, nor have we been very vigilant. What is particularly astonishing is our failure to utilize the actual resources available to us. Great river valley schemes have provided water, but because communicating channels were missing, it could not be utilized for the fields. Thousands of tubewells were made, but most of them remained unused for various reasons, mostly because rates charged were too high. Tens of thousands of tanks, especially in South India, were not repaired and, therefore, could not be used. It has been calculated that if we had used these available resources,

14. Nehru, holding temporary charge of the Ministry of Finance, presented the General Budget on 28 February 1958.

millions of acres would have yielded foodgrains or other agricultural products. The fault, therefore, was in the failure of our administration, and it was a serious fault with grievous consequences. Have we got so stuck up in certain official routines and grooves of thought that we are prevented from adapting ourselves to changing circumstances? Our Central Government has to think hard, but, even more so, the State Governments have to do so, for it is their primary responsibility to increase food production.

13. More and more, I think less of the top structure and more of the bottom. I think that the real change will come when the bottom layers start functioning with energy and vitality. This means that the burden must fall principally on the village and the individual farmer. We have built up a fine organization to deal with this problem—the community development movement with its blocks. Insofar as these community development blocks can vitalize the farmer and the village will depend the success of our efforts. Vitality does not come from above, it has to grow within the organism. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance for this whole community scheme to depend, not on officials, but on the people, though officials of course are necessary and can make a great difference. It is the non-official response that will mean success or the lack of it. This is a truism which we have often repeated. But in spite of frequent repetition, I have a feeling that it is not acted upon, and we drift by some adverse fate towards more and more official control and bureaucracy.

14. I have often written to you about the cooperative movement and have stressed that this movement must be non-official and that the village should be the unit. And yet, reports come to me that some State Governments have gone in the opposite direction and have actually liquidated thousands of small cooperatives in order to build big ones. I am convinced that we shall fail if we go this way, because we can never develop the cooperative spirit among the people if officials direct the movement. I do not know how to put this strongly to you, because I have said this so often. I think the

time is coming when financial aid should only be given to the small cooperatives and not to the giant ones.

15. This question of small or big cooperatives as well as of official direction, raises vital issues. The whole philosophy of co-operation is bound up with them and the basic question of building up men and women of worth and self-reliance.

16. I said the other day that the three basic foundations of our country must be: the village *panchayat*, the village cooperative, and the village school. How many villages have got schools? Many more now than before, but still rather few. A school is still thought of more in terms of a building rather than of anything else. The building costs money, and so education spreads very slowly, and the quality of it is not good. We pay the poor schoolmaster less than our *chaprasi*, and expect him to mould our younger generation.

17. Let us remember that a school is essentially the teacher, not the building. The teacher without any apparatus or building, can function as a school. This is a simple and obvious proposition, and yet it is ignored. I think the time has come, indeed it came long ago, for us to decide, definitely and positively, to have schools in our villages without buildings, and to spend more on the teacher and on equipment. I think we can do without buildings completely for the primary schools, though, of course, a building is desirable where possible. But let us compromise on this issue and have the smallest of structures, just to keep some books and equipment, the classes being held in the open. If we decide on this course and resolutely refuse to put up expensive buildings, we would not only advance faster in spreading education, but, what is important, we would be able to pay the teacher more and spend more on equipment.

18. Our climate is such that for the great part of the year, it is easy and indeed healthier to sit in the open or under some shady tree. Perhaps, the monsoon period is the only time when it is difficult to sit in the open. Let us have our school holidays during the monsoons. The main thing is the

teacher. Let us train him better and give him a higher salary and some amenities. The rest will follow.

19. I feel that in this matter I have not succeeded in convincing others and I go on crying in a wilderness of disbelief. I am sure the time will come when it will be recognized that the teacher is more important than the building. We talk of basic schools, and we have adopted, quite rightly, the basic method of education. And yet, there too the demand is for bigger buildings. If we give a big building in one place, we deprive a dozen other places of even the rudiments of education. Could we not think again and give up the idea of buildings for two or three years, and experiment in another way?

20. I am speaking of village schools, but, with some difference, this approach could be applied even to secondary schools and, perhaps, even to colleges and the like. What a tremendous spurt in education there would be if we divert the money spent on bricks and mortar, to the educational needs of our children.

21. It is the teacher that counts, and everything else is secondary. If we want good teachers, we have to give them simple amenities of life, and we have to give them something that is even more valuable, the respect due to a person who is charged with the greatest task of all, the moulding of human beings. If the teacher is not good, how will he produce good men and women?

22. Some two weeks ago, I presented a Government resolution to Parliament.¹⁵ This was about science and technology, pointing out the great importance of these subjects in the world of today and the necessity for us to

15. The resolution on scientific policy placed in Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958, spoke of the value and significance of scientific progress, assured good conditions of service to scientists and of their association in the formulation of policies, and all necessary steps to promote research and training of the required scientific personnel.

26 March, 1958

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encourage the scientists. I would like to draw your attention to this resolution, for it says something which required saying and which we often forget. We talk glibly of science as if it was something we could purchase in the market place; it is much more precious than that and it can only grow, if it is cherished, respected and helped to grow. Above all, it means developing the temper of science, which is the temper of the calm search for truth.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
26 March, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you about a matter which has troubled me greatly for a long time. That is the position of minority communities in India. Our Constitution lays down very good provisions and we are never tired of saying how well we deal with our minority communities.

But have we any reason to be pleased about this matter? We are apt to become complacent and pleased with ourselves, even though there might be little reason for this. The real test about a minority community is not how we feel about it, but how they feel. If they are not satisfied, then we have to search for some remedy for their malaise. In a democracy this is especially important. Democracy means rule by the majority, but it means something more, that is, full play and opportunity for the minorities. It means also that the minorities should have the sensation of having this full play and opportunity.

I realize that when the vast majority of our people in India lack so much, it is difficult to please the minorities. When we cannot satisfy the needs of the majority, it is not easy to meet the needs of the minority. Nevertheless, we must always remember that a minority community is a trust for the majority and constant thought should be given to its needs and complaints.

In a country like India, with its great variety, this is particularly necessary. We have also many hangovers from the past which it is difficult to forget or get over. We have also, let us be frank about it, communalism not only in the

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

minority but very much so in the majority. The chief difference is that in the majority it puts on the garb of nationalism and democracy. But that is a false democracy.

The fact is that the minorities have a sense of grievance and that is enough to put us on our guard and to induce us to meet these grievances. I am not thinking in terms of elections and the like, but of much more basic issues.

There is the question of language which has agitated many of our people so much. It is a vital question and we have made laws and rules which should meet the situation. But how far do we implement these laws or carry out these rules? Everything depends on a host of petty officials who are often very far from being impartial or fair-minded. Therefore, it is important that those who sit in high positions should be vigilant and should impress upon the army of officials and others what our policy is and how it must be followed.

I shall not refer here to many matters which affect the minorities. I want to lay stress on one particular aspect. This relates to the Services. In our present conditions in India, recruitment to the Services plays a very important part in producing a sense of satisfaction or the reverse in the minds of the minority groups. I have sometimes called for figures of recruitment and these have been very unsatisfactory in so far as the minorities are concerned.

When I have asked for an explanation, I have been told that recruitment was made by examinations and it is nobody's fault if people did not pass the tests.

That is not a good enough explanation. Firstly, there is a tendency for the minority group not to appear for these examinations in sufficient numbers because they imagine that things are weighted against them. Secondly, subjects and tests for the examinations also come in their way. For instance, in the Hindi-speaking areas especially, Hindi is a compulsory subject and the type of Hindi required is high-flown and difficult. Many people who know simple Hindi quite well, cannot easily pass that difficult test. This applies often to Muslims in the Hindi-speaking areas. They know the Urdu version of Hindi and they learn Devanagari, etc.,

and try hard to improve their knowledge of the language. But this is no easy matter after a certain age. The result often is that while they are quite good in other subjects, they fail in Hindi.

This is unfair and bad for the minority as well as for the State which loses sometimes good people and gets second-raters.

Long ago, the Congress Working Committee, dealing with the question of all-India public examinations, laid down a rule that while these examinations may in future be conducted in Hindi, English or the regional language, a compulsory paper on Hindi should not be included as this would obviously be unfair to the non-Hindi-speaking people. After the person has passed the examination, Hindi or any other regional language should be learnt and, if necessary, an examination could be held in it at a later stage. This was, I think, a fair provision.

This should apply to the State examinations in every State and more especially in the Hindi-speaking areas.

Thus, in a Hindi-speaking area no person should fail in an examination because of inadequate knowledge of Hindi provided he has passed in other subjects. He may be called upon to improve his Hindi later and even to pass a test then. But the door of service should not be closed upon him because his knowledge of Hindi appears to be not up to the mark.

Further, of course, the question arises of the content of Hindi. I am not referring to the other regional languages, because I do not know enough about them, and perhaps this may apply to them also to some extent. Hindi, as used now, is becoming more and more an artificial language far removed from common speech. In our Parliament here questions are often answered in Hindi, drafted, no doubt, by bright young men fresh from the schools. Most Hindi-knowing people even do not understand these answers and there is frequently a hubbub in the House when these answers are read out. Something very radical has to be done about this if the growth of Hindi is not to be checked.

I would beg your attention to this question of recruitment for Services. I would suggest to you to examine why the present methods come in the way of members of the minority communities appearing in these examinations or passing them. I know bright young men who have failed when persons not nearly as good as they are have passed.

Then there is the question of recruitment to the Police, Army, the Railways, Postal Services and many minor Services where no examinations are necessary. This requires particular attention because here it is easy for partiality to creep in.

I would request you to have charts prepared showing how the system of recruiting for these various Services by examination or otherwise is working. There might be quarterly charts and I would be grateful if you could send me these charts every three months.

I have referred to the Services because the State is directly concerned with them. But this applies in a different way to trade and industry and commerce, to our Corporations in the public sector. When adequate opportunities are not given, the result is a progressive deterioration of the position, and that of the minority. In fact, that minority becomes more and more incapable of advancing. It becomes necessary to deal with such a situation in some radical way and even to give some special attention to the minorities who have suffered in this way.

You will forgive me for writing to you on this subject, but it is of vital importance to our national growth and national unity. I hope to hear from you about this and to get these charts and figures.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
10 May, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you about a memorial for Maulana Azad. I enclose a resolution¹ which was passed by the Working Committee of the Congress on February 24th. By this resolution, the Committee started the Maulana Azad Memorial Fund and appointed a Provisional National Memorial Committee. The purposes of this Memorial are mentioned in this resolution.

You will notice that the provisional Committee consists not only of Congressmen, but of a number of other eminent persons.² The whole object was to make this Memorial a national one. The present Committee is a provisional one. Later, a fuller Committee might be appointed.

I feel that we must make every effort to make this Memorial Fund a success. That is the very least we can do to honour the memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. I hope, therefore, that you will help in informing people about this Memorial and encouraging them to subscribe to it. Apart

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The resolution stated that in memory of Maulana Azad scholarships be given to promote study of the countries in West Asia by Indian scholars and *vice versa*, (2) chairs created in Indian Universities for the study of literary and cultural links between India and other countries and, (3) libraries set up in different places.

2. Members of the Committee included Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Radhakrishnan, U.N. Dhebar, B.C. Roy, J.B. Kripalani, Zakir Hussain, Morarji Desai, A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, B. Gopala Reddy, K.P. Madhavan Nair and Humayun Kabir.

10 May, 1958

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from any major donations that we might get, I would particularly appreciate a large number of relatively small donations.

I might inform you that the Congress Party in the Central Legislature decided that each of its members should contribute a minimum of rupees ten. The other Parties in Parliament were invited to join this, and they gladly did so. Thus, every Member of Parliament, to whatever Party he might belong, has agreed to contribute rupees ten at least. Some, of course, are giving much more.

May I suggest that the various parties in your Assembly also might follow this example. The Congress Party, of course, will be especially interested in this because he was our intimate colleague, guide and leader for nearly forty years. But I am sure the other parties would also like to join in this tribute to an illustrious countryman of ours whose name has been inscribed in the history of our struggle for freedom.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
18 May, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I write to you again after a fairly long interval. My last letter was dated March 26th. The session of Parliament ended ten days ago. It was followed by meetings of the National Development Council¹ and of the All India Congress Committee.²

2. I was unfortunately responsible for creating some concern and excitement because of a statement I made about my desire to retire for a period.³ I have already explained why that urge came to me and also why I decided ultimately to

1. It met on 3 and 4 May 1958.

2. At New Delhi on 10-12 May 1958.

3. On 29 April 1958, Nehru in a written statement informed the Congress Parliamentary Party, that he had requested the President to relieve him temporarily from the premiership but he was approaching the Party because "the final decision must rest with the party." He wanted to free himself from "daily routine" so that he could think, "as an individual citizen of India and not as Prime Minister . . . I am anxious to fit myself for the great tasks ahead, and I feel that it might help me to do so if I am away from the centre of activity and responsibility." On 1 May, the Congress Parliamentary Party resolved that it "cannot contemplate acceptance of any suggestion which would mean the severance, even though for a temporary period, of the ties binding Nehru to the party and the government."



With Ho Chi Minh, New Delhi, 5 February 1958



In Sikkim, 17 September 1958

suppress it for the time being.⁴ At no time did I think of retirement from public activities and I did not even suggest withdrawing from the Prime Minister's office for any lengthy period, although I would be happy indeed if this could happen. All I had said was that I would very much like to be away from my office for a few months and then to return to it if this was desired. During those few months also, I had no intention of resting all the time, though a part of the time might have been used for that purpose. I had intended to spend a few months in wandering about India in a non-official capacity, meeting friends and colleagues and quietly discussing matters with them. This was not to be a rush tour, but rather a slow pilgrimage to a few places, giving myself enough time to think and to feel what conditions were in the country and what we should do about them.

3. I was not merely thinking of India, but also of the wider world where none of the old knots are being untied and fresh knots are being made. The statesmen and men in authority in various countries express themselves in brave and sometimes even aggressive language, but the situation continues to deteriorate. Everyone, perhaps in India also as in other countries, assumes rigid attitudes and casts the blame on others. I was not foolish enough to think that I could do much in the international sphere or even that India could make a great deal of difference. Nevertheless, I was troubled at this petrification of cold war attitudes everywhere, and I had a powerful urge to get away from the daily drudgery so that I could at least think a little more clearly and calmly. The very idea of being away from office brought a tremendous sense of relief to me.

4. On 3 May, Nehru told the Congress Parliamentary Party that the desire to retire and "take stock" had come to him "with peculiar force in the shock of circumstances created by Maulana Azad's death." He said that he would "more or less abide by your decision and, therefore, in all humility and with deep feeling for what you said, I shall not proceed to take the step that I had suggested."

4. But this was not to be, and I have to carry on. In a day or two, I am going for ten days⁵ to Manali in the Kulu Valley. I shall return to Delhi on the 31st of May and after spending five or six days here, go back to Manali. I hope then to cross the Rohtang Pass (13,600) ft. into the high region of Lahaul where I hope I shall be able to trek for a fortnight or so.⁶ As the time approaches for me to go away, I feel more and more detached from the problems that normally overwhelm us, and my mind thinks more of mountains and glaciers. Perhaps, this is a way of escape. I hope, at any rate, that this little holiday will refresh my mind. Physically, I am as well as ever.

5. What is happening to India and the world? We are a people given to introspection and self-analysis and even to self-depreciation, except when we go to the other extreme and think ourselves the salt of the earth. Just at present we are in a mood of self-depreciation. To some extent, that is good provided it is not carried too far. There is much in India that is distressing. And yet, when I look round at our neighbouring countries, India stands out almost as a model of progress and success. There is Indonesia racked by civil war, with her economy at breaking point. There is Pakistan facing an ever-deepening crisis, both political and economic, and even more so, a breakdown of the spirit of the people. There have been frequent changes there of Prime Ministers and the Government.⁷ It is quite likely that during the next

5. From 20 to 31 May 1958.

6. He stayed in Manali again from 10 to 23 June, went upto Rohtang Pass on 16 June and returned the next day.

7. After becoming Prime Minister on 16 December 1957 Feroze Khan Noon resorted to frequent cabinet reshuffles. Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizibash replaced Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan who had resigned on 18 March 1958 as Chief Minister of West Pakistan. On 31 March, the Governor of East Pakistan, Fazlul Haq, dismissed the Ministry of Ataur Rahman Khan and Abu Hussain Sarkar was sworn in, but on 1 April Fazlul Haq was himself dismissed and Ataur Rahman Khan reinstated.

few days there might be another change of Government as a consequence of the judgement in the Gurmani⁸ Defamation Case.⁹ But it is not the coming or going of Governments that matters so much but rather the almost visible cracking up of the structure of the country. The leading figures flit about like shadows without any substance, chasing each other and full of distrust of each other. The public has no faith in them and no respect for them. The one figure who at least commanded respect and affection and was a man of integrity was Dr. Khan Sahib¹⁰ and he is no more, killed by an assassin's dagger.¹¹ His great brother, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan¹² is happily still there, but he is completely isolated from the Governmental apparatus. His occasional utterances indicate contempt of those in authority. Pakistan is thus in a state of flux and it is difficult to find any stabilizing element in it. All the massive help that she has received from the United States has built up her defence forces to some extent, but not given her what really matters to a nation. It is curious to notice that most of the countries that have received military assistance have not prospered.

8. M.A. Gurmani. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 279.

9. On 17 May, Gurmani, the former Governor of West Pakistan, won a defamation case against *Times of Karachi* which had published his letter to Sardar Patel in which he had allegedly offered Bahawalpur's accession to India. The Karachi Court held that the letter was forged, and sentenced the editors of the newspaper to two years' imprisonment. The Court also held Feroze Khan Noon, who was Foreign Minister at the time of the publication of the letter, responsible for giving orders to publish the letter. On 19 May, Noon, the Prime Minister, filed a petition for special leave to appeal against the judgment of the High Court in Supreme Court which directed that relevant portions pertaining to Noon should not be published. On 4 February 1959, proceedings were dropped against the editors of *Times of Karachi* after Gurmani submitted a letter of apology.

10. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 279.

11. On 9 May 1958 at his residence in Lahore.

12. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 279.

6. Even our neighbour Burma is in the throes of an internal crisis. Our good friend, Prime Minister U Nu,¹³ is facing a rebellion in his own party and from his own colleagues.¹⁴ This internal conflict is becoming progressively more bitter. Early next month, there will be a meeting of the Burmese Parliament which may decide one way or the other. Whatever the decision may be, this internal conflict cannot do good to Burma.

7. In Ceylon, internal troubles have revived again¹⁵ and the Government is facing great difficulties over the issue of language.

8. In Western Asia, Lebanon has recently been the scene of revolutionary outbreaks. It would appear that the present Government, and especially the President, are not in tune with their people. President Chamoun¹⁶ wants to be elected for a third term which is against the Constitution of Lebanon and this is one reason why there has been so much conflict.¹⁷ Behind this internal conflict in this small state of Lebanon lie the rivalries of the Great Powers as well as

13. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 18.

14. The two socialist groups in the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League Party, led respectively by Thakin Kyaw Dun and U Kyaw Nein, were drawing apart. On 27 April, Thakin Thakhin, Home Minister, resigned from the Cabinet after he failed to prevail upon U Nu to reconstitute the Cabinet.

15. On 10 April, the Federal Party called upon all Tamil-speaking people to embark on a civil disobedience movement to protest against Government's announcement of 9 April not to proceed with the agreement which it had concluded with the Party on 26 July 1957 regarding the establishment of regional councils for the northern and eastern provinces with specified powers and recognition of Tamil as the official language of the minorities. The situation deteriorated thereafter with the outbreak of communal riots on the issue.

16. Camille Chamoun. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 409.

17. Anti-Government disturbances in Lebanon in the second week of May in protest against the Government's pro-West policy claimed heavy loss of life.

rivalries of the Arab nations.¹⁸ Among these Arab nations, Egypt stands out today apparently strong and full of confidence. President Nasser¹⁹ has just returned from his visit to the Soviet Union²⁰ with enhanced prestige and a hero to his people as well as to large numbers of the Arab race elsewhere.

9. In Europe, France is not only having its periodical Governmental crisis,²¹ but is facing a deeper trouble which might lead to a change in the regime itself or a civil war. The army in Algeria has rebelled against the Government's authority and constituted itself as an independent authority for Algeria. The Algerian problem continues as difficult and as insoluble as ever.

10. Any major development in France must inevitably have far-reaching consequences in Europe and on the Western alliance. A minor result of these continuing crises in France is the delay in formalizing the *de jure* transfer of the French settlements in India. This should have been done years ago, soon after the *de facto* transfer took place.²² But the succession of weak governments in France, overwhelmed

18. On 13 May, the Lebanese Foreign Minister accused U.A.R. of fomenting disturbances and on 14 May the United States announced supply of arms to Lebanon. On 16 May, the United States announced that it would send its troops to Lebanon, if asked for, but on 17 May stated that Lebanese security forces would be "able to maintain constitutional order." On the same day the Soviet Union criticized the United States of interfering in the internal politics of Lebanon.

19. Gamel Abdel Nasser. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 135.

20. He visited the Soviet Union from 29 April to 15 May 1958.

21. A change of Government on 13 May 1958 caused serious protests and opposition from the French civilians and army officers in Algeria who pledged maintenance of French rule there by all means and demanded the return to power of General Charles de Gaulle. The latter announcing his willingness on 15 May to accept office was extended support by all the right-wing parties in France.

22. See Vol. 4, pp. 70-71.

by the Algerian crisis, dare not take up even a simple question like Pondicherry. And so, the position in Pondicherry, etc. continues to be an odd one. We are certainly in full possession and function there, but we cannot function in law as if Pondicherry was a part of the Union of India. Hence, difficulties arise.

11. No marked progress has been made towards what is called a Summit Conference, though there still appears to be a general belief that some such high level conference will be held in the autumn. But the autumn is still far off, and every day brings its quota of unsavoury news.

12. Meanwhile, another and a larger sputnik²³ has gone into outer space, and the United States have had some more atomic tests. World opinion against these nuclear tests grows in volume and in intensity, and nearly all the leading scientists have opposed them and pointed out the dangers.²⁴ But this has so far had little effect on the Governments concerned.

13. In the Communist countries, there appears to be a return to greater ideological rigidity. This had led to a fierce controversy between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia,²⁵ and

23. On 15 May, the Soviet Union launched its third Sputnik which was designed to return to earth intact.

24. For instance, on 2 May, more than 600 British scientists headed by Bertrand Russell and Lord Boyd-Orr, appealed to the British Prime Minister to take immediate action to stop nuclear tests.

25. The programme announced by the Seventh Congress of Yugoslav League of Communists, held from 22 to 26 April 1958, was criticized by the Soviet Communist Party. The League's programme, while appreciating growing popularity of socialism as evidenced by extension of State ownership in different countries, warned against the dangers posed by (1) State's tendency to impose itself on the society, (2) the monopoly of Communist Parties over socialist thinking, (3) the working class of one country, acting ostensibly as the vanguard of the international Communist movement, acquiring a "hegemonistic position" over other countries, and (4) world peace being threatened by military blocs.

China²⁶ has joined in with a tremendous denunciation of Yugoslavia's way of interpreting Communist doctrine. It is not for us to express any opinion about these controversies in other countries, more especially when they concern themselves with some ideological doctrine. But it seems to me that the Five Principles and, more especially, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, cannot easily flourish when there is this type of controversy. You may remember that the Five Principles even say that there should be no ideological interference. And yet, I suppose what we have seen recently is ideological interference. The whole thing looks to me more like an ecclesiastical approach than a political one. Why this should have arisen at this particular time and whether this was the fault of Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, I do not know. We have very good relations with both those countries as well as with China and the other Communist countries. Indeed, we have practically no points of dispute with them, and we do not propose therefore to get entangled in any controversy. But, these controversies do indicate an inner rigidity coming back, which may have some effect on international relations. Normally, these internal changes are due to some domestic development. I believe that this change is not a basic one, and that it is not likely to have any far-reaching consequences in the wider sphere. I think that the internal forces at work in many of these countries of Eastern Europe, including of course the Soviet Union, are moving towards a greater liberalization, and these forces will make themselves felt progressively, even though there

26. On 5 May, *People's Daily*, official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, described the Yugoslav draft programme as "a wild attempt to induce the working people of various countries to take the road of surrender to capitalism" and said that it had coincided with the attempts of "the imperialists led by the United States to step up their sabotage of the world Communist movement."

might be lapses from time to time. The danger is that we live in a world where some accident might unleash the forces of nuclear war, and in such a situation everything that adds to tension is bad. In the United States also, there has been on the whole a greater rigidity of outlook.

14. Looking at this picture of the world outside India, we may well congratulate ourselves on how India stands today, internally as well as internationally. We have difficult problems in our country; we have the continuous pressure on account of foreign exchange as well as internal resources; we have various disruptive forces at play. And yet, it may be some consolation to think that, by and large, our problems are more under control than those of most other countries, and that, in spite of difficulties, we are marching ahead. I have no doubt that we shall overcome our present financial troubles and the second Five Year Plan will yield place to the third. What I am worried about is something deeper than money or financial resources. How do we stand in our minds and spirit, how far do we adhere to the basic principles that give strength to our people?

15. It was this problem that came up at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee. There was no magic path leading us out of the forest of our difficult problems. But I believe there is a progressive realization of them and a determination to meet them.

16. In Kashmir recently, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested under the Preventive Detention Act.²⁷ I cannot say that I am happy at this arrest. Throughout the previous four years of his detention, I felt unhappy and it jarred upon me. So I felt again. But the fact remains that Sheikh Abdullah by his activities made it difficult for any Government to remain quiet. It has been a matter of deep grief to me that an old colleague who has in the past played such a brave part in our

27. On 30 April 1958.

national movement and in the liberation of Kashmir, should have drifted away so far and should have sought to rouse communal passions. He has been connected also with other undesirable activities.

17. Anyone listening to the Pakistan Radio broadcasts or reading the Pakistan papers will imagine that everyday there are lathi charges, shootings and killings in Kashmir ever since Sheikh Abdullah's arrest; that hundreds of people have been killed; that tens of thousands have been arrested. The fact is that apart from some hartals on the day of his arrest, there has hardly been even a demonstration. There has been no lathi charge, no shooting and no killing. Only four persons have been arrested including Sheikh Abdullah. Indeed life flows on in Kashmir calmly and without a ripple on its placid surface. I do not mean to say that many people in Kashmir are not unhappy and agitated over Sheikh Abdullah's arrest. He is popular with many, but what I am pointing out is how the most amazing falsehoods are circulated in Pakistan, even from official sources.

18. On the borders of East Pakistan and Assam, there has been frequent firing.²⁸ Repeatedly there is an agreement and a ceasefire and a day or two later, this is broken. In terms of damage, nothing much is done though unfortunately a few persons have died. But it is difficult to understand why this kind of thing should be indulged in day after day and week after week.

19. Whatever may be happening in the rest of the world, we in India have to look after our own country and solve our own problems. Among these problems, the question of foreign exchange has again become a vital and urgent one and there is still a greater drain every week than we can afford. This is due to various causes, notably a decline in our

28. There had been sporadic firings in Cachar district of Assam and Sylhet district of East Pakistan, and near Dawki in Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, since 13 March 1958.

exports because of the American recession and certain developments in Europe. The result of all this is that we have again to tighten our belts and avoid expenditure involving foreign exchange, and at the same time to do our utmost to push our exports.

20. Connected with this foreign exchange situation is the question of food. Whichever way we start considering our various problems, whether it is the second Five Year Plan or the development of industry or our major schemes in India, or foreign exchange, we come back to food. That is the central factor of the situation. If we win on the food front, we win all round. If we fail there, that failure affects all other major activities. Therefore it is of the utmost consequence for us to increase our food production and to avoid any imports of food. I have written to you often about this and I am writing again because there is nothing more important than this before us. The food problem can only be tackled effectively at the village and household level. It is no good passing resolutions or writing notes in the Secretariat. State Governments bear the major responsibility and State Agriculture Departments must now be considered the most vital departments for Government because it is on their activity that everything depends.

21. At the National Development Council meeting, the question of our resources was considered and whether we should cut down the Plan figure of 4,800 crores to 4,500 crores. We have decided to retain the original figure, but to so divide it as to keep the part relating to 300 crores separate. Whether we can achieve all this or not, and I am convinced that we can achieve it if we try hard enough, depends on our food production and the way we can increase our internal resources. I am sure that there is enough money and enough desire to work in the country. How are we to combine all this so as to yield the results that we want? I finish this letter with this question addressed to you and indeed to all of us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
9 June, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was written on the eve of my going to Manali in Kulu Valley. I spent eleven days there and I imagine that I could not have chosen a quieter and more peaceful place for rest and recuperation. Tradition says that many of our ancient sages, from Manu onwards, used to stay in this Valley and meditate there. If so, they chose well, for it is peculiarly suited for quiet contemplation.

2. As in Kashmir, it is not merely the beauty of the place that affects the senses but something else is added on to it, something that exists in the very air of Kashmir. Of course, Kashmir is a big area and there are numerous valleys at various altitudes and the variety is great. But in its own limited way, the Kulu Valley is delightful and soothing.

3. Manali lies at the foot of the big Himalayan barrier. A steep climb of 7,500 ft. takes one from Manali to the top of this barrier, the Rohtang Pass, which is 13,500 ft. above sea level. On the other side of the Rohtang Pass lie the high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti, which further up extend to Tibet and Ladakh. This high country is very different from both the mountains and the plains on this side. It is treeless and almost rainless. Whether you stand at the Zoji La, the pass which takes you from Kashmir to the high valleys of Ladakh, or the Rohtang, which takes you from Manali across to Lahaul, you see an astonishing contrast in the scene that confronts you. On the one side are thick wooded mountains and terraced fields; on the other, bare rock covered by grass or by snow or glacier above a certain level. This high tableland of Lahaul, Spiti and Ladakh (and presumably of Tibet also) represents a world utterly different

not only from our plains but even from our mountains. The great Himalayan barrier stops the rain clouds from going across and the dust from the plains also does not pierce through, and so the atmosphere there is amazingly clear and we are often misled by this clarity in judging distances.

4. Lahaul and Spiti offer almost ideal opportunities for trekking and mountain climbing. These mountains are not amongst the highest, but they are high enough to be a test of ability and endurance. Compared to other mountain areas in India, this area is easier of access. I hope, therefore, that more and more Indians will visit this area and see this new face of India, so different from its other faces. I hope that the love of mountaineering and adventure will attract our young men and women to this area. Most of us are still rather bound to the plains and afraid of the high mountains and snow and glaciers. I wish that more and more people would breathe the fresh and exhilarating air of these high regions and improve their body and mind thereby.

5. The Rohtang Pass is supposed to be one of the more difficult ones to cross and some of our advisers have been trying to induce me not to go there because, according to them, it is risky. I have not been impressed by the advice of these people who know so little of the high mountains and have not made friends with them. I have been to much higher altitudes in Kashmir and Ladakh and have trekked across what are considered rather dangerous ice slopes and glaciers. At over 13,000 feet I have had a swim in a semi-frozen lake in the mountains. It is true that I was younger then and age cannot wholly be ignored, but I believe that my physical condition still continues to be fairly good.

6. It might interest you to know that the word Rohtang, which is Tibetan, has a somewhat ominous meaning. I am told it means "the field of corpses". This is only imaginary. Of course, there are always dangers for the unwary or inexperienced traveller who goes at the wrong time and does not take adequate precautions.

7. There is the broad tableland and on the other side of the

Rohtang, and on the Manali side, there are the great trees which cover the lower Himalayas. There is a great variety of these old trees, but above all, and most impressive of all, is the Himalayan deodar which has always fascinated me by its look of grace and strength and its height and absolute straightness. There is a grove near Manali of these deodars which are over a thousand years old. These trees are cousins of the cedars of Lebanon, famous in Biblical history. Below these trees and sometimes in between them are terraced fields of buck-wheat and rice and other foodgrains. Nevertheless the people are poor and live a hard life. Gradually, however, a new life creeps in and there are schools, hospitals and community development schemes which bring a promise for the future.

8. I have begun this letter in an odd way, telling you about matters which have nothing to do with the pains and aches of our politics and economics, and are far removed from the national and international conflicts that beset us. I have done so because I wanted you to share with me, to some extent at least, the peace and quiet which I experienced at Manali and the sense of detachment I had there from the problems which normally encompass me.

9. These problems are many. In the Western world there have been strange and disquieting developments in France and the Fourth Republic has quietly petered out.¹ It may be that this change is preferable to the possible alternative of a civil war, which appeared to hover over France for some weeks.² Nevertheless it is distressing to see a country like France quietly slip into some authoritarian ways. I shall not

1. Faced with growing military and civilian unrest, the French Government had resigned on 28 May to facilitate the return of General De Gaulle who took over as Premier on 1 June. Next day the National Assembly gave to De Gaulle full powers for six months to frame a new Constitution for the Republic.

2. See *ante*, p. 45.

venture to prophesy as to what will happen there in the future. I doubt if this change will settle the Algerian question. If Algeria continues to be a place of conflict, the whole of France will be affected thereby, as indeed she has been during the last two or three years. There is another aspect of this change which is worrying governments and chancelleries in Europe and elsewhere. What will be the attitude of the new French Government to the various alliances to which France has been committed? How will it affect NATO and the proposal to have a Summit meeting?

10. Today's newspapers announced the "election" of the new President of Portugal.³ This election has attracted almost worldwide attention because it has shown up the present government of Portugal and its authoritarian and oppressive character. There has been strong criticism of this government in newspapers in Europe and America.⁴ The election itself was a farce. But it indicated that Salazar's⁵ regime is gradually being undermined and there is great popular dissatisfaction with it. Indirectly this strengthens our claim to Goa.

11. In Lebanon conflict continues. There were serious dangers at one time of foreign intervention in Lebanon

3. Rear Admiral Americo Tomas defeated the opposition leader Lt. Gen. Humberto Delgado in the presidential election. During the election campaign, serious rioting broke out in Lisbon, Oporto and Braga in spite of Government's ban on political demonstrations. Leaders of Opposition were arrested on charges of fomenting riots and press coverage of the electioneering propaganda was kept to the minimum.

4. For example, 18 prominent figures in Britain in a letter published in *News Chronicle* on 5 June condemned the repressive policy of the Portuguese Government. An editorial in *Manchester Guardian* on 9 June stated that the Portuguese dictatorship "is, indeed, less harsh than many dictatorships. But it clearly does not trust its own popularity enough to hazard it in a fair fight."

5. A.O. Salazar (1889-1970). Portuguese Prime Minister, 1932-69, and virtual dictator.

which might well have led to an international crisis of some magnitude. American and British naval forces were on the point of being sent to Beirut to intervene. Fortunately, this was stopped at the very last moment.

12. Another important development in the European scene has been the revival of the old ideological conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.⁶ The brief honeymoon period between the two countries which began some three years ago is over and newspapers on either side, and sometimes speeches, are carrying on this controversy in strong and bitter terms. Perhaps the bitterest language has been used in the Chinese newspapers against Yugoslavia. It is not for me to express an opinion on these ideological conflicts of Communist parties. Constituted as I am, and as most of us are, it is difficult to understand these dogmatic approaches in the realm of politics or economics, which resemble the ecclesiastical controversies of past ages. We are on friendly terms with the Soviet Union as well as with Yugoslavia and we shall continue to be friends with both countries. The one aspect of this question which disturbs me relates to the application of the Five Principles of *Panchsheel* to international relations. If those principles are accepted, then it should be open to every country to decide in its own way and on the policy it pursues, provided it is not aggressive or does not interfere with any other country. To try to impose any policy, ideological or other, on another country appears to be not in keeping with the *Panchsheel*.

13. Then there is the question of the stoppage of aid by the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia.⁷ Normally, it is open to a

6. See *ante*, pp. 46-47.

7. Aid valued at £100 million to Yugoslavia agreed to by the Soviet Union was unilaterally postponed on 27 May for five years. On 30 May 1958, the Yugoslav Government refused to accept or negotiate the postponement, and claimed compensation four days later.

country to give aid or not to give aid. We ourselves have taken aid from many countries and have been grateful for it. If we do not get aid from a country, we have no business to blame it or to assume that we have a right to aid. But in the case of Yugoslavia, there appears to be another feature of this aid. There was an actual agreement for aid. The question therefore arises, not so much about refusal of aid but of a breach of an agreement between two countries.

14. These various developments would tend to indicate that international tensions are not at all easing but are becoming a little more tense. At the same time, talks about a summit conference continue rather vaguely. Most people take it for granted that there will be some kind of a high level conference and yet the sense of urgency has become a little less. For the moment, there is a proposal made by President Eisenhower,⁸ and accepted by the Soviet Government, to have a conference of experts to study how far it is possible to detect nuclear test explosions.⁹ The argument of some people has been that it is not always possible to detect such explosions and, therefore, violations of an agreement for stoppage of such tests may well take place. The Soviet Union has suggested that Indian experts should also join this conference. In accordance with our normal policy, we have stated that we are always prepared to help and cooperate provided we are wanted by the principal parties concerned. We have no desire to push ourselves in.

15. So much about the outside world to which we can make little difference. What difference we can make depends

8. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 167.

9. Eisenhower and Macmillan proposed on 8 and 20 April respectively a conference to Khrushchev. Despite Khrushchev's rejection, Eisenhower repeated the proposal on 28 April and on 24 May suggested Geneva as the place for the meeting. On 30 May Khrushchev insisted that the conference should be held in Moscow.

entirely on our own national health and unity. There has been a good deal of talk in the foreign as well as the national press about our internal difficulties, political and economic. Much of this talk has been greatly exaggerated. But the fact remains that we have to face rather difficult problems in India and we cannot afford to be complacent about them. The economic outlook is not good, though I have no doubt that basically our economy is a sound one and that it will triumph over our present difficulties. What worries me is the tendency to faction and disunity and to violence. A distressing feature of the last two or three weeks was the strike at the Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur.¹⁰ These Works are vital for our industrial development. They are being enlarged and we have helped them in various ways. They have a reputation of being well run and of treating their labour fairly. Why then should this outbreak take place there resulting in much damage and in great loss to production. This is a serious matter not only in itself but even more so because of the possibility of similar developments elsewhere in that great industrial area which is growing up in the West Bengal-Orissa-Madhya Pradesh triangle. I would not like to express any views about these incidents because I have not studied the situation there, though I have kept broadly in touch with it. But I have a definite impression that this was not a normal labour dispute. Rather it was a deliberate attempt to create trouble. Obviously, no government can tolerate this approach.

10. The Mazdoor Union of Jamshedpur organized a strike in Tata Steel Mills from 12 to 28 May 1958 for an upward revision of pay and allowances of the workers and recognition of their Union. The Bihar Government declared the strike illegal, and the strike was marred by violence leading to curfew in Jamshedpur for a week.

16. We talk of foreign exchange difficulties¹¹ and internal resources. The very keystone of our planning depends, among other things, on steel production. To try to hit at this vital sector of our economy is to play a role which is harmful to the nation and to the people as a whole, including the workers in these great steel plants. Even if there are grievances, they should be dealt with in some other way.

17. There have been many references in the press recently about the foreign exchange situation. Nothing very new has happened except that our exports have come down to some extent because of the recession in the United States and its effects in Europe. The result of our exports coming down somewhat has been to increase the weekly drawal of sterling balances from London. If this weekly rate continues in this way and nothing is done to check it, by early next year, there will hardly be any reserves left. It is necessary, therefore, to take immediate and effective steps to prevent this continuing decline.

18. There are only three ways, broadly speaking, of meeting this situation: (1) by increasing our exports, (2) by lessening our imports, and (3) by big-scale aid by loans, credits, etc. So far as imports are concerned, we have already cut them down to the bone. If there are any possibilities of further reduction, they will certainly be examined and given effect to. But most of our imports now are intimately connected with our manufacturing capacity. By cutting down imports we lessen our production and thus really come in the way of our developing economy. That obviously will be bad and we want to avoid that.

11. The foreign exchange situation had worsened chiefly due to huge imports of foodgrains and heavy machinery. Fearing that by the beginning of 1959 all sterling holdings would be exhausted, the Government proposed to stop all imports for three months from October.

19. Then there is the question of exports. I have no doubt that these can be stepped up although at the present moment it is rather difficult because of the recession in Western countries. When we think of exports we usually have in view our traditional items—tea, jute, cotton textiles, etc. We should no doubt, push these exports, but we must remember that the traditional pattern will not by itself help us much in the future, and we shall have to explore new patterns of trade. Further, we shall have to export even some articles which we normally need for our own consumption. Thus sugar, oilseeds, etc. This may mean some inconvenience to us and even the possibility of some prices going up. It may necessitate a measure of regulation, and we must be prepared for all this. We have to realize that we cannot make much progress without paying the price for it. We talk a great deal of austerity, but normally this means somebody else doing something which does not affect us. Now that we have to face this serious problem, we cannot function complacently or in a leisurely fashion. We have to take every effective step and be prepared for the consequences, whatever they might be, for the simple reason that the consequences of not taking effective steps are going to be much more serious.

20. Our critics and opponents—and they exist not only in foreign countries, but in India also—are constantly harping on the weakness of our economy and on the possibility even of its breaking up. Thus they create an atmosphere of defeatism. I do not at all agree with this appraisal and I think that India has great resources. The problems we face are the normal problems of every country which has gone through this phase of development. In the past those countries relied on what was the international market for investment. That no longer functions, and there are many other difficulties in our way today. But if we pull ourselves together and face these difficulties with determination, as we intend doing, I have no doubt that we shall pull through and go ahead.

21. While there is absolutely no reason for nervousness, there is a great deal of reason for our realizing what the situation is and adapting ourselves to it. There does not

appear to me to be the atmosphere for a real effort in the country, an effort at austerity and hard work. Without such an effort success will not come to us.

22. An eminent foreign economist¹² was comparing the measure of work done in India to the quality and measure in Europe or America.¹³ He pointed out that we compared very unfavourably. First of all, we have too many holidays, secondly our hours of work are not adequate and thirdly we do not work intensively, and so as a result we produce much less than is done in many Western countries. This applies, he said, not merely to plants and factories, but all along the line, including agriculture, our offices, our teachers, our students and our politicians. I suppose his criticism is true, apart from individuals who have to work very hard. It is ultimately on the amount of work that the nation does that our production will depend, and it is on that production that our progress will depend.

23. I have been thinking that it would be very good for our people to have a period of compulsory service for all young men and young women between certain age limits, say 19 to 22. In most countries of the Western world there is conscription for military service. This is not considered to be an infringement of their liberties or freedom. We do not want any such thing for military purposes, but some kind of compulsory period of training and service for every person appears to me to be very necessary. That period should be

12. Gunnar Myrdal (1898-1987). Professor of Political Economy and Financial Studies, Stockholm University, 1933-50, 1960-67; Secretary, U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, 1947-57; awarded Nobel prize for Economics, 1974; his books include *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions* (1957), and *Asian Drama* (1968).

13. In his informal address to the Members of Parliament on 22 April 1958.

one year and for, say, six months in the year, everyone should live in camps under some kind of military discipline. This will give them discipline, physical health and capacity for manual work and to work together for productive schemes. The next six months might well be spent in productive social work. The type of work will depend on the capacity and training of the individual. Another advantage of this will be to bring together everyone on the same level, whether he is rich or poor, and make him do exactly the same type of work, part of which will be manual.

24. The only objection that I can think of to such a scheme would be the difficulty of finding money for it. If the whole of India is brought into the purview of the scheme, this will be a very costly business. We need not start it in a very big way, although everyone between certain ages could be made liable, by law, and we can call them up in batches as convenient and feasible.

25. Another idea which has often been mentioned and with which I entirely agree, is that every graduate, before he gets his degree, should put in a certain period of work in an allotted sphere. The kind of work will depend on his training and capacity. He may have to work in a village or in a tribal area. This would, of course, apply to medical graduates also as well as engineers and the like.

26. There has been a good deal of trouble in recent weeks on our frontiers with Pakistan, both in the East and the West.¹⁴ Each incident by itself, though annoying, may not amount to much. But the quick succession of these incidents is a little disturbing, especially when there is an agitation

14. Firing occurred on 2 and 5 June in Cachar-Sylhet area and near Khasi Hills-Sylhet border. On 3 June, there was firing near Fazilka in Punjab in which 6 persons were killed.

going on in Pakistan on the part of some people to organize marches into Kashmir.¹⁵

27. There is one small matter I should like to mention here in connection with Kashmir. Many of our Ministers, both Central and from the States, visit Kashmir. Sometimes conferences are held there. On other occasions, Ministers, Speakers and others go there individually or with their families. There can be no objection to all this. But it appears to be expected that every such person who goes there, including his family, should be treated as State guests. The result has been a great burden on the State. Demands are made not only for particular types of accommodation which may not be available, but for motor cars, etc. During the tourist season especially it is very difficult to provide these. I would, therefore, suggest that as far as possible, no conference should be held in Kashmir or, at any rate, the burden of such a conference should not fall on the State. Further, Ministers, both Central and State, going to Kashmir, should avoid accepting the hospitality of the State Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. On 6 June, the Associated Press of Pakistan reported that over a hundred people from 'Azad Kashmir' had planned to cross in July the ceasefire line at various points "to join the forces of liberation on the other side."

10

New Delhi
30 June, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, I have again had a brief respite in the inner valleys of the Himalayas.¹ This was not exactly a respite from work as papers and files and messages pursued me there from day to day and I had to deal with them. Nevertheless, there was a great difference in dealing with some work quietly in the heart of the mountains within view of the high peaks covered with snow and with no interruptions and very few interviews.

2. In the course of my stay at Manali I paid a visit to the Rohtang Pass which takes one across the major Himalayan barrier to the high tablelands on the other side of it. This pass, as a number of other passes in the Himalayas, such as the Zoji La which connects Kashmir proper with Ladakh, leads to what might be called almost a new world. In this new world of above 12,000 feet or so, there are hardly any trees, practically no rain, little dust and of course temperatures are low, even though the sun may be piercingly hot. The physical conditions thus are quite different and for nearly half the year it is difficult to indulge in outside activity like agriculture. Standing on these high passes, one sees the thickly wooded mountain sides on one side and the rock and snow on the other leading up to great glaciers and mountain peaks. The valleys have no trees but they are green with grass and sometimes bright with mountain flowers. Naturally, the people of these high regions, living in

1. From 5 to 23 June 1958.

entirely difficult physical conditions, have a hard life and are tough physically. They would not survive otherwise. These high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti and Ladakh connect up with Tibet and form, what has sometimes been called, the Roof of the World.

3. On my way to the Rohtang Pass, which is 13,500 feet high, I was happy to meet some young men and women, students or professors who had gone on a trek to these regions. I wish that this habit of trekking on our high mountains would become more popular with our young men and women. Apart from the sheer joy of it, it has, I am sure, a considerable effect in improving our bodies and minds. It takes us out of our narrow shells and enables us to have a glimpse of something approaching infinity. The great oceans and the vast deserts and the high mountains have this effect on me and probably on others. But, of these three, the high mountains produce a greater sense of this infinity. We come out of our grooves of thought and action and tend to look at our daily lives in a better perspective.

4. Recently an Indian mountaineering expedition was successful in reaching the top of one of the great Himalayan mountains, Cho Oyu.² That expedition paid a heavy price in the death³ of our ablest mountaineer, Major Jayal.⁴ But, in spite of this calamity and the bad weather that pursued them, they persevered in their attempt and succeeded. This type of courage and determination gives one hope for our people.

5. You know probably about the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute which was established in Darjeeling soon after

2. On 15 May 1958.

3. On 20 April 1958.

4. Major N.D. Jayal (1926-1958). Chief Instructor, Winter Warfare School, Gulmarg, 1948; Principal, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, 1952-58.

the conquest of Everest. Major Jayal was the first Principal of this Institute, and Tenzing Norgay,⁵ the conquerer of Everest, was the Chief Technical Adviser and Instructor. This Institute has made solid progress and has given training to a fairly large number of our people in the art and science of mountaineering. Indeed, two of the persons who went up Cho Oyu had been trained at this Institute. I have been wondering how we can, through this Institute or otherwise, increase facilities for our young men and women to come in contact with our mountain regions. I do not expect most of them to become expert mountaineers trying to perform wonderful feats, but I would like them to develop the habit of trekking in these regions, as large numbers of people do in Europe. I should like our universities to have clubs or associations for this purpose, providing simple equipment and advice and training. It should not be thought that this involves much expense. A trek in the mountains can be very cheap indeed, provided one is prepared for a little hard living. There are a number of Youth Hostels in various parts of India. Simple hostels or even log-huts should, I think, be erected on the major trekking routes. Trekkers should as a rule carry their few belongings themselves in a rucksack on their backs. Such a trip would widen our horizons and give an idea of a new face of India which many of us know so little.

6. Since I wrote to you last, one major and very significant event has happened, the execution of Imre Nagy⁶ and some of his colleagues in Hungary.⁷ The Lebanese civil war has

5. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 321.

6. (1896-1958). Prime Minister, 1953-55; expelled from the Communist Party in 1955, reinstated following popular demonstrations in Budapest, October 1956; removed on 4 November 1956 after the Soviet intervention and executed in 1958. His body was exhumed and given a State funeral in 1989.

7. On 16 June 1958, General Pal Maleter, military leader of the Hungarian uprising and former Defence Minister, Miklos Gimes, a journalist, and Joseph Szilagyi, were executed along with Imre Nagy.

continued.⁸ In France, General De Gaulle⁹ is established as Premier. No one quite knows what General De Gaulle's advent may lead to, and all kinds of prophecies are made, both in his favour and against him. To those wedded to democratic processes, the manner of his coming has not been agreeable, even though the objection to him personally might not be great. For, after all, he came as a result of a military *coup* in Algeria, which was practically a revolt of the French Army. Many people and groups voted for him because they thought that the only alternative was civil war or a military dictatorship, and it was thought that only he could control the rebellious elements in the Army. He has now become Premier of France by some constitutional device, which is rather thin, and has been given practically full powers for six months. The test of his success or failure will lie in his treatment of the Algerian question. If he manages to settle this satisfactorily to the Algerian national movement, then indeed he will have justified himself; but this seems doubtful because the gap between the two viewpoints is much too big. If De Gaulle fails, then France will again face a deeper crisis. It is interesting to note that the major powers including the U.S.A., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R., have been very cautious about their reactions to De Gaulle coming into power. On the whole, they have taken up a friendly attitude to him, though this is tinged with some apprehension about the future. It is particularly interesting to see that while the Communist parties in some non-Communist countries have spoken in strident terms against De Gaulle, the Soviet Union as well as other countries associated with it have expressed themselves with restraint. This indicates how a government functions differently and with caution even though some of its adherents or admirers lose all restraint and have little balance.

8. See *ante*, pp. 44-45.

9. Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970). Leader of the "Free French", 1940-44; Premier, 1958; President, 1945-46 and 1959-1969.

7. In Lebanon the visit¹⁰ of the U.N. Secretary General, Mr. Hammarskjöld,¹¹ appears to have had a certain soothing influence. There was a great deal of talk of some kind of an intervention by the U.S.A. or the U.K. Governments and there was also a warning from the Soviet Union that if such intervention took place they would not remain silent observers of it.¹² The Lebanese Government demanded intervention and went up to the Security Council complaining bitterly about the help being given by the United Arab Republic to the rebels.¹³ While the internal situation became more and more difficult, the prospect of other powers being involved became grave. The U.N. Observation Force that was sent there, which includes an Indian contingent, and the U.N. Secretary General's visit have lessened greatly the chances of foreign intervention, even though this cannot be ruled out completely. Mr. Hammarskjöld appears to have had a restraining influence on those who advocate foreign intervention. Meanwhile, the international struggle goes on and the odds appear to be somewhat in favour of the so-called rebels. The small Lebanese army has, oddly enough, not taken full part in this affair and to some extent has tried not to get entangled in it. Perhaps the strongest element in the rebel forces is that of the Druse tribesmen.¹⁴ These tribesmen in the old days gave a lot of trouble to the French when they were the governing authority there.¹⁵

10. 19 to 22 June 1958.

11. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 109.

12. See *ante*, p. 45.

13. On 11 June, the Security Council resolved to despatch a U.N. Observation Group and an Observation Force to look into the complaint of the Lebanese Government of 22 May 1958.

14. The Druse sect which grew around the figure of Caliph al-Hakim bi Amir Illah in the 11th Century had settled down in parts of Lebanon and Syria where they exercised autonomous control and feudal powers. At this time, the sect led by Kamal Jumblatt, was opposed to Chamoun's pro-West Government.

15. Lebanon was ruled by France as Mandatory territory till 1941, when it was taken over by the Anglo-French forces which left in 1945.

8. During my brief visit to Beirut a year or two ago,¹⁶ I happened to meet the leader of these Druses, Mr. Kamal Jumblatt,¹⁷ and had a talk with him. He was an interesting and dynamic person, a vague kind of socialist and a great admirer of India. It may interest you to know that he is attracted to Vedanta philosophy and has visited India on several occasions.

9. While in Lebanon we have lived on the verge of a possible world crisis, the event which has caused a great shock during these few weeks has been the execution of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues. It was not only the execution itself but the circumstances of it that gave this shock. I need not go into this story, as you may have read it in the newspapers of how, when he took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy at the time of the uprising, he was handed over after an undertaking of safe conduct was given. That promise was broken soon after. Later, repeated assurances were given that he would not be tried. Those were also broken and a trial took place secretly and the world only came to know about this trial and sentence after the execution.

10. As you know, the Hungarian uprising of 1956¹⁸ deeply stirred public opinion in great parts of the world. Tens of thousands of people were shot down there and several hundred thousand persons escaped as refugees. It was very difficult to defend the suppression of this uprising and how some of the brightest young men and young women had to suffer the extreme penalty for their nationalism and patriotism. Yet it might be said, and was indeed said, that the situation then was a very difficult one as there was a possibility of a world war. You will remember that it was just at that time that Anglo-French forces attacked Egypt.¹⁹

16. On 21 July 1956. See Vol. 4, pp. 406 and 408.

17. (1919-1977). Lebanese politician and hereditary Druse chieftain; President, Socialist Progressive Party; Minister of several Departments between 1960 and 1970; awarded Lenin Peace Prize, 1972.

18. See Vol. 4, pp. 463-465 and 467.

19. See Vol. 4, pp. 465-466.

It was, therefore, possible to understand that the Soviet Government, alarmed at the prospect of a world war, was not prepared to take any risks and could not tolerate a movement which weakened it internally and might make an external attack easier. That was not an adequate justification for what had happened, but it might be considered an explanation of why it happened in a moment of crisis. The execution of Imre Nagy, however, took place without any such apparent crisis and appears to have been the result of a deliberate and well-thought-out decision. From this point of view it becomes even more significant why such a step should be taken at this particular moment and why should fierce attacks, on the ideological level, be made in China and the Soviet Union on Yugoslavia. It must have been known that Nagy's execution would produce powerful reactions in a great part of the world. Yet, in spite of this, it was decided upon.

11. I find it difficult to understand this or the fierce attacks on what is called 'revisionism'. It almost reminds one of theological disputes and the passions aroused in the middle ages in Europe between rival sects of Christians. There was the great controversy between Rome and the Eastern Church which had its seat in Constantinople before the Turks conquered that famous city in the 15th Century. Or the dispute of spiritual and temporal supremacy between Rome and the rival Pope at Avignon.

12. Our own way of thinking in India, with all its faults and failings, has not been rigid. We have been tolerant in our approach to philosophy and religion, and have seldom tried to crush an idea which was not in line with the orthodox traditions. Our narrowness has lain in the social sphere and in caste and practice. It is a little difficult for us, therefore, to understand these religious controversies of the middle ages. In India, there was a great schism in the Buddhist world between the Mahayana and the Hinayana and this led to great debate. But, even though the schism continued, there was no great violence attached to it. In the modern world the approach is supposed to be more tolerant insofar as religion

and philosophy are concerned. But intolerance of the old type of religious bigotry has invaded the economic and social sphere. This is exhibited both in the Communist approach and the anti-Communist approach. This has become evident recently in the orthodox interpretations of Marxism and the violent reactions to what is called 'revisionism'.

13. It is not for us to enter into this controversy. But we are vastly concerned with the consequences of it and how far it adds to or lessens the tensions of the world. I think it would be true to say that these recent developments have added to these tensions and, therefore, made peace more difficult to achieve.

14. It is not for us, as I have said, to interfere in these controversies, because we are apart from them and wish to pursue our own way. We try also to avoid saying or doing anything which might add to the tensions and make coming together more difficult. We still hope, though with a diminishing faith, in high-level conferences which might help to relieve the present tensions. We have talked bravely of *Panchsheel* and the Five Principles. The first expression of these Principles was in an agreement between India and China. Subsequently, many other countries adopted them formally, and no country could condemn them. An essential part of these Five Principles was "non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character." Observe the word 'ideological' in this context. It was further stated in those days that there may be many ways of striving towards a socialist structure of society. Does the *Panchsheel* hold after these recent events, and has there not been an interference in ideological matters? It may be said that this interference has only taken place in countries which call themselves Communist, and the principles would continue to apply to other countries. That is hardly a satisfactory explanation.

15. I do not pretend to understand fully these ideological conflicts which are almost theological in character. But, broadly speaking, the Yugoslav view, as it has developed,

has been that socialism can be achieved by peaceful or evolutionary means and that Marxism has to be adapted to changing conditions. The Marxist doctrine of pre-determination is not fully accepted. The Soviet view presumably is different. All this, of course, has undoubtedly a political significance, and the Yugoslav attitude, not so much because of the difference in ideology, but rather because it did not submit to the Soviet viewpoint, was considered a heresy and a challenge. What is even more significant is the reaction in the People's Government of China to it.

16. Does all this mean a more rigid line both internal and external in the Soviet Union and in the People's Republic of China? Does it mean that the process of what was called democratization and liberalization has been reversed? If so, apart from internal consequences, this is bound to have a powerful effect on the cold war and the tensions of the world.

17. The Indian Communist Party recently, at its Amritsar Congress,²⁰ declared for peaceful methods. But, in this controversy, it has expressed itself in favour of the old rigid viewpoint. The two hardly fit in, and one must therefore conclude that the Amritsar declaration had no real significance or meaning. Certain subsequent declarations by Communist leaders in India also confirm this conclusion.

18. I have written at some length to you about matters not directly related to our internal situation in India. Yet, it was my intention to write about this internal situation. I shall have to do this on another occasion. I shall say this here, however, that I am surprised at the exaggerated views taken about our basic economic situation in India. That situation is a difficult one at present, both in regard to food and foreign exchange. The difficulties have been increased by a

20. Held from 6 to 13 April 1958.

number of factors beyond our control and by bad harvests. But we must not forget at any time that our basic economy is sound and our resources are considerable. We have to work hard and we have to correct our mistakes when we make them, as we sometimes do. The kind of difficulties we are facing are not unusual for a country going through a process of development as India is today. The very bigness of this task means that we have to face difficulties. Most of these difficulties are occurring in other countries, including China. But, of course, criticism is not permitted there, and the surface appears unruffled, whatever might be happening below the surface.

19. There is a malaise all over the world and countries and peoples have lost their moorings. The advance of science and technology has thrown the world out of gear and there appears to be some kind of a mental and physical exhaustion in the greater part of the world, in spite of the tremendous scientific advance. Man begins to feel helpless before these mighty powers that have been released and considers himself more and more a victim of external circumstances. Science has advanced beyond the comprehension of most people. While man is progressively conquering external conditions and the physical world, he seems to be losing grip over himself and there is an absence of faith in everything.

20. This is perhaps an inevitable phase through which we have to pass. The real danger is that war may come and prevent any future developing. If we avoid war we shall no doubt get over this malaise and present-day disease of our civilization. We may realize again what the great men have always told us that the conquest of the physical world is not enough if it is not accompanied by a conquest of oneself.

21. We live in an age of cynicism and platitudes and hypocrisies. We repeat slogans which take the place of thought and even those slogans, from too frequent use, have lost all real significance. We accuse and blame each other. The idealism which gives strength to an individual and to a nation fades away and human values decline.

22. We shall have to think anew, not in terms of slogans and dogmas, but of a calculated idealism, related both to modern conditions and human values. The ideal must be clear, though in detail it may vary and must depend upon circumstances. The broad means and methods should also be clear. Do we adhere to peaceful methods or not? Is it not enough to say that we shall adhere to peaceful methods or not? It is not enough to say that we shall adhere to peaceful methods unless something happens. That is a negation of peaceful methods.

23. We need not all think alike; indeed it would be rather unfortunate if we did so; but we should try to have some broad objectives and methods to which we can all agree and within that wide framework we can differ and try to convince each other or the people. What kind of India do we want? What kind of social framework? Are we seeking to build a free, equal and progressive society and doing away with privileged classes and groups? We should think out our basic approaches and agree to them, even though we may differ within that framework. But what is more important than even the objective is the methods we adopt. If there is no agreement on those broad methods, then a continuing conflict results. Having fixed our ideals and laid down our methods, we must consciously direct our living to that end. It is only when we live with a purpose and with an objective that life becomes worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
2 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you know, we are encouraging tourism in India. More and more tourists come here and sometimes travel by road. I have had complaints from them to the effect that the road signs and mileage are often written in a manner they cannot read and, therefore, they find it difficult to find the right road. That is to say, in some cases and in some States, the road names and indications and mileage are given in the language of the State and not in English.

This applies not only to the foreign tourists but to Indian tourists also or those of our countrymen who travel from one part of India to another by car. If they enter a State whose language they do not know, they get into difficulties about the road signs. The odd thing is that in some places or States previous road signs have been removed and, in an excess of enthusiasm, only signs in the State language are given. It is right that the State language should be used in this way. But let us not forget that each State is only a part of India and we have to cater for the whole of India.

There are many areas which might be called bilingual. These lie on the border of two States on either side. There these names and indications should always be given in both the languages in use there. Sometimes there are regions where a particular language or script may be largely in use.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

2 July, 1958

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In those regions an attempt should be made to give the information in both the ways. The object of having road names and indications is to facilitate the passage of a traveller and not to educate him in a particular language.

I would, therefore, suggest to you that insofar as the principal highways are concerned all over India, the names of roads and other indications at crossings etc., should always be given in English or rather in Roman characters, apart from giving them in the State language. Also the miles should be given in what is called the international numerals. This indeed is laid down by our Constitution.

I am troubling you about this matter because though it appears rather petty, it is a case of much irritation and indeed of confusion also. I trust, therefore, that you will be good enough to issue instructions to your Public Works Department and such other Departments as deal with these matters to take the steps which I have suggested in order to facilitate not only international but inter-State travel by road.

This, of course, applies to railway stations, jetties, etc., also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
10 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am sending you two copies of a brochure on “Low cost balanced diets and school lunch programmes” prepared by our Nutrition Research Laboratories at Conoor in South India. I visited these laboratories some time ago and found that they were doing very good work in various directions. I suggested to them that they might prepare a variety of balanced diets which should be inexpensive.

Some of the State Governments, notably Madras, have introduced a free lunch in some of their primary schools.¹ I was happy to learn of the progress made in this matter in Madras State. This gave me the idea to ask the Conoor Laboratories to suggest a suitable school lunch.

It is obvious that the type of food given will vary in different parts of India. Nevertheless, these suggestions on a balanced diet will, I am sure, be found helpful by you. Eminent doctors have been saying repeatedly that our food habits in India are not at all healthy or wholesome. Most of our people concentrate far too much on cereals. This is neither good for them nor for the country's economy. Our dependence on a particular type of cereal is not safe, apart from its not being conducive to health.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The mid-day meals scheme in primary schools was introduced in Madras by K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister. It was estimated that by the end of 1962, the scheme covered 27, 217 schools.

10 July, 1958

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I hope you will have the information contained in this brochure examined by your Health and other Departments concerned and give publicity to the suggestions made in this brochure.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
13 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My fortnightly letter to you today will be a brief one, but I am attaching to it a note which is for the present incomplete. I may add to it later. It represents really some kind of loud thinking on my part and an attempt to clarify my own mind. I am venturing to share this with you.

2. More and more I have a feeling that in international affairs logic and reason have been pushed out by some kind of madness which is continually driving the world into dangerous directions. In spite of the abundance of goodwill and desire for peace that people in all countries possess, they are being driven to the brink of the precipice. Nearly all of us shout at each other and one country or group condemns the other, although it is obvious that this cannot lead to any peace or relief from the present tensions. Disarmament, so vitally necessary, seems a dream which has no reality.

3. In the Lebanon, a curious situation has arisen and is continuing.¹ There can be little doubt that some kind of a civil war is raging there, a war in which the regular army has played little part thus far. There is still talk of intervention which, if it takes place, will inevitably lead to the most dangerous consequences. Also, such intervention will mean a conflict and an attempt to suppress them. The United Nations Force of Observers and Secretary-General Hammarskjöld have undoubtedly played a very helpful part in preventing dangerous developments. How far they will succeed in this, I cannot say.

1. See *ante*, pp. 44-46 and 67.

4. In India, apart from the other great problems that face us, we are at the mercy of nature, that is, the rains. They have come in a large part of the country, but some of the drought-affected areas in Bihar, U.P. and some other places are still without rain. If adequate rain does not come within the next few days, we shall have to face a great disaster.
5. Some little time ago, the Prime Minister of Pakistan² delivered a speech³ which was somewhat unusual for him. He talked in terms of peace with India and ruled out war. We welcome this. But his words have been belied by repeated attempts at aggression on the Indo-Pakistan border in the East. The actual incidents there cannot be considered major, but this tendency is a dangerous one and, obviously, we cannot supinely watch these incursions. We have to take steps to prevent them.
6. For the rest, I leave you to the note attached.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Malik Feroze Khan Noon. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 563.

3. Addressing a press conference in Karachi on 3 July 1958, Noon reiterated his Government's determination to prevent the crossing of the ceasefire line by the volunteers of the Kashmir Liberation Movement. See also *ante*, p. 62.

*Enclosure**

We have many grave internal problems to face. But even a consideration of these internal problems inevitably leads to a wider range of thought. Unless we have some clarity of vision or, at any rate, are clear as to the questions posed to us, we shall not get out of the confusion that afflicts the world today. I do not pretend to have that clarity of thinking or to have any answers to our major questions. All I can say in all humility is that I am constantly thinking about these questions. In a sense, I might say that I rather envy those who have got fixed ideas and, therefore, need not take the trouble to look deeper into the problems of today. Whether it is from the point of view of some religion or ideology, they are not troubled with the mental conflicts which are always the accompaniment of the great ages of transition.

2. And yet, even though it may be more comfortable to have fixed ideas and be complacent, surely that is not to be commended, and that can only lead to stagnation and decay. The basic fact of today is the tremendous pace of change in human life. In my own life, I have seen amazing changes, and I am sure that, in the course of the life of the next generation, these changes will be even greater, if humanity is not overwhelmed and annihilated by an atomic war.

3. Nothing is so remarkable as the progressive conquest or understanding of the physical world by the mind of man today, and this process is continuing at a terrific pace. Man need no longer be a victim of external circumstances, at any rate to a very large extent. While there has been this conquest of external conditions, there is at the same time the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fibre and of self-control in man as a whole. Conquering the physical world, he fails to conquer himself.

* This note was later published as "The Basic Approach" in *AICC Economic Review* (August 1958).

4. That is the tragic paradox of this Atomic and Sputnik Age. The fact that nuclear tests continue, even though it is well recognized that they are very harmful in the present and in the future; the fact that all kinds of weapons of mass destruction are being produced and piled up, even though it is universally recognized that their use may well exterminate the human race, brings out this paradox with startling clarity. Science is advancing far beyond the comprehension of a very great part of the human race, and posing problems which most of us are incapable of understanding, much less of solving. Hence, the inner conflict and tumult of our times. On the one side, there is this great and overpowering progress in science and technology and of their manifold consequences, on the other, a certain mental exhaustion of civilization itself.
5. Religion comes into conflict with rationalism. The disciplines of religion and social usage fade away without giving place to other disciplines, moral or spiritual. Religion, as practised, either deals with matters rather unrelated to our normal lives and thus adopts an ivory tower attitude, or is allied to certain social usages which do not fit in with the present age. Rationalism, on the other hand, with all its virtues, somehow appears to deal with the surface of things, without uncovering the inner core. Science itself has arrived at a stage when vast new possibilities and mysteries loom ahead. Matter and energy and spirit seem to overlap.
6. In the ancient days, life was simpler and more in contact with nature. Now it becomes more and more complex and more and more hurried, without time for reflection or even of questioning. Scientific developments have produced an enormous surplus of power and energy which are often used for wrong purposes.
7. The old question still faces us, as it has faced humanity for ages past: what is the meaning of life? The old days of faith do not appear to be adequate, unless they can answer the questions of today. In a changing world, living should

be a continuous adjustment to these changes and happenings. It is the lack of this adjustment that creates conflicts.

8. The old civilizations, with the many virtues that they possess, have obviously proved inadequate. The new Western civilization, with all its triumphs and achievements and also with its atomic bombs, also appears inadequate and, therefore, the feeling grows that there is something wrong with our civilization. Indeed, essentially our problems are those of civilization itself. Religion gave a certain moral and spiritual discipline; it also tried to perpetuate superstition and social usages. Indeed, those superstitions and social usages enmeshed and overwhelmed the real spirit of religion. Disillusionment followed. Communism comes in the wake of this disillusionment and offers some kind of faith and some kind of discipline. To some extent it fills a vacuum. It succeeds in some measure by giving a content to man's life. But in spite of its apparent success, it fails, partly because of its rigidity, but, even more so, because it ignores certain essential needs of human nature. There is much talk in communism of the contradictions of capitalist society and there is truth in that analysis. But we see the growing contradictions within the rigid framework of communism itself. Its suppression of individual freedom brings about powerful reactions. Its contempt for what might be called the moral and spiritual side of life not only ignores something that is basic in man, but also deprives human behaviour of standards and values. Its unfortunate association with violence encourages a certain evil tendency in human beings.

9. I have the greatest admiration for many of the achievements of the Soviet Union. Among these great achievements is the value attached to the child and to the common man. There the systems of education and health are probably the best in the world. But it is said, and rightly, that there is suppression of individual freedom there. And yet the spread of education in all its forms is itself a tremendous liberating force which ultimately will not tolerate that suppression of

freedom. This again is another contradiction. Unfortunately, communism became too closely associated with the necessity for violence and thus the ideal which it placed before the world became a tainted one. Means distorted ends. We see here the powerful influence of wrong means and methods.

10. Communism charges the capitalist structure of society with being based on violence and class conflict. I think this is essentially correct, though that capitalist structure itself has undergone and is continually undergoing a change because of democratic and other forces. Still it is obviously true that there are class struggles and inequality. The question is how to get rid of this and have a classless society with equal opportunities for all. Can this be achieved through methods of violence, or can it be possible to bring about those changes through peaceful methods? Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence. Even if it does not indulge normally in physical violence, its language is of violence, its thought is violent and it does not seek to change by persuasion or peaceful democratic pressures, but by coercion and indeed by destruction and extermination in their grossest forms and, at the same time, it has no acceptable ideal.

11. This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhiji taught us. Communists as well as anti-Communists both seem to imagine that a principle can only be stoutly defended by language of violence, and by condemning those who do not accept it. For both of them there are no shades, there is only black and white. That is the old approach of the bigoted aspect of some religions. It is not the approach of tolerance of feeling that perhaps others might have some share of the truth also. Speaking for myself, I find this approach wholly unscientific, unreasonable and uncivilized, whether it is applied in the realm of religion or economic theory or anything else. I prefer the old pagan approach of tolerance, apart from its religious aspects. But whatever we may think about it, we have arrived at a stage in

the modern world when an attempt at forcible imposition of ideas on any large section of people is bound ultimately to fail. In present circumstances this will lead to war and tremendous destruction. There will be no victory, only defeat for everyone. Even apart from this, we have seen, in the last year or two, that it is not easy for even Great Powers to reintroduce colonial control over territories which have recently become independent. This was exemplified by the Suez incident in 1956. Also what happened in Hungary demonstrated that the desire for national freedom is stronger even than any ideology and cannot ultimately be suppressed. What happened in Hungary was not essentially a conflict between communism and anti-communism. It represented nationalism striving for freedom from foreign control.

12. Thus, violence cannot possibly lead today to a solution of any major problem because violence has become much too terrible and destructive. The moral approach to this question has now been powerfully reinforced by the practical aspect.

13. If the society we aim at cannot be brought about by big-scale violence, will small-scale violence help? Surely not, partly because that itself may lead to the big-scale violence and partly because it produces an atmosphere of conflict and of disruption. It is absurd to imagine that out of conflict the social progressive forces are bound to win. In Germany both the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party were swept away by Hitler. This may well happen in other countries too. In India any appeal to violence is particularly dangerous because of its inherent disruptive character. We have too many fissiparous tendencies for us to take risks. But all these are relatively minor considerations. The basic thing, I believe, is that wrong means will not lead to right results and that is no longer merely an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition.

14. Some of us have been discussing this general background and, more especially, conditions in India. It is often

said that there is a sense of frustration and depression in India and the old buoyancy of spirit is not to be found, at a time when enthusiasm and hard work are most needed. This is not merely in evidence in our country. It is in a sense a world phenomenon. An old and valued colleague said that this is due to our not having a philosophy of life and indeed the world also is suffering from this lack of a philosophical approach. In our efforts to ensure the material prosperity of the country, we have not paid any attention to the spiritual element in human nature. Therefore, in order to give the individual and the nation a sense of purpose, something to live for and, if necessary, to die for, we have to revive some philosophy of life and give, in the wider sense of the word, a spiritual background to our thinking. We talk of a Welfare State and of democracy and socialism. They are good concepts but they hardly convey a clear and unambiguous meaning. This was the argument and then the question arose as to what our ultimate objective should be. Democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself. We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from the transcending the good of the individuals composing it? If the individual is ignored and sacrificed for what is considered the good of the society, is that the right objective to have?

15. It was agreed that the individual should not be so sacrificed and indeed that real social progress will come only when opportunity is given to the individual to develop, provided the individual is not a selected group, but comprises the whole community. The touchstone, therefore, should be how far any political or social theory enables the individual to rise above his petty self and thus think in terms of the good of all. The law of life should not be competition or acquisitiveness but cooperation, the good of each contributing to the good of all. In such a society the emphasis will be on duties, not on rights; the rights will follow the performance of the duties. We have to give a new direction to education and evolve a new type of humanity.

16. This argument led to the old Vedantic conception that

everything, whether sentient or insentient, finds a place in the organic whole; that everything has a spark of what might be called the Divine impulse, or the basic energy or life force which pervades the universe. This leads to metaphysical regions which tend to take us away from the problems of life which face us. I suppose that any line of thought, sufficiently pursued, leads us in some measure to metaphysics. Even science today is almost on the verge of all manner of imponderables. I do not propose to discuss these metaphysical aspects, but this very argument indicates how the mind searches for something basic underlying the physical world. If we really believed in this all-pervading concept of the principle of life it might help us to get rid of some of our narrowness of race, caste or class and make us more tolerant and understanding in our approaches to life's problems.

17. But obviously it does not solve any of these problems and, in a sense, we remain where we were. In India we talk of the Welfare State and socialism. In a sense, every country, whether it is capitalist, Socialist or Communist, accepts the ideal of the Welfare State. Capitalism in a few countries at least has achieved this common welfare to a very large extent, though it has far from solved its own problems and there is a basic lack of something vital. Democracy allied to capitalism has undoubtedly toned down many of its evils and in fact is different now from what it was a generation or two ago. In industrially advanced countries there has been a continuous and steady upward trend of economic development. Even the terrible losses of World Wars have not prevented this trend, insofar as these highly developed countries are concerned. Further, this economic development has spread, though in varying degrees, to all classes. This does not apply to countries which are not industrially developed. Indeed, in those countries the struggle for development is very difficult and sometimes, in spite of efforts not only do economic inequalities remain, but tend to become worse. Normally speaking, it may be said that the forces of a capitalist society, if left unchecked, tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and thus increase the gap

between them. This applies to countries as well as groups or regions or classes within the countries. Various democratic processes interfere with these normal trends. Capitalism itself has, therefore, developed some socialistic features even though its major aspects remain.

18. Socialism, of course, deliberately wants to interfere with the normal processes and thus not only adds to the productive forces but lessens inequalities. But what is socialism? It is difficult to give a precise answer and there are innumerable definitions of it. Some people probably think of socialism vaguely just as something which does good and which aims at equality. That does not take us very far. Socialism is basically a different approach from that of capitalism, though I think it is true that the wide gap between them tends to lessen because many of the ideas of socialism are gradually incorporated even in the capitalist structure. Socialism is after all not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems. If socialism is introduced in a backward and under-developed country, it does not suddenly make it any less backward. In fact, we then have a backward and poverty-stricken socialism.

19. Unfortunately many of the political aspects of communism have tended to distort our vision of socialism. Also the technique of struggle evolved by communism has given violence a predominant part. Socialism should, therefore, be considered apart from these political elements or the inevitability of violence. It tells us that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a society is governed by its productive resources. As those productive resources change and develop, so the life and thinking of the community changes.

20. Imperialism or colonialism suppressed and suppresses the progressive social forces. Inevitably it aligns itself with certain privileged groups or classes because it is interested in preserving the social and economic *status quo*. Even after a country has become independent, it may continue to be

economically dependent on other countries. This kind of thing is euphemistically called having close cultural and economic ties.

21. We discuss sometimes the self-sufficiency of the village. This should not be mixed up with the idea of decentralization though it may be a part of it. While decentralization is, I think, desirable to the largest possible extent, if it leads to old and rather primitive methods of production, then it simply means that we do not utilize modern methods which have brought great material advance to some countries of the West. That is, we remain poor and, what is more, tend to become poorer because of the pressure of an increasing population. I do not see any way out of our vicious circle of poverty except by utilizing the new sources of power which science has placed at our disposal. Being poor, we have no surplus to invest and we sink lower and lower.

22. We have to break through this barrier by profiting by the new sources of power and modern techniques. But, in doing so, we should not forget the basic human element and the fact that our objective is individual improvement and the lessening of inequalities; and we must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilization and which have given some meaning to life.

23. It has to be remembered that it is not by some magic adoption of socialist or capitalist method that poverty suddenly leads to riches. The only way is through hard work and increasing the productivity of the nation and organizing an equitable distribution of its products. It is a lengthy and difficult process. In a poorly developed country, the capitalist method offers no chance. It is only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that steady progress can be attained though even that will take time. As this process continues, the texture of our life and thinking gradually changes.

24. Planning is essential for this because otherwise we waste our resources which are very limited. Planning does

not mean a mere collection of projects or schemes, but a thought-out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts. In India we have a terrible problem of extreme poverty in certain large regions, apart from the general poverty of the country. We have always a difficult choice before us; whether to concentrate on production by itself in selected and favourable areas, and thus for the moment rather ignoring the poor areas, or try to develop the backward areas at the same time, so as to lessen the inequalities between regions. A balance has to be struck and an integrated national plan evolved. That national plan need not and indeed should not have rigidity. It need not be based on any dogma; but should rather take the existing facts into consideration. It may and, I think, in present-day India it should, encourage private enterprise in many fields, though even that private enterprise must necessarily fit in with the national plan and have such controls as are considered necessary.

25. Land reforms have a peculiar significance because without them, more especially in a highly congested country like India, there can be no radical improvement in productivity in agriculture. But the main object of land reforms is a deeper one. They are meant to break up the old class structure of a society that is stagnant.

26. We want social security, but we have to recognize that social security only comes when a certain stage of development has been reached. Otherwise we shall have neither social security nor any development.

27. It is clear that, in the final analysis, it is the quality of the human beings that counts. It is man that builds up the wealth of a nation, as well as its cultural progress. Hence education and health are of high importance so as to produce that quality in the human beings. We have to suffer here also from the lack of resources, but still we have always to remember that it is right education and good health that will give the foundation for economic as well as cultural and

spiritual progress.

28. A national plan has thus both a short-term objective and a long-term one. The long-term objective gives a true perspective. Without it short-term planning is of little avail and will lead us into blind alleys. Planning will thus always be perspective planning and have in view the physical achievements for which we strive. In other words, it has to be physical planning, though it is obviously limited and conditioned by financial resources and economic conditions.

29. The problems that India faces are to some extent common to other countries, but, much more so, there are new problems for which we have not got parallels or historical precedents elsewhere. What has happened in the past in the industrially advanced countries has little bearing on us today. As a matter of fact, the countries that are advanced today were economically better off than India is today, in terms of per capita income, before their industrialization began. Western economics, therefore, though helpful, have little bearing on our present-day problems. So also have Marxist economics which are in many ways out of date, even though they throw a considerable light on economic processes. We have thus to do our own thinking, profiting by the example of others but essentially trying to find a path for ourselves suited to our own conditions.

30. In considering these economic aspects of our problems, we have always to remember the basic approach of peaceful means; and perhaps we might also keep in view the old Vedantic ideal of the life force which is the inner base of everything that exists.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
25 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

About a month ago I sent a confidential letter¹ to all our Governors. I referred in this letter to the position of Governors in our Constitution and also to the ceremonial attached to that office. In sending this letter I was not criticizing the Governors because I know that they have played a very helpful part in the last few years. A few of them tended rather to lay stress too much on the ceremonial side, but this was gradually being simplified. As this letter might interest you, I enclose a copy.

There are two aspects to a Governor's function. One, as I have said, relates to the ceremonial. This cannot be a replica of the old British pattern. But I do believe that while it should be simplified, the dignity of the Head of the State should be maintained. This is not a personal matter but appertains to the State. In all countries there is some ceremony and dignity attached to the Head of a State. In India we are so apt to be indisciplined that it is useful to have this dignity and ceremonial on occasions, just as it is very useful, I think, to have the army discipline which tones us up.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The letter is printed as enclosure to this letter.

Then there is the other side of the Governor's duty under the Constitution. Any reference to the Constitution will show that the Governor is not merely a figurehead, although he is a constitutional head. He has to play an important part and his Ministers should keep in intimate touch with him and keep him informed of all important developments. There were in the past some cases where the Governor was kept apart and hardly informed of what was happening or informed after it had happened. This was not only wrong but it meant not utilizing for public good a person of experience and position whose chief function was to help. In some other States the Governor has indeed played an important part in such consultations. Thus, it is desirable for Ministers to keep in fairly intimate touch with the Governors. The heads of the public services should also keep him informed of their work, more especially in regard to development.

The Governor is often a public man who has belonged to a political party. But, as Governor, he is to some extent above party affairs and he has to keep in friendly touch with all groups and parties and thus help in bringing about a certain harmony.

I might say that as Prime Minister I endeavour to keep in the closest touch with our President. I see him regularly and keep him posted with events and often take his advice about important matters and developments. I think the same practice might well be followed in regard to Governors by the Chief Ministers.

In times of distress—drought or floods or famine or some other calamity—the Governor should be particularly helpful. When loans are floated or in the small savings schemes the Governor's advice and co-operation would also be very helpful.

Unfortunately, even apart from politics, there are many disruptive elements in our national life. A Governor can and should help in smoothing differences and generally encouraging a sense of unity.

25 July, 1958

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I hope you will forgive me for writing to you on this subject, but I thought I would keep you in touch in this matter and with the letter I had sent to the Governors some time ago.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Enclosure

New Delhi
28 June, 1958

My dear Governor,

I hope you will forgive me for writing to you on a subject which has rather a personal aspect. I am sending this letter to all the Governors, and not to any particular one only.

I have always believed, and still believe, that in our Constitution, Governors play a very important part. A good and effective Governor can make a great difference to the running of a State, even though responsibility and executive power rests with the Ministry, and the Governor is only a constitutional head. In some cases in the past, I was unhappy at the fact that a Governor was not playing his full part and hardly saw the State papers.

The functions of a Governor today are obviously very different from those of British days. In the British period, he had a great deal of power and authority, and at the same time, the whole British apparatus of Government necessitated his keeping up the pomp and circumstance of a foreign ruling power. Today, circumstances are completely different. And yet, old habits and conventions cling to us, and we have imitated to a very large extent the pomp and circumstance of the old representatives of the imperial power.

I believe in Governors, as Heads of States, maintaining a certain dignity in their establishments. But I have often wondered whether we have not overdone this in following the old in keeping with circumstances today or the spirit of the age. The A.D.Cs. lay down the protocol and march stiffly before and behind the Governor whenever he or she ventures out. This kind of thing is hardly seen in other countries even in regard to the Head of the State. Kings of the Scandinavian countries live and function much more simply than many of

our Governors.

There is perhaps a misapprehension of the fact that we have to follow this protocol and procedure as a matter of constitutional propriety. This, of course, is not correct. There is nothing in the Constitution to encourage it. We really have become slaves of our A.D.Cs. who lay down the law on this subject.

I should like you, therefore, to give consideration to this matter and to simplify this pomp and ceremony. On special occasions, like the opening of a legislative session, a certain ceremony is necessary. But, surely, it is not necessary for a Governor to function like a wooden figure preceded by other wooden figures on other occasions. It would be good for the Governor as well as for the public if he functioned more like normal human beings do.

Then, again, when a Governor goes out, I am surprised to find that the streets are lined with policemen, as in the old Viceregal and imperial days. In addition, his journeys in a car constitute a regular procession, with probably an escort car in front, a jeep full of police behind, a spare car, etc. One might almost think that he is going to a battle. Is all this necessary or even desirable? Security should certainly be provided for. But I doubt if all this is required for purposes of security. If it was, then surely there is something wrong about us, and Governors are a superior class apart from other human beings. What we want is that Governors should mix with the people much more and make them feel that they are one of them. I know that many Governors do this, in spite of the pomp and ceremony. Why then have that pomp and ceremony?

In particular I think it is objectionable to line the roads with police or security men, or for traffic to be held up because a Governor or a Minister is passing.

I am writing this letter to all the Governors. To some it may apply more than to others. I know that the Governors themselves are not responsible for this and they would much prefer to lead a simpler and a more normal existence. But

they appear to be under a misapprehension that law or convention requires them to do this. I want to remove that misapprehension.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
26 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

Twelve days ago, an event took place which, with the suddenness of an earthquake, shook the world and surprised the complacent chancelleries of the Western world. This was the *coup d'état* in Baghdad.¹ Thirtysix hours later, the United States troops landed in Beirut,² and after another two days troops from the United Kingdom flew into Jordan.³

1. On 14 July 1958, the Republic of Iraq was proclaimed by a group of army officers after an armed *coup* in which King Feisal II and Prime Minister Nuri el-Said were killed.

2. Following an appeal on 14 July 1958 by the President of Lebanon to the United States, more than 10,000 American troops landed in Beirut.

3. On 1 July 1958, King Hussein of Jordan appealed to Britain for military help. The next day 300 British paratroopers landed at Amman, and by the following day, 2000 men had arrived from Cyprus, and as a gesture of support to the Jordan Government, 50 U.S. jet fighters flew in petroleum products from Bahrain to meet Jordan's emergency needs.

Other events followed in quick succession—Soviet manoeuvres on the Turkish border,⁴ Turkish manoeuvres,⁵ Bulgarian manoeuvres.⁶ A world which had grown rather blasé about crises, realized that it was on the verge of war. It was the season when great wars began. Both the First World War and the Second World War began early in August and were preceded by events which took place in July. Why these months should be associated with beginning of war, I do not know.

2. During the past ten days, we have lived on the verge of catastrophe. There appears to be some toning down of this tension now and we do not go to bed fearing the dread possibility of war breaking out in the course of the night. But this apparent improvement has little hope or promise of peace and the situation remains at danger point.

3. What happened in Iraq was, by itself, by no means surprising. Everyone with any knowledge of that country knew that the regime there, and more especially the Prime

4. From 17 July to 7 August 1958, the Soviet Army and Navy carried out large-scale manoeuvres in the Black Sea, Transcaucasian, and Turkmenistan military districts bordering the Turkish and Iranian frontiers.

5. On 19 July 1958, the Government of Iraq took strong exception to the movements of the Turkish army across its borders and five days later the Soviet Government warned Turkey “against any aggression in Iraq.”

6. Joint Soviet-Bulgarian military manoeuvres along Bulgarian-Yugoslav and Greek-Turkish border were reported by Greek Intelligence sources on 18 July 1958.

Minister, Nuri el-Said,⁷ were very unpopular.⁸ Some people described Nuri Pasha as one of the most hated men in Iraq. Yet he had given the impression of being solidly in the saddle and no one dared to take a step against him. He was probably the chief architect of the Baghdad Pact and it was to a meeting of the Baghdad Pact in Ankara that he and his young king were preparing to go.⁹ The collapse of the regime was not merely a local event; it was the collapse of the policies of the Western Powers in the Middle East. It was a triumph for Arab nationalism and the policy pursued by President Nasser.¹⁰ It was incidentally also to the advantage of the Soviet Union. And behind all this lay the empire of oil which had so long been securely controlled by some of the Western Powers.¹¹

4. The shock was great and possibly, without thinking out the consequences, it was felt in the United States and in the United Kingdom that something had to be done to stop this rot, or else everything would go in the Middle East; and so

7. (1888–1958). Iraqi politician; Prime Minister of Iraq five times between 1930 and 1957. In February 1958, he became Prime Minister of Arab Federation of Iraq and Jordan.

8. Nuri el-Said had become unpopular due to his anti-Arab and pro-West policies. He had banned all Opposition parties in 1953, imposed press censorship, and succeeded in influencing his King's cousin, King Hussein of Jordan, in dismissing the liberal and pro-Arab Government in Jordan and abrogating its Constitution, and with Iraq, forming an Arab Federation in February 1958 to counter the growing strength of the United Arab Republic under Nasser.

9. The meeting was scheduled to be held in Istanbul from 14 to 17 July 1958 but due to the *coup* in Iraq the venue was shifted to Ankara.

10. On 19 July 1958, Iraq signed a mutual defence agreement with Egypt.

11. The oil produced in West Asian countries accounted for 67% of the world production. But oil wells and refineries in West Asia were controlled by the Anglo-American and other European multi-national corporations. With the rise of Arab nationalism, the oil-producing countries began to put pressure on foreign companies for higher royalties and profit-sharing.

the American forces were sent to Lebanon, when the situation in Lebanon was slowly improving, and, soon after, British forces landed in Jordan. Probably there was definite danger of a *coup* in Jordan because the king¹² and the government there are also neither popular nor secure.¹³ What was the purpose behind these military moves? Partly just to show that they were not going to watch this kind of thing supinely and were prepared even for a major conflict if their vital interests were threatened; partly to save what they could; partly, I think, that it might become necessary to attack the new regime in Iraq. It may have been expected that there would be trouble in Iraq and the new revolutionary regime would have to face counter-revolution. There was King Hussein of Jordan claiming to be the legitimate head of the Union of Iraq and Jordan¹⁴ and so, if there was any trouble in Iraq itself, there could be intervention at the request of the legitimate head.

5. But there was no trouble in Iraq and this great change passed off quietly, apart from the unfortunate tragedy at the

12. Hussein Talal (b. 1935). King of Jordan since 1953.

13. King Hussein had become unpopular after the dismissal of the Government headed by Suliman Nabulsi in April 1957, dissolution of all political parties, and later formation of the Arab Federation with Iraq as its Deputy Head. An alleged plot by a group of officers in Jordan to assassinate the King was crushed on 12 July 1958. Another unsuccessful *coup* occurred on 28 July.

14. It was announced in Amman on 14 July 1958 that in the absence of the King of Iraq, King Hussein would exercise power as Head of the Arab Union and, in that capacity, King Hussein warned the people of Iraq on 17 July to beware of "the agents of Moscow and Nasser." Two days later, King Hussein broke off diplomatic relations with U.A.R. and declared that Jordan would do "everything possible" to protect the Kingdom of his "dear cousin" and restore peace and order in Iraq.

beginning. The new Government of Iraq also behaved with extraordinary tact and wisdom and gave no chance at all to any other power to intervene.

6. So now the American forces sit in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan, not knowing what to do and yet feeling that they cannot sit there indefinitely. There is always danger of the American forces coming into conflict with the opposition in Lebanon. President Chamoun and his supporters, at whose invitation the American forces went there, are now much weaker than they were previously because the people of Lebanon react strongly against foreign armies on their soil. If the Americans withdraw, then what happens to President Chamoun? So also, if the British withdraw from Jordan, what happens to King Hussein? So, the result of these foreign forces arriving there has been the very opposite of the one intended.

7. A period has ended in Western Asia and the countries that are really on trial are not so much the countries of that region, but the United States and the United Kingdom. They have great forces at their disposal, but it is clear now that one cannot win a people by armed might; one cannot even win oil in this way. All one can do is to destroy through war.

8. Mr. Khrushchev issued a warning that war might come. He proposed a high-level meeting¹⁵ within two or three days

15. A summit conference of five nations at Geneva from 22 July was proposed on 19 July by Khrushchev to the U.S. President and the Heads of the Governments in Britain, France and India. On 20-21 July 1958, the United States and Britain, welcoming Khrushchev's proposed summit meeting, asserted that the rules and procedures governing the deliberations of the U.N. Security Council should apply at the summit talks. Khrushchev however insisted in his reply of 28 July that "the right of veto as exercised in the Security Council meetings should be kept in abeyance" and India and the Arab countries should also participate in the conference. The United States and Britain on 25-26 July refused to agree to these conditions.

and especially mentioned India in this connection. Since then, move and counter-move have taken place, and I do not yet know if there will be such a meeting. Probably, it will take place, as public opinion generally demands it. But it is clear that some of the governments concerned are not enthusiastic about it. As I write to you, I do not know where and when this meeting will take place. In accordance with our policy, when Mr. Khrushchev mentioned India, I replied to him¹⁶ that if our services are needed in the cause of peace and if the parties concerned wish our presence, we shall attend. But, obviously, I cannot give a definite answer till I know more precisely what the conditions are under which we might be invited. So, we await developments. It is conceivable that I might have to go either to Geneva or to New York for this purpose. I am rather reluctant to leave India at this stage, but I cannot refuse to go if India is invited under proper conditions.

9. Behind all this lies oil.¹⁷ We must recognize the need of Western Europe for oil, and if that oil was denied, I have little doubt that war would take place. On the other hand, it is no longer possible to guarantee the supply of oil by threats of the use of armed force. I am sure that Iraq or Kuwait will gladly continue to supply the oil and profit by the transaction. But if war came, the first result will be the cutting off of oil supplies or even the destruction of the refineries and pipelines.

16. On 20 July 1958.

17. The *coup* in Iraq and the fear of nationalization of oil by Kuwait following talks on 23 July between Sheikh Salemal Sabah and President Nasser caused panicky sale of the shares of the British Petroleum Corporation and Britain's hurried despatch of troops to Kuwait on 24 July. The situation eased when both Iraq and Kuwait declared immediately that they would honour the contracts signed with the oil companies.

10. With my last fortnightly letter to you, I sent you a note which was an attempt on my part of thinking aloud. Naturally, my mind, as probably yours also, is full of our problems and the difficulties that we face. We may talk bravely on the international plane, but unless we make good in our own country, we can do little good elsewhere. Above all, I feel convinced that we must think clearly. Perhaps, one good result of the various internal crises that we have gone through or that face us today, is the compulsion to think about these matters, though I am not quite sure if many people yield to that compulsion.

11. In a recent article¹⁸ by Professor Galbraith¹⁹ of the Harvard University of the United States, there is an interesting discussion on rival economic theories in India. He points out how India's problems, or indeed the problems of any of the under-developed countries in Asia, are rather unique and can neither be solved by what is called the Western capitalist approach nor the Russian Communist approach, though much may be learnt from both. He says that to talk in India of the virtues of capitalism, classical or modern, is to make little or no contact with the realities of Indian economic life. He points out that the phrase "people's capitalism" which is sometimes used in the United States, is singularly inapplicable to India, whatever its virtue might be in the United States. He points out also, of course, how many of the Communist approaches to these problems are equally unrealistic. In fact, India and countries like India, have to develop their economic theory themselves keeping in close touch with the realities of the situation.

18. 'Rival economic theories in India', published in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1958, pp. 587-596.

19. John Kenneth Galbraith (b. 1908). Professor of Economics, Harvard University, 1949-75, now Emeritus Professor; United States Ambassador to India, 1961-63. His publications include: *The Great Crash* (1929), *The Affluent Society* (1958), *The New Industrial State* (1967), and *Ambassador's Journal* (1969).

12. The reality in India is the peasant and the vast domain of under-developed agriculture and, at the same time, the growth of population which comes in the way of building up any surplus for investment. The Soviet Union, at tremendous cost in human misery, certainly succeeded in building up a great structure of heavy industry. But even so, their success in agriculture was strictly limited. But, in any event, comparison of the Soviet Union with India in regard to agriculture brings out the great contrast between the two countries. The Soviet Union had a much smaller population and vast undeveloped areas, unused resources and virgin land. India has no such areas of land to develop, except some patches here and there.

13. Failure on the agricultural front in India²⁰ or in China has, therefore, far-reaching consequences, apart from its coming in the way of industrial advance. Thus, we come back to the vital importance of improving our agricultural yield at a rapid pace. There is no other way. It is only then that we advance on the industrial front and, at the same time, leave a margin for slowly increasing standards among our peasants. On the success of this, depends our entire future. The best way to tackle the agricultural front in India is through the community development scheme, provided that scheme is based on the people, and not on a few officials at the top. It is only when the people in the village, through their *panchayats* and village cooperatives, feel that they are in charge and are going to profit by what they do, that we will move with some rapidity.

20. Agriculture production in India fell from 68.03 million tons in 1956-57 to 62.23 million tons in 1957-58.

14. We face grave difficulties in regard to our foreign exchange,²¹ and we are making every effort to tide over them by credits or loans from abroad.²² That is inevitable in present circumstances. But, we have to remember that we cannot live on credits or on help from others, unless we make good ourselves, more particularly in agricultural production.

15. I saw today in a village near Delhi,²³ something that may well have a far-reaching significance for India. This was an experiment, on behalf of the Ford Foundation, of using bullock-powered appliances for pumping water from wells, for electricity in the village and for a small factory. All this depends upon a new type of machine that has been especially invented for use in India with bullocks. We saw the machine functioning and pumping up water from a well in considerable quantities. We saw also electric lighting. I do not yet know the economics of this, and these will have to be worked out carefully but the idea of using bullock power in this way is exciting, and if it is successful, then indeed we can bring about some kind of a revolution in our villages.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. Sterling reserves declined by about Rs. 5 crores per week from April 1958 compared to Rs. 2 crores a week earlier.

22. On 20 July, the U.S. Government were approached for grant of an additional \$300 million in aid to India in 1958, followed by \$600 million in the next year reaching a total of \$1.2 billion over a period of three years.

23. Nehru visited Khanpur village near Delhi on 25 July 1958 to see a new experiment of generating power through bullock-powered generator developed by American experts.

New Delhi
30 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you again in regard to agricultural production and connected matters. The more I think of our economic position and the difficulties we have to face, the more I am driven to the conclusion that agricultural production is the only foundation on which we can build. I have said so before on many occasions, and I am sure that you and your Government fully realize this. And yet, I have a feeling that the Departments of Agriculture of some of the States are still supposed to be relatively unimportant Departments and do not show the energy and vitality that they should. They move in the old grooves and expect the Central Government to come to their help whenever they are in a difficulty. This process cannot obviously be continued for long. I am almost inclined to think that it might be a good thing for the Chief Minister himself to take charge of Agriculture and to shake things up or, alternatively, that he should be chairman of a cabinet committee dealing with this matter.

2. You know well the difficulties we are facing in regard to foreign exchange and how we are making every effort to raise loans and credits on a massive scale. It is no pleasure to us to do this. Indeed, it is rather a humiliating business to go abroad for help. Also, all these loans and credits mean a greater burden in the future. We cannot possibly repeat this performance again, that is, ask again for massive loans. Once is enough. Therefore, we must shift for ourselves in this matter in the future.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

3. The rains have come, though they have not been uniform. In some places, there have been floods and, no doubt, in the course of the next two months, we may have more floods. Generally speaking, the rains have been fairly good in the South, in Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Punjab. They have not been so good in Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Meanwhile, prices have continued to be rather high in Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and, to some extent, elsewhere.
4. All of us know what we have to do in order to increase our agricultural production. This has been said so often that, perhaps, it sounds a little stale through too much repetition. Yet, it has to be repeated.
5. The very first thing to do is, as I have hinted above, to shake up the Agriculture Departments in the States. I gather that many of the employees in these Departments are still on a temporary basis and, generally speaking, they are in a low grade in regard to emoluments and terms of service. Surely, agriculture being so important, we should treat it as if it was important.
6. I think that every State should now lay down a concentrated programme for agricultural work and production for the next six months. That is, preparation should be made from now onwards for the next *rabi* crop. Detailed targets should be laid down for this purpose, not only for the State, but ultimately for each family of an agriculturist. Each farmer should know what to aim at for this *rabi* crop. In this matter the community blocks should be particularly helpful. Teachers and students of agricultural colleges and institutes should be asked to do practical work for some time in the fields. This will be good for them even from the point of view of their specialized education; it will also help to activize people in the village.
7. It has been frequently said that we are not using the available resources in the States. Thus, tanks and wells are in disrepair, available water in canals is not brought through channels to the fields, tube-wells are not being fully utilized

because channels have not been fully made, etc., etc. This requires the most urgent attention because it can yield results quickly.

8. The other day, I was in my own district of Allahabad,¹ and I wandered about in the villages. This district had been hard hit because of drought for almost three years running. To a small extent, it is irrigated. Large numbers of peasants complained to me about their difficulties in obtaining water from the canals or the water channels. They complained of the petty employees of the Irrigation Department who harassed them or wanted money from them. Even when they gave them a little water, it was probably too late. I could not, of course, enquire into these complaints, but they were so widespread that I was compelled to believe in them.

9. Another odd fact came to my notice in Allahabad district. This was the lack of co-operation between the executive authorities and the Irrigation people. Indeed, the District Magistrate himself complained to me that his advice was ignored by the Irrigation authorities. This lack of co-operation in a vital matter was strange and deplorable. It seems to me that the District Magistrate is in a far better position to judge of conditions and what should be done, and the Irrigation authorities in the district should function under him and carry out his directions. Indeed, there should be co-ordination at all levels, and the Ministers in charge of the different Departments should see to it that there is such co-operation.

10. It is sometimes said that food production is suffering because land is diverted to cash crops. As a matter of fact we want the cash crops also. What is necessary is intensive cultivation by better irrigation facilities, better seeds and manures and fertilizers. Fertilizers are now in great demand

1. On 15 and 16 July 1958.

and we cannot fulfil this demand. We shall try to get as much as possible. But, in view of our foreign exchange difficulty, we cannot get all we want. There should, however be no lack of green manure and compost if a strenuous attempt is made. In Madras State there has been progress in the use of green manure with very satisfactory results.

11. In parts of Bombay State, great success has been obtained from bunding and food production is going up considerably. These are important but simple operations which can be taken up anywhere in India, involving no great expenditure. The silt that accumulates in tanks is also very good as manure and, incidentally, the removal of the silt improves the tank also. Relatively easy measures can be taken for the storage of rain water.

12. There is often a good deal of land on either side of roads or the railway lines which is wasted. There is no reason why this should be left uncultivated.

13. Somewhat better ploughs would obviously help greatly in ploughing. Some other simple agricultural implements would also be useful.

14. Many States are giving prizes to good agriculturists. This system might be extended greatly. Prizes should not go merely to districts, but to villages as well as individual agriculturists who have done well. In my recent visit to Allahabad, when I was pointing out to a large meeting of peasants that their production was very low (it was about eight to nine maunds of wheat per acre), a very simple peasant came up and said that he had produced 49 maunds, 20 seers and 5 *chhataks* of wheat in an acre of his land. The other peasants present nodded as they knew of this. It is clear that where an effort is made at intensive cultivation, the yield increases greatly. There is no reason why this effort should not be made everywhere. I have suggested above that teachers and students of agricultural colleges should go out to the fields and plough and generally give an impetus to the work in the fields. The peasants who win prizes for good work should also be utilized for this purpose.

15. The real question is how to change the psychology of the peasant and to make him self-reliant. In fact, we have most of the materials with us. It is only the energy and determination that appear to be lacking.

16. We have made some progress in collecting statistics of food production, etc. But even now they are very unreliable and there is no uniformity in the method of collecting statistics. It is impossible to frame policies and programmes unless we have accurate information about production. Not only must this be accurate, it must be uniform also, that is to say, more or less the same criteria should be employed in all the States. Unfortunately, in this, as in some other matters, there is some kind of rivalry between the States as well as statisticians. This is not a scientific approach. We shall have to have crop surveys on an extensive scale employing the latest methods for that purpose. Fortunately, the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta, which often does work for us, is capable of doing this work adequately.

17. When prices go up and food is scarce in some parts of the country, it is painful to see waste and extravagance in other parts or amongst some people. This is inherently vulgar and has a bad effect. I think, therefore, that States should think of checking this waste and extravagance in regard to foodgrains in hotels, restaurants, weddings, feasts, etc., as well as in private homes where this takes place.

18. But the main thing is to concentrate on this business of food production during the next six months for the *rabi* crop. Let us fix targets everywhere and see what we can do during this period.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
15 August, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

In our Flag regulations certain instructions have been given about the use of the National Flag by Ministers, both Central and State. It is said that they can use it on their cars as well as on their houses.

In this connection I have issued a letter to my colleagues in the Central Government, a copy of which I enclose. I suggest to you that the procedure I have indicated in this letter might be followed in the States also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

Enclosure

New Delhi
15 August, 1958

My dear Minister,

Some time ago I had suggested that we might not be so particular in using the National Flag on our cars. The idea was that there should be as little display as possible of such symbols. It has been pointed out to me that a Flag on a car is very helpful sometimes in traffic, more especially in touring. Of course, the Flag should be used on the car whenever it is considered necessary for this purpose.

I feel, however, that display of Flags on our houses is of no particular use and might well be discontinued. But on ceremonial occasions, such as Independence Day, Republic Day and possibly some other days, the Flag should be displayed on the residences of Ministers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
6 September, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was sent over five weeks ago. At that time, the world was facing a critical situation in Western Asia, and I referred to this in my letter. That crisis has passed, and though the problems of the Middle East still remain, tensions have eased. It was rather extraordinary that the Special Session of the United Nations¹ should pass an unanimous resolution² on a matter which had raised so much passion and controversy. This showed that however difficult a problem, a way out is there, if a real attempt is made to find it.

2. The resolution passed by the U.N. Special Session was sponsored by all the Arab countries, and I think they deserve credit for their restraint and wise approach. Credit must also go to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld.

3. We must not imagine, however, that all is well in Western Asia. The basic problems remain. But an atmosphere has been created which will help in an approach to a solution. The Arab countries have shown that they can come together,

1. Held from 8 to 22 August 1958.

2. On 22 August 1958 the U.N. General Assembly unanimously approved an Arab resolution, drawn up by ten Arab members of the U.N., which gave assurance against interference by Arab nations in each other's affairs, asked American troops in Lebanon and British troops in Iraq to withdraw, and called on the U.N. Secretary-General to undertake a new peace-making mission to West Asia. It asked all countries to co-operate fully to implement the resolution.

under pressure of events, and act with restraint and responsibility. In this matter, a principal part was undoubtedly played by the United Arab Republic, which is the leading Arab nation today.

4. Even as this crisis toned off, the thunder of the big guns began afresh in the Far East,³ and now we face a most critical situation in the East China seas and, more particularly, in the offshore islands of China. The problem is an old one and, three years ago, a grave crisis arose there.⁴ Fortunately it faded out after a while. Today a much graver situation has been created, and the countries concerned most, that is, China⁵ and the United States of America,⁶ have taken up rigid and almost uncompromising attitudes. The Soviet Union has given her full backing to China. Thus, a situation has been created where the prestige of these great nations is intimately involved. Too much has already been said for it to be unsaid, and that is always a dangerous position. Threats and counterthreats follow each other in rapid succession from day to day.

3. The situation in the Formosa Straits became acute again towards the end of August as a result of the intensive shelling of the Nationalist-held islands of Matsu, Quemoy and little Quemoy islands by People's China. Earlier, on 6 August, as a precaution against possible attack from the mainland, Taiwan had declared a state of emergency in these islands. On 4 September, the United States warned People's China against attack on the islands and stated that it was bound by a treaty to defend Taiwan; and on 7 September, the U.S. Seventh Fleet helped the Nationalist warships to escort supply convoys to Quemoy.

4. See Vol. 4, p. 127.

5. On 6 September, Zhou Enlai reiterated China's determination to liberate the offshore islands from Taiwan, denounced U.S. aggression, and called for resumption of Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks at Geneva "to make another effort for the defence of peace."

6. On 4 September, Dulles stated that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu were under the control of the Republic of China; the United States was bound by a treaty to defend Taiwan; attack by People's China was violation of the principle of using armed forces to seize new territory, and hoped that Beijing would desist from using force.

5. So far as the merits of the Formosan question are concerned, we can have only one opinion, because we recognize the People's Government of China and do not recognize the Formosan Government. We are convinced, therefore, that Formosa should go to China. Probably, it will be desirable that it should be an autonomous part of China as it has a distinct individuality. But, while we hold this view and are convinced that this is the only solution of the problem, we had hoped that this could be brought about by peaceful methods and by the passage of some time. War had to be avoided.

6. The question of the offshore islands, and especially Matsu and Quemoy, stands on a separate footing, even though it is part of the larger question. It must be remembered that these offshore islands are very near the mainland and are, therefore, a constant menace to it. It is impossible for any Chinese Government not to be concerned with the presence of an enemy on its very threshold. Aircraft have constantly flown from these islands over the mainland of China, and petty conflicts are frequent. Therefore one can well understand the continuing irritation of the Chinese Government over these offshore islands.

7. I do not know what particular development led to the recent heavy bombardment of Quemoy from the mainland. Perhaps the fact that these offshore islands were being fortified even more and large armies sent from Formosa were being placed there led to this more aggressive policy on the part of the Chinese Government. I have no idea what all this will lead to, but we appear to be again rather near the precipice.

8. Even though these developments in other parts of the world are of vital importance to us, as to others, my mind has been particularly occupied by the food situation in our country. The other day I spoke in the Lok Sabha and said that I had come to realize even more than before how

important this was.⁷ That was not well put, and this led people to think that I had not previously realized the importance of food production. I have realized this and laid stress on this. But it is true that I felt previously that the steps we were taking would produce adequate results. I found later that they had not done so, and that our approach would have to be much more aggressive and far-reaching than anything that we had done previously.

9. I was reading the other day the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This Bank sent a team to India early this summer,⁸ and this team made a careful study, from their own rather conservative point of view of the Indian economy. In their conclusion, they said: "The case for additional lending by the Bank to India at the present time must be considered in relation to the needs and achievements of the country and its potential for further economic growth. The record is impressive. To have held together a multilingual federal State with a population of nearly four hundred million, to have raised output at a sustained rate of two per cent to three per cent a year and possibly more with little price inflation, to have built up almost from scratch the foundations of a modern industry, and to have done all this by democratic means, is an achievement for which there is no parallel in history."

10. The Report goes on further to say: "India has taken on a formidable task in trying to achieve a rapid rate of development without sacrificing essential political liberties. If her achievements since Independence are judged in

7. Intervening in the debate on food situation in Lok Sabha on 21 August, Nehru said: "Well, speaking for myself, I learnt a bitter lesson slowly and painfully, and I realize that there is nothing more important than agricultural production, more especially food production."

8. The team sent by the World Bank visited West Bengal, Orissa, Punjab and Maharashtra in May and June 1958 and thought that India's dedication to the task of development was "profoundly impressive."

relation to the difficulties to be overcome, it is remarkable that so much has been done. If they are judged in relation to the needs and aspirations of the people, they appear less satisfactory." Again, in regard to agriculture, the Report says: "Much criticism has been levelled at the slow progress of Indian agriculture, and if progress is measured in terms of the potentialities for growth, it has certainly been slow. But most competent observers appear to agree that production is increasing fairly steadily, subject to year to year fluctuations due to changes in the weather, the rate of increase being estimated at two to three per cent a year. In 1956-57 when the weather was on the whole favourable, the recorded output of foodgrains and pulses rose by three and a half million tons or five per cent, and the index of total agricultural production by six per cent. Output in 1957-58 on the other hand has been adversely affected by a severe drought which damaged the rice crop in many areas of Central and South East India; as a result, foodgrains output is expected to be about two and a half million tons less than in the previous year. Production of sugarcane has increased by seven per cent, or eight per cent and of groundnuts by about two per cent, but production of cotton, jute and some other cash crops declined. Total agricultural output is, therefore, likely to be somewhat lower in 1957-58 than in 1956-57."

11. These comments from a highly critical group are, on the whole, complimentary to our efforts in India. And yet, I do not wish to take refuge in some complimentary remarks of foreign experts. I know all the difficulties we have faced during these years and the misfortune of successive bad monsoons and floods and drought. Yet, in spite of all this, I am very much dissatisfied. When I think that after eleven years of effort, we should still have to face these acute food situations and large numbers of our people should suffer because of food scarcity, all kinds of questions arise in my mind. It is certain that this rate of progress or change, or call it what you will, is not adequate. And it is no good deluding ourselves by saying that we have been victims of circumstances.

12. The methods and techniques for increasing agricultural production are well known. We have spread out a vast network of community blocks all over India and we have told them that their primary concern is agricultural production, and more especially the production of foodgrains. Why, then, have we not succeeded?

13. I think that this requires serious thought. It is not by some quack remedy that we shall succeed. The remedies are known and, indeed, where these remedies have been applied, as in many selected areas, food production has gone up with jumps even by three hundred or four hundred per cent. It is true these areas were good and selected ones, and they were nurtured with great care. No one can expect that as an average, but why should not even the average be much more than a miserable two, three or even five per cent per annum?

14. We are told that seldom has the yield per acre gone up in any country by more than about three per cent per annum, even when a big effort was made. I think those were the figures in Japan in the early days of their industrialization. In the Soviet Union, where industry has advanced at a tremendous pace, agriculture has not done so well. They have plenty of land there, and more land has been brought under cultivation. But I do not think that the yield per acre has advanced very rapidly. In China, however, it is reported that there has been striking all round advance in the field of agriculture, more especially during the last year. In some cases, this advance appears to be spectacular. It is rather difficult to judge of Chinese statistical figures. But, however much we may doubt their accuracy, there can be little doubt of the very considerable advance made there in agriculture; a notable feature has been that much higher yields were achieved, not on small isolated plots, as in India, but by much larger regions.

15. It is true that the people in China, whether in industry or agriculture, have been made to work very hard, and the great manpower there has been utilized to far greater advantage. Indeed, reports come to us that people have been

made to work so hard that a feeling of tiredness is now often visible. The hours of work of the industrial labour were increased from eight to ten and even twelve. It was found, however, that this did not pay, and workers were so tired out that they even fell asleep at their work. They had to revert to eight hours then.

16. It is probably impossible for this type of highly intensive work to be done on a large scale in India, whether in industry or agriculture. This requires compulsion by the State on an enormous scale. But even compulsion is not enough. An atmosphere for it has to be created.

17. In India, I have the impression that while we have made significant advance in laying the foundations of industry, in agriculture, a sense of stagnation continues in spite of our efforts. The yields per acre are terribly low. The problem, therefore, is not one of repeating again and again what we should do. We know that more or less. How are we to get over this stagnant position? If one goes to the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh or some other similar parts of India, this sense of stagnant agriculture is very obvious. What, then, is lacking? Perhaps, the administration is not effective and forceful enough at various levels. The village cultivator, good as he is, follows the old traditional practices, and without endeavouring to change these basic practices, we try to help him in various ways. We have not succeeded to any large extent in the help we have given. We have not given him the confidence, the faith and the self-reliance to change those practices, and to adopt new techniques and a more aggressive and forceful attitude to his work. All the fine decisions we make at the top and all the appeals that we issue achieve little success by the time they reach down to the cultivator. Indeed, the average cultivator having a small holding, has become perhaps even less self-reliant than he used to be. Everyone looks to Government for help, and the State Government looks to the Central Government, and the Central Government looks to countries abroad. In our difficulty, we seek loans and credit and we import foodgrains in large quantities. That is inevitable when a crisis faces us.

18. When I think of the vast sums spent by us on the import of foodgrains during the last ten or eleven years and also on freight for these foodgrains, I am appalled. With that money we could have built up so much in India. Even from the point of view of agriculture we could have put up many more fertilizer plants, big and small, which are so essential for better yields. India's use of fertilizers is pitifully small at present compared to most countries.

19. All our Five Year Plans will founder if we do not succeed in giving freedom from hunger to all our people; in other words, if we do not succeed in rapidly increasing our food production. We know that this can be done in individual cases and selected plots. How can we spread that treatment of selected plots to the vast agricultural land of India? How can we bring the same spirit of progressive agriculture to the average peasant and not merely to some well-to-do farmers?

20. The community development organization appears to be obviously the means to achieve this. We have built up this organization reaching down to the village and the farmer, and I have often said, and I believe, that this is one of our greatest achievements. But something is lacking when it does not bring about this particular result in regard to an increase in the yield per acre. I often wonder why this is so. Have we lost ourselves in building up superstructures without looking after the foundations? All the officials in the world will not produce adequate results if the cultivator is not affected. The production of food is essentially the business of the cultivator and not for an officer of the Food Department or Ministry. To get the average cultivator out of the rut of ages, we have not only to set an example to him, which he can understand, but also to give facilities, so that he can himself try the improved practices. He has to have credit, improved seeds, fertilizers, agricultural implements, insecticides, irrigation, etc. How can the poor farmer with an acre or two of land do all this? He has no resources. The only possible way is some cooperative method which fits in with his life and is not too far removed from him; which is

not merely an extension of the governmental apparatus. Further, some catalyst is needed. It was hoped that our community development programme and the village-level workers and others whom we had trained, would function as such catalysts.

21. I am writing to you rather vaguely and generally, because it is not much good my repeating the various steps that we have to take, as they are well known. What I want to put before you is the basic problem as it appears to my troubled mind. I feel that most of us have not moved out of the rut of old thinking, and most of our governmental departments, in spite of their experts, still rather think in the old leisurely way. It would be a good thing, if we, the Ministers, and our officials went down to the fields for a while and gave evidence of our own earnestness. It would be a good thing, more particularly, if the State Agriculture Departments realized that it is no good carrying on as they have done, or relying on the goodwill of the gods or some external agency. Some kind of shaking up process appears to be necessary. If we have to shake up the millions of agriculturists, we have first to shake up ourselves.

22. It is essential that an integrated national food production programme should be before the people and that this should be backed by intensive effort. It is essential that this programme should draw into its fold people who may differ in other matters. The matter is too serious and too basic for politics to come in the way. Unfortunately politics has come in the way in many States and some activities are being indulged in which must inevitably add to the seriousness of the situation and impede food production. The other day, Acharya Kripalani,⁹ the leader of the P.S.P. in Parliament,

9. J.B. Kripalani (1886-1982). Worked with Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran, 1917; General Secretary of the Congress, 1934-46 and President, 1946; resigned from the Congress, 1951 and formed Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party which merged with the Socialist Party in October 1951; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Lok Sabha, 1952-62, 1963-71.

made an appeal for this wider co-operation on the food front.¹⁰ I gladly responded to this appeal and yesterday I invited some of the leaders of the Opposition Parties in Parliament to meet me.¹¹ We had a fruitful discussion and we all agreed that this matter must be considered apart from political differences and we must try to lessen the tensions that at present exist. It is my intention to have this informal committee as a continuing body which can deal not only with the immediate issues, but also with the short-term and the long-term remedies. I would suggest to you to follow some similar policy in your State. I realize that it is not always easy to develop this cooperative approach and some people are almost constitutionally incapable of it. Yet the attempt should be made.

23. I am not so much concerned with the difficulty of the immediate present although this cannot be ignored and has to be met. I feel, however, that a change for the better will slowly come in. It has even begun in some places in the U.P. and elsewhere. The high prices are going down slowly. I do not think they were justified at any time and the trading community has much to answer for in raising prices in this way. I hope and there is some justification for this hope, that the next season will be a good one. All this may be so, but we cannot rely on good seasons and become complacent because of them. We have had enough warning.

24. I have this evening opened a Defence Production exhibition. It is an impressive show and it tells us not only of the progress we have made in manufacturing many new things which we used to import, but even more so, the great potential that we have. We can, within relatively brief period, make nearly everything that we require. On the whole, our progress in industry generally has been good though even there much more can and should be done.

10. In a statement on 3 September 1958.

11. On 5 September, Nehru met Asoka Mehta, Z.A. Ahmed, S. Mahanty and R. Jaipal Singh.

Whether in agriculture or industry, we are passing through a difficult period. I hope that a turn for the better will come soon. What I am rather afraid of is that as soon as a slight improvement takes place, we might not get complacent and slacken. There can be no slackening for us today, tomorrow or many a day after.

25. Near Lucknow there is an agricultural research station run by the National Botanical Gardens. In this research station it has been shown how bad and saline lands can be converted into good agricultural land without much expense. I think that even in U.P. there are three million acres of such land. That itself indicates the enormous room for progress if only we take these things up in earnest.

26. You know that our Finance Minister, Morarji Desai,¹² has gone abroad¹³ to attend the meetings of the International Bank and other organizations. His visit has been connected with our attempts to raise credits and loans. As a matter of fact, he would not have gone but for the Bank meetings. I have not been happy at the numerous comments in the foreign press about India's precarious financial condition and the references to a possible bankruptcy of India. This is complete nonsense and let everyone realize it. Because we happen to be in difficulties about foreign exchange, India's economy has not broken up and will not break up. In spite of everything, it is a sound economy and our resources and potential are great. And yet, we have to put up with this rather humiliating patronage from other countries. That in itself should be a lesson to us for the future, so that we can develop our own resources much more speedily. Indeed this

12. (b. 1898). Left the Bombay Provincial Service and joined the civil disobedience movement, 1930; Minister in Bombay Government, 1937-39 and 1946-52; Chief Minister, Bombay, 1952-56; Minister of Commerce, 1956-58, of Finance, 1958-63; Deputy Prime Minister, 1967-69, Prime Minister, 1977-79.

13. On 28 August 1958.

foreign exchange crisis has led to some good results and made us develop the manufacture of many commodities which we used to import.

27. While I do not like this patronizing attitude of other countries, we must recognize that number of these countries are coming to our aid generously and we must be thankful to them. But we cannot repeat this performance and we must not do it. We must make good ourselves in the future.

28. The Prime Minister of Pakistan is coming here on the 9th of this month for a brief two days' stay. This visit is especially meant for a discussion of our border problems which have given us so much trouble. These problems are by no means as simple as people imagine them. I hope that some progress will be made at this meeting towards their solution.

29. I have accepted a long-standing invitation of the Maharaja¹⁴ of Bhutan to visit his country¹⁵ and I am leaving Delhi for this purpose early on the morning of September 16th. The journey to Bhutan is very far from being easy; indeed Bhutan appears to be one of the most inaccessible of countries. Apart from a long air journey on the way of Sikkim, I shall have a five-day trek almost entirely on horse-back or on foot. We shall cross high mountain passes, three of them are between 14,000 and 15,000 feet altitude. Thus, I shall have to spend about twelve days just on journeying to Bhutan and back. In addition to this, I hope to stay there for four or five days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Jigme Dorji Wangchuck (1928-1972). King of Bhutan, 1952-72.

15. He visited Bhutan from 16 September to 2 October 1958.

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New Delhi
9 September, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I wrote to you about three days ago what used to be called my fortnightly letter, but which tends to become a monthly one. There are some points which I wished to mention in that letter but could not do so at that time.

2. Before I touch on these points, I should like to refer again to the food situation and various developments connected with it.

3. The bright side of it appears to be the prospects of a good crop. As you know, there have been, on the whole, good rains although inevitably there have been floods and damage and all that. In the eastern districts of U.P. there has been some excellent rain during the last few days and the face of the countryside has changed. There is every prospect of a good crop in this area of long-standing distress, and I am told that the peasantry there is greatly heartened.

4. While this is a hopeful sign, there are other signs which are not at all hopeful and which indeed fill me with distress. In Uttar Pradesh, the Opposition parties are indulging in activities which are not only totally opposed to any democratic or peaceful regime¹ but actually do serious harm to the food situation by creating a measure of panic. The Opposition has every right to oppose any policy provided it

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. From 4 September the followers of the Praja Socialist Party launched an agitation regarding the food situation in several parts of U.P. and many were arrested.

does so in normal, peaceful, and democratic ways. When we seek to build up this country by democratic methods and are aiming at progressive advance towards a socialist pattern, it is essential that certain values and standards should be maintained and, above all, the methods should be peaceful. Violent methods and a deliberate flouting of the Constitution must create unfortunate situations and lead away from peaceful methods. I think this is a serious matter for us to consider. Then again in a vital matter such as food supply, the creation of panicky conditions leads to hoarding, higher prices and the very evils against which we contend. It is perfectly true that, owing to heavy losses due to drought, floods, etc. last year, our production fell considerably and this created a difficult situation, but it is equally true that supplies were available and there was no question of a breakdown in the system of supply. Occasionally difficulties arose in certain areas because of local causes. Floods and water-logging sometimes delayed supplies. At a moment like this it is important that we should not do anything which creates a psychology of panic and disorder.

5. Because of this we should all endeavour to work for a cooperative approach, even though there may be differences of opinion. As you must know, I have invited some of the leaders of the Opposition groups in Parliament to confer with us in regard to the food situation.² In effect, we have constituted a small informal committee which will continue to function in an informal way and will deal not only with the immediate problem but also the short-term and the long-term issues. In addition to this, we are having soon a bigger informal gathering of about 30 M.Ps of all groups for a fuller discussion of these problems.

6. I commend to you this approach in your State. I realize the difficulties involved when passions have been roused

2. See *ante*, p. 122.

and all kinds of activities are taking place which prevent even an approach to co-operation. Nevertheless, the attempt has to be made and it is the duty of every Government to work for the creation of this favourable and cooperative atmosphere.

7. Whatever the difficulties caused by limited supplies might be, I have little doubt that these have been aggravated by administrative deficiencies in various areas. It is often stated, and I think with truth, that the fair price shops of foodgrains are exploited by undesirable elements who get this cheap grain and sell it at higher prices. It may be that even the shopkeeper himself indulges in this practice. It is essential that this should be dealt with vigour. The only possible way that I can see is to have identification cards in the area concerned for people to buy from the fair price shops. Further, it would be better if cooperative organizations or other special local organizations were entrusted with this work of distribution through fair price shops. Also the tendency of some traders to profiteer has to be checked and wherever this tendency comes into evidence, immediate and stringent measures should be taken. Public opinion should be brought into play, and that pressure will probably be greater than the distant prospect of some legal procedure which takes a long time. The co-operation of the trading community should be sought.

8. I have no doubt that we shall not only get over these immediate difficulties, but that we shall learn from what has happened and prevent the recurrence of it in future.

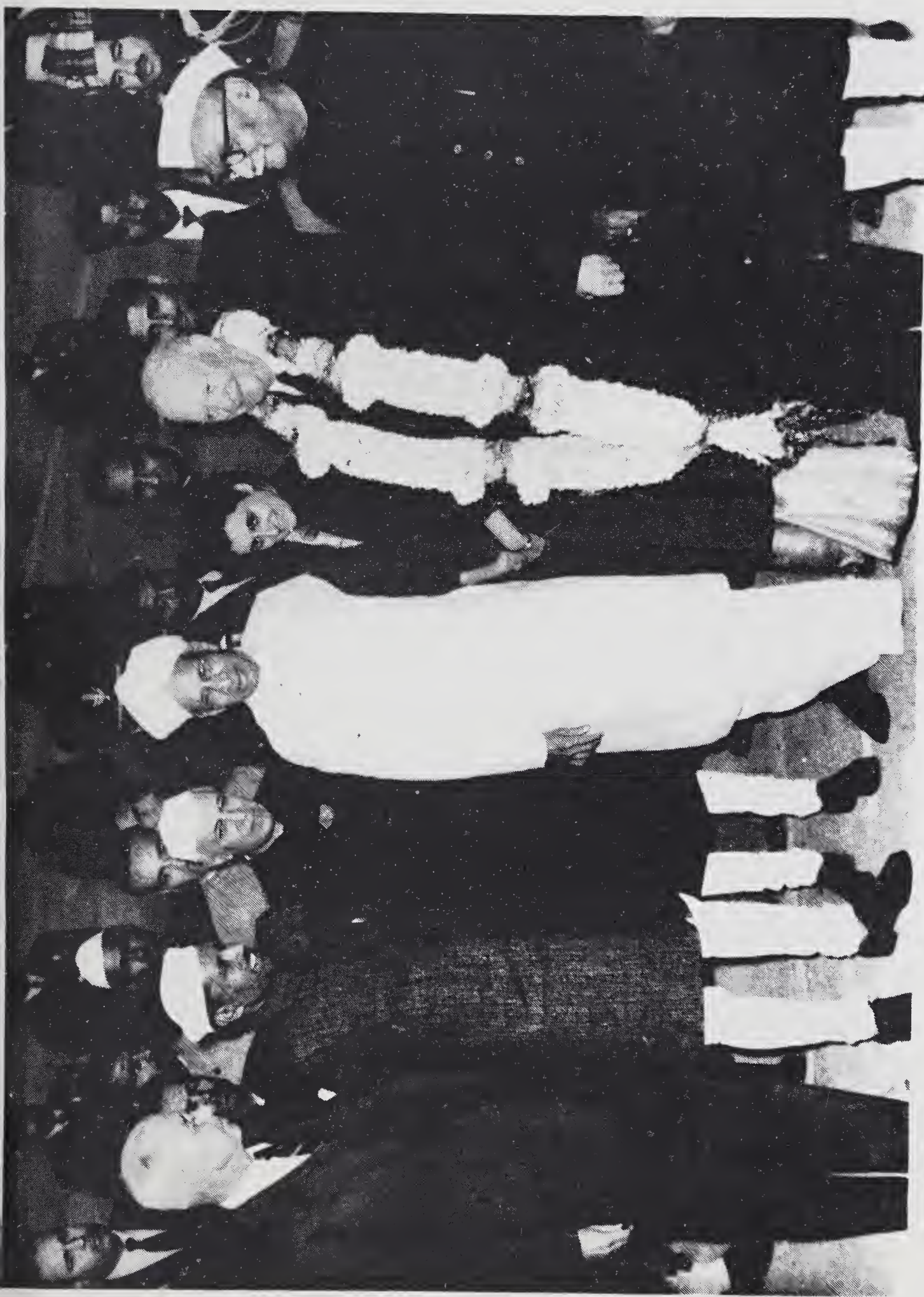
9. I cannot get over the impression that our administrative apparatus is slack and slow-moving. In the lower grades there is a fair amount of corruption. This leads me to the conclusion that centralization is more likely to lead to delays and corrupt practices than a decentralized administrative system. It is easy to criticize such decentralization and devolution of powers, but there appears to me to be no other democratic way to deal with the multitude of problems that arise.

10. For real progress, whether on the food front or any other, two things are essential. One is, of course, to inject a vital spark in our administration and in our activities and to enthuse the people. Without that no great progress can be made, even if the administration works according to all the rules and regulations. That vital spark can only be injected if it is present in the top leadership which includes the leadership of all grades including the village grade. This spirit of dedication is not very evident today and, unfortunately, our political conflicts come in the way of our dealing effectively with national problems which do not involve any basic difference of policy.

11. The second condition necessary for real growth is educational advance at all levels, and more particularly at the lower levels. I am convinced that our peasant, good as he is, cannot go ahead without some knowledge of simple modern techniques. If we put up a small tubewell in a rural area and some bolt goes wrong, the peasant is helpless. Almost every mechanical device requires some knowledge and experience. This can only come through a measure of education.

12. Our Constitution laid down that within a period of ten years there should be universal, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. It is manifestly beyond our capacity to fulfil this directive principle of policy within that period. We have made a good deal of advance in primary, secondary and university education, but we are very far from the objective laid down in the Constitution.

13. Our Education Ministry has given much thought to this matter and we have considered it in the Central Cabinet also. We decided that we must accept realities as they were and lay down a policy now which we could give effect to if we tried hard enough. Our Cabinet, therefore, approved in principle the proposal of the Education Ministry for the introduction of universal, free and compulsory education for the age group 6-11 by the end of the third Five Year Plan.



Welcoming President Eisenhower,
New Delhi, 9 December 1959



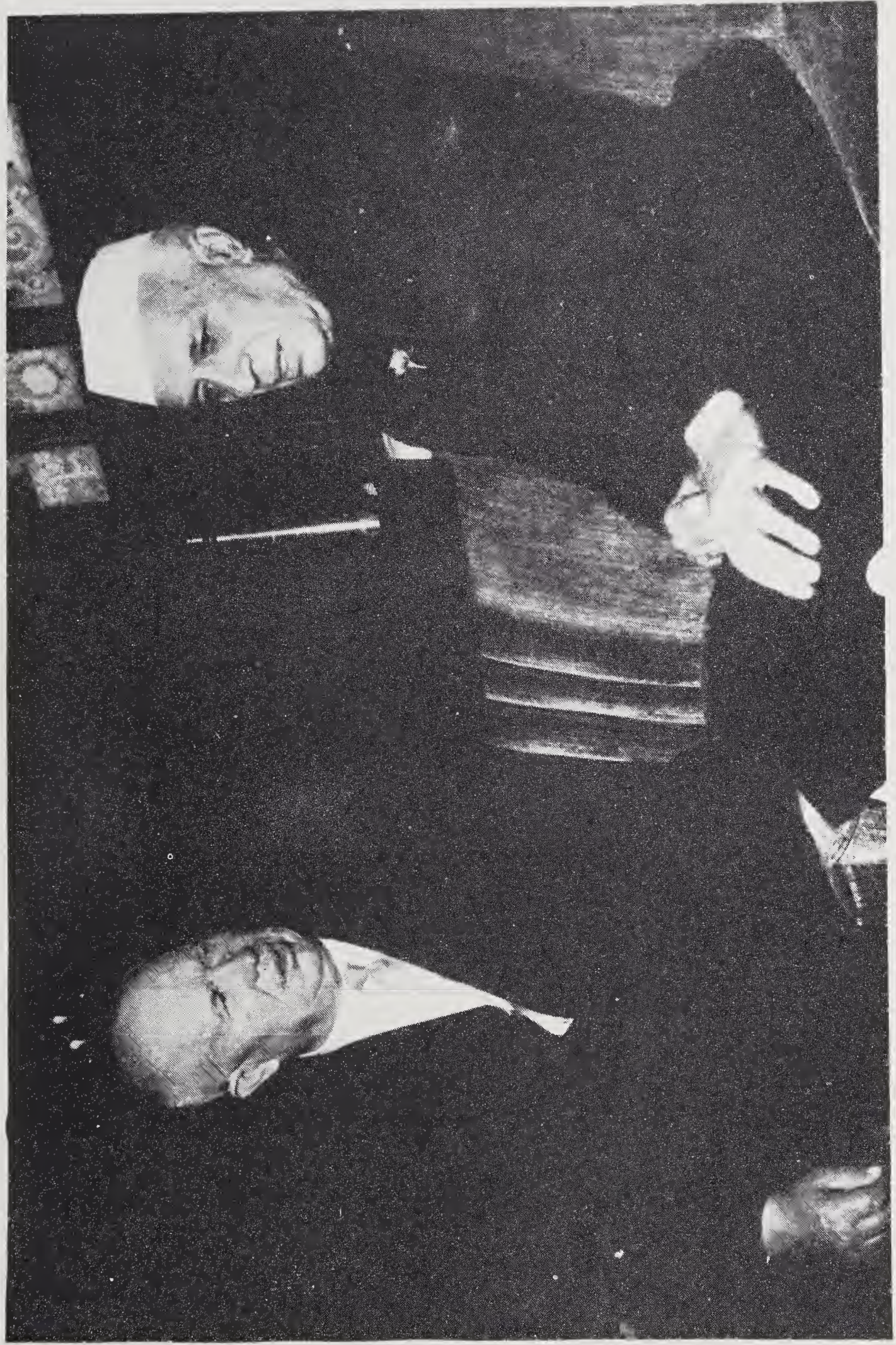
With Aneurin Bevan, London, 2 May 1960



With Homi J. Bhabha, 2 June 1960



With President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, signing the
Indus Waters Treaty, Karachi, 19 September 1960



With Khrushchev, New York, 26 September 1960



Addressing the U.N. General Assembly, 3 October 1960

This is less than the directive of the Constitution both in regard to period and the age-group; and yet it is a tremendous task involving many problems financial, administrative and technical. Indeed, very few countries have faced a problem of such magnitude in history. It will involve a heavy burden on the States as well as the Central Government. Even more than the financial burden will be the administrative and technical apparatus to be set up. I trust that your Government will give early thought to this vital matter. The Government of India is anxious to give whatever help it can to the States in the achievement of this modified target.

14. We are hoping that, by the end of the second Five Year Plan, about 63 per cent of the children of six to eleven years will be in school. This will leave us the problem of providing schooling facilities for the remaining 37 per cent of the children. This 37 per cent means approximately 20 million children. In other words, altogether we have to provide schooling facilities for over 60 million children between the ages of six to eleven. The difficulty is all the greater because about half this number will consist of girls whose education presents special problems of its own.

15. In the Second Plan, the Planning Commission has provided a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs under the scheme of relief to the educated unemployed and the teachers employed under the scheme are to be utilized partly to introduce university, secondary and primary education in a selected block in each district. The technical and administrative experience gained through this pilot project can be utilized when the larger scheme can be put into operation in the Third Plan.

16. I should like to draw your attention to an approach made by the Government of Madras which seems to me very commendable. This was an attempt to bring about an agreement among all political parties of the State on the maintenance of correct relations between them and educational institutions in the State.

17. The basis of this approach was that all political parties

should respect the principle of non-involvement of students, staff and management of educational institutions in party politics.³ This implied, as a necessary consequence, that there should not be any student organization in educational institutions which were based on or affiliated to political parties. Naturally such an arrangement could only be given effect to if the political parties agreed to such a convention voluntarily.

18. This approach of the Madras Government met with a chorus of welcome in the press and general public opinion supported it.

19. If I commend this approach to you, it cannot be brought about by some sudden decision and at an odd meeting. It has to be worked for in a spirit of co-operation and it might involve a number of steps taken one after the other. In other words, there has to be sustained endeavour to bring about healthy relations between the political parties, at any rate so far as students in educational institutions are concerned.

20. Our Ministry of Food and Agriculture has drawn my attention to the importance of taking steps against pests and diseases which inflict severe damage to crops as well as to agricultural commodities in storage. These losses are very great indeed. If we could control them, that itself would largely solve our food problem. Unfortunately, some of our social practices and habits are such as to come in the way of effectively dealing with these pests and diseases. However, both the Central and the State Governments have their plant protection organizations and their national extension services are trying to help farmers in this respect. But not much vigilance is shown and adequate measures are seldom undertaken in this respect. The Central Government maintain a

3. On 12 July 1958, at a meeting held in Madras, leaders of the various political parties agreed to respect the principle of non-involvement of students in party politics.

Directorate of Plant Protection which is always available for any technical or material assistance required in fighting crop pests and diseases outbreaks. They have also established a chain of fourteen plant protection stations in different parts of the country, chiefly with the object of assisting State Governments. Further, there is an aerial unit of three aeroplanes which are available for aerial spraying or dusting of crops against pests and diseases in any part of the country at uniform and economical rates. This unit started functioning in May 1957 and has done good work. I suggest to you that these aeroplanes should be fully utilized to destroy these pests and diseases over large crop areas.

21. Whatever steps we may take in any approach to a large social problem, it is essential that this should have the understanding and co-operation of the people. In particular, this applies to rural areas. The idea that officials can function in some upper stratum divorced from the people is not valid and is indeed harmful. Therefore the officials concerned must go down to the people, to the farmers, to the workers, mix with them, explain to them fully and seek their co-operation. This can never be done if the official adopts a superior attitude. He must treat the people on a level with himself and indeed should always be prepared to set an example by working with those farmers like them in their fields. Even the dress is important. It should not separate him too much from the common people when he meets them.

22. An experiment near Lucknow in the U.P. is significant. The Head of the National Botanical Garden there took over charge of an area of 700 acres of very bad saline or alkaline land which was no good at all for any agricultural purposes. Largely with the help of the local population, tube-wells were made there, without the intervention of outside authority, and some other simple devices were adopted. As a result, this barren land has been converted into good agricultural land. This procedure can be adopted in almost every bad area of land which is at present not good for cultivation. The

U.P. itself has three million acres of such bad land and every State has it. Here is an opening for an enormous expansion of our agriculture and food production by simple and relatively cheap methods.

23. Somehow, we have got entangled in mighty and expensive schemes which no doubt are good in themselves but which take a long time to yield results. Inevitably in these very big schemes the poor peasant has very little to do. The virtue of small and simple schemes is that they are cheap and economical, that they yield results soon and that they bring in the co-operation of the peasant. It is here that the *panchayat* and village cooperatives union can play an important part. It is here also that the community block can show good results.

24. All this leads me to the conclusion that the basis of all our work must be intimate contact with our people in almost every phase of our activity. Education is a necessary preliminary and the village school is a symbol of future advance. The organizational side will have to be the village *panchayat* and the village cooperative. Both Government and political parties and public organizations should think on these lines.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Gangtok, Sikkim
16 September, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I came to Gangtok in Sikkim today from Delhi. Tomorrow I proceed on my way to Bhutan, crossing the Nathu La, the pass which leads to the Tibetan Plateau. It is over 14,000 ft. above sea level and from it one descends to Tibet. There are various routes to Tibet from India, but, till now, the easiest route to Paro, the summer capital of Bhutan, goes from the Nathu La and crosses a small corner of Tibet. Thus, I shall have a brief glimpse of Tibet and I shall spend a night at Yatung, which is about sixteen miles across the border.

2. I shall be going to a country, Bhutan, which is more cut off from the world than perhaps any other country. No papers will reach me, no newspapers, though of course I shall have the inevitable wireless. As I shall be away for over two weeks, I feel like sending you a letter before I leave for these rather inaccessible regions. I leave behind many problems, internal and external. Perhaps it was not right for me to seek an escape from them, even for a while. But I felt that a promise long given should be kept and very elaborate arrangements have been made for my journey in Bhutan and, to some extent, in the little corner of Tibet which I shall pass. It would not have been fair on my part to call off my visit at the last moment. Also, I must confess that I had a powerful urge to go to Bhutan. That urge is always there when high mountains are concerned. But it was especially present in the case of Bhutan, which is one of the very few countries which still live in a past age, unaffected by what is called modern life. Aircraft do not go there nor railway trains nor automobiles. Indeed, there are no roads there and I do not think any four-wheeled or two-wheeled vehicle has

ever appeared in Bhutan. One travels on foot or on the back of a pony by difficult bridle paths. Apart from the Nathu La, the pass between India and Tibet, there are two higher passes in Bhutan itself which I shall have to cross. Bhutan is sparsely populated and is essentially an agricultural country with peasant farmers. The population probably does not exceed 600,000 or 700,000 in the whole country; this is an estimate for no census has been taken. The people of Bhutan are sturdy and attractive and rightly very jealous of their independence. In fact, the rulers have not welcomed any outsiders. It is a Buddhist country like Sikkim with many affiliations with Tibetan language and culture.

3. So, I shall not hear for a while the thunder of the guns over Quemoy in the Far East, nor will the notes and threats and warnings thrown at each other by high statesmen, or the brave speeches made in the United Nations General Assembly, reach my ears. I shall have some peace of mind and live in a world different to what I am used to.

4. But wherever I might be, I cannot wholly rid myself of the problems that afflict us. Above all, the food problem will continue to occupy an important part of my mind. I am quite sure that a solution of this is within our power, though it may take a little time. I am sure that we can increase our food production considerably and become self-sufficient, if we try hard enough. I think that our people and our Governments are at least wide awake to this. I do not mean to imply that they did not previously realize the importance of this, but I do feel that there was a measure of complacency and a feeling that it would solve itself. Our administrative apparatus functioned in the old ruts and many of our people also continued in their old wasteful ways. This does not apply to the great mass of our people who have to put up with a good deal of distress because of food scarcity and high prices.

5. All of us know what should be done to increase food production. But our administration is slow-moving. It was devised long ago for a more or less static economy and

cumbrous procedures with numerous checks and brakes put into it. The British Government under the urgency of a war situation, ignored these checks and brakes. But we have largely carried on with them and so our developmental programmes move much more slowly than they ought to. Lately an attempt has been made to remove some of these brakes by the devolution of authority. Probably more has to be done in this respect.

6. Above all what is required is a new spirit, a spark and a flame which should enthuse both the apparatus of Government and our people. In regard to food production success can only come if that new spirit fills our farmers and agriculturists. No governmental apparatus can succeed without the co-operation of the farmers.

7. We have, I think, laid good foundations for the progress of industry. The steel plants are symbols of this and we shall soon be making progress in regard to our heavy machine-building plant and heavy electricals. The drug industry is also important, not only so as to provide cheap medicine to our people but to save foreign exchange.

8. Recently, we have had a piece of very unusual good fortune. We have struck oil in Cambay¹ and, as you know, the prospects at Jawalamukhi in Hoshiarpur and in Assam are also considered good. Cambay was a region which many foreign geologists said was most unpromising from the point of view of oil. But some of our Indian geologists had faith and so without too much hope we started drilling there. Normally it takes a long time and many attempts at drilling to produce results. In our case, the very first such attempt has yielded results. We must be cautious and not over-optimistic because we can only be sure of the quantity of oil after more proof. But the fact of oil being there has been demonstrated and that itself is an important event. I

1. Oil was discovered at Cambay on 8 September and on 19 September oil spurted from the Luhej well, eight miles north of Cambay.

need not tell you what a great difference it would make to our economy as well as to our dependence on foreign imports if sufficient oil is found in India.

9. But to come back to the food problem, there is the immediate problem and this will last for another month or two till the new crop comes. We have adequate supplies for this period, but they are only adequate if they are carefully used. It is most unfortunate that at this time of difficulty some parties should exploit the situation for what can only be political reasons. It is the right of Opposition parties to criticize Government's policies and to suggest other policies. But I am distressed at the action taken by some Opposition groups in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal which directly hinders the creation of that atmosphere² which is so necessary in dealing with a situation of this kind. For my part, I have laid stress on the food problem being treated as a national one, above party groupings. Others have said so too, though they have not always acted on to what they have said. Our attempt at the Centre to seek the co-operation of Opposition groups has met with success and we have had very profitable meetings. We shall continue these. I have recommended this course of action in the States also and I earnestly hope that this will be followed. But it is clear that co-operation can hardly come when there is active non-cooperation being preached and people are being incited to breaches of law. The very atmosphere of faith, confidence and co-operation which is always necessary in meeting a national crisis is thus prevented from developing and instead a feeling of panic and internal conflict encouraged.
10. I think that there is every hope of our making substantial progress in food production in the near future and onwards. The coming harvest is likely to be a good one.

2. The agitation lasting 21 days launched by the Praja Socialist Party in U.P. was suspended on 28 September to allow the review of the whole situation by the State Executive of the Party.

Our community development movement has hitched itself almost completely to food production and this will surely yield results. But those results will be substantial only when the individual farmer is approached and fired with enthusiasm. We must go to the farmer and explain to him what should be done and help him in doing it. As I have said before, it is through co-operation that this can best be achieved and the method of co-operation should be the village cooperatives. These village cooperatives could be joined together in regional groups which will give them greater strength. By cooperatives I do not mean merely credit organizations, though credit is important to the farmer. Every form of cooperative effort should be encouraged, ultimately leading, I hope, to an increasing measure of joint cultivation. This is not collective farming as this is usually understood. Naturally all this has to be done with the goodwill and consent of the farmers.

11. The farmer has to be assured of a reasonable price for his produce. At present, however, the prices are high and there is no need for fixing a minimum. But the farmer should be given an assurance that he will get a reasonable price if prices fall unduly. We have to remember that high prices of agricultural products and specially foodgrains are harmful to the economy of the country and raise the price index, thereby causing much suffering to the mass of the population and also raising the cost of development projects. These high prices should be combated both by administrative means and popular pressure. The present high prices are only partly due to natural causes. Mostly they have been artificially raised. Wherever effective steps have been taken, prices have shown a tendency to come down.

12. A farmer learns from practical demonstration and not so much from theoretical advice. Therefore, it is necessary to have demonstration farms. In every community block there should be at least one demonstration farm for this purpose and small demonstration farms should be started in villages. Those who give good advice to farmers in regard to agriculture should themselves set a practical example by

working in terms of that advice. That is, it is not enough, even for our officers, merely to sit in offices and give advice. They should set practical examples.

13. We have become enamoured of big projects. I have no doubt these are necessary. But what seems to me much more necessary are the small projects, the minor irrigation facilities. This means, first of all, the proper maintenance of existing minor irrigation works. Unfortunately this has not been done in the past. Water in canals has not been fully utilized by making village channels; tubewells have also not been utilized fully; and in South India particularly a vast number of tanks have gone into disrepair. This system of tanks in South India was excellent, with inter-connecting channels. The zamindar in the old days looked after them. Since the disappearance of the zamindari system no one else appears to have been made responsible for them. Obviously it is for the village *panchayat* to undertake this work. It is estimated that there are about 100,000 small tanks in South India. A large part of these have been allowed to go in disrepair or are only partly used. In repairing these tanks no cement or steel is required, nor is any high technical skill necessary. All that is necessary is the mobilization of labour to fill the breaches with earth work and clean up silted channels. This also does not require any upsetting of populations or their resettlement. If this could be organized on a village basis, not much capital will be necessary. The results in the immediate production would be considerable.

14. So far as minor irrigation works are concerned, we must evolve procedures for sanctioning them with speed. It has often been found that there is a great delay in this business of sanctions. This also shows how cumbrous our administrative system is.

15. Recently there has been an exhibition in Delhi of defence production. This exhibition demonstrated not only the wide field in which our ordnance factories are working, apart from defence requirements, but also their great potentiality for additional types of work. Indeed, even our

existing equipment can be used to far greater advantage and we have good engineers too. We have the men and we have more or less the equipment to do much more than we have been doing. It was pleasing to see the enthusiasm of our engineers when asked to do something worthwhile out of their ordinary rut.

16. There has been an ideal inherited by us from British times that as a rule the State should not undertake or compete with any work which is being done by a private agency. This is a wholly wrong approach. We want to encourage as much as possible the development of private enterprise in numerous fields. But this does not mean that we should not touch any of those fields through the State. The State should always try to do what it can provided this is done efficiently and economically. Indeed, it would be a good thing for the State and private enterprise sometimes to compete with each other. Both will be kept up to the mark and the results will be good.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21

New Delhi
15 October, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was sent from Gangtok in Sikkim, on the eve of my journey to Bhutan via Tibet. After I left Gangtok, I was almost entirely cut off from communications till my return to Gangtok two and a half weeks later. I received an occasional message by wireless from Delhi. But this was rarely sent as I had requested that only something that was really important should be forwarded to me. Usually we could listen in to the A.I.R. news broadcasts in the evening, as we had a radio with us. There were no newspapers at all and I had a sensation of being in another world.

2. The little corner of Tibet that I saw upset my idea of that country. I had always thought that on the other side of the Himalayan ranges, there was the high tableland of Tibet, more or less flat and treeless. As a matter of fact, on the other side of the Nathu La, there were the same precipitous mountains covered with thick forests. This was the Chumbi Valley where Yatung is situated and, broadly speaking, it was similar to Himalayan scenery. At the top of the Nathu La ended the road¹ that our engineers had constructed, and on the other side we had to descend by precipitous bridle paths. This road on our side is a remarkable feat for which our engineers deserve great credit. If a road could be built on the other side of the Pass, connecting Yatung, then there

1. From Gangtok to Nathu La.

would be through road communications between India and Tibet. On the Tibetan side this road will be a much simpler proposition than the one that we have built on our side. Through road traffic would make a great difference to trade as well as to travellers. There is still a considerable inflow of goods from India to Tibet although this has gone down during the last year or two. I was told that upto last year quite a number of automobiles had gone this way after having been taken in pieces and carried by porters.

3. The change from Sikkim to Tibet was noticeable, though not very great. Some little distance before we reached Yatung, we were received by representatives² of the Chinese General³ in Command at Lhasa and of the Dalai Lama⁴ and Panchen Lama.⁵ Tibetans peered at us from their houses or from the roadside, curious about us, and yet not quite sure whether they should come near us.

4. Yatung was a small spread out town. The main market road was full of Indian shops. There were, I believe, over ninety such shops, many of them having started business in the course of the last three years, when this trade was highly profitable. Conditions were more difficult now and a number of these Indian shops were closing up. The Chinese authorities had put up a number of new buildings—schools, hospital, community centre and residential houses for themselves. Our own Trade Agent's⁶ house had its own little hospital and buildings for the staff. In Gyangtse, and Lhasa our representatives⁷ were very badly housed. In Gyangtse, a

2. General Tang Kwan.

3. General Chang Ching Wu.

4. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 77.

5. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 77.

6. K.C. Johorey.

7. R.S. Kapoor and S.L. Chibber were the Indian representatives at Gyangtse and Lhasa respectively.

great flood two years ago had destroyed our house and over ninety of our personnel had been drowned.⁸ It struck me how difficult were the living conditions of the members of our staff in various parts of Tibet. There was the harsh climate and the high altitude; the lack of social life or amenities and a sense of seclusion from the outside world. Only physically tough people could stand these conditions for long.

5. On crossing the Tibet-Bhutan border, we were met by the Prime Minister⁹ of Bhutan and a numerous cortege. We journeyed on horseback or muleback, a long caravan, going ever higher and higher. The Bhutan Government had taken great pains to improve the bridle paths and erect log huts *en route* for our night rest. The mountain scenery was more attractive and impressive. Some of us had felt a little uncomfortable on the first day of our journey because of the height, but soon we grew accustomed to that altitude and nothing untoward happened. We had a doctor with us, who carried all kinds of drugs and medicines and numerous oxygen cylinders. I am glad to say that those oxygen cylinders were never used and ultimately, on our return journey, we left most of these oxygen cylinders at our hospital at Yatung.

6. The next day's journey brought us to two high passes,¹⁰ both above 14,500 feet. We left the tree-line and ascended to these heights where only flowers and grass persisted. There were lovely Alpine flowers throughout. It was surprising that in spite of long hours on horseback or sometimes on foot, we felt refreshed after every rest. The air was exhilarating and altogether this visit proved to be quite an exciting event in our lives.

8. See Vol. 4, p. 9.

9. Jigme Dorji (1919–1964). Prime Minister of Bhutan, 1954 till 1964 when he was assassinated.

10. The Chu-La and Ha-La Passes.

7. When we were approaching within two or three miles of Paro, where the Maharaja was awaiting us,¹¹ we had to form up into a procession which gradually descended along the mountain side to the valley below. I have seldom seen anything more spectacular than this long procession consisting of people looking like medieval knights, dignitaries of the Buddhist church in their special robes, troupes of dancers, etc. Thus we came down the winding road to the valley below where practically the entire population had assembled.

8. We spent five days at Paro. We had met the young Maharaja and his wife¹² in Delhi some years ago, and they proved to be charming hosts. In theory, the Maharaja is the all-powerful ruler of his little State. In practice, he is very much one of the people, mixing with them and not very different from them. He had instituted a big Advisory Council¹³ which was going to meet soon after our departure. Bhutan has a special relationship with India, governed by our Treaty¹⁴ with it. We undertake not to interfere in any way with the internal independence of Bhutan; the Government of Bhutan, on their side, undertake to be guided by our advice in external affairs. Both sides have adhered to this Treaty, and there is no reason why we should want change in it. Inevitably, Bhutan has to develop and come out of its own shell. But this process is likely to be slow, and they wish to take our technical help in doing so. The

11. On 21 September 1958.

12. Maharani Kesang Dorji.

13. In 1953, the Maharaja instituted a National Assembly which consisted of 150 members with 100 elected members. A Royal Advisory Council (Lardo Tshadge) formed by the elected members of the Assembly advised the King as well as Ministers when the Assembly was not in session.

14. The Treaty of Friendship between India and Bhutan was signed at Darjeeling on 8 August 1949.

most important thing for them at present is the building of one or more roads from India to Bhutan. Probably the first road to be constructed will be from West Bengal into Bhutan.

9. In Bhutan, there were no amenities of modern civilization; at the same time, there appeared to be no unemployment, no beggary, no poverty. It was a country of peasant proprietors, each person having some land and probably some cattle and pigs and horses and poultry. The people appeared to have enough to eat and fairly adequate housing. They had wooden huts which appeared to be fairly spacious. Women played an important part in their fields and other activities. The Bhutanese language is nearly allied to Tibetan, and their religion is, of course, Buddhism. They look up to the Dalai Lama. In fact, when we showed the film of the Dalai Lama's visit to India, quite a number of people in the audience prostrated themselves when they saw the Dalai Lama on the screen.

10. I liked the Bhutanese people. They were tough and wiry and intelligent. Given the opportunities and education, they will do as well as any other people. I hope, however, that change will not come too suddenly to them.

11. On my return, I spent another day at Yatung and a day and a half at Gangtok. I have visited Sikkim many times, and each time I have found many evidences of change and advance. It is a delightful and beautiful little country.

12. While I was in Bhutan, the President¹⁵ paid a visit to Japan,¹⁶ where he received a very cordial welcome not only from the Government, but from the people also. It is evident that the Japanese people have developed some attraction for India. They have passed through great trials which have left a deep impress upon them. It is remarkable how they have built themselves up again since their utter defeat in the last World War. I think we can learn a great deal

15. Rajendra Prasad. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 14.

16. He visited Japan from 27 September to 5 October 1958.

from them. The President has been good enough to give us his impressions of Japan,¹⁷ and we hope to profit by them.

13. While we were away, torrential rains descended in various parts of North India, notably Punjab, Delhi, and parts of Uttar Pradesh. They have done great damage and partly ruined the beautiful crops that were waiting to be harvested. Nature has not been kind to us. But, perhaps, these trials are good to make our people tough and give them a measure of self-reliance.

14. Soon after my return from Bhutan, Delhi became the scene of the important conferences of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.¹⁸ These conferences attracted a very large number of Finance and other Ministers from many countries, in addition to bankers and the like. Quite apart from the deliberations of these conferences, the visit of all these people from abroad had, I think, a good effect. I think it is right to say that they were much impressed by what they saw in India and the signs of development and progress everywhere. They were tough people, not easily impressed. A number of them travelled about India a little and visited some of our major development schemes as well as community blocks. Their main impression appears to have been, so they said, of a vitality everywhere and a determination to go ahead as well as a certain efficiency in our arrangements. The exhibition¹⁹ we are having in Delhi now—India 1958—created a good impression upon all those who saw it.

17. In his notes to Nehru which were circulated to all Chief Ministers, the President had drawn attention to the efforts made in Japan to maximize the crop yield and grow vegetables and fruits in all vacant space near building sites and railway tracks and platforms at the minimum of cost.

18. The thirteenth annual session of the Board of Governors of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation held at New Delhi from 6 to 10 October 1958 was attended by 420 delegates.

19. It was inaugurated by Nehru on 8 October 1958.

15. We have many exhibitions in Delhi. But there is something rather special about the present one. It has been built up in about two and a half month's time during which heavy rains interfered. Most of our visitors said that they could not conceive of such a major exhibition being put up in such a short time anywhere else. I must say that even I have been impressed by this exhibition. I have visited it twice already, and only seen about one-tenth of it. The Science and Technology Pavilion as well as those of the Defence Industries, the Atomic Energy, Handicrafts, Handlooms and many other pavilions bring out vividly the all-round progress we are making. The progress in science is particularly impressive, and so also in small industries. I hope that you will have an opportunity of visiting this exhibition when you come to Delhi.

16. We hear a great deal about our major plants and basic industries like iron and steel, machine-building, machine tools, ship-building, fertilizers, etc. But, perhaps many people do not realize the great advance that has been made in India in the realm of small industries and handicrafts. I confess that I was myself surprised to find how rapidly these small industries are growing all over the country. I attach very great importance to these small industries, producing all kinds of consumer goods and giving employment to an ever-increasing number of people. The industrial estates that have been put up in some parts of India are especially to be welcomed in this connection.

17. Even while the Bank people were in Delhi, news came about the sudden change in Pakistan, which put an end to the Constitution and introduced martial law.²⁰ In a sense, there was nothing surprising about this, as every competent

20. On 7 October 1958, President Iskander Mirza abrogated the Pakistan Constitution, dissolved all Central and Provincial Governments and Assemblies, banned all political parties, appointed General Mohammad Ayub Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator and placed the armed forces under his command.

observer knew of the rapid political and economic deterioration of Pakistan. Nevertheless, this came as a surprise. The magnates of the World Bank and the Finance Ministers and others who were here, had a bit of a shock, and, inevitably, a comparison with a vital, progressive and more or less efficient India came before them. They said little in public, but it was obvious from private talks that this change in Pakistan came as a shock to them. It will bring many problems in its train. For the first time, one of the Commonwealth countries is under full-blooded authoritarian rule, indeed under martial law.

18. It is clear that this so-called revolution or counter-revolution in Pakistan has nothing to do with law or Constitution. President Mirza,²¹ in abrogating the Constitution, also necessarily put an end to his own Presidentship, which was a part of that Constitution. He has confessed as much and said that he acted, not under any rule of law or Constitution, but according to his conscience. We thus have, as a member of the Commonwealth, a country which has no Constitution and no rule of law, and of course, nothing in the nature of a representative government. Everything in which the Commonwealth takes pride, is lacking in Pakistan at present.

19. In spite of the fact that this change-over in Pakistan is not based on any law, we have decided to recognize the *de facto* Government there and to deal with it. That was the only wise course to adopt, even though under strict legal interpretation the new Government in Pakistan is not legally a continuing one. Other countries have also accepted the fact of change there, and to my knowledge no one has challenged this change. I wonder what the reaction of some other countries would have been if this change had occurred

21. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 567.

elsewhere and in a country not so closely associated with the Commonwealth and some Western Powers. Naturally, we are deeply concerned with what happens in Pakistan, because we may have to face unexpected consequences. While we should be alert and vigilant, there is no reason why we should take an alarmist view of this situation. From the world point of view, Pakistan does not come out well out of all this. It is difficult to say how long this state of martial law will last there. There is no easy way out of it. Napoleon is reported to have said that almost everything could be done with bayonets except to sit upon them. The change in Pakistan was apparently fairly easy because the politicians were thoroughly discredited. But now it is a question of sitting on the bayonets, and that is not likely to be a comfortable business after a while. Probably, some minor variation of martial law will be introduced later and then a Constitution concentrating power in the President. I doubt if all these steps will lead to any political or economic stability there, even though outwardly there may not be trouble.

20. The major world issue during the last few weeks has been the tension and the conflict in the Formosa Straits. Probably, the danger of war which appeared to be quite near, has for the moment passed.²² But no one should imagine that peace is assured. The position is inherently an unstable and dangerous one, and both sides to the conflict, namely China and the United States of America, have dug in their toes. In this matter, China, according to us, is obviously right. In addition to this, she has a certain initiative. The present conflict raises the whole question of

22. On 5 October, People's China suspended for a week attacks on the islands held by the Kuomintang so that they might import supplies without U.S. escort.

Formosa and the other islands. But, in effect, it is at present confined to these offshore islands.

3. The basic cause of these continuing difficulties and conflicts is the refusal by some major countries to recognize the People's Government of China. You will have seen that the Indian delegation made another attempt to get the question of China's representation in the U.N. discussed. Indeed, the proposal was an even more limited one. But even this was outvoted in the U.N., though the general feeling there, as elsewhere, is that it is quite absurd to keep China out. In such matters, however, logic has little place, and the cold war mentality governs the situation.

22. The General Assembly of the United Nations continues to sit and argue in a background of heavy tension. Our delegation, together with many other countries, has proposed a resolution about the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests.²³ I do not know what the fate of this will be, even though everybody says that they should be discontinued. The Soviet Union has started tests again on the plea that the other atomic powers have not given them up.

23. This morning, I attended a meeting of the University Grants Commission, and we discussed for nearly two hours

23. A draft to the Political Committee submitted by India on 13 October called for "immediate discontinuance of the testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs until an agreement is reached by the States concerned in regard to the technical arrangements considered necessary to ensure the observance of the discontinuance of such tests." The resolution was criticized by the United States, Britain and France who maintained that atomic tests could cease only within the general framework of effective nuclear disarmament. On 31 October, the resolution was lost in the First Committee by a roll-call by 36 to 26 with 19 abstentions and when resubmitted at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 4 November it was lost by a roll-call vote of 41 to 27 with 27 abstentions.

educational problems.²⁴ It was a helpful discussion which led to the conclusion that in the final analysis nothing is so important as the expansion of proper education. Sometimes, it is said that education must suffer for the time being so that our industries and productive apparatus might grow. And yet, it seems to me obvious that our development in any direction will ultimately be conditioned by the educational background, both at the base, that is primary education, and at the top, that is university and technical education. Apart from the cultural aspects of education, which are of high importance, industrialization itself depends upon education. All the industrialized countries of the world had to go in for large-scale education before they could progress. Japan, when it made a great change in the nineteenth century and decided to industrialize, established free and compulsory education, in addition to technical institutes. All our major schemes require trained manpower. One of the objectives of perspective planning is to train people to take charge of our various developmental activities. If we have not got the trained personnel, teachers, professors, engineers, doctors, etc., the schemes will fail. It is relatively easy to put up a plant, even a major one; it takes much more time to train the men who will run the plant.

24. A rough calculation of the numbers involved in a full scheme of education, including free and compulsory education up to fourteen years, leads us to the prodigious figure of

24. Members of the Commission disapproved the heavy reduction in their budget as a result of reallocation of Second Plan outlays as they feared that it would curtail facilities provided to teachers and Universities which would have adverse effect on student discipline. The Committee called for a thorough investigation into student indiscipline, and welcomed the proposal to make one year's social work obligatory for students before being given degrees. This proposal was forwarded to Vice-Chancellors for approval.

ninety to a hundred million people. This would include the teachers and the taught, and the number of teachers themselves would run into millions. In such a scheme, our so-called educated unemployed would find a place in the teaching profession. But all this costs money. We may not be able to spare as much as we would like to, but I have no doubt that this is of vital importance to our growth.

25. Apart from the finances involved, it is a question of our general outlook. That outlook must begin with a clear idea about child welfare. It is those early years of the child that condition him or her and make all the difference to its future life. Recently the Indian Council of Child Welfare passed a number of important resolutions²⁵ which should help us in thinking of the needs of the child. Many people imagine that education begins at some later stage and forget the importance of the child. There is need for uniform and comprehensive legislation for the protection and care of children. While these are necessary, perhaps even more important is a proper approach to the normal child, that is, a child who is not handicapped. We are passing through a period of fairly rapid change in India which affects the growing generation even more than older people. It is necessary to think of this growing generation for it is out of them that the future India will be built.

26. May I remind you that we have commenced the first stage of the introduction of the metric system of weights and measures?²⁶ We are deliberately introducing these gradually so as not to create an upset. But let us not forget that this is a basic and revolutionary change which will facilitate our

25. The Council in its resolutions passed on 24 August 1958 urged the Government to enact uniform legislation for children to ensure their proper training, growth and protection, and include a comprehensive child welfare programme in the third Five Year Plan.

26. Introduced from 1 October 1958.

industrial development greatly in future. State Governments should endeavour to make the public familiar with these new concepts so that the changeover is effected smoothly and without irritation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
21 October, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

You may have seen recent reports of a very great increase in agricultural production in China. Indeed the figures given in the official reports are quite extraordinary and almost unbelievable.¹ We are trying to get fuller information about this and other matters from our Embassy in China.

Meanwhile it may interest you to have an account which we have received from a person (not an Indian)² who recently visited China and was for some time there. He said that he had seen in the Sinkiang region and in the neighbourhood of Peking several farms where the Chinese had been able to double in one year the previous production of rice per acre by using the following simple and elementary practices. He mentioned in particular a farm near Peking where the production had been raised to 8000 kg per acre. He said that he had not believed the report at first, but that he was convinced about it after visiting these areas. He added that we in India could easily do the same, if not more. The methods adopted in China for this intensive cultivation were as follows:

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. It was officially admitted later on 2 August 1959 that grain production in 1958 was only 250,000,000 metric tons compared to the target figure of 375,000,000 metric tons, or one-third less than the original estimate. Western observers cautioned that these were also inflated figures.

2. Victor Abramovich Kovda (b. 1904). Soviet soil scientist, Professor at Moscow State University, 1939-41, 1953-70; Director, Department of Natural Sciences of Unesco, 1958-65.

- (1) increasing the amount of seed ten times compared to the previous practice. This, he said, was a new thing which the Chinese had introduced. Seedlings were growing almost side by side like a thick carpet;
- (2) ploughing to a depth of one metre. The Chinese were doing this not through tractors but through their ordinary implements;
- (3) using plenty of manure, mostly compost, upto a depth of one metre; and
- (4) increasing irrigation facilities.

He further said that the community farms³ in China did not strike him as being successful. They could be described as some kind of primitive communism.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Between April-October 1958 a radical reorganization of the Chinese agrarian system was carried out whereby the great majority of the agricultural cooperatives were grouped together into large 'people's communes' combining agricultural, industrial, administrative and military functions.

New Delhi
12 November, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My fortnightly letters have tended to become monthly ones. This is for no lack of material or of thoughts in my mind which I should like to convey to you. But pressure of work grows and comes in the way of many things that I wish to do.

2. I want to write to you specially today about some recent decisions of the National Development Council¹ at which you were present. I attach a great deal of importance to this meeting of the N.D.C. The procedure we adopted was much more helpful than our previous practice. Instead of a rather rambling survey of the conditions in each State, which tended to become discursive, we had a real discussion about various matters and important decisions were arrived at.

3. The first issue placed before the Council related to our resources position. A careful calculation disclosed that we were likely to be short by over 200 crores of the revised figure we had fixed for the second Five Year Plan, that is, Rs. 4,500 crores. We discussed this matter in its various aspects and it was pointed out that there was a good deal of room for economy in construction and in some other matters. Ultimately we decided that this figure of Rs. 4,500 crores should not be reduced any further. I think this decision was a right one. But it brings in its train certain duties and obligations. We have to work hard to reduce what might be considered unnecessary expenditure and we have to increase our

1. Held at New Delhi on 8 and 9 November 1958.

revenues. This can only be by additional taxation or by loans. There is some room for additional taxation especially in the States and I think there is much room for loans.

4. We have decided to reduce our expenditure on construction works. Possibly forty per cent of our total Second Plan expenditure is spent on construction. Even a reduction of ten per cent, which should not be difficult, would save us a very considerable amount. This reduction can be brought about in at least two ways. The present P.W.D. specifications may be good for some purposes, such as big and heavy public buildings. They are not suitable or necessary for innumerable smaller constructions. Also, the overall charges are, I think, too high. Then there are the contractors. If we could do away to some extent with these middlemen, there would be an immediate and marked saving. I hope you will consider this matter carefully. The more you save, the more you will have left over to spend on other projects.

5. People often complain about the high salaries we pay. Compared to the normal Indian standards these salaries are high. On the whole, however, I do not think that, at the present rates of taxation, our salaries are too high, except for a few top ones. Unfortunately, our whole structure is such that it is difficult to break through it. Most of our civil servants get much less than their counterparts in industry. In industry, the foreign firms pay fantastic salaries, apart from the other facilities they give to their senior officers. Our big Indian firms are trying to copy them in this scale of salaries. All this has a bad effect on our general standards, and there is far too much ostentatious living. It sometimes happens that our retired civil servants are immediately picked up by some big industrial firm, British or Indian, and paid much more than they ever got in the civil service. I do not like this at all for two reasons. One is the high salary, and the other is that they are sometimes engaged because it is supposed that their contacts with senior officers might be helpful to the firm. We should not encourage this kind of thing.

6. In all our development schemes, big or small, this high

scale of expenditure pursues us, and it is very difficult to lower it, though I think there is room for this. Even in our community development work, although we do not give any high salaries, I think there is room for improvement in this respect. Everyone expects to be paid for what he does, even the villager, or they think that Government should do it. It is quite impossible for any Government, however rich it might be, to undertake the hundreds of thousands of small village schemes that could easily be undertaken by the villagers themselves. I have always spoken in high terms of praise of the community development movement, and I still adhere to that, but I fear it has not encouraged, as much as it should have done, the people to rely on themselves and work for the village community as well as for themselves. I am told that they do not even take the trouble to keep their village clean and that newly-made drains become blocked with refuse thrown into them. If people cannot do these simple things, how can we expect them to undertake bigger works? I am inclined to think that we should make it a first condition for the spread of community blocks that the village must learn how to keep itself clean. Those who do so will be helped. Nothing can be more fatal than this terrible reliance on official agency to do everything.

7. It is in this connection that the proposal to build up *panchayats* and village cooperatives everywhere and to give them powers, is of the highest importance. I know, as all of us do, that the powers may not be wisely used. Nevertheless, it is essential to give them those powers, even if they make a mess of things. They must learn how to rely upon themselves and develop a community sense. The official element should remain very much in the background as technical or other advisers. The initiative must come from the villagers.

8. This reminds me also that in our attempt to centralize everything, we produce set patterns for community work all over India. I know that there is some variation, but I doubt if there is enough of it. It is clear that one pattern may be totally unsuited to another place, whether it is due to climate

or other factors. Thus, to ask people to spin on the *charkha* in mountain areas is wholly unsuitable. If they have to spin, they should use wool. We should also concentrate on other activities and see which one fits in with the temperament of the people.

9. A good innovation in recent months has been the camp² for Gram Sahayaks.³ I think this is much appreciated, and this has done a great deal of good. But a three-day camp is hardly adequate. Probably, the first and the last day is spent in unpacking and packing and in speeches of welcome and valediction. I wonder if it could be increased to at least five days. The main thing is for us somehow to get to grips with the village mind and find special ways of making it interested by choosing suitable activities for it which fit the environment and the people concerned. Once this awakening takes place, the rest will follow more easily. It is expected that semi-autonomous village *panchayats* and village co-operatives will ultimately lead to this awakening and growth of responsibility.

10. A major decision⁴ of the National Development Council was for the State to undertake wholesale trading in foodgrains. I think that this should lead in many ways to very helpful results. It surprises me that we have taken such a long time to come to this decision and have had to submit to all the vagaries of traders at a time of food crisis. This may be called a small step towards socializing the food trade, but, as a matter of fact, even capitalist countries adopt it in times of emergency. If a war comes, there is every kind of control, and people put up with it. We are not proposing

2. Held at Mount Abu on 20 May 1958.

3. It was announced on 2 October that over 4,38,000 Gram Sahayaks had been trained at 9,475 camps by June 1958 under the programme launched on 2 October 1957.

4. On 8 November 1958.

such detailed controls. But it is not possible any longer to have to suffer the injuries done by prices being pushed up and down by the vagaries and cupidity of traders. Once we control the wholesale price situation, the rest will be relatively easy.

11. There would be no difficulty at all in controlling either the wholesale trade or even the retail trade if village cooperatives started functioning well. Till then, we shall have to face many novel problems. Immediately, in the present, it is inevitable for the States to appoint wholesale dealers as their licensed agents. There is no other way out. But it should be remembered that these wholesale dealers cannot welcome this change which is to their disadvantage. It is not very safe to appoint people to work a scheme when they are themselves opposed to it, and who might even work for its failure. There will have to be, therefore, very careful organization and supervision.

12. When this wholesale trade in foodgrains is fully working, we might well save anything from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 crores a year, and that will be a substantial gain to be used for other purposes. This is a first step in a right direction, and we may well go further in that direction later.

13. We must always remember that India is a rich country so far as resources are concerned, even though the people may be poor. Also, that we have a tremendous reservoir of manpower. Most of that, of course, is untrained, but a considerable portion has some training. Planning should consist of utilizing as much as possible this manpower and yoking it to our resources. Merely to make lists of schemes and projects and making calculations on a business basis, leaves out this vast manpower and prevents us from exploiting those resources. We are constantly thinking of how things are done in industrially developed countries where the problems are different. Whenever we take up a big scheme, whether it is health or education or small or cottage industries, we make plans for all India on a vast scale, involving hundreds or thousands of crores, and then feel

helpless about it. How much of this work could be done in a simple way, without these complicated and expensive projects? That is the essence of planning for us and not merely making a list of schemes and projects.

14. We have made marked progress in our big projects, which basically do not require public co-operation to any large extent. In small industries, we are also forging ahead, though I would wish that this pace was faster. Where we have not succeeded to any large extent is in mobilization of our people. Even in the big schemes, it is essential that the worker should understand what he is doing and what the scheme is. He should be made to feel that he is a partner in a big undertaking for his own benefit as well as for the good of the community. Is any attempt made to put this across to him? I remember once visiting a big river valley scheme where hundreds of men and women were carrying basketfuls of earth. Young and eager engineers explained the scheme to me, and I liked their enthusiasm. I then asked them: Have you explained this to those workers in the field who are carrying earth from one place to another? They said 'no'. I went to those workers then and collected them, and asked them a few questions as to what they were doing and why. They knew very little about it. Then I tried to explain to them the significance of that project and how it would benefit them. They were interested, and some understanding came into their eyes. The young engineers themselves realized this and promised me that in future, they would explain this to their workers. It is obvious that this kind of approach is not only right from the human point of view, but from the work point of view also.

15. To come back to agriculture, which must now at least be the high point of our endeavour. It must be realized that everything depends upon the success of our agricultural production, that our Five Year Plans and industrial development are themselves dependent upon agriculture. If that is so, agriculture must be the most vital and important department in Government, and the people in charge of it,

whether Ministers or officials, should not only have knowledge of it, but should also possess keenness and enthusiasm. In a recent report of a Committee appointed by our Food and Agriculture Ministry—The Nalagarh Report⁵—the facts elicited about Agriculture Departments are most depressing. Reading it, one realizes why we have failed in making much progress in our agriculture. It is necessary for us, therefore, to reorganize Agriculture Departments from top to bottom and remove all the dead wood that has collected there. This is important, and I would beg of you to take immediate steps to this end. It is no good sitting down in offices and issuing routine circulars.

16. An adviser in our Planning Commission, Shri Sivaraman,⁶ has laid great stress on the use of green manures, compost, etc. He speaks from personal experience because in his work in the old Madras State, he succeeded greatly in spreading the use of these manures. The result is that at present Madras and Andhra, I think, have the highest yield per acre. Today, it is the fashion to shout for chemical fertilizers. I agree that we should use them and produce them as much as possible. But it is the farmers themselves who must produce green manures, compost, etc. In China, they are even producing some simple form of fertilizer on a village scale. This is not as good as the fertilizer produced in proper factories, but it is good enough for the farmer.

5. The Agricultural Administration Committee headed by Raja Surendra Singh of Nalagarh, Adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, in its report on 2 November 1958 urged the Government to take urgent steps to streamline the agricultural administration as the food situation could be appreciably improved if positive steps were taken.

6. M.S. Sivaraman (1907-1967). Entered I.C.S., 1930 and served in Madras Presidency and later in Tamil Nadu; Programme Adviser, Planning Commission, 1957-64.

17. We thus find that there is so much we can do without any additional expenditure of money. And yet, we are told that little can be done unless vast sums of money are poured out. There are no vast funds available. Are we then to stagnate or sink into oblivion?

18. I believe something is being done in this respect now. But it is not enough and we must treat this problem on an emergency footing and give it the topmost priority and devote to it our highest ability and energy. I would particularly invite your attention to the Nalagarh Report.

19. Steel and oil give us promise of large earnings both in foreign exchange and in regard to our domestic resources. In oil we have had a further stroke of good fortune. What is required now is to proceed with this drilling, etc. at high speed. So also in regard to steel. As soon as steel begins to come out or oil to flow, we make or save several lakhs of rupees a day. Someone calculated that everyday's delay in steel production means a loss of a million rupees. Probably the same might be said of oil.

20. I am not writing to you about other subjects in this letter. But I shall make a brief mention of the new and rather extraordinary developments in Pakistan. One *coup d'état* has followed another⁷ and no one quite knows what might happen some weeks or months later. There is no reason for us to be agitated over this, but obviously we have to be alert. It is rather sad how our neighbour country has deteriorated so much both politically and economically. Martial Law may stop the rot for a little while superficially. Obviously it neither solves the political problem nor the economic and the time will come soon when discontent will grow. The

7. On 27 October 1958, President Iskander Mirza, acting on the orders of General Ayub Khan, the Chief Martial Law Administrator, was forced to hand over all powers. He was removed from the Presidentship of Pakistan and the General proclaimed himself the President of Pakistan. See also *ante*, p. 146.

reaction in some Western countries to developments in Pakistan has been significant. The first *coup d'etat* was on the whole approved, with some crocodile tears for the temporary lapse of democracy. But it was added that perhaps this was the best way of saving democracy in the end. General Iskander Mirza was boosted up as the man of destiny who had pulled Pakistan out of the morass in which it was sinking. Not long afterwards this man of destiny, to quote a famous phrase, went into the dustbin of history, leaving very few persons to mourn his departure. Nothing abashed, some Western newspapers started praising General Ayub Khan⁸ as the new man of destiny, the saviour of freedom and the free world. It is difficult for words to have any meaning left to them when they are used in this fashion. S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact countries, the great defenders of freedom, are now partly represented by Martial Law or autocratic regimes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. (1907-1974). Commissioned in the Indian Army, 1928 and transferred to the Pakistan Army, 1947; Commander-in-Chief, 1951-54; Minister for Defence, 1954-55; Chief Martial Law Administrator, 1958; President of Pakistan from 1958 till his resignation after widespread rioting in 1969.

New Delhi
16 November, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have long been worried about the properties and large sums of money which are attached to our temples. A few of these manage these properties and monies with some sense of responsibility. But most of them do not do so. An example of good use of money is that of the Tirupati Temple¹ in South India, where there is a competent Board² to look after the properties and to use the money for public purposes, chiefly education. But that is rather an exception.

In quite a number of cases, the *Mahant* treats the temple property as his own personal income which seems to me highly improper. Sometimes the *Mahant* is a notorious evil liver. It is bad enough that such a man should occupy a position of spiritual head of an institution; it is worse that the offerings should go to support his personal pleasures. These *Mahants* have recently and increasingly taken to marriage and look upon the income of the temple as hereditary personal property. I have no objection to their marrying, but I do object to this utter misuse of public funds.

In some States there has been some legislation to control this kind of thing. But I rather doubt if this legislation has served the purpose for which it was intended. I think that we should take some effective steps for the protection of these

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. Located in Andhra Pradesh about 108 kilometres north west of Madras. It is one of the most popular pilgrim centres in India.

2. The Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam.

16 November, 1958

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funds and for their use for public purposes more especially education. The funds thus made available would be, I think, considerable.

I am inclined to think that it might be desirable to have a commission of enquiry to find out what the position is. The subject is essentially a State subject, but perhaps an All-India Commission of Inquiry³ would be better than State enquiries. That would bring out all the facts.

Before we consider this matter further, I should like your own views on the subject and I would be grateful if you could tell me what steps have been taken by your Government in regard to it, including legislation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 1 March 1960, the Government of India constituted a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer to enquire into matters connected with the Hindu religious endowments. It reported on 31 May 1962.

New Delhi
2 December, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you know, reports of an astonishing increase in rice production in China have naturally excited a great deal of interest in various countries. We have received a good deal of information on this subject from our Embassy in Peking and, as I think I have informed you, we have decided to send a team to study the new methods of rice cultivation there as well as other developments.

2. As the season for rice cultivation is now over in China, we intend sending these particular experts of ours in spring next year.

3. Meanwhile it may interest you to see a brief report which we have received from Japanese official sources. The Japanese were naturally greatly intrigued about the reports of rice production in China and they decided to send a team¹ there, not only of experts but of practical farmers. The method they adopted was eminently practical.² They requested the Chinese Government to give them a plot of good land for rice cultivation. This was to be next to the land

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. A team of 25 Japanese agricultural experts led by the Director of the Akita Prefectural Agricultural Research Institute, visited Beijing from 21 April to 29 October 1958 to provide technical guidance to the Chinese on the method of rice cultivation.

2. The Party was sub-divided into two groups, one being despatched to a State farm in Hopei Province and the other to a State farm in Liooning Province for the purpose of comparative study of rice cultivation.

2 December, 1958

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being cultivated by the Chinese farmers themselves. The Chinese Government was good enough to give this plot to them, and for six months these Japanese farmers cultivated this. This was an eminently suitable way for comparing the two methods of cultivation. The results are given briefly in the paper I am sending to you.³ From this, it will appear that while undoubtedly the Chinese yield per hectare was high, it did not exceed the Japanese yield, and was sometimes lower.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Japanese team concluded that the Chinese could get a larger crop yield in the initial stages by using artificial fertilizers and improved seeds with ample water.

New Delhi
16 December, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,*

This is not the usual periodical letter which has been delayed greatly. I want to write to you, however, today about a matter which is of high importance to you and to all of us. This relates to our second Five Year Plan and its fulfilment and later to the Third Plan.

2. Our minds have been in a state of ferment for many weeks and our Planning Commission has been discussing this subject repeatedly. Busy as all of us are with a host of day to day activities and problems, we are apt to ignore perspectives, and yet a plan is nothing if it is not a look at the perspectives of the future. Hence the first thing to do about a plan is to be clear about the future picture and the various steps leading up to its realization. That is, perspective planning is the base for short-term planning.

3. We have now some experience of planning, though I cannot say that we are expert at it yet. Certainly we know more about it than when we prepared that First Plan or the Second, and we have more data at our service also.

4. In recent months, as you know, we have had a good deal of trouble about the foreign exchange situation. Credits and loans and other forms of help have come to us from friendly countries abroad¹ and they have helped us to tide over the present difficulty. But we have to go deeper into this

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. These included the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany and Japan.

question and to devise ways and methods how not to have a repetition of this kind of unfortunate experience. We have indeed to survey the entire scene of our economic activities and make a fresh appraisal.

5. It was with this view that the Planning Commission started a series of informal meetings and we have had a number of frank and revealing talks amongst ourselves. Many papers have been prepared by members of the staff which have helped to give us a factual view of the situation. These talks will continue, and later we may perhaps put our views in a more concise form.

6. The situation revealed by our fresh survey is a very difficult one and it demands far-reaching measures by us. We cannot allow a drift in a wrong direction to continue. Thus we have to pull ourselves up even though the process might be a painful one, and give what we consider a right lead to the country. We have not only to do this for the remaining years of the second Five Year Plan, but also in regard to our approach to the Third Plan.

7. It has struck me that all these detailed talks and discussions that we are having in the Planning Commission are naturally limited to a few of us, and you and the States, which are chiefly concerned with many aspects of the Plan and its implementation, do not participate in them. Of course, at a meeting of the National Development Council, the Chief Ministers come and we discuss some broad issues. But that is not enough and I would like you to share in this progressive thinking process and to help us in it.

8. At a meeting of the Planning Commission, it was decided that important papers submitted to the Planning Commission as well as a brief record of our discussions should be sent to all the members of the Central Cabinet and to all Chief Ministers of States, so that they might be kept in touch with these discussions. This will also enable them to send us, from time to time, their own suggestions or criticisms. Thus the process of discussion and consideration will spread out to you also, and we want you particularly to

apply your mind to these matters and give us the benefit of your views.

9. The Deputy Chairman² of the Planning Commission will be sending you a letter soon about this matter and will forward to you such papers and record of proceedings as are ready. Future papers will also be sent to you. In particular, you will have some notes by the Deputy Chairman as well as notes³ by Shri J.J. Anjaria⁴ and Shri Pitambar Pant.⁵

10. I shall not say much about these papers as you will read them for yourself. But you will no doubt notice that they go rather deep into these questions and often suggest rather radical remedies. The burden we, and indeed the people of India, have to carry is a heavy one. There appears to be no escape from it to progress as we want to. We shall have to give up many of the frills of our programmes and concentrate on the essentials and above all, we should develop massive support and co-operation of the people.

2. V.T. Krishnamachari (1881-1964). Entered Madras Civil Service, 1908; Dewan of Baroda, 1927-44 and of Jaipur, 1946-49; Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, 1953-60.

3. J.J. Anjaria in his paper "Problems of Resource Mobilization" had argued that the institutional changes, however important, could not help in bringing very quick returns and a key question was how to find under democratic conditions a workable alternative to the methods of coercion employed in China and U.S.S.R. to utilize the surplus manpower available in rural areas. Pitambar Pant's note "Certain Dimensional Hypotheses Concerning the Third Five Year Plan" argued that with a minimum programme of development the challenge of growing unemployment, rendered more serious by the rapid increase of population, could be adequately met, the economy brought to a "take off" stage, and a faster rate of development ensured without heavy dependence on foreign aid.

4. (1908-1970). Economist; Chief, Economic Division, 1950-56, and Adviser, Planning Commission, 1956-61; Economic Adviser, Ministry of Finance, 1953-61; Executive Director for India, International Monetary Fund, 1961-67.

5. (1920-1963). Economist; closely connected with the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta; Member, Planning Commission, 1958-63.

11. This whole question should be looked upon as a national issue of first importance. It must not be dealt with as a Party issue. It is from this point of view that I am forming a small all-Party Committee in Parliament to consider questions relating to planning. I would suggest to you to do likewise.

12. You must have seen a provisional resolution⁶ passed by the Working Committee of the Congress two days ago on planning. This is meant for the next meeting of the full Congress Session. This resolution will also indicate to you the new line of thinking.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The draft resolution passed on 14 December for consideration by the A.I.C.C. Session at Nagpur, outlined a six-point programme to raise additional resources to meet the minimum requirements of the country in respect of the current plans as well as the future. These included efforts to gain additional resources from public enterprises and trading, strict control on imports, expansion of life insurance, control on profits in private sector, wages according to production and curb on non-essential building programmes.

New Delhi
20 December, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I feel very guilty in writing to you, or rather not writing regularly as I should. No excuses are adequate but it is true that I have been rather overwhelmed with work and engagements. It did not seem to me worthwhile to make my letter a chronicle of events, about most of which you have probably read in the newspapers. To exchange my thoughts with you about important developments and possibilities is certainly desirable. But, apart from lack of time, my mind has been in a state of some ferment during the past many weeks. This is not due to any particular recent happening, but rather to an accumulation of events which force us to think and to get out of our old grooves. I have sent you brief letters recently, drawing your attention to some of these developments in India which I considered important.

2. But I feel I must write to you, even though I send you a relatively brief letter today, before the year runs out and a new year comes in. I am leaving tomorrow for Allahabad and Santiniketan. On my return I shall be busy with the visit of Dr. Nkrumah,¹ the Prime Minister of Ghana, and then there are many other engagements. January is always a heavy month for us, even though Parliament is not sitting. There is the Congress Session² which lasts about a week and

1. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 357. He visited India from 22 December 1958 to 11 January 1959.

2. The 64th Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Nagpur from 9 to 11 January 1959.

the Science Congress³ which always attracts me and which is going to be held in Delhi this year. Many eminent scientists come to it from foreign countries and it is an exhilarating experience to meet them and talk to them. On this occasion, the British delegation of scientists will be headed by Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh.⁴ He is not an eminent scientist, but he has taken great interest in science and has been the President of the British Association of Science and as such has encouraged science. I have met him several times in London and found him to be, almost, if I may say so, in spite of his Royal connections, a very intelligent, sensitive and charming young man with a mind that is groping forward.

3. Since I wrote to you, we have had three interesting visitors—Mr. Diefenbaker,⁵ Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Einar Gerhardsen,⁶ Prime Minister of Norway, and M. Andre Malraux,⁷ Minister in General de Gaulle's Government in France. Soon we shall be receiving other eminent dignitaries from abroad. There is the Prime Minister of

3. Held at New Delhi from 21 to 28 January 1959.

4. (b. 1921). Husband of Queen Elizabeth II of Britain. He visited India from 21 January to 4 February 1959.

5. J. Diefenbaker (1895–1979). Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada from 1956; Prime Minister, 1957–63. Visited India from 18 to 23 November 1958.

6. (b. 1897). Secretary, Norwegian Labour Party, 1934–45 and Chairman, 1945–65; Prime Minister, 1945–51, 1955–65. Visited India from 27 December 1958.

7. (1901–1976). French author and politician; involved with revolutionary groups in Indo-China, Canton and Shanghai in 1920s and in the Spanish Civil War in 1936; fought in the French army and the Resistance during Second World War; Minister for Cultural Affairs under General de Gaulle, 1959–69; his books include *L'Espoir* (Days of Hope, 1938), *Les Voix du Silence* (The Voices of Silence, 1953), and *Antimemoirs* (2 Volumes, 1967, 1968). On this occasion he was in India from 28 December 1958 for a week.

of Ghana, fresh from the recent conference at Accra,⁸ President Tito of Yugoslavia,⁹ and the Prime Minister of East Germany, Dr. Grotewohl.¹⁰ As you know, we have no diplomatic relations with East Germany, although we have trade relations and there is a Trade Representative of East Germany in Delhi. Because of lack of diplomatic relations, we cannot treat him as we would any other Prime Minister. But, short of that, we shall extend to him every courtesy and he and his party will be our guests.

4. In February, we hope to have visits from Marshal Voroshilov¹¹ of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister¹² of Afghanistan.

5. The General Assembly of the United Nations has ended its session.¹³ This has not been a very exciting one and attention was more directed to the two conferences that were taking place in Geneva. One of these is concerned with the stoppage of nuclear tests¹⁴ and the other with the prevention

8. The All-African People's Conference of 200 representatives of 50 African political parties, trade unions, student movements and others met at Accra from 9 to 14 December 1958. The Conference called upon the United Nations to ask all colonial powers to withdraw from Africa, resolved to support the non-violent struggle against colonialism and violent struggle where colonial authorities created conditions of 'retaliatory violence', and called for the formation of a Commonwealth of Free African States and regional grouping of African countries in five federations.

9. He visited India from 13 to 19 January 1959.

10. Otto Grotewohl (1894-1964). Prime Minister of German Democratic Republic, 1949-64. Visited India from 12 to 20 January 1959.

11. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 217. Visited India from 20 to 24 January 1959.

12. Mohammad Daud (1909-1978). Prime Minister of Afghanistan, 1953-63; after a *coup* against monarchy in 1973 served as President till he was deposed by the armed forces in 1978. Visited India from 5 to 13 February 1959.

13. On 14 December 1958.

14. The British, American and Soviet delegates held 20 sessions in Geneva from 31 October to 6 December 1958.

of surprise attacks.¹⁵ The one dealing with surprise attacks has been in a state of complete deadlock for some time past and there is no immediate prospect of this deadlock being broken. This conference has adjourned *sine die*. The other conference, dealing with nuclear tests, has met with some preliminary success for which we should be grateful, but the big hurdles remain.

6. The world prospect is a depressing one. While in the Far East there has been some toning down,¹⁶ the position still remains one of continuing crisis. Meanwhile, attention is diverted to Berlin and all kinds of moves and countermoves are being made in regard to it.¹⁷ Behind all this is the cold war with its background of fear and hatred, and every question is judged from that viewpoint. One curious

15. The conference starting from 10 November ended in a deadlock on 2 December 1958 when the Soviet bloc insisted on linking the controversial political issues and the specific disarmament measures with the work to be done by the experts, while the Western side maintained that the experts should confine themselves to the technical study of the problems involved.

16. On 30 September, Dulles said that the United States Government would favour the evacuation of the offshore islands by the Kuomintang if a workable ceasefire was brought about. The bombardment of the islands, resumed on 20 October after being suspended for a fortnight, was not of the same intensity as before.

17. The Western Powers reacted strongly on 14 December 1958 to Khrushchev's proposal of 27 November to declare Berlin a free city with all foreign occupation forces withdrawing. Khrushchev had also announced that in the event of no agreement being reached by 27 May 1959, the Soviet troops would be called back leaving the East German Government to discharge all functions. The Western leaders reiterating their right to station their troops in Berlin and having free access to it, contended that the Soviet Union could not under the Potsdam Agreement act unilaterally.

feature, worth noting, has been the reaction¹⁸ of some countries to the remarkable developments in Pakistan leading to military dictatorship and Martial Law. Merely because Pakistan is an ally in the Baghdad Pact and S.E.A.T.O., every effort is made to show that these changes there are not really bad and in fact might have something good in them. Some people have even gone so far as to suggest that this is some kind of a preliminary to democracy.¹⁹ It is amazing how our thinking is affected and becomes perverted by the cold war.

7. The basic fact of the world situation is the tremendous development of weapons of mass destruction and at the same time fear of a major war. Because of this fear of a war which may well bring almost total destruction of the world, no country is prepared to start it. And yet the Great Powers go on arming themselves more and more and creating situations which increase tension and might lead to that very war which has to be avoided at all costs. There is no reason or logic in this.

8. We in India cannot cut ourselves off from this world situation and have to play our part in it wherever occasion demands this. But we try not to get entangled in the quarrels and affairs of foreign countries. Our first consideration must

18. For example, while *The New York Times* of 22 November wrote appreciatively of the progress made under the new regime in Pakistan, *The Baltimore Sun* on 7 December commented that although Ayub's Government was described as a "semblance of dictatorship", he "is not running the country as a military camp." *The Times* (London), in an appraisal of the two months' work of the new regime, wrote on 8 December that democracy in Pakistan could "wait, while the atmosphere is so favourable and the army which has played its part with excellent discipline, with no more than necessary firmness, is still so popular."

19. On 20 November, the *Wall Street Journal* stated that the West should not support countries with democracies "not suited to them" and a democratic government could soon be set up in Pakistan after she has been "prepared for it."

necessarily be how to solve our domestic problems and carry our people forward in the march to well-being. Indeed, even from an international point of view, the only way that we can play any effective part is by developing India.

9. And so, my mind comes back to India and her problems. I wrote to you a few days ago about the remaining years of the second Five Year Plan and the approach to the Third Plan. These are major problems which can only be dealt with satisfactorily with the largest measure of understanding and co-operation. That is why I seek your co-operation in this matter. We have arranged to send you our Planning Commission's papers. In a sense we are at the crossroads and have to make our choice which way we shall go. That choice in effect was made when we started planning, and more especially when we started the second Five Year Plan. It may be worthwhile to see what was written in the report for the Second Plan and the projections for the future indicated there. Those projections were then considered the minimum taking into account the requirements of the situation.

10. And yet a situation arose when some people started talking about slowing down or even to give rest to planning or new schemes. We were asked to consolidate ourselves before venturing forth into new advances. Such advice, though no doubt well-meant, ignored not only the basic features of planning, but also the vital needs of the situation we have to face. We may divide up planning into periods, but essentially it is one continuous process, just as life is, just as a country's growth ought to be. It is not possible to stop it without peril. Apart from other aspects, our population grows at a rapid pace. Merely to keep pace with this growth, we have to keep moving fast; to go ahead of this population growth means much faster progress. Perhaps a well-developed country might be able to afford some slowing down, though even that is rather doubtful. But it is certain that an under-developed country has, by the compulsion of events, to try its utmost to break the cage of a static economy and reach a stage when there is almost automatic growth.

11. How are we to do this? It is this question that has been troubling us and which we are discussing from almost day to day. It is not a matter of wishful thinking or just hoping that everything will be all right in this best of all possible worlds. It is a question of organizing well-thought-out programmes on all fronts, lest bottlenecks somewhere might impede the growth of the rest; that means, above all, perspective planning, that is, looking ahead and forming a picture of where we are to go to and what our objectives are. Short-term planning is only profitable when seen in that long perspective.

12. We have had a number of bad shocks during the last year or two. We had bad harvests and a measure of failure on the food front and we were not successful often in our appraisal of the situation. Thus, while we appeared to go ahead, and indeed we did so in many ways, the burden of foreign exchange suddenly fell heavily upon us. For the moment, with the help of friendly countries, we have eased the situation, but that is not enough, for the same situation may well arise again unless we are careful and, in any event, we cannot permit our economy to slow down when rapid advance is essential.

13. We have to choose therefore carefully, and with a full realization of the consequences, the path we are to follow. The real choice was made many years ago when we talked about a socialist pattern of society.²⁰ We did not accept this

20. See Vol. 4, p. 125.

for sentimental reasons, though some people may have thought so. We did so because we were convinced that, situated as we were, there was no other effective course to follow. While we accepted that broad objective, we tried to avoid a dogmatic approach and, in particular, we wanted to continue the march of economic progress with democratic forms. Many of us, influenced powerfully by the Gandhian approach to life and its problems, attached importance to a peaceful and cooperative method and an avoidance of coercion. It is true that life as it is constituted today, is rather a complicated affair and, in practice, it is not easy to adhere to one's ideals. Certainly for politicians this becomes difficult, for in any society and more particularly in a democratic society, these ideals are conditioned by the capacity of the people to absorb them and act up to them. But it is untrue, I think, to say that the choice lies between rapid progress with authoritarian methods and a slow advance under democracy. Ultimately this will depend on the quality of the people and their capacity to work. We seek economic advance and that economic advance is vital even from the point of view of cultural or spiritual growth. But material advance by itself may well lead, as it has led elsewhere, to the negation of some of the values that appear to us to be important. Why should it be necessary to divorce these values from material advance?

14. Recently a number of decisions have been taken of some importance and I have drawn your attention to them. It is curious and significant that these decisions have roused the wrath of some of our friends, more especially in the newspaper world. There have been many and repeated attacks on them, sometimes not even in the best of taste. We see here the anger of vested interests which fear that their position might be endangered. One might almost say that the criticisms and denunciations are organized.

15. There have been attacks on the public sector and strong resentment at Government taking up the manufacture in some lines which were wrongly supposed to be reserved for the private sector. Lately there have been these attacks made

at our Defence Ministry for some contracts.²¹ The Defence Ministry deals with vast sums of money and they have sometimes made mistakes. It is right that every mistake should be pointed out and we should welcome criticism. But when that criticism is not based on facts but on bias, then it ceases to be profitable and merely indicates that the person indulging in them is angry. So far as these Defence contracts are concerned, I think that they were fully justified.

16. All this indicates that we have to do clear thinking and this should not be limited to a few persons. We should explain all this to the widest circle, for success can only come with this wide understanding and co-operation.

17. The National Development Council decided that the State should organize wholesale trade in foodgrains.²² Private interests have attacked this decision also.²³ And yet it seems to me an obvious and inevitable decision for us to take, quite apart from the socialistic aspect of it. We cannot allow the community to be held up to ransom by some private traders playing about with foodgrains and their prices. Having so decided, we have to give effect to it fully. I should like to lay stress on this because I notice some attempts to bypass the decision even though lip-service is paid to it. This

21. There was criticism in Lok Sabha on 28 November 1958 of the contracts signed with the firms in West Germany, Japan, Britain and Canada for the manufacture of tractors, trucks, earth-moving equipment and auto-parts in the ordnance factories. On 5 December, J.R.D. Tata said that his company's tender for the supply of trucks though competitive was not accepted, and the Government instead decided to import trucks.

22. See *ante*, pp. 158-159.

23. On 5 December, the Uttar Pradesh Foodgrains Traders' Association gave a call for a three-day strike against the Government's decision, and on 6 December, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Bharat Chamber of Commerce urged the Government to take the public into confidence before introducing state trading.

kind of double and contradictory approach will be most unfortunate and can only lead to failure. It is true that we cannot suddenly produce a full-fledged wholesale distributing service and therefore we have to rely on licensed private wholesale traders. But the objective and methods must be kept in view all the time and there should be no relaxation in that respect. Wherever there are cooperatives, these should be used for this purpose.

18. Indeed, real success in this as in many other matters can only come with a widespread network of cooperatives undertaking various aspects of trade in addition to other matters. That is why the National Development Council laid stress on village cooperatives which will form the base of the larger cooperative structure of the country. I would beg of you to give effect to these decisions of the National Development Council.

19. A sub-committee of the A.I.C.C. on Agriculture and Land Reform²⁴ has recently produced a report which will go to the full session at Nagpur. This report deals with many important matters. It has laid stress that the various processes of land reform, which are indicated, must be completed by the end of 1959. That is, legislation must be completed by then. Some people say that the time allowed is too short. If we cannot be through these remaining stages of land reform within a year, then it only means that we are not keen enough on them or that certain interests are too powerful for us. Delay in land reforms is really a delay in the whole scheme of planning and progress.

24. The sub-committee set up at Hyderabad Congress in October 1958 under the chairmanship of U.N. Dhebar, recommended: (1) expediting land reforms and enactment of suitable legislation by the end of 1959 and its implementation within three years to ensure stability in agricultural sector, (2) intensification of efforts to raise agricultural produce, (3) expansion of cooperative sector in agriculture by encouraging cooperative joint farming, (4) State trading in wholesale trade in food and assurance of fair price to the cultivator, and (5) total commitment on the part of the State and the community to help the farmer to achieve these targets with the *panchayats* and village cooperatives spearheading these efforts.

20. Fortunately we are having a good harvest this year and that gives us an opportunity to build on it. The information I get from various sources indicates that there is a new awareness in the countryside about the production of foodgrains, and newer methods are gradually seeping down to the farmers. This process has to be expedited and the obvious agency for this is the community development block, closely allied to the village *panchayat* and the village cooperative.

21. All this will constitute the foundation; but the real effort in thinking is required for the manner of doing this and especially for the methods and policies to be adopted in the future. The third Five Year Plan may well be the turning point in our future. I hope to write to you about this from time to time and I shall not therefore pursue this subject further here.

22. One thing more, however, I should like to mention here. That is education. It is only on the basis of widespread and sound education that we can build anything. There is far too much of a tendency to starve the social services because of the demands of what appear to be more profitable projects. Without education we shall not have that trained personnel and that reservoir of intelligent workers in field or factory which are so necessary for industrialization or indeed any other kind of growth.

23. Recently, the Madras Government has made an innovation which I find most interesting. I believe they have transferred all their land revenue to the *panchayats*. They have also transferred to them the primary schools or the basic schools. It seems to me this is an essentially sound move which will bring good results both in education and in the general growth of the rural India.

All good wishes to you for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
31 December, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I write to you on the last day of the year that is passing. It has been a hard year with many ups and downs, both in the international sphere and in our own country. I suppose there is no escape for us anywhere in the world, for some considerable time to come, from the stresses and strains of a world that is changing rapidly. We have therefore to accustom ourselves to this state of affairs and not expect ease and comfort or a freedom from these strains.

2. I would not like to prophesy, but it is safe to assume that the year 1959 will not see any marked improvement in the international horizon. For the present the biggest question is that of Berlin¹ and Germany which will probably lead to a deeper crisis early in the next year. There is no easy way out visible and both of the mighty contestants have dug in their toes and declare loudly and with emphasis that they will not budge an inch. The situation is undoubtedly grave, but I have a feeling that it will not lead to that major conflict which all of us dread so much.

1. On 29 December 1958, the NATO countries approved the notes by Western Powers rejecting Khrushchev's plan for the demilitarization of West Berlin and making it a 'free city' unless it was treated as a part of the general problem of Germany and solved within the framework of the plan for German unification.

3. In Western Asia or the middle-eastern regions, the position is one of some confusion.² Both in Iraq and Lebanon,³ the relations of Egypt and Iraq have undergone some strain⁴ and there have been internal tensions in Iraq. All kinds of vague apprehensions have been expressed about the future of Iraq as well as that of Lebanon. One hopeful feature is that President Nasser of the U.A.R. appears to be acting with wisdom and restraint.

4. As you know, we have had a visit from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana.⁵ He is still in India. His visit has been good for many reasons and the personal contacts established or renewed are beneficial, I think, to both India and Ghana. Circumstances have thrown Ghana into the forefront of the African struggle for freedom and the

2. Khrushchev's public suggestion to the Arab Communist Parties to enter into a direct power competition with the nationalists in their countries resulted in a sharp cleavage within the Iraqi regime with one section supporting the union between Iraq and the U.A.R. and the other opposing it and yet another small but a dominant group pledging support to the Communists and closer relations with the U.S.S.R. The success however temporary achieved by the pro-Communist sections in Iraq caused much concern in the U.A.R.

3. Following assumption on 23 September 1958 of the Presidentship by Faud Chehab and of the Premiership by Rashid Karami, leader of insurgents in Tripoli, the United States withdrew her forces by 25 October when asked to do so. The U.N. Observation Group was asked to leave following withdrawal of the Lebanese complaint in the United Nations against U.A.R. intervention, and relations with U.A.R. were improved with the opening of the border with Syria and as a result of the visit by the Lebanese Premier to Cairo on 20 December 1958 to strengthen economic and social ties.

4. Though outwardly after the Iraqi revolution the relations between Iraq and U.A.R. had improved, a virulent campaign against Iraq was launched by Cairo Radio following the trial of Rashid Ali and Col. Aref. On 29 December, Cairo Radio denied that Nasser's speech of 23 December against the Syrian Communists could mean an indirect attack on Iraqi Communists and Government policy and said that "what happens in Iraq concerns only the Iraqi-Arab people."

5. See *ante*, p. 172.

recent conference at Accra⁶ was undoubtedly an event of importance and significance. The whole of Africa appears to be astir. Naturally our sympathies go out to these people of Africa and we earnestly hope that their progress towards freedom will continue with some rapidity.

5. In India, I have a feeling that we have turned a rather bad corner and the next year, though a hard and difficult one, will not be depressing. It might well bring a sense of exhilaration. This is not merely due to the bumper crop of rice that we have got, although that is very helpful, but some other evidence, more especially in the rural areas, which I sense, but which I cannot specify in detail. I think that our food production will progressively increase and the result of the last few years' work will begin to yield fruit. The community development movement also is trying hard to get out of a rut it had got into and I think it is succeeding. I do not wish to exaggerate all this, but I have a definite feeling of encouragement and I do not see why I should not share this with you.

6. I have written to you previously about our discussions in regard to the approach to the third Five Year Plan. I hope you are receiving papers regularly from the Planning Commission on this subject.⁷ I am anxious that you should keep in touch with our thinking and, what is more important, help us with your own ideas on this subject. It is clear that we shall have to take some vital decisions, and we can only do so effectively if we all co-operate in evolving

6. See *ante*, p. 174.

7. See *ante*, p. 170.

these decisions and, later, in implementing them. A strange idea had been spread that after our recent difficulties about foreign exchange and efforts to meet them, we should go slow in trying to consolidate our position. There is no such possibility as any person who has given thought to this matter or to planning must realize. To slow down is to invite trouble and to make future progress far more difficult.

7. I have written to you already that the Madras State had introduced a midday meal scheme in schools.⁸ I am sending you separately a note⁹ on this scheme as well as on a programme of school improvement in Madras State, which the Madras Government have been good enough to send me. This note, I think, is important, and the Madras Government is to be congratulated on the lead it has given in both these matters. I am sure that other States can profit by these examples. The enthusiasm with which the free midday meal scheme has been greeted there and the success it has achieved is heartening. I feel sure that this is a right course to adopt from almost every point of view. It may involve some greater expenditure but, as you will see, the public response and co-operation in any such move is considerable.

8. The second part of the Madras note dealing with the reform of local administration and the strengthening of *panchayat*¹⁰ unions and providing them with greater funds and authority, will also no doubt interest you.

9. In the final analysis, the greatest and most revolutionary

8. The scheme to provide free meals in elementary schools was inaugurated in July 1956.

9. It was stated that the number of elementary schools in which a midday meal was provided as on 31 October 1958 was 10,730 covering 3,34,825 pupils.

10. The Madras Government recorded that the constitution for the *panchayat* unions had been drawn up to provide necessary jurisdiction, powers and funds in respect of primary education.

factor in bringing about political, economic and social change is education. I am not sure in my mind if everyone realizes this, but I have come to this definite conclusion. That education must be based on primary and basic education, but it has to include in its scope higher education. We cannot go far in industrialization or better agriculture or indeed better anything except on the base of such widespread education. Of course, education by itself is not enough, and we have to keep pace with our other schemes of development. But, without education, there is no real development.

10. We are often told that our present education is defective, and the criticism is justified. And yet, when I see thousands of boys and girls going through the process of schools and colleges, I can almost see the great changes that are coming about in India through them. Recently, I have attended three convocations of universities.¹¹ What struck me most was the number of girl graduates. In Allahabad, there were probably about one thousand and five hundred (though I am not sure of the number). In Calcutta, I am told that there were three thousand and two hundred. I think that probably it will be an underestimate to say that this year there were ten thousand girl graduates in our various universities. And then there are the vast numbers of girls going to high schools and colleges. This fact alone seems to me as leading to great social changes in our society. It is through women that the major social changes come. For their influence on their homes and the children in early years is greater than that of the men. Yesterday, I was present at the National Schools Athletic Championships¹² here in Delhi,

11. At Allahabad, Viswabharati, and Delhi on 21, 24 and 26 December respectively.

12. On 30 December 1958, at the conclusion of the Fourth National Schools Sports in Delhi, Nehru said that he was glad to see the increase in the number of girl participants in sports as "this shows that the girls can match side by side with boys not only in light work but also on the sports grounds."

and I saw both boys and girls competing with vigour for these championships and doing well. Almost unconsciously, this great change is coming over our social life, partly by the growth of education generally, but more especially by the education of women. The older generation perhaps has not quite appreciated the change that is coming and might even have disapproved of some tendencies. But there it is, and we have to encourage it.

11. I sent you a few days ago a note on Mexico's medical revolution. This was taken from an article¹³ in an American magazine by Michael Scully.¹⁴ This again showed how a country can go ahead in health with small funds and relatively little resources. We have unfortunately got into the habit of thinking in expensive terms, whatever we might do. In education or health, this is so, as it is in other matters. We spend most of our money on heavy constructions, and not enough is left for the work to be done inside those buildings. A very large part of the outlay of our second Five Year Plan has gone into construction—probably forty per cent. If we could save on that, and simplify our constructions, or even do without them wherever possible, we would have far more money for more worthwhile work. I hope that your Medical Department will profit by the note on Mexico that I have sent.

12. There is one matter which has been troubling me very considerably. This is judicial delays. The figures that I have seen of arrears of work in some High Courts are appalling. This matter is being considered by our Law Commission. That Commission consists of eminent men. But I suppose they think rather in a groove, accepting the expensive system that we have put up as a base. We have increased the number of High Court judges, but this has made little difference to the piling up of arrears. Demands for more judges come. If necessary, we should have more judges. But how many

13. 'Mexico on March' published in *Reader's Digest*, November 1953, pp. 73-76.

14. (1898-1958). American journalist.

more? Some one calculated that if we are to make any kind of real inroad on this load of arrears, we might require nearly a hundred more judges. I suppose that in this matter, as in others, Parkinson's Law will apply. More judges, more lawyers, more work, more delays—and more demand for judges.

13. Surely, this leads to the inevitable conclusion that procedures have to be simplified. I dare not suggest in what way this should be done, but the fact remains that the present system with its procedure delays justice so much that it sometimes ceases to be justice.

14. In judicial matters, as in so many others, we have often to think of institutional changes. What was good and suitable at another time when the State moved in a leisurely way or was more or less static, obviously does not fit in with the rapid changes that are coming and changing society rapidly. We cannot take things for granted simply because they have come down to us.

15. I have written to you previously laying great emphasis on the State undertaking wholesale trade in foodgrains.¹⁵ The more I have thought about this, the more I am convinced that this has to be done as soon as possible. There can be, of course, no halfway house. We either do it or we don't. To do it half-heartedly is to fall between two stools. Of course, it may not be possible in the near future to build up an apparatus for doing it thoroughly and effectively. But the objective must always be there and it has to be realized rapidly. I have noticed with some concern that there is a tendency in some States to temporise, to postpone, to compromise. This tendency is no doubt due to the initial difficulties to be faced, but it will lead us nowhere.

16. Sometimes reference is made to procurement. In the State undertaking wholesale trade in foodgrains, there should be no question of procurement as such because the

15. See *ante*, pp. 158-159.

State, through its licensed agents, gets all the produce or that part of it that normally went to the wholesalers. After that, the State, whether it is the Centre or the State Government, can take that part which it wants to buy and keep in reserve or the Centre can direct a part of it to be sent to another State. The rest may be left with the wholesaler for the present to be dealt with through the normal channels. The point is that procurement as of old does not come into the picture at all and to think of procurement leads one away from the objective we are aiming at.

17. It is not necessary for the State at present or in the near future to take all the responsibility for meeting the requirements of the retail trade. This will be looked after by what is left with the licensed wholesalers after the Centre or the State Governments have taken what they want. I would earnestly request you to undertake this wholesale trade, through licensed agents, as effectively as possible and not to weaken it so much that it ceases to have any semblance to State wholesale trading.

18. We have had a number of complaints about smuggling from one State to another or one region to another. The whole purpose of the formation of these regions is to make that region self-sufficient and not to permit large-scale exports which would upset the whole scheme. If smuggling is permitted or connived at, then the scheme breaks down. The only real effective way of stopping smuggling from where it takes place is for a no-movement belt on the border—say for five miles. I think this belt should be created in some places. If strong steps are taken right at the beginning, then matters will settle down. But if the administrative apparatus is loose, then whatever schemes we make will fail.

19. In the past year or two, there has been some deficit in food. It is however well recognized now that the deficit was really not very great. The chief fault lay in our administrative apparatus and in our lack of control of the market. We have introduced wholesale State trade to control the market

and if we control movements also effectively then we are bound to succeed.

20. There has recently been much agitation in Uttar Pradesh to raise the price of sugarcane and even strikes have been threatened by the sugarcane cooperatives.¹⁶ We have given a good deal of thought to this matter and we are quite convinced that it will be a wrong and harmful step to raise the price. I do not think the price is at all low from the producer's point of view. In fact, even now the cane producers get much more from the mills than they do when they sell it for *khandsari* sugar. If we raise the price, we shall have to give up the idea of exporting sugar and even the price of sugar will go up internally affecting other prices. Even now our costs of production of sugar are greater than in other countries. We cannot easily compete with them.

21. There has been some trouble about jute prices also which have fallen partly because of the increase in jute cultivation. This increase is good in the long run. Various steps have been taken by our Food Ministry to ease this jute situation. Exports have also been permitted.

22. While we want an adequate supply of sugar and jute, we must remember that we must not encourage too much the transfer of land from foodgrains to sugarcane or jute.

23. There has been a consistent propaganda, chiefly in the

16. The U.P. Cooperative Cane Unions Federation threatened a strike by canegrowers if their demands of minimum cane price, payment of arrears of their share of the excess profits made by the mills, and the establishment of a board headed by a Judge of the High Court for fixation of sugarcane prices were not met by 14 January 1959.

foreign press,¹⁷ about the rivalry of India and China and some kind of apprehension growing in India because China is supposed to be going ahead fast in industrial production and in other matters. Apparently people used to the cold war cannot think except in terms of rivalry. There is no rivalry between India and China. There may be a healthy spirit of emulation and of learning from each other which we certainly propose to do. Then there are stories about increasing tension between India and the U.S.S.R. and China. I have failed to notice any marked tension. There are of course some things happening in the U.S.S.R. or China, which we may not approve. Indeed there are many things happening in India which we do not approve. It is well known that we follow certain basically different policies in India from those prevalent in China and the U.S.S.R. That does not mean that there should be tension or unhealthy rivalry. We continue to have friendly relations both with the Soviet Union and China and I hope you will not be misled by reports to the contrary.

24. Even if something is said or done in China or the U.S.S.R., which is not to our liking, we shall continue to pursue our own policy of friendship and co-operation wherever this is possible.

17. Pavel Yudin, the Soviet theoretician, and Ambassador to Beijing, in an article "Can We Agree with Jawaharlal's Basic Approach" published in *World Marxist Review* from Prague had said that while both India and China became free almost at the same time and were at the same level of development to start with, the Chinese People's Republic had "outstripped India during this time by a whole historic epoch." On 4 December, Alberto Jocviello, criticizing in the Italian Communist newspaper, *L'Unita*, Nehru's "Basic Approach", said that it reflected a deep crisis in the ruling party in India and its inability to keep pace with China. He thought that "the race between the Indian and Chinese 'methods' was developing decidedly in favour of China."

25. In a recent number of the “Foreign Report” published by the *Economist* of London, there was a strange story of what was said to be an incident that occurred four years ago. I was astonished to read it because I knew nothing about it and I ought to have known because I was supposed to be intimately concerned with it. I would not even refer to this here but for the fact that some people imagine that what this “Foreign Report” contains is based on reliable information. When we read about something in a far-off country, naturally we tend to believe it. But when it concerns India, we can check it. I have often found that the stories or comments on India in this “Foreign Report” are far from the truth. In the present instance, they were wholly devoid of any foundation. The story in the last number of the “Foreign Report” was that some four years ago, General Thimayya,¹⁸ who had recently come back from his successful work in Korea, was approached by some businessmen, mostly Indian but some foreigners too, with the proposal that he might bring about some kind of a military *coup* and push aside the “socialist-minded Prime Minister”. Further that learning of this, I had taken certain firm, though quiet, measures to put an end to this kind of thing. The whole story is fantastic and amused me much. There was no need for me to enquire about it. Nevertheless I thought I should bring this to the notice of General Thimayya who was equally surprised and denied knowledge of anything connected with it.

26. I have referred to this remarkable story for two reasons. One is that we should not easily be taken in by these stories that appear in the foreign press about India. The second is to point out how attempts are made in the press often to create difficulties for us in people’s minds and to attempt to spoil our relations with other countries.

18. General K.S. Thimayya. For b.fn. see Vol. 2, p. 534.

27. Recently, the Madhya Pradesh Government celebrated the Kalidasa¹⁹ *Jayanti* at Ujjain. This was celebrated also in many other parts of the country with some enthusiasm. Our President himself went to Ujjain to inaugurate this celebration personally. And in Madhya Pradesh, all the towns and the districts took part in these celebrations. I think that it was an excellent idea for these *Jayanti* celebrations to be organized. Kalidasa is the greatest of our poets, and it is well that we remember him and do honour to his memory. It is proposed to erect a proper memorial to him at Ujjain. This memorial should be something more than a provincial memorial; it should be national in every respect. I hope, therefore, that your State Government will also take interest in it.

28. I am leaving today for Orissa on a brief visit. Soon after my return, I shall have to go to Nagpur for the Congress Session. Some clear indications have already been given about the main work of this Session. This will deal with land reform, agricultural production and planning. My next letter, therefore, to you will have to be some time after the Nagpur Congress.

29. May I send you again all my good wishes for the New Year. May we, in this year that is coming, overcome our petty quarrels and disputes and learn to cooperate with each other more in the mighty tasks that confront us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. Dramatist and poet of the fifth century A.D., author of *Shakuntala* and *Malavikagnimitra*, and two long poems, *Raghuvamsa* and *Kumarasambhava*.

New Delhi
13 January, 1959

I am sending you a note¹ I have received from our Ambassador in Tokyo, Shri C.S. Jha,² on some aspects of Japanese agriculture. The note is interesting and I am sure you would like to read it. Indeed, I hope that we can profit in many ways by Japanese examples in agriculture and cooperatives.

Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 160.

2. In his note of 1 January 1959, Jha attributed success of Japanese agriculture to the maximum utilization of all available space for agricultural purposes, improved farming techniques and better organization. He wrote that during the period of the U.S. occupation the system of peasant proprietorship was reformed with the replacement of intermediaries by agricultural cooperatives which handled credit, purchase, marketing, sericulture production, dairy farming and rural cottage industries, etc. and also provided such facilities as insurance, medical treatment, education and general guidance. The cooperative movement constituted the "background of Japanese agricultural pre-eminence" and India could draw much from this example.

New Delhi
19 January, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

The month of January has become one full of conferences, congresses and the Republic Week. We have gone through a number of these conferences and now are on the eve of Republic Day.

2. The most important of these conferences was, of course, the Congress Session at Nagpur.¹ Reading some of the press reports² about it, I have felt that justice was not done to it and that even the factual reports were not adequate. I hope I am not unfair to the reporters or the editors, but it did appear to me that these reporters or editors, not liking what was happening in the Congress Session, tried to minimize its significance. As a matter of fact, the Nagpur Congress Session was not only very significant, but also remarkably successful. I have attended, I think, over forty Sessions of the Congress. I think that this recent Nagpur Session will occupy a high place in them. It was important because of the astonishing popular enthusiasm in Nagpur. It was important also, of course, because of the decisions arrived at. The crowds in the Session itself and in Abhyankar Nagar, where the Congress was held, were overwhelming. It has to

1. The 64th annual session of the Indian National Congress was held at Nagpur from 9 to 11 January 1959.

2. *The Times of India* on 13 January described the resolution on reorganization of agriculture as too vague. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 15 January criticized the Congress for saying nothing on the increasing border clashes between India and Pakistan, on Kashmir, and on Goa.

be noted that only ticket-holders were admitted to the Congress Session, and that over one hundred thousand tickets were sold to visitors for the Session.

3. Some people may have got rather mixed up about a certain cultural show that took place on the last day at Nagpur. This had nothing to do with the Congress. The Bombay Government in order to encourage their drive for the savings campaign, had arranged this cultural show, and every person who had bought savings certificates of a certain amount was entitled to attend this show. I believe they collected for their savings a sum of nearly rupees one crore and twenty lakhs. A very large number of persons, therefore, wanted to attend, and even this accommodation for a hundred thousand was not adequate. Hence, the attempts at pushing forward, which led to some minor disorder. Obviously, the attraction was the cinema stars who were performing in this show. It was evident that the most powerful attraction in India, as perhaps in most other countries, are cinema stars.

4. To come back to the Session itself. There were two resolutions only,³ apart from the resolution on foreign affairs⁴ and the condolence resolution.⁵ Deliberately, a multitude of resolutions was avoided, and attention was concentrated on two. These two as you know, had been circulated in draft form two weeks earlier and full opportunities had been given for their consideration and discussion

3. These were on planning and agriculture.

4. The resolution on foreign affairs reaffirmed its faith in Government's basing its foreign policy on *Panchsheel*, regretted the slow progress made towards disarmament, welcomed expansion of freedom in Africa, extended support to the peoples of Algeria and Cyprus in their fight against colonialism, and expressed solidarity with people of Indian origin in South Africa.

5. The condolence resolution paid homage to Maulana Azad, Khan Saheb and other Congressmen who had passed away in the previous year.

even before the Congress met. The draft resolutions were themselves based on long discussions previously by big committees formed for the purpose. Planning has been under discussion for a considerable time. The resolution dealing with agricultural problems was the result of the deliberations of a committee appointed by the A.I.C.C. at Hyderabad some months earlier.

5. The planning resolution⁶ was concerned chiefly with the approach to the Third Plan and, to some extent, with perspective planning. This Third Plan is still two years distant, but, as I have told you previously, the Planning Commission has been discussing it informally for some time past and a small all-party committee of Members of Parliament has also been formed for this purpose. We wanted the fullest discussion of this subject in the country before the draft third Five Year Plan took shape and it was particularly important that the right approach should be made now. Unfortunately many people still think of planning as consisting of a list of projects or of some priorities. It is obviously much more. During the past few months what appeared to be a deliberate attempt was made to make out that the Second Plan had been too big and therefore the Third Plan should be on a smaller scale. This ignored the realities of the situation. There are some basic facts and inherent compulsions which cannot be ignored. We have to think in terms of the population we have to provide for and this population is an increasing one. Thus we have to take into consideration the population as it will be at the end of the Third Plan. It has been calculated that

6. The resolution on planning stated that "creation of a democratic and socialist society should be clearly and unambiguously placed before the nation as the objective of planning, and the implications of socialism, in terms of individual and cooperative effort it requires, should be clearly explained to the people. The stress should be laid not only on individual and social demands and needs but equally on duties and obligations and the work that is necessary for meeting these needs."

even if we decide to maintain our economy at the present level, we would have to invest a very large sum of money, taking into consideration various factors, including the increase in population. If we have to advance further, as we must, the investment has to be proportionately larger. There is no escape from this in India or in any other country which is planning for progress. You have probably received the Planning Commission papers which are being sent to you. These papers bring these points out quite clearly.

6. The second aspect to be considered is that of strengthening the base of our economy so that advance can be progressively more rapid. That means adequate agricultural production and a heavy industry base. In addition, of course, we have to progress in many other lines, including medium, small and cottage industries, transport and education. All these are really integrated and any lapse in one important sector leads to bottlenecks.

7. The third factor which we had to keep in mind was the general direction of our planning. Was it to be a clear advance towards socialism or away from it? This clarification was necessary because much had been said in criticism of our objective of a socialist pattern of society. That objective was decided upon by Parliament, by Congress as well as other parties not only because it was a natural development of our thinking, but because we considered it the only way to deal satisfactorily with the problems that faced us. While keeping that objective in view all the time, we had to remember always the foundations that had been laid in India by Gandhiji. That applies to our thinking and our methods. To coordinate all this may not always be an easy matter, but it has to be done, or else, we fail.

8. I think that the Nagpur Congress resolution on planning was, in the circumstances, a right approach. Essentially it is meant for the guidance and training of public opinion as well as a direction to the Government and the Planning Commission. Many people say that the Congress has become some kind of a camp follower of the

Government.⁷ This is, I think, basically not true. It is inevitable that when leading personalities in the Congress and the Government are to a large extent the same, the direction of both should also be the same. But it has to be remembered that the push forward in regard to basic policies has come from the Congress organization, representing public urges, and the Government and the Planning Commission have followed these up and worked them out in detail.

9. The resolution on Agriculture⁸ dealt with various aspects of the problem. Many things that were said in that resolution were old themes. In one respect, however, new ground was covered. This was in relation to joint farming by cooperatives. There has been some argument about this even inside the Congress.⁹ That argument is now settled and the objective of our land policy is to build up, first of all, service cooperatives in every village in India, the next step being

7. For example, J.B. Kripalani had asked whether “the Third Plan was going to be a national plan,” i.e., “will it cease to be the basis of the Congress election campaign,” as had been the case with the first two Plans which were drawn up just before the general elections. *The Hindustan Times* wrote on 16 December 1958 that “the Working Committee cannot—or cannot be expected to discuss candidly the defects and deficiency of the planning effort for which its own partymen in power must take the responsibility. The Committee, after all, is the Central Government leadership in another name.”

8. The resolution stated that the service cooperatives and cooperative joint farming with the farmers retaining the proprietary rights and the workers getting a share on the basis of the work done by them should be started within three years. It also recommended immediate introduction of land reforms and distribution of all surplus land to the landless.

9. At the Subjects Committee meeting on 10 January, Charan Singh, while criticizing ceiling on land holdings, joint and cooperative farming, and state trading in foodgrains, asked the Government to “seek the verdict of peasants before passing the resolution.” N.G. Ranga raised the issue of ceiling on rural incomes and wanted also a ceiling on urban incomes. An amendment to the effect that all surplus land after imposition of ceiling should be distributed among the landless was carried.

joint farming. It is possible to take up joint farming even at an earlier stage where people agree to it and this is feasible.

10. Greater powers and authority for the *panchayat* were also emphasized. Thus the *panchayat* and the village cooperative become the foundations as well as the strong pillars of our democratic structure both in administration and in economic matters. No one imagines that these changes can take place easily or quickly. But they have been clearly laid down and it is for us now to make the necessary effort to bring them about. Such an effort should not be a party effort but an all-India effort.

11. The Congress decisions have not met with much favour in the bigger newspapers of India.¹⁰ Some of these are often described rather incorrectly as pro-Congress newspapers. The fact is that they represent the opinions of certain sections of the community which are more allied to the private sector. The reactions are therefore not surprising. The attempt to stampede the Congress in a particular direction, away from its declared policy, having failed, there was a certain disappointment. Unfortunately there has been a tendency on the one part to decry the public sector and on the other to condemn the private sector. Neither is justified unless the attempt means an attack on the basic policy of the Congress and the Government. We have deliberately kept a large field for the private sector and I am convinced that that is the right policy in present conditions in India. But the public sector is bound to grow in extent and importance and

10. For example, *The Statesman* on 10 January wrote that the statements of policy were woolly and long-winded and trying to be all things to all men often led to being nothing to anybody. On 19 January, *The Times of India* wrote that not high-sounding resolutions but patient and hard work by tens of thousands of cadres in the countryside could educate the farmer in new ways of farming and new ways of living.

the essence of planning is to have certain broad controls even in regard to the private sector. There cannot be a rigid demarcation between the two, but the broad lines of division have been laid down. Having accepted the private sector within that sphere, we should give it a measure of freedom to function in it without much criticism or obstruction. As a matter of fact we live in an atmosphere of criticism and denunciation of both the private and public sectors. The result is a disinclination for anyone to take the initiative or do anything unusual. Progress cannot be made in this atmosphere.

12. Much has been said, wrongly I think, about the failure of State enterprises.¹¹ As a matter of fact they are doing rather well and some have done exceedingly well. I have no doubt that they will improve and will be a source of revenue for developmental purposes. The idea that State concerns should be run on a no-profit no-loss basis is a relic of the past and has no relation to planning or to present conditions. We have to make profits in the public sector to add to our resources for development.

13. It may interest you to see what a conservative viewpoint is in regard to our planning and our economy in general. The Governor¹² of the Reserve Bank of India recently said:¹³

11. A.V. Nath Pai of the Praja Socialist Party demanded on 25 November 1958 a probe into the working of steel plants which suffered from "bungling, lack of vision, lack of vigour and lack of good and sound planning." On 28 December 1958, *The Hindustan Times* criticized Nehru's insistence on the State sector and argued that it would only "jeopardize democratic institutions" and lead to a decline in "public services and corruption of political and private morals."

12. H.V.R. Iengar (1902-1978). Joined I.C.S., 1924; Secretary, Home Department, Bombay, 1943; Secretary, Ministry of Planning and Development, 1946; Secretary, Constituent Assembly, 1946-48; Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1948-51, and of Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1952-56; Chairman, State Bank of India, 1956-57; Governor, Reserve Bank of India, 1957-62.

13. On 7 January 1959 at Bombay.

All-competent opinion, both in India and abroad, has, I think, accepted the position that while the second Five Year Plan was big in relation to the resources feasible at the time, it was in reality a modest plan in the light of the inherent needs of the situation. There can be little doubt that the third Five Year Plan will have to be a pretty big Plan if it has to take note of the major political and economic compulsions inherent in our Constitution.

14. Here is another extract from the address of the Governor of the Reserve Bank:

The most significant figures are those of the national income and the per capita income. At constant prices (1948-49), the figure of national income in the last pre-Plan year was Rs. 8,850 crores. In 1956-57, the latest year for which figures are available, the income was Rs. 11,010 crores, showing an increase over six years of twenty-four per cent. The per capita income increased over the same period from Rs. 246 to Rs. 284, an increase of fifteen per cent. The pace of increase was fairly steady throughout the period.

15. Most countries would take credit for this measure of progress. Instead of this, there is a general outcry in India at the lack of progress. Certainly, we should go ahead faster. But let us hold on to facts.

16. I have written to you previously about the remarkable achievements in production in China. The latest reports are that there has been a certain revision in their policy or programme,¹⁴ and the targets laid down for the next year

14. The Central Committee laid down new guidelines in December 1958 permitting private ownership of property for personal use, allowing smaller brigades and teams to take decisions on questions relating to production and finance, and introducing a graded system of wages to cover wide area of skilled workers. The Party recognized that the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the community would take longer than expected.

have been lowered. It was found that the pace set in 1948 could not be kept up and was leading to complications. Yet, we must admit that quite remarkable advances had been made there. We are sending expert teams for enquiry on the spot.

17. We have had a bumper rice crop. The intensive *rabi* production drive, which was launched in many of the States in August last year, has proved a success. We have found, however, that with a little more advance planning, better results could have been achieved. Accordingly, a scheme has been drawn up for the *kharif* production campaign 1959, and this will be launched in all the States. You must have received a letter from our Minister¹⁵ for Food and Agriculture dealing in some detail with the *kharif* production campaign.¹⁶ I feel sure that this will be a success and, indeed, that our food production will go up now at a much more rapid pace than in the past two or three years.

18. I have written to you about certain schemes launched by the Madras State. These related to midday meals in schools and a large part of the land revenue collections going to the *panchayats*. Our Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant,¹⁷ who was in Madras recently, personally saw what this midday meal campaign was like. It was, indeed much more than that; the whole idea was that the residents of the village should help in looking after the village school and supplying its needs insofar as they could. Our Home Minister was greatly impressed by the success of this venture. The Madras Government will be sending you fuller details of this.

15. A.P. Jain. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 435.

16. It was stated that while in the *rabi* campaign the stress was laid on producing wheat and dry crops like gram, the new campaign's thrust would be towards producing more rice, jowar, maize, bajra and *ragi*, non-official participation and creation of necessary conditions for the farmers to plan in advance, use irrigation facilities, and adopt improved methods of cultivation.

17. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 383.

19. The Madhya Pradesh Government has also taken a step in regard to education which is commendable. At present, it is practically impossible for the children of low-salaried parents to have any higher education unless they get scholarships. Even the scholarships they get are seldom adequate, and an exemption from tuition fees means little. We can thus imagine how many of our brilliant young people are prevented from taking advantage of higher education. That is a dead loss to the State, apart from its personal aspect. The Madhya Pradesh Government have, therefore, decided to give substantial scholarships to every student who has proved himself good at his studies and who is unable to meet his expenses for higher and, more particularly, technical studies. I commend this example for your consideration. I am enclosing a note¹⁸ by the Chief Minister¹⁹ of Madhya Pradesh on this subject.

20. Two days ago,²⁰ I paid a visit to Ambala, to inaugurate a project which our Army there had taken up for building houses for themselves. This question of housing accommodation for our Army has been a very difficult one. At the time of partition, two-thirds of the Army came to India and one-third went to Pakistan. But, two-thirds of the accommodation went to Pakistan. Thus our Army was very badly placed in regard to houses. A very large number of them have been living in dilapidated tents. Of course, there has been a building programme, but its progress has been relatively slow. This lack of suitable accommodation has hit our officers and men in the Army badly. Many of them have spent three years in Kashmir under difficult conditions, or a long period in the Naga Hills in even worse conditions.

18. The note stated that the Madhya Pradesh Government had launched a scheme to give scholarships for higher education to an unlimited number of meritorious students.

19. K.N. Katju. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 523.

20. On 17 January 1959.

They have been separated from their families. When they are transferred back to their home stations, they naturally expect to have reasonable accommodation where they could live with their families. But this has not been available as a rule and they often continue to be separated from their families. It is to the credit of our people in the Army that they have put up with these hard conditions without too much complaint.

21. The cost of building a sufficient number of houses was very great, and we could not easily find the money. An offer was made by the officers and men of the famous Fourth Division stationed at Ambala, to build these houses themselves. Ultimately, this offer was accepted and, of course, every help was given to them for this purpose. I went to Ambala to inaugurate this housing colony which consisted of over one thousand seven hundred houses. The actual work began on these houses on the 16th June, 1958 and on the 16th January, 1959, seven months later, the work was completed, and I was asked to inaugurate this colony. This was a remarkable and successful effort. Many people joined in this common undertaking, but the chief credit must necessarily go to our men of the Army. Apart from the fact that these seventeen hundred or more houses were built during a period of seven months, they have saved a lot of money to Government. This is an example of how things can be done without the intervention of long procedures, contractors, etc.

22. One particular incident at Ambala impressed me very greatly. At the inauguration ceremony, all the twentyfive thousand men and their wives and children were sitting in an open-air, temporary and *kutchra* stadium. They sat there in order, each battalion separately. As soon as the proceedings were over, signal was given for food to be served. Within ten minutes, all the twentyfive to thirty thousand persons there got their food in *thalis* served to them. The expert and disciplined way this was done was surprising and most impressive. The food was very good and varied, and all of us ate the same type of food. Everything was done quietly

and efficiently, without the usual shouting that accompanies such occasions. I realized more than ever the value of Army training.

23. I am not referring to foreign developments in any detail in this letter. Mr. Otto Grotewohl, the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic has been to India. So has President Tito of Yugoslavia. In Cuba, a revolutionary uprising has succeeded.²¹ The Soviet Government has made a new proposal for a so-called East-West meeting to work out a German peace treaty.²² But this has not been accepted by the other parties.²³ Mr. Anastas Mikoyan²⁴ is now in the United States of America,²⁵ and his visit is considered a major event. Whatever else it results in, it has certainly lessened the tensions between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.

21. On 1 January 1959, President Fulgencio Batista resigned and soon after Fidel Castro took over as Premier and Commander-in-Chief.

22. The Soviet Government sent to the East and West German Governments on 10 January a draft peace treaty, and in an identical note to all Governments at war with Germany, proposed a conference at Warsaw or Prague within two months on the German question. The draft treaty which was to be binding on both East and West Germany envisaged withdrawal of both from NATO and Warsaw pacts, disavowal of all aggressive and territorial aims, moratorium on the production of nuclear, chemical and biological armaments, withdrawal of all occupation forces, and declaration of Berlin as a free city till complete unification was achieved.

23. The U.S. State Department declared on 10 January that the Russian draft treaty was the same as had been rejected in 1954 by the Western Powers and by letting East and West Germany decide their own future the aim of German unification could not be achieved. On 1 January, Chancellor Adenauer denounced the treaty as "unacceptable" and rejected any recognition of the East German Government.

24. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 217.

25. From 4 to 23 January 1959 he was on an unofficial private visit to United States of America.

24. A good omen for the new year—both the Rourkela and the Bhilai plants are going to begin producing pig iron early next month.²⁶ The President has kindly agreed to be present at both these sites on this significant occasion and bless these undertakings, which mean so much to India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. On 3 and 4 February 1959 respectively.

New Delhi
24 January, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have received a note¹ from a practical and trained agriculturist, K.K. Parashar. He has made some suggestions in this note from his experience, which appear to be worthy of immediate consideration. The matter has been referred to our Food and Agriculture Ministry. Meanwhile, I am sending this note to you so that your Agriculture Ministry could immediately deal with it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. In his note, Parashar, an agricultural scientist working in Sonapat, wrote that the crop production in the country could be increased manifold by making *usar* land cultivable through deep ploughing, growing three different crops simultaneously in a row, and by using other scientific methods.

New Delhi
13 February, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

The Budget Session of Parliament has begun, and we have had the President's Address¹ to the Joint Session. There is no major announcement in this Address and yet, I think, it strikes a new note and I would invite your attention to it. The emphasis in the Address is on the domestic situation and, more particularly, on planning.

2. In Paragraph 6 of the President's Address, reference is made to the Third Plan and it is said: "It is hoped that by the end of the Third Plan, a sound foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy." I hope that you will appreciate the significance of this statement. It is not the expression of a vague hope, but indicates the way we are approaching this Third Plan. It means that after seven years or so, we should have not only assured an adequate agricultural production and a sufficient supply of foodgrains to meet any contingency, but also built up a strong industrial base. In particular, that the machine-building industry will have advanced enough to produce the

1. In his address on 9 February, the President referred to the objectives of the third Five Year Plan, the need for self-sufficiency in food, progress of the community development programme, exploration of natural resources, establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission, increased output of ordnance factories, situation in Naga Hills, the space research programme and the contribution made by India towards lessening world tension.

heavy types of machines, including an iron and steel plant. Once we have arrived at that stage, our economy becomes more resilient and self-feeding. It can then grow without repeated tremendous efforts, although great efforts will still be needed. If we succeed, we cross the barrier of poverty and under-development and move forward at a greater pace. So long as we do not reach that position, we shall always be struggling with the inevitable consequences of poverty and under-development, trying to catch up, but making little substantial progress.

3. To move forward slowly means that we never catch up as our progress is countered by the growth of population,² continuing heavy unemployment and other burdens. There is thus little choice in this matter. The third Five Year Plan will necessarily have to indicate the nature and depth of this effort.

4. We have to advance on two fronts simultaneously. There is the food and agriculture front, which is of the first importance; and there is the heavy industry front, which is essential for rapid industrialization. Developing heavy industries does not, of course, mean that we ignore the lighter industries for consumer goods. Much less does it mean that we attach little importance to small and cottage industries. These small and cottage industries must continue to play a vital role especially to give employment and, at the same time, to have a widespread structure of production.

5. It is relatively easy, though it requires resources on a big scale, to put up plants for heavy industry. A substantial step has been taken in the big steel plants, and the machine-building plant is also under way. Others must follow. What

2. The population, according to the mid-year estimate, had increased from 36.75 crores in 1952 to 40.28 in 1959.

is much more difficult is to organize rural development and a greatly increased supply of foodgrains. I have no doubt that the pace of increase in the latter will be much greater now than previously. The community development movement has been definitely oriented toward agriculture and results are already visible. I think that the Agriculture Departments in States are also more alive to this task. Gram Sahayak camps have proved effective instruments for food production.

6. The lead given by the Nagpur Congress in regard to land reforms, *panchayats* and cooperatives, is an essential base for a rapid advance in agricultural production. There has been some criticism in regard to these land reforms and cooperatives, especially joint farming cooperatives.³ I think that the decisions of the Nagpur Congress in regard to these matters are essentially right and have to be followed up with vigour. We cannot go on arguing about these matters indefinitely. Those decisions were taken after a great deal of thought and consultation, and it may interest you to learn that they have been widely welcomed even in other countries. They hold together, and we should not ignore any one of them.

7. There is the question of ceiling on land. We have discussed this for years. I hope there will be an end of this discussion now, and we shall proceed to business. Then there is the strengthening of the *panchayats* and the building up of service cooperatives in every village in the country. Some people are rather alarmed at the prospect of giving more powers to the *panchayats* or the cooperatives because they feel that they might not be properly used.⁴ It is

3. For example, N.G. Ranga, K.M. Munshi and H.P. Modi had, in their speeches on 31 January, 1 and 5 February respectively said that cooperative farming wherever tried had failed because the peasant ceased to take interest in the land.

4. For example, Jayaprakash Narayan, on 10 February feared that cooperative bodies may become "puppets" in the hands of the officials due to lack of sufficient awareness among the masses.

quite likely that there will be misuse of such powers, but that is no reason for not giving them. If a spirit of self-reliance is necessary, as it is, then it is equally necessary to start giving these powers even taking a risk of misuse.

8. Much criticism has been directed to joint cultivation and the prospect of this leading to collectivization has been darkly hinted at.⁵ There is, of course, no intention whatever to do that, and I do not think it is feasible or desirable in India. But I do think that the only effective course open to us is ultimately to have joint cultivation on the village basis. But it must always be remembered that at the present moment we are laying stress on service cooperatives. The next stage will come later and with the consent of the cooperative, whenever it chooses, to have joint cultivation. In fact, there are at present hundreds of joint cultivation cooperative societies and I have had visits from some of their members, who told me how they had increased their production by fifty per cent since they took to this joint cultivation. Joint cultivation maintains the proprietary share of each member in the land.

9. Cooperatives can only develop rapidly by a simplification of the rules and procedures. This is a matter for your immediate attention.

10. The whole basis of our present approach is to spread out power and authority to the village and its inhabitants. Only thus can one counter the increasing tendency to centralization and greater bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is inevitable and centralization is also to some extent inevitable in the modern complex social set-up, and more particularly if

5. On 19 January, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, said that "cooperative farming, as envisaged in the Nagpur resolution, would only lead to collectivization. It would reduce the peasant proprietor to the position of a landless worker and destroy individual liberty and initiative, thereby strengthening totalitarian trends at the cost of democracy."

we aim at socialist patterns. In a sense it might be said that one of the basic problems of today in the world is how to balance the inevitable tendency to centralization with individual freedom and initiative which come from decentralization. The cooperative method offers a combination of the two.

11. We have had a bumper rice harvest⁶ and we look forward with some confidence to another good harvest during the rabi season. And yet, it is disheartening to read of food prices going up and scarcity in some areas. How has this curious state of affairs come about? Partly at least it appears to be due to the change-over to wholesale state trading in foodgrains, which has not been liked by the old machinery for distribution. We had to rely partly on that old machinery and it is normally not wise to entrust a new type of work to people who dislike it and who think it is against their own interest. But there is no choice for us at present and till we build up some new machinery. That does not mean that we should weaken at all in our plans for the State controlling the wholesale trade in foodgrains. That is inevitable and has come to stay, and no amount of pressure should be allowed to make us deviate from the path we have chalked out.

12. As you know, we have appealed for the co-operation of all parties in regard to food production and for planning generally. While this co-operation is promised to us, it is distressing in the extreme to find some of the Opposition Parties deliberately creating trouble on the food front. In Bengal, both wholesale and retail prices were fixed,⁷ and now we have an agitation supported, oddly enough, by even

6. Production of rice in 1958-59 was 29.7 million tons compared to the previous best of 28.3 million tons in 1956-57.

7. By the Rice and Paddy Price Control Order of 1 January 1959.

so-called leftist groups, against this control.⁸ In some places, we see the curious combination of the old wholesaler and other groups which normally stand for the progressive policy of State control. We have to face all this, unfortunate as it is.

13. There has been another and equally strange activity in Bengal of some parties against the proposal to end camps for displaced persons and rehabilitate them in other States and especially at Dandakaranaya⁹ which is a mighty and very costly scheme especially undertaken for this purpose. One can only come to the regretful conclusion that some people and some parties do not judge of any matter on the merits, but feel that every chance should be exploited to give trouble to the Government.

14. As we are having good harvests, we must try to build up big reserves. Probably by the end of March, the present difficulties in regard to food prices in some areas will have ended. But, meanwhile, it is true that these high prices have an upsetting effect and steps must be taken immediately to counter these effects.

15. Many of our old credit societies, though meant for the villages, were controlled by city people, who were not interested in the villages. Vested interests grew up, and the money earned was used for other purposes. This is one of the reasons why we have been insisting that there should be

8. The Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party criticizing the food policy of the West Bengal Government, demanded strong action against black-marketeers, higher price for paddy to induce peasants to sell rice to the Government, and opening of idle rice mills. The members of these Parties staged a walkout in both Houses of the West Bengal Legislature on 10 and 11 February on this question.

9. Dandakaranaya Development Authority, financed by the Centre, planned to rehabilitate the Adivasis and displaced persons from East Bengal in Dandakaranaya in Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh and at Karaput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa. The first batch of displaced persons left Calcutta for Dandakaranaya on 1 February and a week later the Government announced completion of plans for the rehabilitation of about 35,000 families.

village cooperatives controlled by the village people and that the official element should be kept far away except for advice and general help.

16. It is interesting to note that the Martial Law regime in Pakistan has introduced what appear to be fairly sweeping land reforms, where not even compensation is provided for in many cases.¹⁰ To those of our people in India who criticize our land reforms, this example of a country which is socially backward should give food for thought.

17. We talk of the great effort necessary now and in the Third Plan of a united advance forward, of austerity and all that, and yet if one reads the newspapers one finds all kinds of agitations in various parts of the country. There is the Akali Dal calling for an agitation against the Gurdwara Amendment Act in the Punjab.¹¹ There are the Praja Socialists organizing a strike of sugarcane growers.¹² There are the Communists and others continually organizing processions, marching up and down the streets of Calcutta to protest against something or other.¹³ Indeed, it is sometimes a little difficult to follow what they are protesting against. The main fact is that their chief activity is to protest, whether

10. On 24 January 1959, the Pakistan Government announced abolition of jagirdari and fixation of a ceiling on irrigated and unirrigated land holdings and compensation through bonds redeemable after 25 years to landlords surrendering surplus land.

11. Master Tara Singh objected to the passing of the Gurdwara (Amendment) Bill by the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on 31 December 1958 as he thought that election of representatives to Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee from Pepsu under the proposed Act constituted a threat to freedom of the Sikhs in cultural and religious affairs and was also aimed at strengthening forces opposed to him.

12. On 21 January, the Praja Socialist Party announced a State-wide strike of cane-growers in Uttar Pradesh from 5 February to press their demand for a share in the increase in the sugar price. The strike however fizzled out on 10 February when most of the sugar factories reopened after five days.

13. For example, on 11 February 1959, the Communist Party organized a demonstration in Calcutta demanding supply of enough rice to retail shops.

rightly or wrongly does not matter so much. Here we are celebrating with great popular enthusiasm Republic Day, and there is a sense of elation in the country whenever this day approaches and reminds us of what we have achieved and what we have still to achieve. We see also, in spite of many petty failures and mistakes, a steady march forward and strong foundations being laid for the new India for which we work. We note, with some degree of self-satisfaction, that we are much better situated than a number of other countries where politics and economic conditions are in a fluid and not too happy a state. Foreigners, of all degrees of eminence, visit us and are genuinely surprised at the progress made in India and the dynamic effort that is behind it. And yet, we live in an atmosphere of criticism and agitation. Perhaps that is the virtue of democracy, and it is good in the long run to have that rather than no criticism. But I would wish that the scales were properly balanced and the picture of India moving forward should be seen in some perspective. We have naturally to face all kinds of difficulties and social conflicts. We have to pay the price for them with labour and sacrifice, but we make a steady advance towards the goal, and that is a sufficient recompense.

18. I should like to clear up one aspect of our land reforms which appears to have created some confusion. In some of our States a big effort has been made for the consolidation of holdings. Some people have imagined that the new programme set out for cooperatives, etc. makes such consolidation unnecessary.¹⁴ That is quite wrong. We must proceed with consolidation of holdings as that is essential from many points of view.

14. On 14 January 1959, *The Tribune* reported that the Consolidation Department in Punjab would soon be closed as in pursuance of the Nagpur resolution the leaders in Punjab thought that "since every landowner, big or small, would join the village cooperative, the question of uneconomic holdings did not arise."

19. You may have received an interesting book—*Bihar through the Ages*—which the Bihar Government has issued under the distinguished editorship of Shri R.R. Diwakar,¹⁵ who was till lately Governor of Bihar. This gives a fascinating survey of Bihar. It might be worthwhile for other States to have similar surveys written. In doing so, of course, we must always remember that the picture of a State must be seen in the context of India, just as today India has to be seen in the context of the world.

20. I have not written to you anything in this letter about developments in the international sphere. There has been some slight improvement, and I think it is generally recognized that in spite of the difficulties that confront us, there is no great fear of war or other major catastrophe. The visit of Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, to Russia¹⁶ is not likely to yield any major result at this stage. Yet it is to be welcomed, and may help in somewhat easing tensions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 251.

16. He was in the Soviet Union from 21 February to 3 March 1959.

New Delhi
25 March, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

In a few days' time you will be coming to Delhi for a meeting of the National Development Council,¹ and I hope to meet you then. The matters to be discussed before the National Development Council are important. Probably you have received many papers in this connection from the Planning Commission. Indeed, we are being overwhelmed with notes and memoranda and other papers from the Planning Commission. This indicates how much thought is being given to these questions.

2. There is the approach to the third Five Year Plan, which is slowly taking shape in our minds. Fortunately, we have started thinking about this matter early. Every avenue of thought has led to the conclusion that this plan should be so framed as to aim at laying down a sound and solid foundation both on the food front and the industrial front. I drew your attention to what the President had said in his Address to Parliament, where he had expressed the hope that, by the end of the Third Plan period, we should have a more or less self-reliant and self-generating economy. It is clear that this will necessitate a very considerable effort and the husbanding of our resources to our utmost capacity. It would also necessitate considerable help from foreign sources, more particularly in regard to foreign exchange. Any attempt to lower our aim and to lessen the speed of our advance does not merely delay the realization of our goal,

- 1. It met on 3 and 4 April 1959.

but actually endangers it. If progress is too slow, it does not catch up with population growth or with the other necessities of the situation. Merely to maintain our present level, we require a two per cent annum growth. Thus, we have to aim at about five per cent per annum so as to allow for an adequate surplus.

3. We cannot rely on an indefinite period of foreign assistance. That is most unsatisfactory from our point of view as well as those who may be in a position to assist us. We must, therefore, aim at an adequate advance during a limited period, so as to build up internal resources and be in a position not to require any large-scale foreign aid. It is from this point of view that we have to think of the third Five Year Plan and the result to be achieved at the end of that period. Naturally, this requires considerable resources, and to raise these resources requires a great effort. These coming years are going to be a testing time for us.

4. To plan for industrial advance is relatively easy except, of course, for the resources needed. Given those resources, the rest becomes plain-sailing. To plan for a considerable increase in our food production is a more complicated operation. Here we have to deal not only with millions of farmers but also, inevitably, have to depend to a considerable extent on the vagaries of the monsoons. Ultimately we hope to reach a situation when even a bad monsoon would not cause us much uneasiness. But for some time the monsoon is going to be an important factor. All this necessitates the greatest concentration on a higher yield per acre of food-grains. Oddly enough, a promising feature of the situation is that our average yield at present is very low. That means that our potential is big. The way to convert that potential into actual production is in theory not difficult. We know all the steps that have to be taken. We know also that where those steps have been taken, the yield has grown greatly. Only yesterday two farmers from Delhi State came to present me with some sheaves of wheat which they are now harvesting. They told me that they were getting about forty maunds of

wheat from an acre of land. Wherever a real attempt has been made, production has grown rapidly. It must be remembered that the all-India average yield of wheat is about ten maunds per acre.

5. I am convinced more and more that our main problem in agriculture now is proper organization as well as, of course, to convince the farmers what to do. A lack of proper organizational and institutional approach in the past has done us much harm. Because of the vital importance of foodgrains, the Departments of Agriculture in the States as well as at the Centre have assumed an overriding importance. On the success of their efforts depends almost everything that we are working for. The Five Year Plan and industrialization ultimately depend on food production. I hope that your Government will always keep this in view and strengthen and vitalize your Department of Agriculture.

6. This involves not only competent experts to be intimately connected with this work, but also practical farmers. The best of experts may not help much if he has not got the experience or the eye of a practical farmer. Indeed, the person who is only a theoretical expert cannot easily succeed in entering the mind of the farmer. Even the theoretical experts must show their capacity for practical work. If they cannot do so, they cannot explain anything adequately.

7. The community development movement is meant to be the institutional approach to the farmer. That movement, therefore, has to be strictly on the practical level and not live in the upper air of an office or in the stratosphere of pure theory. A farmer has to be dealt with on his own level and not in a superior way which is sometimes associated with official approaches. It is for this reason that it has long been felt to be essential for the community development blocks not to be officialized too much but rather to depend more and more on non-official help and guidance and ultimately on the agriculturists and others living in the villages. We have to undertake a vast scheme of practical education at all levels.

8. Recently a study camp was organized at Pattancheru, a place situated about twenty miles from Hyderabad.² About fifty M.Ps. and M.L.As. attended this camp and discussed every aspect of the community development movement. From all accounts, this camp was a very successful one, and the Community Development Ministry and the Andhra Pradesh Government are to be congratulated. That camp probably did more good to those who attended it than the numerous discussions that take place in Parliament or elsewhere. One of the important decisions of that camp was that people's institutions at lower levels should be actively associated with the work and that the village representative institutions should have more power and authority conferred upon them. Rightly the camp did not merely indulge in discussions, but did some positive manual work. It is this kind of approach that brings reality to the problems we often discuss in our Legislatures and Congress Committees. I hope that similar camps will be held in every State and members of the State Legislature concerned as well as M.Ps. from that State will participate in them.

9. The increase in our food production has become, and will continue to remain, the first and basic item in our programme. This depends on the numerous measures which have been so often suggested as well as on the understanding and enthusiasm of the agriculturist. It also depends upon the basic structure of the village and the farm. Because of this, the recent decisions in regard to village *panchayats* and village cooperatives become of high importance. The form of structure and functions are intimately allied. We did away with the zamindari and jagirdari systems of land tenure, partly because they were out of date and not in keeping with modern ideas of social justice but, even more so, because no real agricultural progress could be achieved so long as those old systems did not give place to

2. From 29 January to 4 February 1959.

new ones. We are now aiming at ceilings on land and village cooperatives. There has been a good deal of criticism of these decisions from two classes of people. One comes from those persons who still happen to hold fairly large areas of land and who will thus be affected by the ceiling; the other comes from town dwellers who have no direct contact with the land, but who fear that any such step forward may affect their own interests later. I have no doubt that the vast majority of peasants and farmers will welcome both these decisions and it is in terms of that vast majority that we must think. I can conceive of a country with a sparse population and a large land area having big farms but, in the conditions existing in India, the average holding is pitifully small and, with the best efforts in the world, it cannot make very much progress if it remains as it is. The advocates of no-change must, therefore, accept the necessary consequence of the vast majority of our farmers continuing to live at the margin of subsistence. That surely is not an acceptable objective.

10. We are thus driven inevitably to cooperatives, which should first be service and multi-purpose, later leading to joint cultivation. Logically, this is obvious. It may be that the human factor and a certain inertia come in the way of this change. I do not think that there is that inertia or that our farmers are not prepared to change their methods if they are properly approached. While joint cultivation on a village scale has to be the final objective, our present programme should concentrate on service cooperatives. It must be realized that even service cooperatives need not be exactly similar, and there may be varieties of them. So also joint cultivation. We need not, therefore, lay down some kind of a rigid and inflexible rule. I am glad that a great deal of thought is being given to this matter. But I would suggest that the best preparation for anything is to do it. We have a habit of discussing such matters at inordinate length till the question becomes almost a stale one and we have missed the opportunity of creating a psychological situation in favour of what we are aiming at.

11. I have often wondered why there has been so much

opposition to this proposal to have village cooperatives.³ Much of this opposition has come from people having little to do with land. Opposition is thus not so much to the actual proposal for village cooperatives, but rather to its later implications. It is an opposition to the basic idea of a socialist approach which, it is feared, may be extended to other fields of national activity. We are thus up against an even more fundamental issue than land cooperatives. All the fear and tenacity of vested interests are showing themselves now. That is rather a good sign because this clarifies the issues before the country and makes people think.

12. The National Congress decided, after long thinking and argument, in favour of ceilings and village cooperatives. It decided this by a very big majority. Some other parties in the country have also expressed themselves in favour of these.⁴ It is true that some conservative and communal parties are against it as they are bound to oppose every forward movement.⁵ But essentially this is not a party

3. On 17 February 1959, A.B. Vajpayee, Bharatiya Jan Sangh member in Lok Sabha, contended that a village cooperative could "neither be practical nor could it increase production." M.R. Masani on 1 March described the Nagpur Congress resolution as "a red herring across the nation's trail" which would lead to "collective farming" and create a situation where "surplus value could be squeezed out of the peasants so that industrialization of the country could be effected through such exploitation."

4. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, welcoming on 25 February the Nagpur resolution of the Congress, demanded expeditious 'implementation' of land reforms. On 5 March, Ajoy Ghosh, Secretary of the Party, suggested that Nehru should secure the co-operation of the "democratic and progressive parties" for implementing policies on which there was "general agreement".

5. The All India Hindu Mahasabha on 20 February described the Nagpur resolution as "defective" and "impracticable". The Central Executive of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh on 16 March resolved that the implementation of the Nagpur resolution would destroy the Indian tradition of individuality and personal freedom to hold and manage property.

programme, but as near an approach to a national programme as any such subject can be. I have laid stress repeatedly that the question of food production should be treated on a national basis and not on a party basis. So says everybody. Nevertheless, some parties have indulged in activities which are constantly coming in the way of food production or indeed of any big developmental effort. Recently there was the agitation against the betterment levy in the Punjab which was later withdrawn.⁶ That was a significant example of how deeds belie words and assurances.

13. I should like to emphasize one aspect of our programme for cooperatives. The success of this depends very largely on trained personnel. Everyone cannot be a high specialist in cooperatives, but every State should have some such persons and a much larger number of partially trained people. Beyond these two grades should be the third consisting of farmers in each village who have had a chance of learning something about the basic objectives and methods of cooperatives. It is necessary, therefore, for each State to start these training programmes as rapidly as possible. Every agricultural college should have a full course of training in cooperatives. There may also be special courses outside these colleges. The training of the actual farmer will necessarily be limited, and probably the community development movement could best take charge of it. But, in any event, a number of actual farmers should be given the fuller training also. This is a matter of urgency as the success of this depends entirely on trained personnel.

6. The Communist Party organized an agitation against the Punjab ordinance issued on 5 January which imposed from the next kharif season an advance levy in areas served by Bhakra-Nangal and Western Jumna Canal. The agitation which started on 2 February was withdrawn unconditionally on 22 March after the Government announced some concessions on 15 March 1959.

14. I think that co-operation in its elementary forms as well as in its wider aspects governing various activities of life, should form a subject in our school education. The boy or girl should be made to understand the outlook of co-operation, not only in particular activities, but in the business of life itself.

15. One matter I must emphasize again. This is the law governing the formation of cooperative societies. So many times and by so many people has it been said that the present law is not good enough. It is restrictive and narrow in scope. Further, that many of those who are concerned with its working as Registrars and the like have little understanding or conception of the wider aspects of co-operation. I receive reports of obstructive and delaying methods. A person who is in charge of co-operation should have the spirit of a crusader and not be merely an official going through a certain routine.

16. Much is happening in the international sphere and Prime Ministers and Heads of States are rushing about from one country to another and conferring, more especially about the Berlin and German situation.⁷ The situation continues to be grave, but I feel that the sting has gone out of it and some way out will be found, even though that may only lead to a provisional adjustment. Probably the Summit meeting, so long talked about, will take place in the course of the coming summer. Possibly, also a Foreign Ministers' meeting will precede it.

7. Harold Macmillan visited Paris, Bonn, Ottawa and Washington between 9 and 23 March to discuss with the Heads of Government Khrushchev's proposal for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers at Geneva on 11 May to consider the German question. The Italian Foreign Minister visited London on 16 March to confer with Macmillan.

17. But a foreign event which has attracted most attention in India has been the recent happenings in Tibet.⁸ It is our policy not to interfere in other countries, and indeed we are not in a position to interfere. But Tibet has been a country with which India has had emotional ties for a long time past. Therefore, occurrences in Tibet lead to emotional responses in our people. The situation thus created is a difficult and delicate one for us as for others. It is not much good for us to give expression to our wishes in strong language. We have to act so as to help in easing the situation and, as far as possible, in helping the Tibetans to have a square deal.

18. Some people imagine that we have been deliberately suppressing information from Tibet.⁹ That is not correct except insofar as petty incidents are concerned. As soon as we learned of the major development of firing there, our Foreign Office immediately communicated it to the press and I took the first opportunity to make a statement in the Lok Sabha.¹⁰ It is obvious that large number of people in Tibet have not been happy with the state of affairs that exist there today.

19. In 1951, an agreement was arrived at between the Chinese Government and the Tibetan authorities. This is

8. Sporadic uprisings against the Chinese for some years culminated in a large-scale rebellion in Lhasa in March 1959. The revolt was sought to be crushed while the Dalai Lama left Lhasa on 17 March for an unannounced destination.

9. This charge was made by M.R. Masani and N.G. Goray in Lok Sabha on 23 March 1959.

10. Nehru informed Lok Sabha on 23 March 1959 of the Indian Consul's refusal to escort Tibetan rebels to witness presentation of their demands to the Chinese Foreign Bureau, the Consul's request to Chinese Government for protection on 20 March, and Government of India's instructions to the Consul not to vacate the premises as asked for by the Chinese Government on 21 March. He also stated that the Indian Government was not aware of the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama.

called the 17-Point Agreement.¹¹ Broadly speaking, it was based on the sovereignty of China and the autonomy of Tibet, that is, Tibet was recognized as an autonomous region of the Chinese State. This was not a new development under the Communist Government of China. Every Government in China for hundreds of years has claimed sovereignty or suzerainty over Tibet. Strong Chinese Governments have enforced and exercised it; weak Governments have been unable to do so. Chiang Kai-shek's¹² Government held firmly to the view that Tibet was part of the Chinese State and, at one time, early in 1947, we had a slight argument with them about it. The People's Republic of China naturally claimed Tibet as part of its inheritance. We could not in law or fact object because India had always considered China as the suzerain power. We were anxious, however, that Tibet should retain its autonomy.

20. The 17-Point Agreement, to which the Dalai Lama was a party, assured that autonomy. It is true that even that Agreement was accepted by the Tibetans without joy and under the compulsion of circumstances. But it was accepted. When Premier Chou En-lai¹³ was here two and a half years ago,¹⁴ he told me that Tibet was different from China and could not be considered a province of China.¹⁵ It was an

11. Signed in Beijing on 23 May 1951, the treaty stipulated (1) regional autonomy for Tibet with the Chinese Government assuming responsibility for defence and foreign affairs only, (2) absorption of Tibetan forces in the Chinese army, (3) recognition of Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and their Governments with freedom to carry out reforms without Chinese interference, (4) Tibet's development in economic, industrial and educational spheres to be helped by the Chinese Government, and (5) all Tibetan officials suspected of links with K.M.T. and other imperialist regimes to be prosecuted.

12. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 264.

13. Zhou Enlai. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 82.

14. See Vol. 4, pp. 444 and 462.

15. A similar statement by Zhou Enlai at Bandung was recorded by Nehru in his note. See Vol. 4, p. 167.

autonomous region of the Chinese State and they had no desire to interfere in the internal management of Tibetan affairs, provided no outside powers interfere in Tibet. He said that the idea that they could introduce communism in Tibet was rather fantastic, because Tibet was very backward and as far removed from communism as any country could be. This statement of Premier Chou En-lai to me was perhaps partly conditioned by the fact that they had not found it easy to win over the Tibetans. Trouble first arose in the Khampa area. This Khampa area, though Tibetan, has been a part of China proper for the last fifty years or so. The Khampas are a rough and turbulent lot of people who had never been adequately governed either from Lhasa or from Peking. The new Government in China, however, tried to impose its will upon them, which they resisted. It was then, that is about three years ago or more, that the Khampa revolt began. There was much violence on both sides. The Khampas killed Chinese garrisons and convoys and the Chinese Government retaliated by heavy bombing, killing and destruction. All this was in China proper and not in Tibet. But later the Khampas spread out in armed bands in South and Eastern Tibet, carrying on a vague kind of guerilla warfare and attacking Chinese convoys, and being attacked in their turn. This went on for about two years. The Tibet regional Government did not associate with them in any way, though probably there was much sympathy for them. It has been reported that the Dalai Lama and his leading associates even advised the Khampas not to indulge in warfare. How far this was a gesture or really meant, I cannot say. But I have little doubt that they meant this as they were afraid of the consequences on themselves of such aggressive action by the Khampas.

21. The Khampa revolt did not directly affect India. But it did create the possibility of a border problem both in India and Bhutan. Occasionally, a few Khampas entered our territory, but the numbers were very small and our check-posts on the frontiers were directed to prevent such entry.

22. It appears that, partly as a result of the Khampa revolt

and partly because the Tibetans generally did not take kindly to Chinese overlordship and interference, the Chinese Government toned down their policy and actually closed some of the schools and other institutions that they had opened and withdrew most of the Chinese civil personnel from Tibet, but they kept a firm grip over the country. It must be remembered that Tibet is a most difficult country to live in or to govern. Its high terrain is very inhospitable and communications have been primitive. The Chinese have built a number of highways which, though not good as roads, are adequate for their purpose and represent massive feats of engineering and labour.

23. For the last two years or more, the situation remained rather fluid and at a low level of occasional conflict between the Khampas and the Chinese. Nothing much happened in Lhasa itself except a slowly growing tension. Meanwhile, the Khampa bands spread to some other parts of Tibet and even approached Lhasa. A new element of fear came into the minds of the Tibetan authorities. Large numbers of Chinese settled in Eastern Tibet and the Tibetans believed that this was in pursuance of a programme of settling Chinese in various parts of their region. If this could be done in any considerable measure, then the internal position of Tibet would be greatly changed. As Tibet is at present sparsely populated, the Chinese might ultimately even outnumber the Tibetans.

24. It has been reported in the press that I went to Bhutan last year¹⁶ especially to discuss this situation in Tibet. This is wholly incorrect. There was nothing very special to discuss and my object in going to Bhutan had nothing to do with the Tibetan situation. Naturally, in the course of our talks, some reference was made to various checkpoints and the possibility of people from Tibet streaming in. The views of the Bhutan Government and our Government were broadly the same,

16. See *ante*, pp. 140-144.

and we both agreed that such entry should be avoided as they would lead to complications and embarrassment.

25. About the second week of March, we began to get vague reports of tension and agitation in Lhasa. Rumours spread there that the Chinese Government wanted to take away the Dalai Lama to Peking. He was invited to the Chinese headquarters in Lhasa and the terms of the invitation were such that they roused a great deal of apprehension in the minds of the Tibetans, who crowded round the Dalai Lama's palace, begging him not to accept that invitation. From then onwards, all kinds of meetings of the higher Tibetan dignitaries took place to consider what should be done. Tension increased. Crowds of Tibetans came to the Indian Consulate General presumably to gain their sympathy. A large number of Tibetan women also came and asked our Consul General to accompany them to the Chinese Headquarters which obviously he could not do. The Chinese authorities in Lhasa apparently took no step against this growing agitation for a number of days. Ultimately, firing began between the Chinese and the Tibetans. I cannot say who began it; probably it was the Chinese authorities who decided to suppress the growing agitation. Ever since this firing began, our Consulate General in Lhasa was isolated. In fact, firing took place all round it and even our Consulate buildings received many shots. After a day or two, this firing appears to have subsided. I cannot say what the present position is, because it is difficult to obtain news. What little news we have been able to obtain in the past has been from Lhasa. It is reported that many important buildings in Lhasa have suffered considerable damage as a result of Chinese firing and shelling. The Tibetan local government has apparently ceased functioning and the Chinese military commission is in control in Lhasa. We have had no news from the rest of Tibet.

26. I have given you above an account of the Tibetan situation as we know it. I confess that it is a meagre account. It is clear that the Chinese armed forces are better armed,

better equipped and much more modern than the Tibetans. In case of armed conflict, the Chinese must prevail. There is, however, the possibility of guerilla activities in various parts of Tibet continuing. We do not know the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama. It is reported that he left Lhasa a few days before the firing began.

27. The Tibetans state that the Chinese broke the 17-Point Agreement; the Chinese say that the Tibetans broke the Agreement. Both agree that the Agreement has been broken. The future, therefore, appears to be full of trouble for Tibet and the Tibetans. We are naturally concerned, for a variety of reasons, about this situation and the future. News is very meagre. Many messages appear in the press with date-lines from Kalimpong or Hong Kong. These messages can seldom be relied upon. Often, to our knowledge, they have been incorrect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
18 May, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I write to you after a long interval. What is it that makes me fail in my normal duty to write every fortnight? Is it just the burden of age or work or perhaps a certain disinclination to do something which I can postpone? I do not know.

2. It is true that these last few months have been heavy with work and problems. I have found it difficult to keep pace with the urgent demands from day to day. Inevitably I have given priority to the day's burden lest an accumulation of these matters overwhelms me. Events have happened also which have taken up much of my time and filled my mind. Our domestic problems always take the first place. To add to them has been the development of the situation in Tibet.

3. During the last two or three days of Parliament, the Congress Working Committee met,¹ to be followed by the All India Congress Committee² and later by the Planning Committee of the A.I.C.C. This was hardly over when a delegation from the World Bank under its President, Mr. Black,³ came to Delhi,⁴ to talk about the Canal Waters question—a difficult and intricate problem which has troubled us now for eleven years. It was only day before yesterday that this World Bank delegation left Delhi and went to Karachi.⁵ After their departure, the pressure of

1. It met on 8 and 9 May 1959.

2. Held at New Delhi from 10 to 12 May 1959.

3. Eugene R. Black. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 456.

4. The delegation visited Delhi from 12 to 15 May 1959.

5. It visited Karachi from 16 to 18 May 1959.

immediate events somewhat lessened and I could look round a little; and now I am writing to you.

4. I shall take up first the Canal Waters issue, even though I cannot tell you very much about it at this stage. Even a relatively simple problem, if tied up with national rivalries and passions, becomes difficult of solution. If years pass, layer upon layer of fresh difficulty is added on. The Canal Waters issue was and is essentially a problem of engineering and human welfare. Naturally we are primarily and deeply interested in getting this additional water for development of vast areas of our country. Indeed, the Bhakra Nangal project was thought of many years ago with this object in view. Not only parts of Eastern Punjab have been badly in need of these waters, but there are also the desert areas of Rajasthan which thirst for the rejuvenating influence of water. We have few sources of supply for these areas other than the waters from the Bhakra reservoir. That is one side of the question. The other, the Pakistan side, is also in need of water for irrigation and like purposes in Western Pakistan. We do not deny this and we have always said that we should like to accommodate them to the best of our ability. Obviously we cannot do so at the expense of our own urgent and vital needs. We had said, right at the outset, that in our opinion there was enough water in the Indus basin both for India and Pakistan. Vast quantities of these Indus basin waters go to the sea and could, with engineering skill, be diverted to useful purposes. This diversion could take place principally in Pakistan, though something could be done in India also.

5. At one stage of the argument we put forward a proposal to construct a tunnel—the Marhu tunnel—in Indian territory, which would enable us to add to our supplies to Pakistan when the Bhakra waters were diverted to the Rajasthan Canal. Pakistan, however, did not agree to this because they said that this would make them entirely dependent on India's goodwill. The question thus was what Pakistan could do in its own territory to add to these water resources, and how long it would take to do this. We had

agreed some years ago that we would be prepared to pay for such works in Pakistan as would enable them to replace waters which we would divert for our own use. No exact figure was mentioned then, but according to the calculation of our engineers, some four or five years ago, this was estimated to be between sixty and seventy crores of rupees. This was a substantial sum, but we were nevertheless prepared to go that far in order to get a firm settlement and the full use of our own waters, without cavil or complaint.

6. This has been the position ever since. The World Bank, five years ago, had suggested that the six rivers of the Indus Basin might be broadly divided up into three and three, three to be principally used by India and three by Pakistan. We had accepted this broad principle when it was put forward, but Pakistan had raised many objections and for all these years we have been talking round and round this subject. All kinds of alternative suggestions were considered and rejected. Ultimately Pakistan accepted the broad principle of the World Bank proposal, that is, the allotment of three rivers to Pakistan and three to India. The question again resolved itself into one of a certain payment by India and the period during which the changeover should be made.

7. The World Bank people on this occasion came again with their old proposal, but this was worked out in some greater detail. We did not like it as it was put forward as we felt that this involved too great a burden on us. After much discussion, certain variations were suggested and certain principles accepted.⁶ It is not easy to say even now what the

6. There was agreement in principle on (1) India's financial contribution towards construction of link canals in Pakistan, (2) reasonable adjustments to be made by India in the deadline for complete withdrawal of water supplies, (3) Bank's assurance to assist India in the construction of reservoirs near the river Beas to ensure an uninterrupted supply of water to canals, and (4) loans to be raised by Bank from friendly countries to expedite completion of link canals in Pakistan and developmental works in India.

ultimate outcome will be. There have been so many failures in the past that one hesitates to be optimistic. Yet there does appear to be some chance of a move towards agreement.

8. At present the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four countries as well as some others are meeting in Geneva.⁷ If one took seriously what has been said in the opening gambits of this meeting, one would be inevitably led to the conclusion that no advance will be made there. But we have become used to these preliminaries and rituals. Each party puts forward its own case well knowing that that will be rejected by the other party. Obviously anything in the nature of a settlement will involve the giving up of rigid attitudes. Probably after these ritualistic speeches and gestures have been made, a more realistic approach will take place. Even so, it is rather doubtful if the Foreign Ministers will achieve much. If anything is to be done, it will be by the so-called Summit meeting which might come later. There can be no doubt that all over the world, including the countries represented by the Foreign Ministers of the Big Powers, there is a longing for a settlement and a much more realistic appraisal of the situation than would appear to be the case from the speeches of the Foreign Ministers. Right at the beginning of the Foreign Ministers' meeting at Geneva, a certain comic and significant discussion took place. This was about the shape of the table round which they were going to sit. Should it be square or round? The Western Powers wanted a square table, the Soviet Union a round table. I wonder what future generations will think of us when they read an account of how the great ones of the earth managed their discussions over vital issues.

9. In my last letter to you I wrote something about the Tibetan developments. Since then much has happened. The

7. They met from 11 May to 20 June 1959.

Dalai Lama is in our country,⁸ and so are more than twelve thousand refugees from Tibet. Possibly some more might come. We have been heavily occupied with making arrangements for these refugees. The immediate problem was to give them shelter and rest, food and medical treatment. Camps have been made for them in the foothills of Assam and West Bengal. But soon we shall have to face the long-term problem of what to do with them. There is little chance of their returning to Tibet in the foreseeable future. We can hardly keep large camps running indefinitely. Twelve thousand persons is not a big figure for India, but we must remember that our cup of refugees from Pakistan has been more than full. The Pakistani refugees were at least our own people who could be fitted in here; the Tibetans would be an alien element. Also it is not possible to spread out these Tibetan refugees over the plains of India as they cannot endure the heat. Thus the area where they can stay is limited and confined to the mountains. It will not be good for them or for us for a dole to be given to them. They should work and be productive. These problems have to be faced for most of them.

10. A more far-reaching problem for India is the future of our relations with China. It has been a proud boast both in India and China, that these two great countries often with a common border, have not had any military conflict during the last two thousand years or more of our relations. This is indeed a remarkable record. Both the countries, through long periods of history, had a certain vitality and expansiveness. On the whole, India's expansiveness stopped at the Himalayas and our forefathers crossed the mountains or the seas on cultural and religious missions. As is well known, they went all over the south-eastern seas, carrying their art forms. There is hardly any evidence of any major military

8. He reached India on 31 March 1959.

adventure outside the confines of India. It is true that during the Kushan period and later under the early Mauryas, these empires spread to a large part of Central Asia. The Chinese spread much more both in Central Asia and in the South-East. India and China came into close touch with each other in the islands and mainland of South-East Asia. But there are no records of any major conflict. Both of them have left their strong impress over this vast area in South-East Asia; probably the Indian impress is the greater in the islands and part of the mainland.

11. Tibet was never looked upon by India as a political appendage or sphere of influence, except to some extent during British times, following the Younghusband Expedition in 1904. In those days, the British were apprehensive of the designs of Czarist Russia. China, on the other hand, was frequently trying to impose its domination or suzerainty over Tibet. In the early years, the Tibetans were tough and war-like and resisted this and even invaded parts of China proper. But, on the whole, the power of China imposed itself on Tibet and some kind of sovereignty or suzerainty was exercised there. Partly because of the very difficult terrain of Tibet and partly because of the lack of communications, no effective control could be exercised by China over Tibet except for very brief periods. The Manchu Dynasty of China exercised quite considerable sway over Tibet. After the revolution which put an end to the Manchu Dynasty in China, Tibet functioned autonomously and, to some extent, even as an independent country, though at no time did China acknowledge this independence. It was only after the new Communist Government came into existence in China that China decided to revert to its old rule and enforced its overlordship of Tibet. This was eight or nine years ago.

12. At that time there was no choice left to India but to recognize Chinese suzerainty. Indeed, even the British Government had done that, and we could not go back upon it. Practically we could do nothing. We endeavoured, therefore, to lay stress on the autonomy of Tibet under

China's suzerainty. Some people say now that it was wrong and weak on India's part to have done this.⁹ I find it very difficult to understand this argument. It has no basis either in constitutional law or in the practical facts of the situation. For us to refuse to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty would not have helped Tibet in the slightest. It would have meant not only a complete break with China, but also a much harsher occupation of Tibet right up to our frontiers, as India would then have been considered a hostile country with designs on Tibet.

13. When the present position arose in March last, we could not go back on our old policy. This would have been neither practical nor in keeping with our treaties. At the same time, the fact of the harsh suppression by Chinese armed forces of the Tibetan uprising created naturally a powerful reaction in India.¹⁰ In China this led to angry and wholly unbalanced references to India.¹¹

14. I confess that the statements made by many important leaders in China and in their newspapers were quite

9. This was stated in Lok Sabha by Atal Behari Vajpayee and J.B. Kripalani on 8 May 1959.

10. On 30 March, Atal Behari Vajpayee, speaking in Delhi, said that the Chinese aggression should serve as a warning to India while it was also a test case of China's adherence to *Panchsheel*. The Chinese action in Tibet dominated the proceedings in both Houses of Parliament throughout the Budget Session and several angry comments were made. Some newspapers also published editorials criticizing China severely.

11. On 15 April, the *People's Daily* wrote that "the Indian enthusiasts mistook handful of rebels for the entire Tibetan people" and "sympathized with the rebellion." Zhou Enlai, on 18 April, charged that Dalai Lama had been abducted to India. On 25 April, *Ta Kung Po* alleged that India was seeking to turn Tibet into a "vassal State" as the British had tried to do earlier. Describing Indian leadership as "reactionary" and "expansionist", the paper charged India with "expansionist plans for interfering in China's internal affairs."

extraordinary in their virulence and often lack of truth. It is obvious that the Chinese authorities were very angry and had lost all balance. I hope that it would be recognized that insofar as the Government of India is concerned, our language has been restrained, even though we have stated our position firmly. This cannot be said about some statements and writings by others in India.

15. The Communist line in India over this issue has been completely out of tune with Indian sentiments.¹² In fact it has been a repetition of what the Chinese have said. Quite apart from the facts, this shows how little the Communist Party of India is affected by powerful national feelings and sentiments. There appears to be a certain barrier between them and nationalism. Nationalism, of course, need not always be right and often it is narrow-minded and may become aggressive. But, in the present case, it does seem odd for any party in India to support the Chinese case against India.

16. There has been a slight toning down in the Chinese attacks on India, but there is always a note of warning. If India continues to criticize us, we shall hit back. So far as we are concerned, we shall endeavour to hold to our present policy and use language of restraint, trying to avoid needless provocation, but obviously we cannot submit to any kind of dictation from China in regard to the Dalai Lama or the other refugees. This friction between India and China is a

12. The Communist Party on 31 March, expressing apprehension that Kalimpong might be turned into a centre of intrigue, criticized the reactionary elements in Tibet who, conspiring with foreign help, were "fighting neither for democracy nor for freedom." The Executive Committee of the Party, on 12 May, attacked some parties in India for their campaign "to provoke India against China" and maintained that "Tibet was an integral part of China" and therefore whatever happened there was its "internal affair".

hard test for us. We have to show how we can be firm and yet continue to be courteous and friendly. The Government will follow this policy. I would wish that others also did the same.

17. You will have noticed that the relations of the United Arab Republic and Iraq have been very strained and the language used by the authorities on either side as well as the press and radio has been virulent in the extreme.¹³ There is just a little toning down now. We have regretted this development very greatly because we are quite sure that this is not good for either the United Arab Republic or Iraq; it can only profit other countries.

18. Why is it that responsible statesmen, whether in Egypt, Iraq or in China, suddenly descend to these low levels of vituperative language? I do not know. Perhaps we have been saved from this kind of thing by the long training under Gandhiji and also by our past heritage. I hope that we shall hold to that heritage.

19. Tibet and other problems may be discussed in our newspapers and elsewhere. But the basic problems for us continue to be food and food prices and the Five Year Plans. Fortunately we have had a very good harvest and yet this has not had enough effect on prices. It is said that farmers and agriculturists are holding on to their stocks. We shall have to give continuous attention to this problem as well as to food production which is basic to our planning.

13. The press attack on Col. Kassem's regime called off by U.A.R. on 22 February was resumed when on 9 March Iraq accused the latter of supporting the army mutiny in Masul and expelled some officials of the U.A.R. Embassy in Baghdad. On 22 March Nasser charged Kassem of being "an ally of Britain." In reply, Iraq press and radio described Nasser as "a new Pharaoh seeking to build his unity on the skulls of millions", and of being a "catpaw of western imperialism."

20. The Planning Commission has been in a state of mental ferment, chiefly thinking about the approach to the third Five Year Plan. Every aspect of this is being examined by working parties as well as by the Commission and innumerable papers are produced from day to day. I confess that I am totally unable to keep pace with this abundance of material. All this shows, however, how we are being progressively conditioned to thinking on planning lines. In particular, perspective planning has very much come into the picture and we are constantly having detailed papers on agricultural and industrial aspects; on foreign aid; on economic co-efficients for organized industries in India and the inter-relationship between investment, gross output, value added and employment; on the development of machine-building industry and the oil industry, etc.

21. It is not only the Planning Commission that is thinking hard about these matters, but also the A.I.C.C. which, as you know, appointed a Planning Committee some months back.¹⁴ This Committee has met repeatedly and they are having now a seminar at Ootacamund beginning on the 30th of this month and lasting for a week. I hope to attend this seminar. I think that this widespread thought and attention that is being given to these problems is a very healthy and significant sign in India today.

22. A development of importance and of special interest to us is going to be the formation of a new Government in Nepal as a result of the elections.¹⁵ The King of Nepal has invited me to visit his country and I hope to go there in the second week of June for three days.¹⁶

14. See *ante*, p. 181.

15. Under the new Constitution promulgated by the King on 12 February 1959, B.P. Koirala, whose party, the Nepali Congress had, in the elections to the lower house held between 18 February and 3 April, won an absolute majority, formed a Government on 27 May 1959.

16. Nehru visited Nepal from 11 to 13 June 1959.

23. I have been greatly distressed by the communal disturbances which took place recently at Sitamarhi and Akhta¹⁷ in Bihar, Mubarakpur in Uttar Pradesh and Bhopal¹⁸ in Madhya Pradesh. I cannot say how far they were pre-arranged. Probably not. But the continuance, in speech and writing, of communal attacks is itself an incitement to such disturbances. What is very distressing is the realization that below the surface there are these deep passions and fears which can be roused so easily. If those fears continue, then our foundations are weak. For this reason probably there is nothing more dangerous for the future of India than the communal approach. Communalism and nationalism are wholly opposed to each other, even though some forms of communalism adopt the garb of nationalism.

24. This type of Hindu and Muslim communalism is more or less confined to North India, chiefly the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The South is fortunately free from this although it has its own variety of communalism. In the Punjab, again, the problem is different and is said to be between Hindus and Sikhs, even though they are remarkably like each other in everything, including their failings.

25. At the moment, however, I am concerned with the Hindu-Muslim aspect of it. This was the dominant aspect before independence and, indeed, it led to the partition of India. Vast numbers of Muslims remained in India after partition; many of these had supported partition and may be said to have been emotionally attracted to the idea of Pakistan. Nevertheless they remained in India and tried to adapt themselves to the new conditions here. There was no other way for them. I think that by and large they did adapt

17. Between 17 and 20 April 1959 in which 16 persons were feared dead.

18. Between 29 March and 4 April 1959 in which three persons died.

themselves. The fact that India was going ahead while Pakistan was static also helped in this process. But there was always a trace of apprehension in the minds of many Muslims about their future in India. The reason for this was partly the existence and activities of the Hindu communal bodies. Still we hoped that with the passage of time this apprehension also would go. Occasional communal disturbances such as have taken place in the U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh revive these old fears and undo the quiet constructive work done during the past decade. It is this aspect that distresses me more than the disturbance itself. We have to start afresh and build anew.

26. It must be recognized that Muslims in India cannot, in the nature of things, adopt aggressive attitudes. Individuals may do so or occasionally small groups. But conditions in India are such and their numbers are relatively so small that any attempt at aggressive action would recoil on them. It is only when they become afraid that desperation seizes them and then they may act wrongly and aggressively. This fact has to be kept in mind because without realizing this we shall fail to act correctly or take proper measures. Basically, the responsibility for communal peace rests on the majority community, that is, the Hindus. If there is a breach of this peace, I would start with the presumption that it has been caused by Hindu communal elements who have created a situation leading to fear and conflict. Indeed, this is not a question of Hindu or Muslim, but of the majority always being responsible for this kind of thing.

27. We must also remember that Muslims are very poorly represented in our Services today, whether civil or police or military. They have thus a feeling of isolation. Many of our servicemen, however much they may try to be impartial, as they do, may still have some background of prejudice. Because of all this, State Governments, District authorities and the police have always to remember this background and to keep wide awake. They must not permit any type of communal propaganda in speech or news-sheets and nip this in the bud. This is not usually done and I have seen some

news-sheets and reports of speeches which are highly objectionable and yet nothing has been done. District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police are more particularly responsible for any wrong development or disturbance in their areas. I have long been convinced that if the District authorities are competent and wide awake, there will be no communal disturbances there. Because of this conviction I start with the presumption that where there is a disturbance, the District authorities have failed, to some extent at least. It would be a good thing if these District authorities are made to realize this fully. In particular, they must realize that it is their duty to gain the goodwill of, and to protect, the minority communities.

28. During these recent disturbances, especially in the U.P. and Bhopal, charges have been made of partiality on the part of the police as well as of far too much aggressive action. These charges are, I think, exaggerated. But I am also inclined to think that they are not without foundation. When a conflict arises, the police is put in a difficult situation and we must sympathize with them. When this conflict is communal, their own prejudices come into play and every rumour coming from one side or the other is believed. The thin veil of law and order is broken for the time being and people begin to throw their weight about.

29. Whatever the actual facts might be, even if an impression is created that the police are not impartial, this is bad. It should be the function of the police to establish a reputation for impartiality and good service.

30. Whenever any major communal disturbance takes place, there should be an enquiry. I do not think it is right for us to follow a policy of hush-hush in such matters or be afraid that in case of an enquiry the morale of the Services might suffer. Morale suffers more by allowing wrong things to happen and then keeping quiet over them.

31. Such enquiries cannot be very helpful if they are conducted by the local District authorities themselves. It is not fair to burden them with this responsibility for they

themselves are often involved, to some extent, in the whole business. I do not mean to say that there should be judicial enquiries with all their complicated procedures and delays. An enquiry should be rapid and effective and normally should be undertaken by some independent persons or, at any rate, a person on whose judgment people rely.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
28 May, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

In another day, I shall be going to Ootacamund for our planning seminar.¹ I am rather looking forward to this. Partly it will be a change to pleasanter and cooler surroundings after the heat of Delhi, partly because it will enable us to discuss and think in a somewhat more leisurely manner the problems of planning. In Delhi our days are spent in rushing from one place to another or from one activity to another, and we do not have the advantage or time for leisurely thinking. Perhaps Ootacamund might provide this rare commodity for a few days.

2. Whatever advance we might have made in our various schemes and projects, I think it might be truly said that we have learnt much more about planning and realized that it is not a mere expression of pious sentiments and wished-for results. It is a scientific and carefully calculated approach to the objectives we lay down. Inevitably, however much we might calculate and pile up statistics on statistics, there are uncertain and variable factors which we cannot control. There is the human factor, the quality of our people, their capacity for work, and the spirit in which they work. The quality can, of course, be improved by training, for it is the

1. Held from 30 May to 4 June 1959.

trained man that counts today and not mere numbers. But I mean by quality something more also—the character, grit and determination of a people; the sense of united endeavour and common purpose. These are basic and on them depends the success of our vast undertaking.

3. An equally important ingredient of our make-up must be the scientific mind and the scientific approach to our problems. We all talk about science today and realize that the world of today is one of science and technology. If we wish to improve our agriculture, it is through the methods of science; in industry, science and technology govern everything; so our planning has to be scientific. But science cannot ignore the human element. Why is it that some peoples and races advance in the arts and culture of civilization more than others, even though the chances might be more or less the same? Why is it that some peoples can face difficulties and even disasters with greater equanimity than others? Our own past in India affords many examples, both of great advance and of almost complete passivity and stagnation. Are there some periods in the life of a nation which fill it with faith and self-confidence and the spirit of adventure, and others when people grow complacent and static? Even in India, as it is today, we see greater ability and effort and capacity for hard work in some parts of the country or amongst some groups than others. Partly it might be due to climate, partly to other reasons. A great deal depends upon the social fabric. Is it a system that is rather petrified and difficult to change or has it an inherent dynamism in it? Any social structure which resists change too much necessarily leads to stagnation and decay, because life is a changing phenomenon and only those who can adapt themselves to this succession of changes can hope to survive or make progress. Today it is obvious that our social pattern is changing and perhaps changing more rapidly than people imagine. It is in a fluid condition and everywhere there is a mass of contradictions and a pulling in different directions. What we call communalism is an attempt to maintain a narrow and petrified society and to

resist change. Often it puts on the garb of nationalism and so looks more virtuous than it is. Basically this as well as its allies, casteism, provincialism and linguism, are the greatest hurdles. In fact, they represent forces which, if unchecked, would mean a rattling back into barbarism. We must recognize that in spite of our brave talk we have all these evils present in us to some extent and they break out from time to time. The only way to overcome them is widespread education on the right lines and the development of our country in such a way as to increase productive activities in agriculture and industry leading to something approaching full employment. I am not, of course, ignoring or lessening the importance of the moral and ethical factors.

4. We think more and more now of the third Five Year Plan, and our thinking becomes progressively more precise and logical. And yet, all of us are far too apt to lay down high principles and noble objectives and consider that that is the essence of planning. Nobility and idealism there must be in everything that is worthwhile, but we cannot live in this idealistic atmosphere. We have to come down to earth. It is interesting to note that so long as we live purely in the idealistic atmosphere, all appears to be well. The moment we come down to earth and try to translate that ideal into reality we have to face opposition from all the static and vested interests in the country. An example of this was when the Nagpur Congress talked about cooperatives and cooperative farming especially. This was no new cry certainly for the Congress. Gandhiji had spoken about it repeatedly. Vinobaji² talks about it now from day to day. It was not considered necessary to criticise or oppose Gandhiji or

2. Acharya Vinoba Bhave. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 397.

Vinobaji. When, however, the Congress talks about it and tries to fix a time-limit for its achievement, then there is a hue and cry, and some of our people are a little frightened. As a matter of fact, this itself was signal evidence that the Congress was moving towards the implementation of what it had often talked about.

5. Planning is, in a sense, a relatively easy operation, even though it may be complicated, as indeed it is. We have enough experience of other countries and enough data to go upon. We can build our basic plants and industries and increase our power supply and our transport system, and out of these flow innumerable other industries giving employment. It becomes a question of building from the foundations, the foundations being the basic industries and power, and of course the machine-building industry. No amount of tinkering on the first and second floors will take us far unless the foundations have been laid. These foundations do not yield very quick results, they are almost invisible, and they are a great strain on us. But there is no other way.

6. It is being increasingly realized not only in India but abroad also that no effective plan can be made which envisages short and slow steps forward. Even the rate of population growth makes this an almost impossible line of advance. There are other reasons also. Therefore, the initial effort has to be a big one to get over some of the primary hurdles and thus create the apparatus for more or less automatic advance.

7. But this requires great domestic resources as well as large external aid. But it holds out promise of reaching a certain stage when this external aid will not be necessary and the domestic resources will have grown. This is the aim of our planning. And, insofar as thinking out a balanced structure is concerned, we are advancing fairly well. There are some hopes of our getting adequate foreign aid too. Oddly enough, this expectation of foreign aid has grown when people abroad realized that we were serious and wanted to overcome these hurdles soon and reach our

objective. Big figures are mentioned about internal resources, taxation, foreign aid, etc. Obviously there are limits beyond which we cannot go. But it should be realized that the whole scheme is a progressive one and as we take a few steps forward, we build up additional resources thereby. Most people think in terms of static resources which are being consumed in our development schemes without adding to our national income. That would be bad planning indeed and incapable of leading us anywhere.

8. While industrial planning is complicated and yet easy to put down on paper, insofar as agriculture is concerned, almost everyone knows exactly what we should do to increase our output very considerably. But, knowing this, we find tremendous difficulties in implementing our programme. I think that we are at least coming to grips with this, but it will require constant and intensive effort. The whole of our programme for land reform, community development and cooperatives is meant to help us to implement this. Yet we must remember that a change-over from one system to another, unless care is taken, may well result in an initial lessening of output. We dare not do anything which will come in the way of an increase of our agricultural production, because that is a paramount consideration.

9. The other day a curious and rather disheartening case was brought to my notice. There is a fairly large farm near Delhi which was a good farm and produced twenty to twentyfive maunds of wheat per acre. Only green manure and compost was used there. The owner decided to mechanize it and more especially to use ammonium sulphate in large quantities. He almost gave up the use of green manure and compost. The immediate result was a fall in production. This was not due to mechanization as such but to the substitution of manure and compost by ammonium sulphate. Realizing this, he reverted to green manure and compost and his production grew again. I mention this because most of us are apt to pin our faith on artificial fertilizers and forget the vital need of manure, etc. Fertilizers

are useful and should be used but only if they are supplemented adequately by green manure and compost. At present, the Madras State has a higher yield of production per acre than almost any State in India. This is largely due to the widespread use of green manure.

10. Then there is the question of good seeds. I am afraid that our organization has not dealt with this question at all adequately and many of these good seeds are wasted or are sold in the market, sometimes in the black market. I doubt if we can remedy this from the top. Indeed, almost everything connected with farming has to begin from the bottom up, that is, from the farmer, although the right type of organization and institutions are necessary. The community development movement was meant to supply this apparatus and I have no doubt that it has done a vast deal of good to the country. And yet we must confess that much of this good has been washed away in many ways and has not taken root. I suppose that the key man in our community development blocks is the Block Development Officer and next to him the Gram Sevak. I believe that on the whole our B.D.Os. are good or at least 50% of them are quite good. I am not so sure of the Gram Sevaks though there are many good people there.

11. Our new programme of agrarian reform and advance is generally welcomed. And yet, at the back of this general welcome, there is often a note of apprehension as to what it may lead to. This apprehension has been encouraged by many of our critics and opponents. And so, people imagine that all this means their expropriation or collective farming which will deprive many of their incentives and their share in the profits and there will be full State control. Also our cooperative ventures, limited as they were in the past, were not always successful due to mismanagement or inexperience. We have to rid the people of these apprehensions; we have to give them training in co-operation and we have to make them feel that far from State intrusion in everything, we want to lessen the official element everywhere. We want

to rely on our farmers, realizing that they will make mistakes. Only thus can that spirit of self-reliance grow.

12. But these fears and apprehensions will not wholly disappear by our explanations and fervent appeals. The best way to convince a farmer, or indeed anybody, is to set a good example for him to see. Therefore, we should concentrate on such examples in every block and thus develop our own pattern of cooperatives and joint farming. The success of these pilot projects will spread confidence all over the countryside. That success will depend upon the training we give and thus this business of training becomes one of vital importance. In these selected villages, we should have at least one competent person, Gram Sevak or other, and a trained volunteer. At present, our Gram Sevaks are spread out over a large area. That was inevitable, but in the selected villages we shall have to have a more intensive outlook. Above all, we must not push the officials everywhere.

13. During the last two or three months, we have noticed a strange phenomenon. We have had two good harvests and there should be an abundance of food and prices should go down. In fact, prices have seldom gone down and in some places they have gone up. Deliveries of foodgrains to *mandis* and the like have been much smaller than even in the years of scarcity. Everyone admits that there is plenty to go round and everyone also admits that there is a great deal of hoarding among farmers who apparently expect that by these tactics they can force the prices to go up. The bigger people and the millers, etc. are often more to blame. The result has been that many States which are heavily surplus, complain of not having enough and demand more and more allotments from the Centre. It is obvious that the Centre cannot oblige them. The Centre only gets its supplies from the surplus States and to some extent from abroad. If the surplus States fail to do their duty, then the Centre will inevitably fail also.

14. Our Food and Agriculture Ministry at the Centre has the responsibility to deal with the situation. But as this

question is of great importance, we have all to share this responsibility and I have paid a good deal of attention to this matter. I have been more and more surprised at the attitude taken up by some of the surplus States.³ Far from fulfilling their obligations and acting up to their promises, they put forward the most extraordinary excuses and indeed demand more help. The Central Government does not function on basis of magic or a belief in the stars.

15. It is clear that, for a variety of reasons, there is a combined effort to defeat our policies by holding on to stocks. If we surrendered to this attack, then indeed the picture would be dark. We have no intention to surrender and we shall hold to our policy. I would appeal to all the States and, more especially, the surplus States to think in these larger terms and not to submit to pressure tactics from special groups or, for fear of some agitation, to refrain from doing their obvious duty. In a year like the present, when the harvest has been very good, it is astonishing to be told that wheat or rice cannot be procured in adequate quantity. Who or what comes in the way? Whoever or whatever it might be, it should be removed even if strong measures have to be taken. We are a Government with certain responsibilities. If we are pushed hither and thither by pressure groups, then we do not deserve to be a Government.

16. There is some complaint made about the zonal system in regard to foodgrains. A zonal system can only function satisfactorily if there is co-operation between the various States. If each State pulls in a different direction, then trouble results and there is unhappiness for many. Here, as elsewhere, the approach should be of dealing with the

3. For example, in Andhra Pradesh prices of foodgrains rose though it was a surplus State chiefly because of smuggling from Andhra to other deficit States in the South Zone, and the unsatisfactory method of procurement of rice and other foodgrains adopted by the Centre.

problem of India as a whole. We cannot allow some millers or wholesalers or other vested interests to obstruct and undermine our policies.

17. Why then are not effective steps taken to get these stocks out? We have enough powers under the existing laws; only we do not exercise them. The time has come when those powers should be fully exercised in the interests of the community and anti-social elements should be proceeded against with vigour.

18. It is pointed out that the zonal system comes in the way of State trading. There is some truth in this, unless of course there is full co-operation between the States. I think that ultimately the zonal system will have to go and each State might well become a zone. But, in the existing state of affairs, when some of the States think of themselves and no one else, it is peculiarly difficult to put an end to this system unless each State pulls itself up. The result would be some kind of a collapse. The Centre certainly cannot feed the whole of India when the States do not provide it with the wherewithal to do so. For the present, therefore, there is no escape from the zonal system, but I think it will have to go later. But one fact should be remembered; when the zonal system goes, it will have to be replaced by the strictest discipline in food procurement, maintenance of prices, building up of large stocks, etc. Any laxity then would mean disaster. I should like you to think about these various aspects of this problem and to try to place yourself in the position of the Central Government. It really is quite absurd for any State which has had a bumper crop to be helpless before some vested group or interest and not to be able to procure adequately. We must build up very large stocks. If we have to fight the hoarders and the vested interests, we shall do so with vigour.

19. You will remember my mentioning at the National Development Council as well as in some of my previous letters to you of the very successful experiment in the reclamation of saline *usar* lands which was conducted at

Banthra farm near Lucknow.⁴ That has ceased to be an experiment. It is a fact definitely established. The other day, a person⁵ experienced in cooperatives and agriculture who came from Israel was much struck by this Banthra farm. He said that in Israel they adopted many such practices because they did not believe that any land, however bad it appeared to be, should be considered as incapable of being cultivated. All that was required was science and effort and indeed in Israel they have brought into cultivation the desert and the most unpromising lands.

20. I think that that principle should apply here also. I have no doubt that vast areas of so-called *usar* land in India can be converted into good cultivable land. I have seen this done. What I am amazed at is the slowness at which we take advantage of opportunities. We are constantly thinking of some big machine, bull-dozer and the like, for reclaiming forests, etc., and we do not adopt a simple cheap method of reclamation. Have we lost all our bearings?

21. You may have seen recently the report of the Ford Foundation's team which came to India some months ago to study our food production.⁶ They have given a somewhat alarming report saying that unless we made rapid progress by 1965, millions in India will be starving and no quantity of food in the world will be able to help them adequately. There has been great display of this report in foreign papers—"India on the verge of terrible famine". I think that this report is somewhat exaggerated and unnecessarily pessimistic. But it is well that they have pointed out these dangers

4. The Banthra Research Station was set up under the supervision of the National Botanical Gardens of Lucknow in 1957.

5. Dr. Divon, agricultural economist from Israel, met Nehru on 21 May 1959.

6. The team submitted to the Government in April 1959 its report on India's food crisis and the proposed steps to meet it.

and I wish we realized this. As you know, I am all for family planning and birth control and an attempt to reduce the rate of population growth in India, but I am convinced that whatever the population growth, our food production can increase more rapidly. If we only try hard enough, our yield per acre can be doubled or trebled and there are still these vast *usar* lands and semi-desert areas which can produce enormous quantities of food.

22. I am inclined to think that apart from our general attack on the food front everywhere, we should build up a certain number of State farms which will supply a considerable quantity of foodgrains. If we did this, then we could be assured of meeting any contingency or emergency from our own stocks. There will be no need for procurement and the like then. We have built up one huge State farm in Rajasthan—the Suratgarh farm.⁷ We might have many more like that in those desert areas and we might take over some of the biggish functioning farms elsewhere and make them into State farms instead of splitting them up into small units. The present owners of these farms could continue to be associated with them. Thus we could build up our own State supplies in a large way and become independent not only of the monsoon, but any other contingency. This would be apart from our general policy of having small holdings linked together in cooperatives.

23. I have been talking about foodgrains. Take sugar also. We have increased our sugar production at a great pace, although this year's production is slightly lower than last year's.⁸ Even so, it is more than adequate. But we see

7. A mechanized agricultural farm was set up with assistance from the Soviet Union at Suratgarh in 1956.

8. Sugar production in 1958-59 was 19.19 lakh tons as against 19.78 lakh tons in 1957-58, the decline being largely due to more sugarcane being used to produce *gur* and *khandsari*.

hoarding again and an attempt to push up prices. The factories and the wholesalers and others all play this game and we appear to watch helplessly. A government that is helpless progressively ceases to be government. A government that cannot deal with obvious anti-social elements has surrendered to them and can have no credit or effectiveness.

24. It may interest you to know that a wild and rather spiky shrub which, I think, exists as a weed all over India can be used as a good fertilizer. The Latin name for this is *Argemone mexicana*. It exists from the plains upto about 5,000 feet on the hills. It is a herbaceous annual which apparently came from Central America to India some time back and now grows wild here. The seeds of this plant contain some oil which can be used for the soap industry. But what is more important is that the whole plant, if dried and powdered, can be used as a manure for increasing the fertility of the land. This it does by lowering the alkalinity and by adding nitrogen and other essential elements to the soil. Our Council of Agricultural Research is examining this matter still further. I would suggest to your Agricultural Department to do likewise. I do not suggest that you should encourage the cultivation of this weed, but that you should use it where it is available. Thus, you get rid of the weed and get good fertilizer instead. If you want further particulars about this, you can ask your Agricultural Department to address our Ministry of Agriculture.

25. The other day there was a meeting in Delhi of a high-powered committee on public co-operation.⁹ Eminent people came to it from all over India and many useful suggestions were made. But I was struck by one very disheartening factor. Everywhere and from every source or

9. The National Advisory Committee on Public Co-operation met on 22 and 23 May 1959 at New Delhi.

voluntary organization there came the demand of more and more Government help. This help was wanted for offices, buildings, staff, transport, etc. In organizing their staff they took the Government to some extent as their pattern and similar rules of salaries and allowances were kept in view. In travelling allowances also, the approach was similar. In fact, these voluntary organizations which no doubt did very good work, were becoming appendages and pale copies of the Government apparatus, depending very largely or entirely on Government help. They were losing thereby their essential voluntary character and self-dependence.

26. This is a widespread phenomenon and I think it is very harmful. Quite apart from the fact that Government cannot pour out money everywhere, and it has not got limitless resources, this conversion of self-reliance into dependence is thoroughly bad. Thereby we are sapping at the roots of our work and bringing in State interference and control in place where it should be least needed and where it may well be harmful. Even in the community development movement we are constantly laying stress on public co-operation and self-reliance. We want to lessen the official element progressively and now we see that even the purely voluntary organizations depend on Government assistance. Also, their methods of work become more expensive. They want more adequate offices, more staff, more office equipment, more telephones, more jeeps, etc.

27. I am alarmed at this development. I see this tendency everywhere and even in our social service organizations. People can hardly move today without a jeep. I can well understand the utility of a jeep but I am convinced that this method of work comes in the way of our contact with the masses of our people. We live apart in a world of offices, telephones and jeeps. We rush about and imagine we are doing a great deal of work, but we will not touch the core of the problem with jeeps and the like in the villages.

28. I cannot help remembering the days when many of us functioned a great deal in the villages carrying the message

of the Congress. In the twenties and thirties we had no big offices. We certainly had no jeeps and had never heard of them. We did not usually have loudspeakers. Our staffs were very limited and most workers were honorary. Even the paid staff worked at a great sacrifice and on a small pittance. We went about often on foot, sometimes on bicycles. And, yet, with all these disabilities we shook this country and more especially the lakhs of our villagers. This was done in opposition to the then Government and in spite of their obstruction. Now with all the great advantages that we possess and the help and co-operation of Government, we still remain far off from the core of the problem. We live in a world of offices, conferences, seminars and sometimes public meetings giving good advice. We move about in cars and jeeps and seldom succeed in creating an impression on the people in rural areas whom we seek to serve.

29. What is wrong? It is correct that conditions are different and we cannot repeat that exciting period when we were fighting for our independence and the nation was afire under the magic influence of Gandhiji. But still we should not go quite so far away from our old methods and become so helpless in our dependence on the Government apparatus. If this constant demand for help from Government continues from every quarter, there will hardly be any voluntary effort left in India. The roots of self-reliance will dry up.

30. I am merely posing the problem, not answering it. But I do feel strongly about it. We cannot function from a different world to that of the masses of our people. New Delhi is, of course, quite different and I know that I live in this entirely different world. I am a prisoner of circumstances like most of us. But, at any rate, let us not try to create more prisoners of this type. Since the old days we have advanced in many ways and our peasantry are undoubtedly better as a whole. They are better fed, they are better clothed, many have better houses and other amenities. Today the bicycle has become quite a common method of moving about even in the villages. We have in fact slowly caught up in our villages to the bicycle age. We must, therefore, make the

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bicycle our main vehicle of transport. When we catch up to the jeep in this large way and when we make the jeeps ourselves then let us use the jeeps also. For the present, the jeep cuts us off from the villager to a large extent and every jeep represents a foreign exchange element. Let us give up this passion for jeeps.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
2 July, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you last on the eve of the planning seminar that was held at Ootacamund. That seminar was sponsored by the All India Congress Committee, but many eminent persons who are not members of the Congress Party were invited to it and took a very important part in its deliberations. The seminar split up into a number of committees which had long discussions and presented their reports which were considered by the full body. These reports have not been published yet, and only some kind of a general statement was, I think, issued to the press.¹

2. The seminar did not presume to lay down any fixed and rigid policy for our next Plan. The main purpose was to discuss the various problems facing us in the context of planning and to make suggestions for consideration. I think that this seminar was eminently helpful and opened out several avenues of thinking. The general impression created was that the problems before us, though difficult, were

1. The statement of 5 June declared that the aim of the Plan was establishment of a socialist society through the process of a self-generating economy; sustained rate of increase of national income by 6 per cent annually for investment in capital goods industry and agriculture; mobilization of resources through public savings, taxation on a limited scale of surpluses accruing from investments in public enterprises, private savings and external borrowings; fulfilment of the primary needs of the people and provision of minimum social services; and parity in wages in public and private sectors, and reduction in income disparities.

certainly not incapable of solution. To some extent it dealt with general principles and the ideals we had aimed at, but far the greater part of the discussion was connected with practical approaches. Thus the question of resources was considered in considerable detail and many possibilities were discussed.

3. The proceedings of the seminar will now be considered by the Planning Committee of the A.I.C.C. and later by the A.I.C.C. itself. All this is helping in bringing about a practical and well thought out approach to our problems. Obviously the final decisions will have to be taken by Parliament which will consider the Planning Commission's tentative proposals. For the present, even the Planning Commission is not ready with these proposals. But it has given continuous and serious thought to all these various aspects. More particularly, the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission has produced a number of important papers and analyses, sometimes going carefully into details. We do not presume to be experts and to know everything about planning, but I think that there are not many countries which have given so much concentrated thought to planning in an under-developed country as we have done in India.

4. While this carefully thought out approach is taking place, there is, on the other hand, an argument going on about rural cooperatives. This argument is largely confined to the press and to some individuals. My own impression of the public mind generally, and more especially the peasant's mind, is that the great majority of them has welcomed the approach to cooperatives. Sometimes there is a little doubt as to what all this means and where it may lead one to, but wherever this has been explained, a good and favourable impression has been created.

5. I have often wondered why there should be this ferocity of attack on what are called the Nagpur resolutions of the

Congress. A new Party² has been formed under the distinguished leadership of Shri C. Rajagopalachari³ and a few Congressmen have spoken in support of it. It is astonishing that any one in the modern age should oppose cooperatives.⁴ The opposition is really against something else, and even in regard to cooperatives, our opponents go on saying something which is manifestly not true. Thus they say that this is the first step to collectives; that there is going to be compulsion, that farmers will be expropriated, and so on. Many of us have made it perfectly clear that there is no question of compulsion and certainly not of collectives. The whole idea of cooperatives is based on the voluntary principle. Any attempt to compel people is bound to lead to failure. In any event, we are concentrating now on service cooperatives, though we have made it clear that we would like the next step to be that of cooperative farming, with the ownership of the farmer remaining intact.

6. As a matter of fact, I have been discouraging, to some extent, an eager rush towards cooperative farming. I have explained that this requires training and unless there are trained persons, it would be unwise to take it up. We must concentrate, therefore, on training. I have suggested that the first step in cooperative farming, apart from training,

2. A meeting of the All India Agricultural Federation presided over by C. Rajagopalachari at Madras on 4 June decided to call a convention in Ahmedabad on 1 and 2 August to form a broad-based Conservative Party to oppose the Congress. Next day, Rajagopalachari christened the new Party as Swatantra Party.

3. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 141.

4. Rajagopalachari, speaking at Madras on 25 June, said that irrespective of the results produced by the cooperatives, they would prove to be a disaster as the farmer would have lost his individuality. K.M. Munshi, on the same day, said that "introduction of cooperatives was nothing short of totalitarianism being forced on India", and N.G. Ranga thought that cooperatives would lead to "tyranny of Statism."

should be the selection of a number of villages in India where, conditions being favourable and the people willing, cooperative farms may be started. That will be a practical demonstration, and its results will, no doubt, influence the peasantry.

7. A year or two ago, there was considerable argument about the size of these rural cooperatives.⁵ Some people were of opinion that a viable cooperative should be a fairly large one comprising about twenty villages or so; others were firmly attached to each village having a cooperative. Broadly speaking, this debate has ended in favour of the village cooperative, though some exceptions have been envisaged. There is now a tendency to suggest that the cooperative might be even smaller than the village, that is, there might be more than one cooperative in a village. I see that one of our eminent economists has suggested this. Only three days ago, I was present at a large conference of *panches* and *sarpanches* from various parts of the Punjab. Instead of speaking to them, I invited them to tell us what their views were and their difficulties. The gathering was a very representative one. There was almost unanimous approval of the idea of cooperative farming. Oddly enough, one of the points raised was if there could be a cooperative in part of a village. There seemed to be some considerable opinion in favour of this.

5. The second Five Year Plan favoured large-sized primary cooperative societies as recommended by The Rural Credit Survey Committee of the Reserve Bank of India in 1954. Sir Malcolm Darling, an ex-registrar of the cooperative societies in Punjab, on a visit to India in 1957, argued in favour of smaller cooperatives, with each cooperative confined to a village. The question was discussed at the conference on community development in May 1958 and the National Development Council in November 1958 which recommended that cooperatives be set up with the village as a primary unit. In May 1959, the idea of large-sized cooperatives with State participation was deferred and the National Development Council decided in favour of smaller cooperatives.

8. Conditions differ so much in various parts of the country that any rigid rule or attempt at uniformity does not appear to be desirable. The broad principle should be accepted and applied according to circumstances and the wishes of the people concerned. I do not see any reason why, where necessary, a village should not have more than one cooperative.

9. The Punjab, more than any State, is a land of very sturdy and tough peasant proprietors. Generally speaking, they have more land per capita than elsewhere in India. It came to me, therefore, as a welcome surprise how these representatives of the peasant farmers from all over the State spoke enthusiastically about cooperatives and even went further and favoured cooperative farming. If that is so in the Punjab, then it is likely to be even more so in other parts of India where the holdings are smaller.

10. To come back to the new Swatantra Party. I think the formation of this Party is all to the good. It clarifies the atmosphere and makes people think more clearly. Most of our political parties, including the Congress, tend to become rather amorphous in their thinking. Where the principal aim was political independence, this did not matter much, but where we have to consider economic and social problems, it is desirable to have greater clarity and precision. This process is hastened by the formation of the Swatantra Party even though that Party is singularly lacking in possessing clear ideas. It is a negative Party and its chief urge is just opposition to any kind of social or economic reform and, more particularly, dislike of the Congress. The name suggested for it at first by Rajaji, that is, "Conservative Party", was probably more appropriate, but names do not make much difference; it is the content that counts, and the content of this is to prevent change and to hold fast to existing institutions. The future frightens it and the reaction, therefore, is to hold on to the old with the passion that often accompanies old established vested interests. No one belonging to this Party has, to my knowledge, put forward

any positive or constructive proposal to deal with the present economic situation in India.

11. Such a Party has obviously no future in India. It is merely a diversion. It will attract some of the conservative elements, including the communal organizations and, of course, some of the bigger vested interests in land or industry. It will probably play on some of the deep-rooted conservative instincts of people and bring religion into the picture. It will avoid any sustained argument as to what should be done. Not for it is the kind of organized thinking which was represented at the Ootacamund seminar.

12. I have written to you previously about the urgency of our trying to reclaim *usar* or saline lands and pointed out that this can be done without any great expenditure. We do not require bulldozers and heavy machines for this purpose. It is a relatively simple operation which pays dividends quickly. Food production in India can be made to grow at a rapid pace if we bring these millions of acres into cultivation. Our Food and Agriculture Ministry has appointed a committee to go into this matter of *usar* lands.⁶ That is good but there is no reason why we should wait for the recommendations of this committee. One considerable advantage of bringing these new lands under cultivation is that we can give them to landless labour in many places.

13. In the course of our discussions at Ootacamund, emphasis was laid on one aspect of our development schemes; this was economy in construction. Some time back, there was an inquiry on behalf of the Planning Commission on this subject.⁷ All these inquiries have led to the result that

6. The Wastelands Survey and Reclamation Committee on location and utilization of wastelands was appointed on 28 June 1959.

7. A committee to consider economy in costs and consumption of materials in the construction of buildings, headed by S.K. Patil, submitted its report in June 1958.

we can easily save large sums of money on construction. We adhere to old designs and practices which have been discarded in other countries. We use too much of steel. Even Mr. Khrushchev, when he came here, pointed this out to us. We have too many and too thick walls when smaller partition should be adequate. We have unnecessary embellishments. It has been calculated that an immediate saving can be made of 15 per cent of the cost of construction and probably this would be even greater with an effort. Our building of large hospitals is peculiarly out of date and unnecessarily expensive.

14. Recently, there was considerable distress in Calcutta and parts of Bengal over the availability and price of foodgrains. There was even a one-day general strike to express people's resentment.⁸ The West Bengal Government removed some of its controls and almost immediately foodgrains flowed into the market and relieved the situation. This showed up that it is not lack of foodgrains so much as a measure of hoarding, chiefly by farmers, that created that scarcity. It is undoubtedly true that our food production during the last two seasons has been good and has touched 73 million tons, the highest on record. But this does not mean that food is easily available everywhere. In West Bengal especially, the production was a little less than in the previous year. Even that was kept back by the farmers in the hope probably of getting higher prices. The question thus becomes one of proper administration and not so much of lack of foodgrains.

15. You must have heard of the tremendous and terrible floods that have descended upon Assam, more especially in the Cachar and Kamrup Districts. No one yet knows what the ultimate damage will be, but it is bound to be very great. The first problem for us to face has been to rescue and to feed

8. On 21 June 1959.

the people who have been completely isolated by these floods. Our Army and Air Force have gone into action and rendered very valuable assistance. This great calamity demands help from all over India. The Governor⁹ of Assam has opened a relief fund, and I hope that people everywhere will contribute to it generously.

16. I went to Jabalpur recently¹⁰ to be present on the occasion of the first military truck¹¹ coming out of the Ordnance Factory there. This was a fine truck and it was heartening to see the enthusiasm of the engineers and other workers who had built it. The contract with a German firm for this construction was entered into in September last. It took three or four months to get things going and to prepare for the manufacture of the truck. Since then work was done with rapidity, and now new trucks are rolling out at the rate, I think, of over three a day. The monthly production figure is over a hundred and this can easily be increased. Even at this initial stage, 37 per cent of the truck is manufactured in India. Next year it will be 50 per cent and gradually it will reach 90 per cent or more. This is a fine piece of work doing great credit to our Army engineers and technicians. I do not know of any private firm which can rival this record in speed or efficiency.

17. Some little time ago, the Dalai Lama held a press conference in Mussoorie, and made a strong and moving

9. Syed Fazl Ali (1886-1959). Judge, Patna High Court, 1928-46, and Chief Justice, 1938, and 1943-46; Judge, Federal Court, 1947-50 and of Supreme Court, 1950-52; Governor of Orissa, 1952-54; Chairman, States Reorganization Commission, 1954-55; Governor of Assam, 1955-59.

10. 21 June 1959.

11. Named as *Shaktiman*.

statement about Tibet.¹² It was not at our instance that he made it and I saw it only when it appeared in the newspapers. There are some parts of that statement which might have created wrong impressions in the minds of people. Soon after, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan¹³ delivered various speeches and issued some statements on Tibet.¹⁴ I am afraid we do not agree with much that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has said. We have made it clear that we do not and cannot recognize any separate Government of Tibet under the leadership of the Dalai Lama here. We do not understand also how it is feasible for the matter to be raised in the United Nations when the U.N. does not even recognize the People's Government of China, and more or less treats it as a hostile country. The U.N. cannot have it both ways, to ignore China and at the same time to condemn it.

18. I now come to a very important and distressing development in India, that is Kerala.¹⁵ I went there¹⁶ recently

12. On 20 June, the Dalai Lama said that the repression and barbarities perpetrated on the Tibetan people were not only subversive of their culture and traditions but also in violation of the Sino-Tibetan agreement of 1951 which, even when signed under duress, was still an agreement between two sovereign States. He added that he had returned from India in 1956 on Nehru's advice and had always stood for a peaceful and amicable settlement with China which should guarantee "maintenance of the status and the rights of our State and people exercised prior to 1950."

13. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 51.

14. Jayaprakash Narayan called upon the Government to recognize the Dalai Lama's Government, raise the Tibetan issue in the United Nations, and exert moral pressure on China to stop her expansionist policy.

15. A civil disobedience campaign was launched on 12 June 1959 by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, the Praja Socialist Party, the Muslim League and Bharatiya Jan Sangh demanding resignation of the Communist Government in Kerala for its failure to maintain law and order and for promulgating the Education Act meant to regulate private educational institutions in Kerala. A parallel agitation against the Education Act was also launched by the Roman Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. The two campaigns resulted in numerous clashes between demonstrators and the police in which several people were killed.

16. From 22 to 25 June 1959.

and spent three days in Trivandrum. I do not think any one who has not been to Kerala recently can form a full picture of the state of affairs there. I found something approaching hysteria. Strong passions had been roused and, in effect, Kerala is divided into two solid groups, those opposing and those supporting the Kerala State Government. There is no real contact between them and there are practically no neutrals left. Quite apart from the background of this agitation, or the merits of any dispute, the major fact is of this bitter conflict between these solid groups. It was difficult to reason or to convince anyone of the necessity for moderation in language and action. The whole trend was towards more bitter conflict.

19. I asked the Ministers of the State Government how they had managed to raise this tremendous hostility towards them. They gave various answers and said that the Catholic Bishops were behind it or some communal bodies or vested interests, etc. All this was undoubtedly true, but I thought that this was only part of the picture. The feeling I noticed was too deep and too widespread to be explained in this way. I suggested some approaches to one or two matters of controversy, like the Education Act.¹⁷ To some extent, the State Government agreed to my proposal. I am rather sorry that some other organizations there who had specially agitated against the Education Act have not thus far accepted this suggestion and have made counter suggestions about the Act which do not seem to be reasonable. But the fact of the matter is that the Education Act as well as other

17. Under this Act, the Government on 16 April 1959 prohibited students and teachers from participation in any agitation against the State; ordered that moral instruction in schools should in no way wound the social or religious susceptibilities of the pupils; disallowed use of public funds for religious instruction; and gave power for selection of all teachers by the public service commission.

matters of old controversy have gone into the background over the major issue of a basic conflict. In the circumstances, I felt that the only peaceful way out of this deadlock was to have general elections in the State.

20. Soon after my return to Delhi, there was a meeting of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board,¹⁸ and for three days they discussed this matter. Representatives of the Kerala Congress were invited as also some Chief Ministers. You will have seen the resolution¹⁹ they passed which in effect suggested general elections. So far as the Government is concerned, we shall carefully watch developments there. As I have repeatedly said, we are reluctant to intervene. At the same time, we cannot ignore these serious developments. All we can do at present is to watch, giving such advice as we can from time to time, and determine our action in accordance with developments.

21. One important question has arisen in connection with what is happening in Kerala. This is about “direct action”, and more particularly about picketing. I am convinced that direct action, as it is called, is normally undesirable. It may be that in some kind of a local affair, limited direct action might perhaps be permissible. But broadly speaking, it seems to me out of place in a democratic structure. As for picketing, this has two histories. One is connected with labour strikes and is well-known in Western countries. In our country, during our freedom struggle, picketing was resorted to on occasions against foreign cloth or liquor. The present picketing going on in Kerala is not at all to my liking. So far as schools are concerned, I am strongly

18. On 29 June 1959.

19. The resolution, while pressing for general elections, called upon the State Government to defer implementation of the Education Act, described the closure of private schools as “unfortunate”, and criticized picketing of Government offices and stopping of public transport.

opposed to picketing by boys and girls to prevent others from attending them. I am equally strongly opposed to the type of picketing which means stopping transport vehicles by lying down in front of them. Indeed this is hardly picketing.

22. The third kind of picketing that has taken place in Kerala is what is called “token picketing” before Collectors’ offices. I dislike this also, and I think it was unfortunate that this was started. I must say that by and large this picketing has been peaceful. I would add though that I have seldom come across such unrestrained language as is used in the Kerala newspapers and in public speeches there. I was deeply pained to read this.

23. Having started this picketing of Collectors’ offices in the strained and highly electric atmosphere of Kerala, a new situation was created. I would have liked this picketing to be withdrawn completely, but I realized that any such firm direction may well have led not to a stoppage of that picketing but its continuation in a wholly irresponsible manner without any restraint or order and in a much larger way. That was a practical problem that faced us. Sometimes theory has to be limited by practice. The advice we ventured to give was that on no account should there be any picketing of schools or of transport vehicles. In regard to Collectors’ offices, an attempt should be made gradually to withdraw it and to divert people’s energies in some other form of peaceful agitation. I recognized that this was some kind of a compromise but in the circumstances existing in Kerala, I could think of no other way.

24. Even our advice relating to the stoppage of picketing of schools and transport buses has not been followed by some groups. This is unfortunate. I hope, however, that gradually it will seep into people’s minds that these methods should be given up. Meanwhile the situation in Kerala continues to be difficult and always on the verge of a worse development. I am particularly distressed at children and boys and girls being involved in it. I would hope that the proposal made to

have general elections will be accepted by the people concerned and would lead to a stoppage of the present forms of agitation and a diversion to what might be called the normal election campaign.

25. To come to more pleasant topics. Recently²⁰ I visited Chail, a beautiful mountain resort in the Punjab, where a new institute has been started. On my way, I stopped at a Children's Holiday Home which, I think, is controlled by the Indian Council for Child Welfare. There is another such Home at Taradevi near Simla. Very fine houses have been placed at the disposal of these Homes, one of them belonging to the Maharaja of Patiala. The Punjab Government has helped greatly. Hundreds of children from the lower income groups are brought there to spend a month and it was delightful to see these boys and girls enjoying themselves among these mountains.

26. There are other such Holiday Homes also, one of them being at Mount Abu. I would draw your particular attention to this scheme for Holiday Homes for children. There are, I suppose, many old palaces and big houses in various parts of the country which are not being used by their owners and which indeed are a bit of a burden on them. It might be possible for them to be induced to give these old palaces and houses for Children's Holiday Homes. The cost of maintenance need not be great and the resultant in happy and healthy children would be tremendous. It might be possible to share these Holiday Homes partly with the Youth Hostel Movement or Scouts and Guides. There are also large properties in many hill stations which are long unused or are only used for a month or two in a year. I commend this proposal to your earnest attention.

27. I have not referred to international events in this letter, chiefly because I do not know what to say about them. The Geneva talks between the Foreign Ministers have been suspended.²¹ There will be another meeting within two

20. On 19 and 20 June 1959.

21. On 29 June 1959 after six weeks of deliberations.

weeks' time.²² At present, the two sides stand apart and there appears to be no meeting ground. What the next effort will bring, I do not know, but it must be remembered that the outlook is a very serious one and the prospect of war and peace in the future depends upon this.

28. I am sorry to say that I do not feel very fresh and my mind is a little stale. My health is quite good, but I do feel that some kind of a change and rest will do me good. I am, therefore, thinking of going to Kashmir for a week.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. It met again from 13 July 1959.

New Delhi
16 July, 1959

I am enclosing a note which I am sending to my colleagues in the Central Government. I am sharing this with you as many of these points to which I have referred apply as much to State Governments as to the Central Government. I feel that we should try to introduce more simplicity in our functions and in our travelling.

2. I should like to draw your special attention to one particular matter. If I go on tour to a State, it is neither necessary nor desirable for a large number of Ministers and officials to give up their work and assemble to welcome me. Sometimes they even accompany me on my tour. I suggest that only one Minister and one or two local officials might meet me on my arrival. I do not wish to disturb the work of others. This would apply to other Central Ministers also.

3. When travelling by road, I have found that a large number of cars accompany me. This seems to me not only wasteful but even otherwise undesirable. There is no need for crowds of people, including Ministers and officials, to accompany me. It is bad enough for the security people to take up a lot of room, and I want to limit their numbers too.

Jawaharlal Nehru

* A note circulated to all Chief Ministers.

*Enclosure**

A colleague of mine has drawn my attention to a recommendation of our Economy Board. This Board has pointed out that there is much room for effecting economies in governmental expenditure incurred on the holding of inaugural functions of various kinds. I entirely agree with this suggestion.

2. Some of these functions of our major projects have certainly a publicity value and it is right that we should draw the attention of the public to them. But, what usually happens is that a large number of people are invited from outside to these functions. Arrangements for their stay have to be made, travelling allowances have to be paid, and a great deal of other expenditure incurred. I think that there is much room for economy on these occasions, and there is no need to invite large numbers of people to them. Apart from economy the effect on the public will also be good. I would, therefore, commend this to your attention.

3. There are so many other ways also for economizing. There are some old customary procedures which are no longer necessary or desirable, but through sheer habit, we carry on with them. I would request you to examine these, more especially when you are on tour. There should be as little fuss as possible in the course of the tours of Ministers, and it should be made clear that State Ministers and officials need not leave their normal work merely to welcome Ministers from the Centre. Only such as are connected with the work in hand need come.

4. I have always felt that our security arrangements are

* A note dated 16 July 1959 circulated to all Union Ministers at the Centre.

needlessly complicated. I am, of course, the most guilty person in this respect, and I have been struggling against this for years without too much effect. I propose to continue to protest and struggle. Other Ministers, I hope, will also reduce these to the absolute minimum.

5. There is the aspect of expenditure and there is also the aspect of showiness. The former should be limited and the latter given up altogether as far as possible. There is now a progressive resentment in the public about anything that might be considered showy in regard to Ministers. This is a healthy reaction which we should respect.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
26 July, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you know, there has been a good deal of discussion during recent months about cooperatives and, more particularly, cooperative farming. Some people apparently think that these subjects have been suddenly thrust upon the public. You know well that this is not so and these questions have been discussed at some length in our Five Year Plans. I would particularly refer you to the Second Plan, Chapter XI on land reform and agrarian reorganization. In the course of this Chapter, cooperative farming is discussed, paragraph 52 onwards.

But I should like to draw your attention particularly to the Congress election manifestos where there has been specific reference to these matters. This occurs in all the three Congress election manifestos of 1945, 1951 and 1957. I am attaching a paper giving extracts¹ from these three Congress election manifestos which, I am sure, will interest you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. See enclosure.

*Enclosure**Extracts from Congress Election Manifestos*

1945—“The reform of the land system which is so urgently needed in India involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should, therefore, be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualist farming or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of cooperative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however, be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental cooperative farms should be organized with State help in various parts of India. There should also be large State farms for demonstrative and experimental purpose.”

1951—“Increased agricultural production is absolutely essential for putting our national economy on a firm basis. Small and uneconomic holdings stand in the way of rapid advance in agricultural production. The line of advance should therefore be cooperative farming with the objective of making the whole or a substantial part of a village, a unit of cooperative management.”

1957—“On the land, all intermediaries must be progressively removed, so that land is owned by the cultivator himself. The principle of ceilings on land has been accepted and should be progressively introduced, so as to bring about a better distribution of land. Mechanized agriculture may be useful in some areas, but, in view of the man-power available and often not fully used, it is desirable to encourage

intensified methods of cultivation on a cooperative basis. It is of the highest importance from every point of view that production should increase. This is the surest way of adding to the country's resources and of combating inflation."

New Delhi
1 October, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

It is almost exactly two months now since I wrote to you what is supposed to be my fortnightly letter. It is not for lack of material or of outstanding events that I have not written to you during this long period. Indeed these two months have been heavy with a succession of events, both in our national sphere and in international affairs, which have often cast a great burden on us. The brief session of Parliament was full of exciting developments, as you well know.¹

2. Why then did I not write to you? I was, of course, very heavily occupied, but that has not been a reason previously for my ignoring a well-established practice. I suppose that the only adequate reason I can give is that I could not develop the mood to write, or perhaps the leisure to do so, for often it is the leisure which produces the mood. I had much to tell you and much to consult you about. It is true that we met sometimes such as at the meeting of the National Development Council or at other Committee meetings, and we corresponded separately on many occasions. But that is not enough, and indeed it would be a pity if this practice of writing fortnightly letters fell into disuse. I do not particularly like to make these letters a record of events about which you can easily read in the newspapers. Nor do I want them to be just exhortations addressed to you and others. They were

1. The monsoon session from 3 August to 12 September 1959 dealt among other subjects with the Central intervention in Kerala, the official language question, the food problem, and the Chinese policy in Tibet.

meant to be rather intimate discussions about national and international happenings, something which brought our minds nearer to each other. I see no reason why I should write to you just formal letters on such occasions repeating what has been said elsewhere.

3. Week after week has passed and the fortnightly letter has not been written and, as often happens, if an error is committed once, it is apt to be repeated. And so I allowed these weeks to pass, although always I had this business of writing to you in mind. But I just could not bring myself to do it; partly, no doubt I was struggling all the time with my daily activities and burden of work and by the time late at night I had dealt with these to some extent, I was too tired for anything requiring a fresh effort of the mind. So I went on postponing. Indeed, I would have done the same today and with some justification. It is late at night now, and I am leaving rather early in the morning for Rajasthan and Bombay and Poona.² Before I go to Palam, I am visiting Rajghat for the prayers there, as it is October 2nd tomorrow, the anniversary of Gandhiji's birth according to the Gregorian calendar. But suddenly this evening I felt that I must write to you even though the letter was brief and did not contain anything of great significance. I must break this long silence which was beginning to bear down upon me.

4. What a multitude of important events have taken place during these two months. There was the Kerala situation and the President's Proclamation in regard to that State;³

2. He visited Jaipur and Nagpur on 2-3 October, Bombay on 3-4 October, and Pune on 5-6 October 1959.

3. On 31 July 1959 the Legislative Assembly in Kerala was dissolved by President's Proclamation and the Central Government took over the administration of the State.

there were tremendous floods in various parts of the country;⁴ there was the food situation⁵ which, without being really bad, yet gave us much trouble; there was the big-scale rioting in Calcutta stated to be over the food situation there;⁶ there was a few days' excitement over the reported resignation of our Army Chief of Staff;⁷ there were difficulties and internal conflicts in some States;⁸ and there were the rapid and disturbing developments on our borders with Tibet-China.⁹

4. In September, the river Tapti threatened to enter Surat, Rajahmundry and surrounding areas were inundated by the river Godavari, the Mahanadi and its tributaries posed threat of floods in Orissa, and the Kosi and three smaller rivers in West Bengal had crossed the danger mark.

5. Food prices rose chiefly due to grain producers holding back their produce partly for their own increased use and also in the hope of getting higher prices for the saleable surplus. The scheme of State trading introduced in May 1959 had also led to clandestine sales outside the *mandis*.

6. The movement in August 1959 against the price rise which led to arrest of 80 persons including 17 members of the West Bengal Legislature under the Preventive Detention Act turned into mob violence in Calcutta on 31 August. Order was restored after four days.

7. General Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff, sent his resignation to the Prime Minister on 31 August, but was persuaded by Nehru to withdraw it.

8. 98 members of the Congress Legislative Party in U.P. had joined the Members of the Opposition in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha in proclaiming their lack of "full confidence" in the Government. On 8 August, the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad held demonstrations in Ahmedabad, Vadodhara and Nadiad demanding formation of Mahagujarat by 1 November 1959. In Punjab, the anti-ministerialist group in the Congress began to demand ouster of the Ministry headed by Pratap Singh Kairon.

9. At a press conference on 7 August, Nehru said that the Chinese were maintaining "a strange silence" over India's protests on the publication of the Chinese maps showing large parts of Indian territory as Chinese. On 29 August, the Lok Sabha was apprised of the concentration of large Chinese forces on the border of Sikkim and Bhutan and on 28 August, Nehru informed the Lok Sabha about border violations by the Chinese at three points in N.E.F.A.

5. I could write much about each of these, but many of these events are past history now and it would serve little purpose for me to deal with them in these letters. All of them, however, are not past history, and the border situation is a continuing one. You must have seen the White Paper that we issued about correspondence with the Chinese Government.¹⁰ I have very recently sent a long reply¹¹ to Premier Chou En-lai, and probably in the course of a few days, a copy of this reply will be sent to the press and sent to you separately. A little later, we hope to issue another White Paper containing some further correspondence, etc.

6. This tension that has arisen between India and China is, of course, of great concern to us. That does not mean that we should get alarmed in the present or fear any serious consequences. I do not think any such development is likely in the foreseeable future. But the basic fact remains that India and China have fallen out and, even though relative peace may continue at the frontier, it is some kind of an armed peace, and the future appears to be one of continuing tension. It is this future that troubles me because it will involve both a mental and a physical strain on our country, and it will somewhat come in the way of our basic policies.

10. On 7 September, Nehru placed on the tables of both Houses of Parliament a White Paper containing correspondence with the Chinese Government from April 1954 when the Sino-Indian Treaty was signed upto August 1959 when the Chinese incursion into Longju took place.

11. In reply to Zhou Enlai's letter of 8 September 1959, Nehru on 26 September categorically rejected China's claim over 40,000 square miles of Indian territory based on old Chinese maps. He however expressed India's willingness to settle peacefully specific cases of border disputes, and suggested maintenance of *status quo* by both sides pending settlement of disputes, and neutralization of Longju which was claimed by both sides. Nehru also listed numerous instances of Chinese violations of India's border since 1957 and drew attention to the massing of Chinese troops on Tibetan frontiers.

Those policies, I believe, have been correct and I see no reason whatever why we should vary them. At any time, any change in policy would have been wrong; at the present time, when the world appears to be moving towards a new adjustment aiming at peaceful settlements and possibly far-reaching disarmament, such a change in policy would be even more unfortunate and uncalled for. Therefore, I am convinced that we should hold to that policy. To some people, this may appear rather odd and not in conformity with the realities of the situation. That argument would mean that the policies we have pursued were temporary and opportunist and liable to change with changing situations. Undoubtedly, no policy should be rigid and inflexible; it has to be varied from time to time to fit in with objective realities. But if these policies were based on some firm principle, as I believe they were, then there should be no question of our discarding that principle for what appears to be some momentary and opportunist gain.

7. We have thus to continue those basic policies and, at the same time, show firmness in our dealing with frontier developments. No principle and no policy can be pursued through weakness or fear. I have no fear of China, great and powerful as that country is. China will undoubtedly grow in physical might. Even so, there is no need for us to be afraid and, indeed fear is never a good companion. But we shall have to be vigilant all the time and balance firmness with a continuation of our policy.

8. Behind all this frontier trouble, there appears to me to be a basic problem of a strong and united Chinese State, expansive and pushing out in various directions and full of pride in its growing strength. In Chinese history, this kind of thing has happened on several occasions. Communism as such is only an added element; the real reason should be found to lie deeper in history and in national characteristics. But it is true that never before have these two great countries, India and China, come face to face in some kind of a conflict. By virtue of their very size and their actual or potential

strength, there is danger in this situation, not danger in the present, but rather in the future. That danger may be minimized by other developments and by the world moving gradually towards peace. But the danger will still remain, partly because of the tremendous rate of increase of the population of the Chinese State. Apart from population, there has been and is a certain homogeneity among the Chinese people which probably we lack. I have no doubt, however, that in the face of danger there will be much greater cohesion in India than we have at present. Perhaps, that may be one of the good effects of this new and unfortunate development.

9. In any event, we have to be firm and vigilant and, at the same time, calm and restrained, and we must realize that real strength does not come from strong language, or even by the addition to our armed forces, but from the general development of our country, from industrialization in a big way and from unity. We come back, therefore, to the basic problem of India's growth and development through our Five Year Plans and the like. We are forced by circumstances to think in a big way and not to waste our national energy in relatively superficial activities and petty conflicts.

10. The tension between India and China has placed the Communist Party in a difficult and embarrassing position. That, of course, need not worry us, but we must appreciate this in its true shape. I am sure that there are many Communists who are deeply troubled at these developments because they are nationalists also.¹² There are other Communists who have apparently shed their nationalism and live in some theoretical atmosphere of outer space.¹³ The

12. For example, E.M.S. Namboodiripad had declared at a press conference in Jalandhur on 14 September that "if any country invades India the Communists will stand by their countrymen to fight back any aggression." On 26 September, Z.A. Ahmed expressed the same view.

13. S.A. Dange, the Communist leader, said in Bombay on 20 September that the Communist China had not committed any aggression against India and that "no Communist country will do that sort of a thing."

recent resolution¹⁴ of the Communist Party on the Sino-Indian controversy meant a victory for the latter group in the Communist Party. It was an amazing resolution from the nationalist point of view, and I have little doubt that it will pursue them and might even lead to a progressive disintegration of the Communist Party of India.

11. Minor controversies about the frontier might or might not be of importance. What we have to face, however, is something much deeper and more serious. This is a demand for considerable areas, more especially in the N.E.F.A. All this means the Chinese want to come down on this side of the Himalayan barrier. This has two vitally important aspects: one that if a foreign Power comes down on this side of the Himalayas, our basic security is greatly endangered; the other that a sentiment which has been the life-blood of India through past ages is shattered. That sentiment appertains to the Himalayas. As I said in Parliament,¹⁵ we are not going to make a gift of the Himalayas to anybody whatever the consequences. The Himalayas are perhaps a more vital part of India's thought and existence throughout the ages than almost anything else. They are vital for our security even in the present age of extra-modern weapons; they are vital for our cultural inheritance.

12. I have recently been to Afghanistan¹⁶ and Iran¹⁷ and am very happy that I went to these two countries which have

14. The resolution adopted at Calcutta on 25 September 1959 stated that "the Central Executive Committee takes the opportunity to reiterate emphatically that our party stands with the rest of the people for the territorial integrity of India and it shall be second to none in safeguarding it. But the Committee is confident that socialist China can never commit aggression against India, just as our country has no intention of aggression against China."

15. On 12 September 1959.

16. From 13 to 17 September 1959.

17. From 18 to 22 September 1959.

been connected with India for long ages past. It was pleasing to be welcomed by the people there, apart from the official welcome. I sensed how the people of these countries look towards India in rather a special way. We are not just any country, strong or weak, but a country with a special message in international affairs, which has been progressively appreciated in the rest of the world. Some Governments may not like us, but I think that the people in every country appreciate us and sometimes even look up to us. We do not speak the language of force or of cold war, and it is a pleasant change for them to notice this difference.

13. One thing I should like to mention especially. Nowhere in the world have I found such wonderful fruits as we had in Afghanistan. There were luscious grapes in tremendous variety, and peaches and pears and, above all, melons of a freshness and taste which were superb. I remembered the remarks which Babar made in his memoirs which he wrote after coming to India. The new empire of India did not make him forget these fruits of Ferghana and he stated sorrowfully how he missed these grapes and melons here.

14. We have just had a meeting¹⁸ of the All India Congress Committee at Chandigarh. Nowadays, the big newspapers are rather fond of criticizing the Congress and running it down. As a matter of fact, the Chandigarh Session of the All India Congress Committee was a particularly good one and the report¹⁹ of the Planning Sub-Committee is a very substantial contribution to the third Five Year Plan. It may be changed here and there, but the basic approach will, I

18. From 26 to 28 September 1959.

19. The report released on 6 September 1959 underlined the need for substantial increase in the national income to raise the level of living in the country; for rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industry; for a large expansion of opportunities for employment and wealth; and for more equitable distribution of economic power.

have no doubt, remain. It is necessary, however, to take this message to our people and explain it to them. This is of the highest importance.

15. In the present and the future, agricultural production and more especially food production are of the most vital consequence. Our new Minister²⁰ for Food and Agriculture has already written to you on this subject.²¹ I would commend your attention to what he has written and to the urgent necessity for producing results in the next *rabi* campaign. This requires an all-out effort. Unfortunately, there have been floods and there is drought in some parts of India. But we cannot allow ourselves to be deflected from our aim even by natural calamities. I wish you success in your endeavours.

16. As I am leaving Delhi early tomorrow morning, I shall not be able to sign this letter. You will please forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,

20. S.K. Patil (1900-1981). Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937-46; Mayor of Bombay, 1949-52; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67; Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, 1957, Transport and Communications, 1958-59, Food and Agriculture, 1959-63, Railways, 1964-67.

21. In his letter to Chief Ministers, S.K. Patil had said that "food production must be given the highest priority; it must have the sponsorship of our top leaders, both official and non-official."

New Delhi
16 October, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I have just returned from a brief four-day tour in Andhra Pradesh.¹ I found this visit to Andhra Pradesh heartening, and there was evidence of good progress being made in various directions. The meetings I addressed were very largely attended; indeed, they were mammoth gatherings, often of two or three lakhs. Two new engineering colleges are being started² and one polytechnic.³ A visit to the Nagarjunakonda⁴ was particularly fascinating to me. I saw there both the old and the new—the ruins of the ancient city of Vijayapuri⁵ which was a great Buddhist University and centre of learning, and the new dam that is being put up there⁶ which unfortunately will result in a big lake covering these ruins. For the last several years, concentrated work has been done by our Archaeological Department⁷ to dig up and

1. He returned to Delhi on 15 October after visiting Andhra Pradesh from 10 to 14 October 1959.

2. Nehru laid the foundation stones of the engineering colleges at Warangal and Tirupati on 10 and 13 October respectively.

3. On 10 October he declared open Krishnadevaraya Polytechnic at Wanaparti, 120 kilometres from Hyderabad.

4. On 12 October 1959.

5. Was the capital of the Ikshvaku dynasty of the second and third centuries A.D.

6. Under the Nagarjunasagar Project, a large reservoir over an area of 140 kilometres was to be built by constructing a dam across the Krishna river.

7. Begun in February 1956, nearly three-fourths of the total area of 2,750 acres had been excavated.

remove all the interesting archaeological remains from this site to higher ground nearby where they will be erected or displayed.⁸ I well remember when this question came up before us and became almost a matter of conscience. Should we preserve the past and this valuable ancient site as it was, or should we attach more importance to the present and the future by building the dam? The decision was taken in favour of the present and the future well-being of the people. I think it was a right decision. At the same time, we laid special stress on the removal of the archaeological remains, and this is being done, I think, satisfactorily. These remains are being placed on what will ultimately become an island surrounded by the lake.

2. There was one aspect of the dam and the canals being constructed there which struck me as worthy of special notice. I found that far more work was being done by manual labour than is usually the case in these big projects. The engineers told me that after careful calculations, they found that it was cheaper to do it by manual labour. Of course, they are using big machinery also, but this is far less than elsewhere. Nearly one hundred thousand persons are employed there in the construction of the dam and the left and right canals. The result of this has been to bring a measure of prosperity in that entire area. One of the workers in these canals came up to me and said something in Telegu which moved me greatly. He said: "Here you have lighted a lamp."

3. That phrase stuck in my mind, and it seemed to me that the test of a man's work could well be in terms of that phrase. Do we, in the course of our lives, light lamps, or do we snuff out the lamps or candles that exist? The greatest lighter of lamps was Gandhiji for he lit these lamps in the minds and

8. It was planned to preserve the excavated monuments and objects at the crest of the hill.

hearts of millions of people. Humbler folk like us work in a much smaller way. But if we succeed in lighting a few lamps, then our lives have not been without some little value. There is a beautiful phrase: "All the darkness in the world cannot put out the light of a single candle."

4. The phrase of the Nagarjunakonda worker stuck in my mind and I began to see how far it applied to our domestic as well as our international policy. That seemed a good test for these policies. In international affairs, war is the negation of this lighting of lamps; indeed, war means the snuffing out of lights on a vast scale. So also cold war, though in a somewhat lesser degree. An international policy, therefore, might be judged from this point of view—does it keep alight the lamp of peace and spread its radiance, or does it darken peoples' minds and fill them with hatred and the spirit of violence. That may be an idealistic approach, but, in the circumstances of today, it is an eminently practical one. For the world has to face a great choice, peace or terrible and ultimate war. We have endeavoured in India to labour to preserve this flame of peace in our international policy; whether we have succeeded or not, the future will show.

5. In our domestic policy, it is probably a little more difficult to pass judgement, though my mind is fairly clear about it. I do believe that we have lighted innumerable lamps all over India, but the field is vast and great parts of it are still in darkness. When will the time come when there is some kind of *Deepavali* all over India and indeed all over the world? It will not come anywhere through hatred and violence or the cold war, and if a shooting war comes, it will put an end to even the future prospect that we cherish.

6. It is extraordinary how easily all of us are swept away by gusts of anger and passion. The anger may have some justification, but no correct policy can be evolved in a state of anger. We have had this background of anger and resentment in regard to Pakistan, though happily it is less now than it used to be. I am sure that this reaction, even though it might be caused by the evil policies of Pakistan, can do little

good. Recently we have had deep resentment and anger at the development on our border with Tibet-China.⁹ And, again, there was adequate justification for it. But I have observed how easily national passions are roused and how they can sweep us off our feet. Our newspapers, or many of them, add to this feeling of passion and resentment. If no check of reason and calm thought was applied to these situations, we would be led step by step to a position from which there was no escape except in major conflict.

7. It is not an easy matter to follow a policy which is firm and dignified and, at the same time, friendly. And yet that is the only reasonable and mature policy to adopt. The other leads to a plunge into the bitter ocean of hatred and cold war. For the last dozen years or more, we have kept our heads up and avoided being submerged by waves of this cold war, except sometimes to a little extent in regard to Pakistan. Because of this, we have built up some kind of a reputation the world over and we are respected even by those who do not agree with us. Why did I get an unusually warm reception from the peoples of Afghanistan and Iran recently? It was because of this reputation built up gradually year after year. And yet it is easy to fall off from this height in a gust of anger or emotion.

8. We have been put to the test during recent many months because of developments in Tibet and on our border areas. These events have moved us, as was natural. On the whole, we have functioned with strength and dignity. But some people imagine that strength and courage are exhibited by strong and intemperate language and by brave gestures. Many of our newspapers have particularly distinguished themselves in such language and gesture. I have been surprised not only at their lack of restraint but, even more so, by their lack of good sense and foresight. It seems to me that

9. See *ante*, p. 285.

behind this display lay some deeper reasons of discontent with our policies, both domestic and international. In the international field, there appears to be an attempt to push us out of our policy of non-alignment and non-commitment; in the domestic field, an organized attempt by certain conservative and reactionary groups to oppose some of our basic policies. This is an unfortunate development. I think it is all to the good that there should be criticism, and even strong criticism, of policies. Only in this way and by discussion can the public be educated. But criticism is one thing, and the kind of approach we have had from some people is something deeper than criticism.

9. At no time during the past many years has our policy of non-alignment with Power Blocs and our determined attempt to seek peace by peaceful methods and peaceful language been more justified than in the present. The public, the world over has turned to it. What is even more significant is that Governments now look in that direction. I do not mean to imply that all this has happened because of our attempts or our policy, but we have no doubt helped a little in the process. The recent visit of Mr. Khrushchev to President Eisenhower became a turning point in world affairs.¹⁰ It may still be difficult to prophesy what good this will lead to. But there can be no doubt whatever that this visit indicates a significant change in the old attitude of cold war.¹¹ Because this change has come in some of the most important and powerful countries, it makes a difference. It

10. Khrushchev visited the U.S.A. from 15 to 27 September 1959.

11. On 27 September, the communique issued at the end of the talks between President Eisenhower and N. Khrushchev at Camp David said that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations", and that "the question of disarmament is the most important one facing the world today. Both the Governments will make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem."

would be tragic indeed if at this juncture in world history we lost our bearings and were swept away from the anchor of our faith. I have no doubt about our people and have full faith in them, but a certain confusion is caused which disturbs the minds of many. It is necessary, therefore, for us to be clear in our own minds and to be in close contact with our people, from whom we derived strength.

10. Some excitement has recently been caused, mostly in newspapers, by the debate on Tibet in the United Nations. For a variety of reasons, which I have stated repeatedly in Parliament and elsewhere, we decided long ago not to encourage the reference of the Tibet issue to the United Nations. I made this clear in Parliament¹² as well as at press conferences.¹³ I told the Dalai Lama about it.¹⁴ We discussed this matter with leaders of other nations and most of them agreed with our broad approach and expressed their opinion that it would not be desirable to bring this before the United Nations. However, the exigencies of the cold war led some later to support this proposal. The question before us was whether we should oppose it directly or abstain from voting.¹⁵ There could be, in the circumstances, no question of our supporting such a proposal. We have been in constant

12. On 4 September, replying to the non-official resolution of A.B. Vajpayee urging the Government to refer the Tibetan issue to the U.N., Nehru told the Lok Sabha that the resolution was not acceptable to the Government as it would not bring any relief to the Tibetan people but "on the other hand it might worsen the situation."

13. On 11 September, Nehru said at a press conference that reference of the Tibetan issue to the U.N. would mean that Tibet would become part of the cold war and instead of bringing relief to Tibetans it would actually have an opposite effect.

14. Nehru met the Dalai Lama on 20 September 1959.

15. On 13 October, India did not participate in the voting on the resolution proposed by Ireland and Malaya to place the question of Tibet on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly.

touch with our delegation in the United Nations and advising them what to do. There are two ways of abstention in the United Nations. One is to say that you do not participate and the other is not to vote. The difference is slight. We were asked as to which should be adopted. I was inclined to think that non-participation would represent our attitude more correctly than merely not voting. But I left the matter to our delegation to decide. In the event, it was decided by them not to participate which I think was quite correct. This has, however, led to much criticism in the press. If one examines that criticism, it will be seen that it is based not on this particular development but is rather against our basic policy of non-alignment. That, of course, raises deeper issues and we must be clear about them.

11. In this matter, the Praja Socialist Party has all along taken a very definite attitude. It wanted us to vote for the resolution on Tibet and, generally speaking, its attitude implies, although it does not say so precisely, that we should give up our policy of non-alignment. We are told that this is a moral issue and we should stand up for the right, whatever the consequences. I hope that none of our policies is based on a denial of the moral aspect, though I must confess that there is little of this in international affairs. But to talk grandiloquently in such matters without any regard for consequences is hardly the proper approach. It is the approach of passion and unreason and if pursued, this would lead us to the pit of cold war.

12. So far as our border with Tibet-China is concerned, we have taken adequate measures for its protection. No one can guarantee the absolute protection of a border 2500 miles in length. But for all practical purposes, it is adequately protected, and any attempt at aggression will be difficult to maintain. I have no apprehension on that score, and I do not think there is going to be a major conflict there.

13. We are having at present a high-level conference in Delhi with Pakistan in regard to our eastern border with

Pakistan.¹⁶ This conference has been the outcome of a proposal made by President Ayub Khan when he met me at Palam some weeks ago.¹⁷ I cannot say definitely what the result of this conference will be, but I have a feeling that the approach on this occasion is a serious one and that efforts will be made to lessen the tensions on the border and perhaps to go some way towards solving our problems there.¹⁸ During the last many weeks there has been no incident on these eastern borders of ours.

14. In Pakistan there was a strange development a little while ago when General Habibullah,¹⁸ who was No. 2 in the Army and expected to become Commander-in-Chief very soon, was suddenly made to resign. It is difficult to understand why this happened. It indicates, however, that military regimes essentially lack stability and move from one extreme step to another.

15. This year has been a very abnormal and unhappy one for us because of floods. Assam, Kashmir, Andhra, Gujarat, Saurashtra, Maharashtra and a number of other places suffered from severe floods. Last of all and worst of all came the floods in West Bengal and Orissa. West Bengal has

16. A conference for one week from 15 October with sessions held alternatively in Delhi and Dacca, decided that the boundaries between India and Pakistan should be demarcated expeditiously and the Nehru-Noon agreement implemented in full. By the Nehru-Noon agreement signed at New Delhi on 11 September 1958, both Prime Ministers agreed to rectify the border on the east by settling old disputes and to exchange a number of enclaves. See also, *ante*, p. 124.

17. On 1 September, Ayub Khan, while on his way from Karachi to Dacca, met Nehru at Delhi airport. They agreed that all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan should be settled in accordance with the principles of justice and fairplay and in a spirit of friendliness, co-operation and good neighbourliness.

18. He took to business after resignation.

undergone and is still undergoing a terrible experience. In all these floods, our Army and Air Force have done good work and brought relief to many. But, apart from our defence forces, all of us should try to help in some way or other in bringing relief to the vast numbers who are in distress.

16. The question of the division of the present Bombay State has been very much before the public recently,¹⁹ and yet no decision has yet been made. An informal discussion of this matter between a few of us suddenly opened the door to widespread speculation. That itself indicated how full the public mind was of this subject. While it is true that there has been no decision yet, there can be little doubt that a division of the Bombay State is highly likely to take place. We have been anxious, however, that no such major step should be taken till all its inevitable consequences have been fully considered and full consultation has taken place. It would be unfortunate to take the major step and leave unresolved questions in its train.

17. At the beginning of this month, I went to Rajasthan to participate in what I consider a historic ceremony.²⁰ This was the transfer of a good deal of power and authority to the *panchayat samitis*. In Andhra I took part in a like ceremony and inaugurated it.²¹ Thus Rajasthan and Andhra have become the leaders among the States in this movement towards decentralization and the investment of responsibil-

19. The nine-member Congress Committee on Bombay at the end of its first meeting in New Delhi on 9 October declared by consensus bifurcation of the State though an agreed solution on Vidarbha was yet to be found. Two main points of discussion were the demarcation of the Gujarat-Maharashtra boundary and the financial implications of bifurcation.

20. On 2 October, Nehru launched in Nagaur the programme of decentralization and democratization of administration (*panchayati samitis*) as recommended by the Balwantray Mehta Committee. See also *ante*, p. 7.

21. On 11 October, Nehru inaugurated the first *panchayati samiti* at Shad Nagar in Andhra Pradesh.

ity and authority for all developmental purposes on the *panchayat samitis* in their respective areas. I have no doubt that this is a right step and that this will spread over other parts of India. It is a far-reaching step and it is quite possible that many difficulties will arise. It will lead probably to a new set-up completely in these rural areas. New persons will come to the front and it will not be easy for the city dwellers to throw their weight about in the rural areas quite too much as they have done in the past.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
25 October, 1959

The recent serious and tragic incident in Ladakh which resulted in a conflict between some of our border police forces and the Chinese forces,¹ has brought our border situation rather to a head. About two months ago, when we had trouble on the N.E.F.A. border, we decided to place the responsibility for the protection of the entire Northern and North-Eastern border on our army.² The Army thereafter took over the N.E.F.A. border and round about. As regards some of the areas, they decided to leave them for the present as they were, but it is clear that there should be the closest co-ordination and the general directions of the army authorities should be carried out.

In Ladakh our outposts were in charge of our border police force. It was in fact difficult for the army to take direct charge in the near future. It is seldom realized how difficult of access these places are in our Himalayan borders. For instance, the place of the recent conflict in Ladakh is about three to four weeks' march from Leh over very difficult terrain.

* A note circulated to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, Lt. Governor of Himachal Pradesh, and Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

1. Took place on 20 October 1959. For details see item 42.

2. On 28 August, Nehru informed the Lok Sabha that on 25 August a detachment of about 300 Chinese soldiers crossed four miles into Indian territory in the Subansiri Frontier division of N.E.F.A., and opened fire on the Indian post of Longju, and the next day it outflanked and overwhelmed the Indian post. Thereafter the Indian army took over from the Assam Rifles and the militia the defence of N.E.F.A.

However difficult of access these places might be, we have undoubtedly to take effective steps to guard them. Those steps have to be carefully thought out. We cannot function in an excited way as some people and some newspapers advise us and get badly entangled in the high mountain regions without being able to support them properly.

Anyhow all these matters have to be carefully worked out and co-ordinated. It seems to me essential that full effect should be given now to our decision taken in August last, that is, that the Army should be made fully responsible for all these frontier areas and their direction should be carried out, subject to some local variations, such as the Army authorities might agree to. There should be uniformity in our policy in all these areas and in regard to receipt of information. Any action involving any kind of operation must necessarily be dealt with by the Army authorities who can take a broad picture of the situation and decide accordingly.

This involves not only the frontier in N.E.F.A. and Sikkim, but also the frontier areas of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Ladakh. Thus far, in U.P., Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, the State Governments have been responsible. This final responsibility should now be transferred to the Army but, of course, the Army authorities would like to have the fullest co-operation of the State authorities concerned and to function in consultation with them. The manner of functioning in a particular area will presumably be decided after consultation by representatives of the Army and the State Government.

I am sure you will agree that this is a matter which requires urgent handling and the closest co-ordination and the only way to do this effectively and properly is to put the Army in charge.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
26 October, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

As I write to you, the subject probably uppermost in your minds is the recent grave incident in Eastern Ladakh where a conflict took place between some of our men and Chinese troops.¹ This resulted, insofar as we know now, in nine deaths of the Indian police force and ten of our policemen were captured by the Chinese. One person has not been accounted for. The Chinese have offered to arrange to send back the ten persons they hold and to hand over the bodies of the dead. Some arrangements to this effect are likely to be made within the next few days.

2. This is obviously a matter of the gravest concern both in the present and the future. It is natural, therefore, that there should be a strong reaction in the country of indignation and resentment. We all feel that but, just because this is a very serious matter, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept off our feet and to act in an excited manner. One can afford to be excited when a matter is of no high concern, but that luxury cannot be indulged in when the consequences of any action are likely to be far-reaching.

3. Till August last our checkpoints in our frontier areas were held as follows: on the N.E.F.A. border by the Assam Rifles; on the Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab

1. On 20 October 1959, Chinese armed guards attacked an Indian patrol in the neighbourhood of Kongka Pass. In fact, according to the White Paper, 17 Indian policemen were killed and several others seriously injured.

borders by the respective State Police forces; in Ladakh, chiefly by a certain border police especially organized for this purpose. None of these border posts were directly under the Army at that time.

4. In August we decided to make the Army responsible for the protection of this entire border area. This was immediately given effect to on the N.E.F.A. border. This did not mean any change-over from the Assam Rifles to Army men on the spot but the general command and the direction were taken over by the Army. I might add that the Assam Rifles are an excellent force especially trained for functioning in these mountain areas.

5. Our Army Headquarters decided for the time being to leave the other frontier areas in charge of the various police forces that were functioning there, intending gradually to change over later. This applied to the Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab border forces. It also applied largely to the Ladakh area, although our Army had one or two important checkpoints directly under its charge there.

6. Some idea should be formed of this Ladakh area and terrain. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is about 11,500 feet above sea level. Going from there towards the north and east, land rises and goes up to 18,000 feet with mountain peaks which are higher. In eastern Ladakh where the recent incident occurred, the land is between 14,000 and 17,000 feet altitude. It is treeless and even without grass. It is on the other side of the main Himalayan range and hardly has any rain or snow. The outlook is thus dreary in the extreme with bare rocks, though this has a very definite beauty of its own. I visited this place about four or five years ago at Chushul where our Air Force people had improvised an airstrip. The barren, empty and forbidding aspect of the land there was certainly an impressive sight. At the same time it was rather oppressive. The air was exceedingly clear, far clearer than you can find it anywhere else except on the very high mountains. The result of the clarity of this atmosphere was to mislead people about distances; all perspectives were wrong. A place which might

be five miles away appeared to be a mile distant.

7. The place where the conflict with the Chinese troops took place is a three weeks' hard journey by mountain tracks from Leh. We have an airfield at Chushul which can be used when conditions are favourable, but Chushul itself is about sixty miles or more from the place of this recent incident. On the other side, that is, the Chinese side, the terrain is somewhat better because we have crossed the principal mountains and the plateau of Tibet and the highlands of the Chinese Turkestan lie there. Even that is by no means easy going, but it is far easier and more accessible from the other side. We hear of Chinese roads being built in Tibet and near and across our border. These roads are of the simplest type. All that is done there is to level them to some extent and to place some kind of road marks. The ground is so hard because of the cold that it is almost like stone or cement. It requires little treatment. These roads are of course hard going, but they can be used by trucks or lorries.

8. Before the recent Tibet rebellion which began in the spring of this year, the number of Chinese troops in Tibet was not very large and most of them were concentrated in Central and Eastern Tibet. Probably Western Tibet had a small number also. After the rebellion the Chinese poured large numbers of troops into Tibet and they spread them out all over in order to crush the rebellion. In this way their forces gradually reached our frontiers both south and west of Tibet. Apart from crushing the rebellion, the object was to cut off refugees from escaping and to prevent any contacts with elements across the border which, the Chinese thought, might be aiding the rebels. Thus the Chinese troops came into direct touch with our frontier at N.E.F.A. Fortunately we had established a number of checkpoints there and it was not possible for them to advance any further without a conflict. As you will remember, there was such a conflict at Longju village on the N.E.F.A. border.² There was no

2. See *ante*, p. 301.

other or any major conflict along that border. Meanwhile they spread out to the Western Tibet border. This is a vast indefinite border where the Chinese claim a good deal of territory beyond our frontier line. We had a few checkpoints but they were not actually on the border, but some distance away from it. Gradually, in the past two or three years we have established a few checkpoints, but a great part of this territory, which is largely uninhabited, had no checkpoints or border forces. It has been a difficult and adventurous task to set up these checkpoints during the past few years. In effect it meant high skill and great endurance for our men in addition to various types of dangers having to be faced. These posts were established by our border police which consists of a fine selected body of men, usually mountain folk, who could stand that climate and terrain. Their leaders were often of the type that ventures to go up high mountains. They used to go for long patrols across these mountains lasting weeks and months and return and report. It was impossible for them to cover all the ground. This was indeed almost the first attempt for this kind of investigation and survey as previously all these vast areas had been rather neglected and ignored because of the great difficulty of access and also because no danger was apprehended there.

9. You will remember that on two occasions in the last two or three years there was some trouble with the Chinese at a few distant places. A few of our men were apprehended by the Chinese and later released, the Chinese of course always claiming that they were on their territory and we had intruded into it.

10. Last year, that is, in the summer of 1958, some of these border patrols of ours went very far in the North and East and almost right up to what we claim to be our frontier. They did not come across any Chinese posts, except what I have mentioned above on the northern side. In winter it is exceedingly difficult to move about in these areas. Therefore, normally, patrolling, etc. takes place in the short months. This summer we decided to establish some more checkpoints

further afield. A few have been established. It was with this purpose in view that a fairly strong party of our border police went eastwards in Ladakh and established a firm checkpoint at Tsogtsalu. They then went forward to a temporary post which is called Hot Springs. This was about six or seven miles further to the east. From there two constables with some porters were sent to reconnoitre. They did not return. A police party went in search of them and returned without any information. The next morning, on the 21st of October, another party of about twenty men on ponies went again in search of these two constables. Soon after they had gone, the remaining policemen under their officer decided to follow them on foot. These were about fifty. Thus two parties marched forward separately and possibly by slightly different routes but more or less in the same direction. After going about six or seven miles, the first party spotted a Chinese force entrenched at the top of a hill. The second party meanwhile approached from a slightly different direction and came in sight there. When our first party reached the base of the hill, the Chinese attacked them apparently with two-inch mortars and hand-grenades and inflicted the casualties mentioned above. In fact, that party of twenty of our men was completely disabled as some were killed and others were captured. Some casualties were also inflicted on the Chinese, but we do not know how many these were. What our second party did was not quite clear. Probably they joined in the firing from a distance. It was the second party that ultimately got away and came back to our checkpoint with about fifty of their men.

11. These are roughly the facts as we know them now. Possibly some more details will be available within the next few days which will enable us to understand what happened on that day more clearly. At present our police force occupies our checkpoint firmly.

12. As a result of this tragic incident, we have naturally given the most earnest thought to this situation and are evolving plans as how best to deal with it. The Army

authorities have been put directly in charge of every kind of operational or other activity in this area as in other areas. The police will continue to function there, but under the Army's authority and direction. There appears to be no immediate danger to our existing checkpoints. What we shall do in the future will depend on many factors. We shall try to strengthen our checkpoints and to send them farther wherever this is considered feasible. In war or in any situation which is of the nature of war adventurist tactics do not pay. If we were to follow the advice of some of our excited people or some of our newspapers, we would get entangled in the most hopeless difficulties and be caught in very disadvantageous positions. Therefore, we have to frame our policy with firmness and at the same time with due direction, so that it might bear results.

13. The recent incident resulting in conflict was probably unplanned on either side. That is, no actual conflict was intended just then or expected. I do not suppose that it was the result of any special directions from the Chinese Government. There was no time for it even. But the basic fact remains that the Chinese forces had established their checkpoint there and must have had orders to hold it if there was a conflict. When did the Chinese get there? It is difficult to say, but it is clear that they were not there in the summer of 1958. Very probably they were not there in the winter of 1958-59. I imagine that they got there in the late summer of 1959. The policy of the Chinese Government appears to have been to creep forward with their forces and to occupy any of these empty areas where there was no opposition. So, following the suppression of the Tibet rebellion, their forces gradually came into what we consider our part of Ladakh and what the Chinese say is their part of Tibet or Chinese Turkestan. Presumably, they wanted to get possession of as big a part of this empty and more or less uninhabited area as they could without a conflict and to establish themselves firmly there. It was not difficult for them to do so as the terrain was more suitable for them and some of their principal military centres in Western Tibet were not far off.

14. It may be asked why we did not go there first. The question is a relevant one. But it was no easy matter for us to spread out there without being completely cut off from our bases in Central Ladakh. The problem of going there was difficult enough. The logistic aspect of giving them supplies was even more difficult unless arrangements were made on a very big scale. Whether it would have been desirable for us to lock up and isolate a good part of our Army in these distant areas is a matter on which opinions may differ.

15. Anyhow, we have to face the position as it is. We have in fact to face a powerful country bent on spreading out to what they consider their old frontiers, and possibly beyond. The Chinese have always, in their past history, had the notion that any territory which they had once occupied in the past necessarily belonged to them subsequently. If they were weak, then they could not enforce their claim, but they did not give it up. If they were strong, then they tried to enforce that claim and seize territory with the firm conviction that they were in the right and they were only taking back what belonged to them. Most countries, I suppose, have a rather one-sided view of their rights and responsibilities. The Chinese certainly have that one-sided view in ample measure. That past view has now been perhaps confirmed by the present Communist Government there and a sense of growing strength has given them an additional measure of arrogance.

16. It may interest you to learn that just about this time of the incident at Ladakh, the Chinese Government informed us that they had changed their mind again and would take a big part in our Agricultural Exhibition in December next. Previously they had agreed to take part and then backed out of it. This action of theirs had been much criticized not only in India but abroad, and they felt that because of this they should revert to their previous decision to participate.

17. About this time also, that is, two or three days ago, I received a letter from Premier Chou En-lai couched in very friendly language, inviting our Vice-President, Dr.

Radhakrishnan, to pay a visit to China.³ The Vice-President has no intention of going there in the near future. Apart from the fact that he is engaged till about the middle of next year, he does not think it proper to go there after recent happenings and in view of the mood of our country.

18. I mention these two incidents to show these different trends in Chinese policy. They are both there. The Chinese would not willingly come into conflict with India. But at the same time they are not likely to change their basic policies merely to please India or anyone else. Their thinking, in spite of or because of their communism, has reverted to the old imperial days of China when they considered themselves the “Middle Kingdom”, the centre of culture and enlightenment and the other nations on their fringes were to be treated in a superior and patronising way, provided they recognized the broad fact of China’s superiority. In the old days, even when Ambassadors went to the Chinese imperial Capital and made formal presentations or gifts, these were considered as a tribute from other countries.

19. We have to face a fairly difficult situation in the present. But what is of far greater concern to me is the future that is gradually unrolling itself. I view this not with any fear but certainly with great concern. There is no reason why we should be frightened, and, in any event, the approach of fear is always a wrong one. I think we are strong enough to protect ourselves even though we might have a few knocks. But I do not like the idea of continuing tension and potential conflict between India and China. This is not because I am enamoured of China, but because I am enamoured of India and of peace. The burden of constant friction on a long border with a powerful country will be great and even worse than that burden will be the spirit of hostility that this arouses and which leads us to think in wrong directions.

3. Zhou Enlai’s invitation to the Vice-President was conveyed through Nehru on 24 October 1959.

20. I am asked both by some of our own countrymen⁴ and by people abroad:⁵ are you still going to adhere to your policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence? Some say that our policy has failed. I entirely disagree. Far from failing, this policy has had, in a sense, marked success in the world as a whole and has contributed, I think, in some small measure, to the favourable developments that are taking place in the Western world as between the two mighty powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of course, there are many other factors. But we have helped a little. That is of great consequence to the world's future, and indirectly it even affects the situation in Asia because a general improvement in the world situation must necessarily react on the situation in Asia. It is a fact, however, that our attempts at friendship with the Chinese Government have failed and there is unfortunately some actual and a great deal of potential conflict in the air. To say that this is due to our policy of non-alignment is to misunderstand the situation completely. Any other policy would not have prevented this happening but would have accelerated it and made it more difficult for us to play the part we did in the furtherance of world peace. Even today, and indeed at any time, I am convinced that that policy of non-alignment and an attempt at peaceful co-existence with all nations is the correct one. That does not mean our being complacent or our not taking

4. In a debate in the Rajya Sabha on 20 September 1959, H.N. Kunzru, P.N. Sapro and K.M. Munshi criticized non-alignment and *Panchsheel*.

5. "Mr. Nehru and Marshal Tito and President Nasser became the high priests of the doctrine of neutralism. . . But the doctrine of neutralism has taken other hard knocks lately. It may take sometime before the cold wind from China marked a full impact on the neutral world. There will be no stampede towards the west—and the west having become used to the idea of neutralism would not want one." *Leader in the Times* (London), 24 October 1959.

all necessary and feasible steps to meet any dangers that might confront us.

21. The alternative to this is our plunging into the cold war and thereby weakening ourselves in every way and, at the same time, vitiating the progress that has been made in the Western world towards understanding and the lessening of the cold war. Only unthinking persons can suggest any change in our basic policy. For us, in a moment of excitement or weakness, to join the ranks of the cold war protagonists and to seek military alliances would indeed be a tragic failure not only of our policy but of all that India has stood for. Even so, we would not gain that security which we desire. In fact, our security will be much more gravely imperilled, and no other country, however great it may be, can help us, in our hour of need. If unfortunately the situation between India and China worsened and this led to a war, no one can help us directly in any measure. Probably what would happen is that that war would develop into a world war and the vast destruction and even annihilation which that entails. That is a poor kind of help that we would get.

22. We are naturally full of our own troubles on the frontier and angry at the aggressive policy of China. That is a major development for us, and yet the really big thing that is happening in the world is the gradual change in the relations between the Western nations and the Soviet Union. After all, in the present the two big countries that count are the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. Any coming nearer to each other of these two countries is a matter of vast significance for the future of the world. What will happen I do not know. All I can say is that the trends are hopeful, and we should not do anything to come in the way of these promising developments, but should rather help them.

23. It is true that China does not fit in with this picture and probably the Chinese Government is not terribly keen on the success of these trends. I regret to say that I rather doubt if

the Chinese Government are anxious for a peaceful world. Certainly the Soviet Union is terribly anxious for peace and so are the Western countries. It is said by many people who ought to know that there is some kind of a rift between the Soviet Union and China. There may be something in this, but we must not exaggerate it as both those countries have to rely on one another a great deal and cannot afford to break. But the fact still remains that their policies are not wholly in line with each other and that the Soviet Union has not approved of much that has happened in China recently.

24. If this is the position in the world, it becomes important that we should encourage the work for peace that the Soviet Union as well as the Western countries are engaged in. For us to take any action which upsets this work will be bad for us and bad for the world. So far as we are concerned in India, we have had consistent goodwill from the Soviet Union and even in our recent conflicts with China, the attitude of the Soviet Union towards India has been, on the whole, favourable.

25. There are many other subjects on which I should like to write to you, but this letter has grown long enough. I shall deal with other matters later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
29 October, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,*

In a number of my letters to you, I have pointed out the importance of reducing costs in construction. In every major or minor project, a substantial part of the expenditure incurred is in construction. If the total expenditure in our Five Year Plans is analyzed, I am sure that a big part of it will be for construction.¹ I have myself, rather uncharitably, criticized the Public Works Departments.² The criticism was not so much of individuals, but rather of the old-fashioned standards and designs that they followed. Any substantial reduction in the cost of construction would make a very considerable difference to our plan outlay.

2. Some time ago, the Planning Commission produced a note on this subject which pointed out a number of ways of reducing cost and achieving economy consistent with efficiency. Later, the Committee on Plan Projects appointed a team for the Evaluation of Buildings Projects.³ The leader of this team was Shri S.K. Patil, Minister of Food and Agriculture. The other members were experts and engineers. The report of this team is a very interesting document. The

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. During the second Five Year Plan, the expenditure incurred on various types of residential buildings alone amounted to Rs. 250 crores.

2. Speaking in Pune on 5 October, Nehru said that while everything else was changing, the Public Works Department continued to carry the legacy of the British regime. Its concepts of construction of buildings had remained unchanged.

3. See *ante*, p. 267.

team found that the traditional view of economy, namely, by reduction of staff strength, was outmoded and that most of the codes and practices still in use were rooted in the traditions of the nineteenth century. Real economy would come from a modernization of construction practices and techniques.

3. Among the major buildings examined by this team were:

- 1) grain godowns,
- 2) multi-storeyed buildings,
- 3) factory buildings,
- 4) slum clearance schemes,
- 5) residential buildings, and
- 6) small storage structures.

Later two additions were made to this list:

- 7) national water supply and sanitation schemes and
- 8) bridges.

4. I do not propose to write at any length about this team's report but, even within the short space of time at their disposal, the team achieved significant success in reducing building costs in the projects examined by it to the extent of Rs. 6.5 crores. Further, there was saving of steel to the extent of 79,000 tons which meant a saving in foreign exchange.

5. (1) Grain storage structures—Previously the roofing of the grain storage structures, as adopted by the Central P.W.D., consisted of the orthodox type of steel trusses with G.I. sheeting. The work of the team showed that shell-type roofing would prove cheaper and lead to a saving of 56,000 tons of steel and Rs. 1.8 crores in cost. This was accepted by the Central Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Works, Housing and Supply.

6. (2) Multi-storeyed buildings—Here it was found that there was great difference between various types of such structures. Apart from somewhat unnecessary expenditure in framework, external cladding and finishing, space utilization was often unsatisfactory and the range per square foot

of useful carpet area varied from Rs. 22 to Rs. 63. The team's recommendations for multi-storeyed buildings are expected to lead to ten to fifteen per cent saving in the total cost of the building.

7. (3) Factory buildings—In regard to the industrial estates which are being planned and are growing up all over the country, there was much room for economy and for the saving of structural steel. In the Nangal Fertilizer Factory, some suggested changes will result in a saving of Rs. 11 lakhs as well as lesser quantity of steel being used. In the Heavy Electrical Project at Bhopal, the team found that the proposed use of steel was excessive. According to the design prepared by the team, 8,000 tons of steel would be saved and economy in cost would be of the order of Rs. 80 to 90 lakhs out of a total cost of Rs. 4 crores.

Among other factory projects that are being examined by the team are the Rourkela Fertilizer Project, the Foundry Forge Project at Ranchi and the Optical Glass Factory at Durgapur. It will be seen that the team has already achieved considerable success. This is due to the introduction of new techniques of analysis of an advanced nature which substitute previous practices, now outmoded, in factory construction.

8. (4) Slum Clearance Schemes—These are of high importance⁴ and a great deal depends upon the cost. The team found that progress had been unsatisfactory because of (a) absence of proper organization; (b) absence of a clear enunciation of policy on the schemes; and (c) lack of advanced planning. Cheap roofing is an important element

4. In fact, towards the end of October, the Union Government had decided to introduce a land acquisition and development scheme to deal with the problems of housing and slum clearance by providing finances to State Government for large-scale acquisition and development of land in selected areas.

in the cost. The doubly curved shell roof, developed by the C.S.I.R., has been adopted by many engineers. This was used with success in a major scheme of housing for the army at Ambala.

9. (5) Residential buildings—The outlay of such buildings is very considerable. In the second Five Year Plan, about Rs. 200 crores are to be spent on residential houses. The team have said that it should not be difficult to effect an economy of about ten per cent.

10. The team has so far studied the working of the Central P.W.D., the Engineering Department of the Railways and the Public Works Departments of West Bengal and Bombay. Their study will be extended to other States, notably Madras, Mysore and the Punjab. The members of the team felt that project authorities were not realizing the importance of the proportion of expenditure on buildings in the total cost of projects. Thus, enough attention was not paid to the design and economy in buildings. Foreign designs were adopted without consideration for Indian conditions. Dependence on foreign consultants has not proved satisfactory as they are not fully acquainted with Indian conditions.

11. The team has suggested that there should be a continuous examination of the construction of civil works by an extra-departmental agency. In a departmental system, the experts tend to become an integral part of the decision and thus cannot, by the very nature of the task, take an objective view.

12. I have given above a very brief account of the work of the team for the Evaluation of Buildings Projects and the success achieved by them already. They are continuing their work and I have no doubt this will further result in considerable economy. You will, I hope, draw the attention of your Public Works Department to these new and encouraging procedures that are being adopted. They can get in touch with the Planning Commission or our Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply to get further information.

13. There is another matter to which I should like to draw

your particular attention. This is the planning of cities. Our urban population is growing fast and our cities are expanding, usually without any order or method. This is already producing grave problems in these cities in addition to those that already existed, such as, slums. In fact, new slums are being constantly created. It is of great importance to prevent this at its very inception and to have a well thought out plan of the city as it should be in the next ten or fifteen years. If this plan is there, every step taken should be to implement that plan. Delay is harmful.

14. In every great city, there is tendency for speculation in land. The right course is for the State or the Corporation to buy up a good deal of land and thus control the speculation as the city grows. This will also help in planning later. This, of course, is not enough. There should be an approach to this problem by expert town planners and this planning will have to be a continuous process. That is to say, a plan when made, should not be considered as the end of planning. The implementation of it is also part of that planning and new problems constantly arise. In a great and growing city, there has to be this continuous planning. The cost of such planning is recovered many times over by the savings made.

15. In Delhi, we have approached this question of planning in a big way and a Delhi Planning Authority has been functioning for several years, aided by some high-powered experts from the United States which the Ford Foundation has provided. They are now approaching the end of this initial planning period and their report is, I believe, in the press. They have looked far ahead and it will no doubt take many long years before we can give effect to all their recommendations. We intend keeping this planning body functioning to help in implementing the Plan. This highly trained team can be utilized later by other cities, in addition to their own town planning staff.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
31 October, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,*

I enclose a copy of a statement¹ which has been issued by the Sarva Seva Sangh at the instance, I believe, of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. I should like your comments on this statement and also how the proposals made in this statement can be given effect to. Is it possible to take any steps to this end? As the matter concerns several parties, it will probably not be easy for you to give a definite reply. Also it is not clear what parties should be consulted in this matter. Anyhow, I should like to have your comments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The statement issued on 24 September 1959 while expressing concern over the growing spirit of violence and lawlessness in the country, suggested that those political parties which believed in democratic methods ought to declare that they would (1) not take resort to methods of violence to achieve their objectives, (2) condemn violence indulged in by any person or group belonging to any political party, (3) refrain from fighting elections to village *panchayats* and cooperatives, (4) stop exploiting students or educational institutions for furthering their political objectives, (5) evolve by a consensus a formula setting limits to the forms and methods of public agitation consistent with the basic principles of democracy. In turn, the Government should also declare that it would avoid recourse to firing, and whenever compelled to do so, institute a judicial enquiry as a matter of principle.

New Delhi
2 November, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing this letter in continuation of the letter I wrote to you on the 25th October 1959 regarding the protection of our frontier areas. The Army Headquarters have now completed their preliminary examination and their view is that the police deployed on the frontier with Tibet in U.P., Punjab and Himachal Pradesh will have to be strengthened and reorganized.¹ They feel that the equipment carried by these police units is not adequate. They will have to be given automatic weapons and organized on the lines of the Assam Rifles which is functioning in the North-East Frontier quite satisfactorily. In order to discuss the details of this proposal, the Home Secretary² is arranging a meeting with the Chief Secretaries of U.P.,³ Punjab⁴ and Himachal Pradesh⁵ within the next two or three days.

As I wrote to you previously, in view of the situation we have to face at the border, it is considered essential that our Army authorities should have general control over all the border areas, including the frontier with Tibet in U.P., Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.

* A special letter addressed to Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and Lt. Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

1. In the last week of October 1959, the Government decided to strengthen the existing defence arrangements along the northern frontier by setting up four new Army Commands.

2. B.N. Jha.

3. Govind Narain.

4. E.N. Mangat Rai.

5. B.N. Maheshwari.

This is an urgent matter and I thought I should keep you personally informed. I shall be glad if you will instruct your secretary to give this question of organization of border police the highest priority.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
4 November, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

My last fortnightly letter, dated the 26th October, was devoted chiefly to the grave developments on our border regions and, more especially, to the incident in eastern Ladakh.¹ I have little to add to the facts stated in it. The incident, bad in itself, was far worse from the point of view of the possible consequences flowing from it. It was natural for people in India to be excited and angered by these developments. I have found that even children have asked me about it. But that by itself does not help us much and we have to give the most careful thought to every step that we take.

2. One thing is certain: that we cannot agree to or submit to anything that affects India's honour and self-respect, and our integrity and independence. That is a basic point which needs no argument, whatever the consequences might be. In the last few decades, during our struggle for independence and after, many things happened which hurt us deeply, many inducements were given to us if we could but change our basic position. Gandhiji's policy was not what might be called a rigid one; it was flexible; but it never surrendered on basic issues. We have to remember this, both the adherence to basic principles and flexibility in approach otherwise.

3. In the many comments and criticisms that have been made in the press or otherwise in public, three questions arise: (1) was our general policy in foreign affairs and, more

1. See *ante*, p. 303.

particularly, in regard to China wrong in the past? (2) have we been recently to blame for not giving adequate protection to our border regions? and (3) what our future foreign policy as well as present policy should be?

4. In the excitement of the moment and, sometimes, perhaps moved by other considerations or prejudices, many criticisms have been made of the past and the present.² I have naturally given thought to them, but I have been unable to discover any major error of ours during all this period. So far as our broad policy in foreign affairs is concerned, it has brought rich results and enhanced India's prestige and the respect others have for what is often referred to as our wise, consistent and restrained approach. Indeed, the major development of recent months, that is, the great change that appears to have come in the cold war atmosphere over the larger part of the world, is a complete justification of that policy of ours. Great countries, which were involved in the cold war, are now desirous of getting out of that quagmire. People talk of ending the cold war. There are difficulties, of course, and many obstacles to be overcome. And yet, the situation has not been quite so favourable from this point of view at any time during the last dozen years. Apart from the advantage to the world, if this consummation, so devoutly wished for, takes place, there are obvious advantages to India. Therefore, we have some legitimate ground for congratulating ourselves for following consistently a policy

2. In the debate on the subject in Lok Sabha on 12 September 1959, J.B. Kripalani (Independent) said: "It is a mistake to suppose that the foreign policy of a country consists merely in enunciating abstract and basic principles. We have failed to embody our principles into appropriate strategy for effective action. I submit for the consideration of the Prime Minister that we have failed in our foreign policy at the level of strategy and tactics." On 2 November 1959, speaking in Calcutta, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya and D.P. Ghosh of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, described Nehru's policy towards China as weak.

of non-alignment and friendship to other countries without military commitments.

5. It is unhappily true that all this does not apply to China and that the Chinese Government seems to stand out from and even opposes these world developments. It is also true that this bellicose attitude of China affects India particularly.³ Just when our broad policy is meeting with success in many parts of the world, it is a strange twist of destiny that we ourselves should have to face a situation which tends to push us in a contrary direction. In effect, whether we like it or not, something approaching a cold war atmosphere begins to take shape as between India and China. This is going to be a testing time for us: how to remain firm and to hold to our principles and major interests and yet how to avoid, as far as possible, the attitudes of cold war.

6. Did we do anything in regard to China which precipitated this crisis or left us unprepared to meet it? This can be judged from the policy point of view or the military. Some people thoughtlessly accused us in the past for appeasement of China, simply because we expressed our friendliness.⁴ That indicates a certain confusion of mind. We have certainly been friendly to China as we have been to other countries and as we propose to be to all countries, but always keeping in view our broad policies and our interests. If we came to an agreement with China in 1954⁵ in regard to Tibet, that agreement was not only a proper one, but logical and inevitable in the circumstances. It was a recognition of basic facts and it would have been absurd for us to ignore them. In any event, that would not have prevented the present crisis; it might well have accelerated it. In our dealings with China

3. In October 1959, Nehru and India were singled out for harsh criticism in the official Chinese press.

4. Kripalani had accused the Government of India of signing the 1954 treaty to "put a seal of approval on the sovereignty of China over Tibet."

5. See Vol. 3, pp. 573, 587-588.

throughout this period, we have never said or done anything which was not becoming to our dignity or interests.

7. From the military point of view, the question arises as to what more we could have done to be able to meet the present situation in a better way. It is possible that we might have done something more but not much more, unless we concentrated on our border and on the increase of our defence forces to the detriment of our advance in the social and economic fields. As it is, we have been criticized for our rather heavy expenditure on defence. That was partly conditioned by our unfortunate relations with Pakistan. We could not avoid it. Also much of this expenditure, especially lately, has been on building up our defence industries and scientific apparatus. This was the foundation on which we could strengthen our defence, as defence is not merely a matter of arms and equipment bought from outside, but of producing them. Indeed, defence today is intimately dependent on the industrialization of the country. Defence, therefore, followed the advance we made in the fulfilment of our Five Year Plans. That was the primary objective from every point of view, including defence. If China appears to be strong today, it is because of her development industrially.⁶

8. For us to place large forces on our thousands of miles of frontier would have meant a tremendous drain on us without any real advantage, and in fact at the cost of basic advance. At the end of the period, we would have been essentially weaker than ever.

6. *The Statesman* of 19 September 1959 reported that while the aggregate industrial production increased in India by 37% between 1952 and 1959, it increased in China in the same period by 188%. Also in the production of steel, cement, textiles and electric power, China, which was behind India in 1950, had by 1959 forged far ahead.

9. So far as the border was concerned, we had to face a situation where our frontiers were very difficult of access from the point of view of communications. Either from the development point of view or the military, communications are basic. We have made some considerable progress in building roads towards our frontiers, but a great deal remains to be done. It is possible that we could have concentrated more on these roads. I wish we had done so. But it must not be forgotten that what we had done was fairly considerable. Take the North East Frontier Agency, the border of which has been very much before the public because of recent incidents there. This entire area had been totally neglected by the British. There was practically no administration, no communications, no development of any kind. I think that it has been one of our creditable feats to spread our administration throughout this Frontier Agency more or less peacefully. There was a bad incident some years ago when some of our officers and men were suddenly attacked and killed by local tribesmen. In spite of this, we have spread out there and established our administration and won, on the whole, the goodwill of the people.

10. There are other frontier areas in Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, relatively small but important. Again, communications are very difficult because of the high mountains and terrain. These areas have been guarded well though more has to be done now. Then we come to Ladakh, probably the most difficult area of all. It lies across the high Himalayas and only those who can stand that altitude and that climate can be sent there, whether they are soldiers or civilians. There is almost total absence of roads. The one basic road from Srinagar to Leh has been under construction for several years now, but a part of it between Kargil and Leh has still to be made. We are expediting it and asking our army to supervise the construction to this road and help in other ways the Jammu and Kashmir State in this matter.

11. These are not excuses, but merely facts. The Chinese had an advantage over us because of the terrain. They were

functioning from the high plateau of Tibet and on the other side of our high mountains. They could, with far greater ease, cross our borders because their major sources of supply were nearby and there were some kind of roads and airfields. During the troubles in Tibet, early this year, they threw large forces into Tibet and improved their communications. It may be said that we should not have been so complacent when all this was taking place. I do not think we were complacent at any time. But it is true that we did not expect a crisis to arise in this way and with such rapidity.

12. Coming to the present situation, some of our friends and critics tell us to march our armies in large numbers on the frontier and drive out the Chinese wherever they might have crossed it. Even a gallant ex-Commander-in-Chief of our Army has made certain proposals to this effect.⁷ With all respect to him, these proposals are singularly inane. Our present military advisers, who are in full charge of the situation, take a completely different view. In such matters military advice must normally prevail and we are accepting it and taking all the steps and precautions that they have recommended as being necessary and feasible. Those steps do not include rushing our armies all over and getting them in disadvantageous positions. That would only imperil them without our gaining any advantage. Wars are not fought in this adventurous way; nor are preparations for a possible conflict so made.

13. Even if any big army is situated at the frontier, it cannot wholly prevent incursions. But about one thing I should like to assure you, as I have been assured by our officers. This is

7. General K.M. Cariappa said on 1 November 1959 that India must send her troops to every place where the Chinese troops were stationed and to every place along the frontier where there were possible routes for entry into India.

that any attempt at a major invasion across frontiers, if this ever takes place, will be met by us adequately and with success. We are strong enough for that and we shall naturally increase our strength. If and when such an invasion takes place, the balance of advantage progressively tilts in our favour.

14. Some people say: why not bomb from the air the Chinese posts on our side of the frontier?⁸ This thought is based just on anger and does not take into consideration what this means. It is very difficult for us to do so and the other party can retaliate because of its better position in a much bigger way. Also if this bombing took place, that would mean almost inevitably the beginning of a regular war. We cannot deliberately take a step which starts a war which is likely to go on indefinitely and which may spread to other regions and even involve other countries. That would be a tragedy and disaster for all concerned and no service to India or the world.

15. As for what happened when this incident in Ladakh took place, that had to depend upon the judgment of our officers there. From such facts as we have got, they were taken by surprise. They behaved with courage, but courage is not enough in such circumstances.

16. What about our future policy? Of course, we must take all available steps and precautions for our defence. But the argument rather relates to our broader political policy, that of non-alignment. As I have said above, this policy has been remarkably successful. In a sense, though only partly, it might be said that it has isolated China. That was not our objective, but it has been a resultant of that policy. If we gave up that policy, what would be the result? I take it it would mean some kind of military alliance or military help from

8. Ram Subhag Singh (Congress) had said in Lok Sabha on 12 September 1959 that "since Longju is in our territory, it is our inherent right to oust that (Chinese) force by any means. . . it is our inherent right to bombard that territory."

some other country. That help cannot be of much use to us in those vast mountain areas. The slight use that it might be would be tremendously counter-balanced by other factors. The burden of any conflict must necessarily fall on India and her forces and economy. We have actually seen vast forces being thrust on some scenes of war during the last few years in aid of a smaller power, without producing any substantial results. But the loss to us would be tragic indeed in other fields. We would lose the position and prestige that we have gathered during these years and become just a camp-follower dependent on others' policies and other people's wishes, however friendly they might be. To that extent, we would lose our independence of policy and action. Our opponents will say that our policy of non-alignment had been a camouflage all this time and now the mask was off. The great forces of peace that have been unleashed in Europe and America, of which the leaders today are the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, would be dealt a mortal blow and the world would drift to a major war; our friendly relations with the Soviet Union would end. It has been no small matter for us and for the world for the Soviet Union in this crisis between India and China to continue an attitude that is friendly to India.

17. Thus from any point of view, whether we consider the immediate interests of India or her future or the vital interest of world peace, the slightest deviation from our policy of non-alignment and avoidance of military pacts would be a disaster beyond repair. It surprises me that when most people in the wide world, including those who have not approved of our policies in the past, have now given recognition to the validity of those policies,⁹ a few people in

9. For example, John Foster Dulles had said on 17 October 1958 that "India is neutralist in only one sense of the word. India is neutralist in the sense that it has not joined up in any of the collective security organizations. . . . We don't quarrel with the Indian decision. India is not neutral in the sense that it is indifferent to the threat of communism. . . ." Eisenhower on his visit to India in December 1959 told Nehru that he did not want India to change her policy.

India should have fallen into this grievous error, either because of fear or excitement or some other reason which I cannot fathom.

18. In this rather dismal prospect on our borders, there has been one development which we have welcomed and which is commendable. That is the agreement with Pakistan in regard to our eastern border between our two countries.¹⁰ We have been so often disappointed in the past over our agreements with Pakistan that one approaches any such step with some doubt and hesitation. But I feel that this time the agreement is based on a definite desire on both sides to avoid border incidents and to settle these problems of the border. The next step will probably be a similar conference in regard to our western Indo-Pakistan border.¹¹ I hope that this also will succeed. Talks continue to take place on financial matters¹² and the canal waters discussion appear to move

10. On 23 October, after a conference lasting a week, while Pakistan agreed to vacate Tukurgram, India agreed to fix the boundary in the Patharia forests in Assam along the ridge so that East Pakistan could acquire a part of the forests. The Kushiya river dispute was also to be settled by accepting the *thana* boundaries of Beani and Karimganj, and the dispute over the western borders was to be referred to an impartial tribunal.

11. It took place from 8 to 13 December 1959.

12. Morarji Desai and Mohammad Shoaib, the Finance Ministers of India and Pakistan, met from 31 July to 2 August at New Delhi and from 15 to 18 October 1959 at Karachi to discuss outstanding financial disputes between the two countries including a partition debt of Rs. 300 crores owing to India. A final meeting was to be held in New Delhi at the end of November. Financial and economic matters were also discussed during Nehru's visit to Karachi from 19 to 23 September 1960.

slowly but definitely towards an agreement.¹³ All this is to the good, and we must welcome it for it has always been our basic policy to have friendly relations with Pakistan. Some of our critics today who strike belligerent attitudes in regard to China functioned in the same way repeatedly in regard to Pakistan in the past. But in spite of many petty conflicts and the bitter atmosphere that prevailed, we adhered to our broad policy in regard to Pakistan and it is now meeting with some success. I must say that the attitude of the Pakistan Government during these recent talks has been definitely friendly and indicative of a desire to settle the border problems that were discussed.

19. All this must not make us forget that one of the basic and major causes of trouble between India and Pakistan has been Kashmir. That is no simple question and I have no doubt that a settlement of that issue can only come broadly on the lines that India has indicated. But that will take time and we cannot weaken on that issue because of some trouble elsewhere.

20. I have indicated above that the real strength of a country depends upon her scientific and industrial advance. For us it depends on proper planning and its rapid implementation. Some of our opponents who raise their voices against our policies and planning seem to be singularly ignorant of the basic facts of life. If we weakened in pursuing and implementing a policy of industrial advance,



13. By an agreement signed by Nehru, Ayub Khan and W.A.B. Iliff of the World Bank in Karachi on 19 September 1960, the waters of the three eastern rivers, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, were allocated to India and those of the western rivers, Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, were allocated to Pakistan. A permanent Indus Commission, comprising one member each from India and Pakistan, was appointed to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the agreement.

then indeed we would be helpless or nearly so in the face of the crisis that might come in the future.

21. What is this planning about which we talk so much? Is it merely an odd collection of projects for various desirable purposes? That is not planning. Planning for industrial advance is not very different from planning for a military victory. We have to keep the end in view and work towards it from various directions, not allowing our strength to be frittered away. It is a foolish General who rushes about and weakens his forces and forgets the major objective, that is, victory.

22. If the nation's strength and prosperity depends primarily on industrialization, then this process of industrialization must be planned as in a military campaign, always keeping the final end in view. It is for this purpose that we have laid stress on the development of steel, power and machine-building. There are, of course, other important sectors of our economy and industrial development which have to be kept in mind. But the basic thing ultimately is machine-building, which thus assumes an all-important role, because out of this will come the industrialization that we want, out of this will come development of industry and mining and power and transport which are equally essential. The rapid industrial growth of China has been largely due to the emphasis it laid on these basic matters and especially machine-building. They are advancing in fact today because they laid stress on this in the recent past. Therefore, all our planning must necessarily be conditioned and directed to this end. The sooner we can build our great machines, the sooner we will save money in foreign exchange because we shall build those machines ourselves instead of buying them abroad. This is thus a primary factor in saving foreign exchange in the future. Without rapid advance in machine-building, there will not be that quick stepping up in the rate of production and investment.

23. We are giving much thought to our third Five Year Plan and a great deal will depend on how far this Plan is thought of and framed from this central point of view; other

factors being coordinated to fit in with this approach.¹⁴

24. Within a few days, I am going to a place in Mathura District in the U.P. for a conference on service cooperatives. The U.P. Government is taking a big step in spreading these cooperatives.¹⁵ A day or two later, I go to Ujjain for some kind of a *panchayat sammelan*.¹⁶ It gives me much pleasure to participate in these developments of our *panchayats* and cooperatives. I have no doubt that by these means we are laying foundations of a strong, progressive, self-reliant and democratic rural structure, both administrative and economic. This will change the face of things in India.

25. The present stress is necessarily on service cooperatives. I have already written to you about cooperative farming. It may interest you to know what Mahatma Gandhi wrote on this subject. He has written a good deal about it, but the following extract reveals his mind clearly:—

I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to cooperative farming. Does it not stand to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in a village to cultivate their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land anyhow into a hundred portions. . . . It is quite another matter that it may be difficult to convert

14. While the second Five Year Plan laid the foundations of industrial development through emphasis on iron and steel, heavy engineering, machine-building and heavy chemical industries, the third Five Year Plan aimed at accelerating the pace of development in the field through the establishment of basic, capital and producer goods industries with special emphasis on machine-building programmes.

15. On 10 November 1959, Nehru visited Bichpuri, a village near Agra, for the inauguration of 10,016 service cooperatives in Uttar Pradesh as part of the target of 20,000 cooperatives fixed by the Planning Commission for the whole country during the current year.

16. Nehru addressed the All-India Panchayat Sammelan at Ujjain on 12 November 1959.

people to adopt this way of life straightaway. The straight and narrow path is always hard to traverse. But only by surmounting difficulties can we hope to make the path easier.

26. All this is good. But the base of all our work ultimately is the efficiency and integrity of our administration. Without that our plans fail. The test of an administration is not some paper rules and regulations aiming at perfection, but the actual performance. I wish we could have performance audits, wherever possible. That would enable us to know exactly what we are doing and how our administration is functioning. Another test is that of speed in disposing of the matters that come up for decision. Delay is probably the most potent cause of inefficiency and corruption. All the good rules and regulations in the world are of little consequence if they lead to delay. Therefore, every effort should be made to avoid delays so that quick decisions may take place. It is better to make mistakes occasionally but the greatest mistake is to pursue methods which delay.

27. It is probable that we shall have, in the course of this winter, visits from two very eminent men, representing the two most powerful countries in the world today. We expect as our guests President Eisenhower¹⁷ and President Voroshilov of the Soviet Union.¹⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. The visit took place from 9 to 13 December 1959.

18. He visited India from 20 January to 6 February 1960.

New Delhi
15 December, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last nearly six weeks ago, a multitude of important events have taken place. Most of them deserve a message from me to you or some kind of an analysis of the situation. So far as the facts are concerned, you could of course follow them from the newspapers. I have wanted to write to you, but various pressures of work have been so great that it has not been possible for me to find even a little time. In fact, it has been difficult to keep pace with even the daily routines. You will, I am sure, appreciate my difficulty and excuse me.

2. The three matters which deserve special consideration have been: developments on our frontiers with China, President Eisenhower's visit,¹ and our planning and general development schemes, more especially because of the new situation that has arisen.

3. About China and the border situation, I have spoken repeatedly in Parliament and I have little to add in so far as facts are concerned. Nearly a month ago I sent my letter to Premier Chou En-lai,² putting forward certain interim

1. See *ante*, p. 334.

2. In his reply to Zhou Enlai's proposal on 7 November that the armed forces of both countries should withdraw twenty kilometres from the lines which they then occupied, Nehru wrote that while his Government "had not posted any armed personnel anywhere at or near the international border," they thought that "there should not be the slightest risk of any border clash if each Government instructs its outposts not to send out patrols." Nehru also suggested that as an interim measure, in the Ladakh area, "India should withdraw all personnel to the west of the line which the Chinese have shown as the international boundary in their 1956 maps, which, so far as we are aware, are their latest maps." The Chinese, on their part, should similarly "withdraw their personnel to the east of the international boundary which has been described by the Government in their earlier notes and correspondence and shown in their official map."

proposals. I have had no answer to this.³ These proposals were, I think, reasonable and capable of fulfilment by both sides without any discredit. Undoubtedly they involve a fairly large withdrawal of the Chinese forces from certain parts of eastern Ladakh and this is not a particularly easy thing to do for the Chinese Government, situated as they are. Anyhow I am hoping for the best. If these proposals are accepted and given effect to, then the question of my meeting Premier Chou En-lai will arise. I have already stated that I am prepared to meet him and discuss the broad approach to these problems.

4. Today I placed some papers before Parliament in connection with the ill-treatment given by the Chinese to some of our men who had been taken prisoners by the Chinese authorities in Ladakh.⁴ It is obvious that our sources of information must be those men who participated in the Ladakh incident. It is conceivable that there may be exaggerations on both sides or attempts to tone down some particular aspect of the incident. The two accounts, that is, our own and the Chinese, differ very greatly. Yet I think that the detailed account of Karam Singh that we have given bears the impress of truth in a large measure. The story he gives is a grim and distressing one. This will no doubt create a strong reaction in our people. What then are we to do about it? The Chinese are not likely to accept our version and will stick to theirs. Many of our people may demand what they call strong measures, but it is not quite clear what they mean by this. There are only two ways of dealing with another country: one is the diplomatic one with such normal pressures that one can exercise, and the other the way of war.

3. Zhou wrote on 17 December 1959 rejecting Nehru's proposal and suggested that they should meet on 26 December 1959 either in Beijing or in Rangoon.

4. India protested to China on 13 December 1959 that the Indian personnel were treated much worse than that to which even prisoners of war were entitled to under the Geneva Convention.

5. One may be driven into war, but no country likes the prospect, much less do we in India like it. Any such war will be disastrous both from our point of view as well as probably the Chinese. It may well be the beginning of a much wider conflict. All this would mean the end of the hopes that we have been nourishing about our own progress as well as world peace.

6. In the course of the last few years very serious incidents have happened between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as well as between the U.S.A. and China. All these countries were well equipped for war and yet they avoided this ultimate appeal to arms and contented themselves with strong notes of protest, because they realized that once the die is cast in favour of war, the future becomes one of dreadful uncertainty. Some of our friends and critics, however, think little of what war is. They seem to look upon it as some kind of an extension of a police operation.

7. Apart from the immediate problems that we have to face on our frontier vis-a-vis China, we have to realize that an entirely new situation has arisen not only for us, but also for other countries in Asia. Our long frontier with China, extending over 2,600 miles, was till recently what might be called a dead frontier with no one thinking very much about it. Now it has become a live and vital frontier and, in the best of circumstances, it will remain a frontier of dangerous potentialities. This is no new development and we have been conscious of this possibility at least for the last seven or eight years. Indeed it was because of this that we started taking steps some years ago to put up checkpoints and improve communications. It is true that we did not expect the rapid development that has taken place on the Tibetan side and we may be criticized for lack of foresight. But any excessive concentration by us on frontier developments and defences would have meant, to that extent, a slowing down of basic developmental programmes in the whole of the country. Even from the point of view of defence, the Five Year Plans were of vital importance. I do not see how we could have

sacrificed them and thus sacrificed also any increase in our basic strength for defence for the sake of temporary arrangements. However, the fact is that we have to face this difficult situation on the border and that some kind of tension is likely to continue for a long time, even if the present situation is resolved in a peaceful way.

8. Inevitably, we have to take immediate steps to strengthen our border defences. That will mean an additional burden. At the same time, we have to look to the future even from the point of view of defence. This brings us back to the need for a rapid extension in our industrial foundation and background. This leads us to a reconsideration of our Five Year Plans. Thus, whether we look at this question from the point of view of defence or economic progress, the result is much the same, even though the emphasis might vary here and there.

9. The China crisis has led to a great deal of excitement, enthusiasm and emotion in our people. That is as it should be, provided this enthusiasm is not frittered away in loud shouting and brave gestures. How then can we take advantage of this enthusiasm for the sake of building up a nation? That is perhaps one of the most important problems we have to face today, and I should like you to give thought to it. I shall also be writing about it to you from time to time.

10. In spite of this enthusiasm and emotion, I have a feeling that most people do not quite realize the gravity and the needs of the situation. We still continue our quarrels and our lack of discipline. We talk about offering our lives for the defence of the country, but are not anxious to do a little hard work for it. How are we to turn the mind and activity of the country in a right direction? That direction can be, to some extent, a military one, that is, giving some kind of military training to our young men.⁵ There are some

5. Addressing the Territorial Army Officers and Jawans in Delhi on 21 November 1959, Nehru stressed the need for some kind of military training to students. On 6 December, V.K. Krishna Menon, the Minister for Defence, announced that it had been decided to train 250,000 youth in the age group of 15 to 19 in the use of arms.

proposals to this effect which, to begin with, might help in the training of about 250,000 young men. The figure seems small, but it is better to concentrate on a limited number than to spread out too much at the beginning. But what I have in mind is something on a much bigger scale and not directly aimed at military training.

11. As you know, we have been giving a great deal of thought to the third Five Year Plan, and I have frequently written to you about it. Behind the figures of this Plan will lie or should lie the story of the rapid development of our country. We have arrived at a stage when many of our past arguments do not have much importance. We have to look at the problem not in some vague ideological way, but pragmatically and with a view to our taking rapid steps on all our important fronts, agricultural and industrial. Even more than the planning part of it, we have to think of evolving methods of rapid implementation of what we plan. That indeed is the basic difficulty we have to face, because our present procedures, however good they may appear on paper, are slow-moving and unsuited to any rapid advance. It may interest you to read some extracts I give below from a recent article⁶ by Mr. Walter Lippmann,⁷ the well-known American columnist, who recently visited India.⁸ He may well be described as a liberal conservative and is very far from being any kind of a revolutionary in thinking. And yet, he was troubled in India. He said:—

What troubled me was the disparity between the revolutionary objectives of the third Five Year Plan and the

6. 'India the Glorious Gamble' by Walter Lippmann published in *Ladies Home Journal* (August 1959).

7. (1889-1974). Leading American journalist; wrote for *New York Herald Tribune*, 1931-62, and for *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times*, 1963-74.

8. At the end of November 1959.

mildness, almost Victorian mildness, and normality of the Indian political system. I asked myself whether a gigantic economic revolution can be carried out by Parliamentary politicians and civil servants without the dynamism and discipline of an organized mass movement.

Again, he refers to our political institutions which he praises, but then goes on to say whether:

It was certain, or even probable, that India can solve these problems with a normal Government constituted more or less in the British style. I do not, however, think that the British themselves would solve their problems without radical economic changes, if they were faced with the problems of the magnitude and complexity of those of India.

A strong medicine is needed, he says, even though he dislikes strong medicines.

For India does not have all the time in the world to solve its basic problems by education of its masses and by persuasion. The essential economic problem must be solved within a few years, or it may well become insoluble.

He further goes on to say:

For myself the real question is whether the programme, which is no doubt conservative, can be carried out quickly enough among the 300 million persons, who live in more than half a million villages. I cannot help feeling that for such a far-reaching revolution set in a gigantic scale, in so short a time, there will be needed in the leadership of the Indian nation, and in the organization of the Indian masses, the dynamism and discipline which are not now there.

12. This may be a somewhat pessimistic view, but there can be little doubt that there is an element of truth in it and, at any rate, we must give serious thought to it. Personally, I think that the parliamentary democratic system is a good one and must continue, but while keeping its basic characteristics, its slow procedures have to be speeded up so that

quick decisions can be taken and given effect to. That is to say, the administrative apparatus has to be tightened. I do not see any reason why this should not be done while preserving the essential features of the Parliamentary system. Anyhow, the present structure and procedures appear to be inadequate.

13. You may be interested in some further quotations from a recent address by Dr. Max Millikan,⁹ a distinguished economist, who is the Director of International Studies in MIT (U.S.A.). Here again, we have the approach of a more or less conservative person, but practical-minded and looking to the future. He delivered this address recently in Delhi at a seminar on Planning organized by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.¹⁰ He says:

This leads me to my conclusion, which I may as well reveal at the outset, that India has a better chance of accomplishing its objectives if it tried to do too much than if it tried to do too little. If it tries to do too little, its efforts will be below the level where these complementarities between various types of programme can operate effectively to reinforce each other and to build up resources' utilization greater than at the beginning. If you do a number of things together and simultaneously in an economy, you might very well get much more in total result than you were expecting from each one individually taken by itself.

To be more positive, my central point today really is that, in my view, development programming is characterized by the fact that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

9. Max Franklin Millikan (1913-1977). Professor of Economics, and Director, International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1952-77.

10. Held from 26 to 28 November, Max Millikan addressed it on the 18th.

14. He goes on to say:

There is a tendency for economists to take too rigidly the assumption of scarce means. While means are scarce, they are not fixed by any means and the total resources that can be brought to bear in under-developed countries will be importantly affected by the allocation of those resources. The total, in other words, is affected by its composition and not independent thereof. This is specially true in under-developed countries.

15. Further, he says, referring to his emphasis on complementarities and the flexibility of resources:

I hear that there are untouched resources in India which can be called for by the right kind of effort. This is perfectly clear in certain areas. You obviously have huge resources of unused, unskilled manpower. Then there are very substantial levels of unutilized capacity in a good many cases and the resources available in India at the present levels of activity are not being fully utilized.

He goes on to say:

Functionally, we are used to thinking that the only way to increase the national income is to increase the fraction of present income which goes into saving and to cut the fraction that goes into consumption. But in under-developed areas, particularly in India, the right kind of stimulus can produce more saving, more consumption and more income. One of the things I am saying is that in order to make your forward estimates as to what resources are available, you should estimate savings from the level of income which you have at present.

16. Again, he goes on:

I have no suggestions to make on this problem of financing. However, I would like to suggest that we need not take the official resources too seriously, but rather concentrate on the real resources for which there may be competition between these two sectors (public and private).

He ends up by saying that the third Five Year Plan must be a bold and imaginative one.

17. I have given these extracts here to indicate to you what the thinking is among more or less conservative foreign experts who know something about India. It would appear that our thinking lags behind this. We shall thus have to do a little rethinking, more especially because now we have to face difficult situations involving difficult choices. Meanwhile, time passes, and so do opportunities.

18. The last few days in Delhi were taken up by President Eisenhower's visit and the tremendous enthusiasm and emotion that this witnessed. For a variety of reasons, we expected a great welcome for the President. But even our anticipations were exceeded. This is all to the good, and I believe there is a greater mutual understanding between these two countries now. That does not mean, as some people imagine, that we have moved away from our basic policies. It may interest you to know that in the course of our talks President Eisenhower told me that he appreciated and understood our desire to keep out of military alliances; indeed that he would not have it otherwise. We had long discussions and covered almost all the current problems of Asia, Europe and even Africa. We were not out to get anything from each other, but rather to understand, and I think both of us succeeded to some extent. One of the hopeful features of the world situation today is the strong desire for some kind of a peaceful settlement which actuates both President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev.

19. Probably, the so-called Summit meeting of the four Big Powers will be held towards the end of April.¹¹ Soon after, early in May, it is proposed to hold the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.¹²

11. The Conference was to begin in Paris on 16 May 1960.

12. Held from 3 to 13 May 1960.

20. I have recently seen a report from a senior officer in one of our States. This report points out how the time of our district officers is spent or rather wasted in looking after V.I.P.s and the like. Also in celebrating special days, weeks or fortnights. I should like to draw your special attention to this report and I am, therefore, enclosing an extract from it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
27 December, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,*

I enclose a copy of an article¹ which has appeared in the *New Statesman* of London on the 19th December 1959. This article is by Professor Rene Dumont² of Paris. He was a member of the recent U.N. Commission for evaluating community development schemes in India.

This Commission has issued a report³ which I think has already been sent to you by our Planning Commission. If

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. Dumont argued in his article 'India's Agricultural Defeat' that emphasis on agriculture had been reduced in the second Five Year Plan and the prevailing atmosphere was one of "semi-famine conditions with prices of cereals rising." The situation had worsened due to rapidly increasing population, erratic monsoons, big landlords not ploughing back profits in land, and the general failure of the peasantry to use irrigation facilities. The community development programme, according to Dumont, suffered from bad management under which "comfort has been given priority over production." The progress of the programme had also been impeded by inadequate mobilization of voluntary labour and bigger landlords keeping the poor peasants and landless labour in conditions of servitude. Dumont stressed the need for speedy agrarian reforms and undertaking small-scale water works which would benefit the peasantry and generate hope and enthusiasm among them.

2. (b. 1904). French agricultural expert, Professor, Institute of Political Studies, Paris, 1946-66; visited India as U.N. expert to study progress of agriculture and community development schemes, 1959.

3. The report observed that the hierarchical growth of the official machinery had given a great setback to the programme as its "original impetus and clarity of vision" had been lost and the officials handling these works were "out of touch with reality." It stressed the need for undertaking small irrigation works.

not, I suggest that you write for it. It is important that we should know what outside observers think of the work we have been doing and, more especially, of the faults they have pointed out.

Professor Rene Dumont's article, which I enclose, makes distressing reading. I think that he has exaggerated, and the picture he has presented is not a balanced one. Nevertheless, what he has said must command our attention, and the faults he has pointed out are there. We have got into the habit of drawing up plans and then imagining that they will be fully and quickly implemented. As a matter of fact, this does not happen. The U.N. Commission has pointed out that there is a "widespread confusion in India between what is intended and what, in fact, exists."

This is a hard judgement, and yet I think it has a good deal of truth in it.

In today's papers, there is a report of a speech delivered by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Shri H.V.R. Iengar, at Baroda. In this speech he refers to the U.N. Commission's report and lays particular stress on the inadequacy of our administrative machinery to give effect to the changes that we so much desire. He says that such a machinery should "respond to the new impulses of a national government dedicated to the task of improving the lot of the common man." Undoubtedly our governments are devoted to this task. What then happens to prevent our wishes and decisions being translated into facts?

That is a matter of grave importance. It is important, of course, to make the right decisions and to have the right objectives. But our objectives and decisions do not take us far unless they take shape in actual achievements. It has become increasingly clear that our administrative machinery is not wholly suited to this task. This is not the fault of the men or the machinery because, by and large, they are competent. It is rather the fault of the complicated procedures which involve great delay, and delay is not only exceedingly wasteful, but also encourages corruption.

27 December, 1959

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We can no longer afford this kind of thing with the grave crises that face us. We are giving earnest thought to these matters in our Central Cabinet. I hope that you and your Government will also consider these matters with all the urgency and care that they deserve.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
1 January, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you near the midnight hour when the old year is passing away and the New Year, with all its hopes and promises as well as its apprehensions and dangers, is coming in. This passing year has been, as you know, full of difficulties and internal troubles. Apart from internal matters, we have had to face quite a new kind of trouble on our frontiers. This frontier trouble with China is a major event for us and for India and it might well be considered to be a historic development which will pursue us for a long time.

2. And yet, in spite of all this, I can tell you, in all honesty, that I look forward to this New Year with faith and confidence. I have no doubt that it will not be an easy year, but I have equally no doubt that we shall progressively overcome the difficulties that encompass us.

3. This evening, I visited the World Agricultural Fair¹ here and went to a number of State pavilions. I have not been able to visit all the State pavilions, but even those that I have visited filled me with suppressed enthusiasm. Indeed, the whole exhibition is a cheering sight, for it shows vividly how India is on the move. Two years ago, we had the Industrial Exhibition here and that was a remarkable sight. Eminent foreigners who saw it were astonished at what we had done and were doing. The same thing is happening now with this Agricultural Fair. Foreigners are impressed. But what is more to the point, even we who are in such intimate

1. Held at New Delhi from 10 December 1959 to 10 January 1960.

contact with what is happening in India are impressed by what we see. Unlike most other countries, most of us here are constantly seeing the dark side of the picture and decrying our achievements. Perhaps we are not good at publicity of the right type, even though when a big exhibition takes place, we manage to do it rather well. But there is no continuing publicity, in terms of facts and figures, about what we have done or are doing. I think that both our Central and State Governments should consider how best they can keep our public informed of our achievements. I do not suggest just some propaganda technique, but the giving out of solid facts.

4. Lately, I have been examining figures about the progress of our education.² The progress we have made in these past few years is remarkable by any standard. Over forty millions of young boys and girls are in our schools and colleges, and the number is increasing fast. In particular, our institutes for technical training are springing up all over the country and our output of engineers and the like is increasing rapidly. We hear a great deal about student indiscipline and are rightly distressed at it. But few people take the trouble to find out this widespread march of education all over the country.

5. Then again there can be little doubt that in our industry we are making very substantial progress.³ The major and heavy industries are no doubt very important and they receive a measure of publicity as they should. But what is equally significant is widespread advance of small industries in various parts of the country. The advance will be even greater but for electric power not being always available.

2. There were 40,187,000 students in 4,10,046 educational institutions of all types in India during 1958-59.

3. Industrial production showed an increase by 12.8 per cent in December 1959 compared to the previous year. Production of automobiles and iron and steel increased by 50 per cent, cement, sugar and paper by 20 to 30 per cent, electrical goods and tyres by 16 to 18 per cent, tea by 11 per cent, and cotton textiles, coal and soap by 4 per cent.

6. Agriculture is occupying our minds a great deal and we have come to realize, even more than before, how vital it is for our growth. A few days ago, I sent you an article by Professor Rene Dumont who had come here in the United Nations Committee for evaluating our community development programme.⁴ That was a depressing article. Much that it said was correct. Nevertheless, it presented an exaggerated picture which created, I think, a wrong impression in the minds of its readers. I am convinced that the position in India in regard to agriculture is not at all as bad as made out by Professor Dumont. Visiting the Agricultural Fair here, I have become even more optimistic, for the progress made in many directions is truly remarkable. It is true that this progress is not widespread and it is not good enough for individual examples to be held up for our satisfaction. But there is something much more than individual examples that I saw supported by facts and figures.

7. I have given you a fairly rosy picture of the economic progress of India both in industry and agriculture. This picture is supported by facts and data and by other information that reaches us. Recently the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, after visiting various parts of the country, also pointed out⁵ that he had found the real state of our country far better than one would imagine from the criticisms made about it. Indeed, we are in the habit of minimizing our achievements, and there are of course many friends of ours who take particular delight in running down their own country and what it is doing. They are justified, I suppose, if they are in the Opposition to criticize the Government in power. But there is a difference in criticizing the Government and in running down the country as a whole.

4. See *ante*, pp. 345-346.

5. H.V.R. Iengar pointed this out in his inaugural address at the conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics on 25 December 1959.

8. Our achievements are noteworthy and, what is more, they bear the promise of a much better future. I have already written to you about the decentralizing process that is going on in some of our rural areas, notably in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.⁶ I feel that this process has in it one of the major keys to unlock the vast energy of our rural population which has suffered from inertia for so long. Nothing dramatic takes place suddenly, but the direction of this movement and its potential power are beginning to be evident. So also our move to spread out cooperatives in our villages. In some States, progress in this respect has been very satisfactory; others are trying to catch up. Here also there is a progressive opening out of the energy and spirit of self-reliance of our rural masses. The principal problem for us is how to speed this progress.

9. There is another side of this picture, to which I would like to draw your particular attention and which is not so pleasant to look at. We see many high points of progress which can be compared to those in any other country. But we have not in the past utilized even the progress made. Our methods and procedures in Government are astonishingly slow and restricted. These procedures aim at some kind of perfection, in the result that they prevent things being done and we suffer from something that is most harmful, that is delay. This has been pointed out to us repeatedly by our own people as well as competent foreigners who have visited India. All of us have been conscious of this and we have tried to overcome it by such improvements as we could make in our procedures, but the result has not been considerable and we still move forward checked at every step by the old procedures and institutional methods which have come down to us from the past. Those institutions had been built up, with a large measure of success, under a different type of Government and economy. There was no urge to deal with a

6. See *ante*, p. 299.

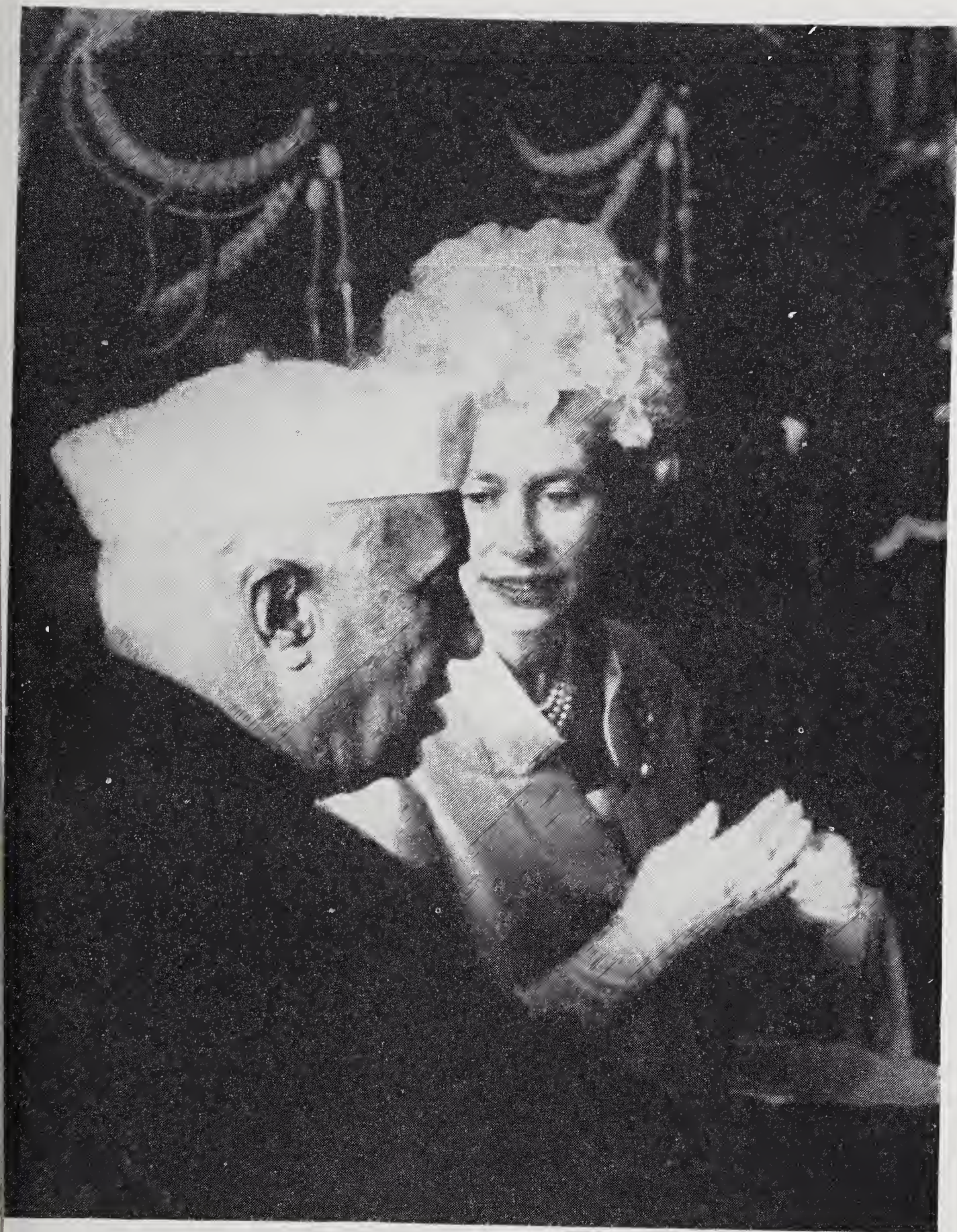
rapidly changing situation in the social and economic sphere, such as we have to face today. It is no good blaming those institutions because they were meant for a different purpose.

10. The question, however, arises as to how we can make institutional changes so as to fit in with the present needs of the country. It has been referred to in our Five Year Plan reports and elsewhere. We have to face it squarely now and remove such checks and obstructions as come in the way of our rapid implementation of what we decide.

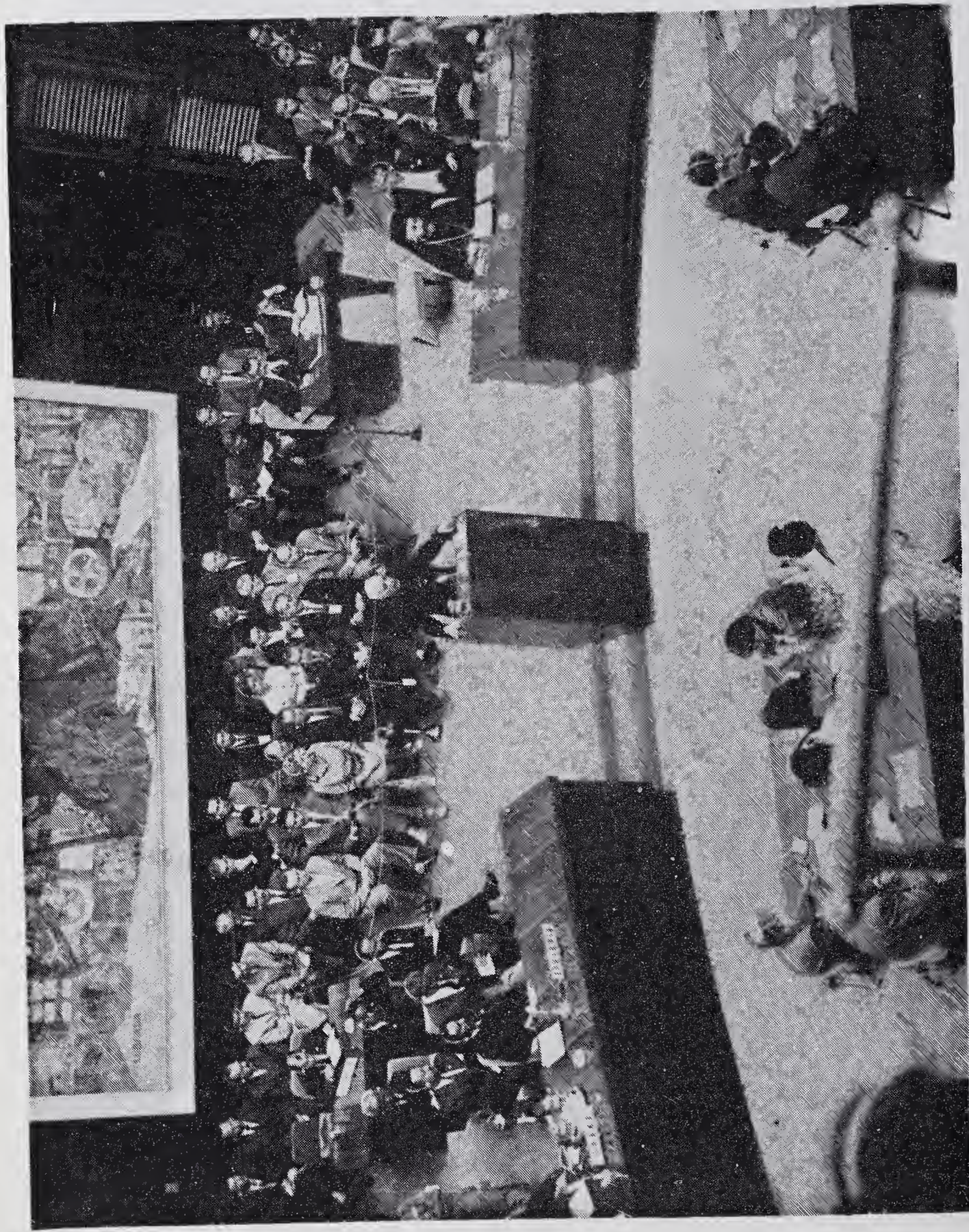
11. This was necessary enough from the planning point of view; it has become even more necessary because of the dangers on our frontier. I do not want to refer to the possibility of a war and I earnestly hope that we shall not have to face this dire contingency. But, war or no war, we have to face a situation which can only be met by some of the speedy methods associated with an organization for war. When a country has to fight for its survival, it cannot tolerate any obstructions and it will even take many risks. Something of that mentality must come to us now for, in no other way, can we deal adequately with the problems that face us. The choice before us is limited.

12. Ever since the trouble on our frontier, there has been a pleasing response from the public and an expression of facing this possible danger with all our might. And yet this response in words or writing is not reflected in our activities. There is no sense of urgency and of a peril to be faced. Many of our people move between two extremes—a somewhat panicky state of mind and, in actual fact, a measure of complacency and carrying on as before. Neither of these is good enough or helpful.

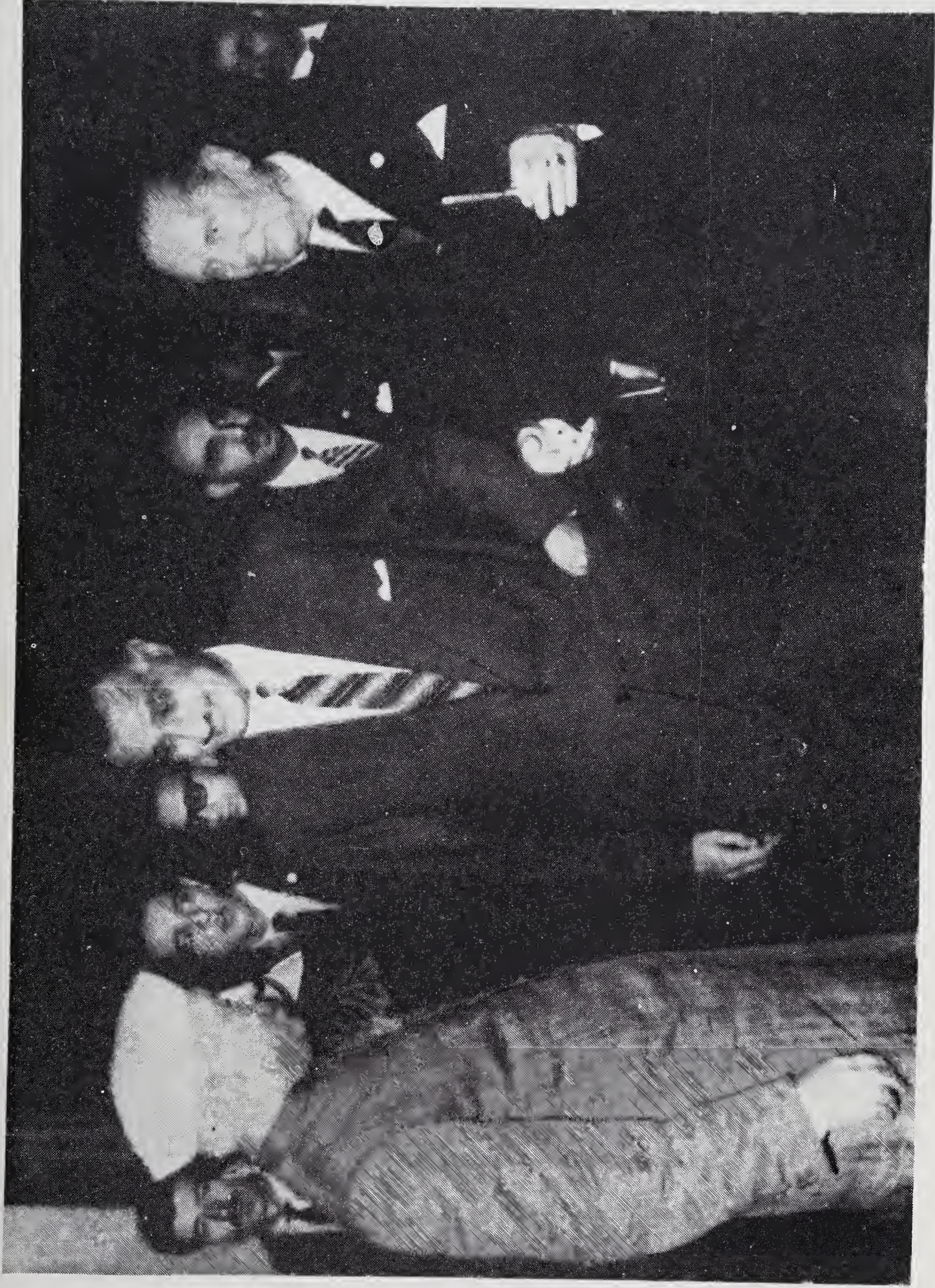
13. What our defence forces can or should do in the circumstances is, of course, important and full attention is being paid to this matter. But defence, in the long or even the short run, depends on industrial strength of the country and its economy. Thus we come back to our Five Year Plans with such variations as might be necessary because of the frontier



With Queen Elizabeth II, New Delhi, 25 January 1961



Addressing the First Conference of Non-Aligned Countries,
Belgrade, 2 September 1961



With Col. Nasser and Marshal Tito,
Belgrade, 2 September 1961



With John F. Kennedy, Mrs. Kennedy and Indira Gandhi,
Washington, 7 November 1961

danger. In the main, however, these plans hold good. Agricultural production must advance as rapidly as possible, and all the basic industries must go ahead, so that we may approach a stage of a large measure of self-sufficiency and an economy which is self-generating. That is the problem of planning and I think we have enough data and experience at our disposal to plan rightly.

14. The real difficulty is in the actual implementation of the plans. We look round and there we come up against the institutions and procedures that govern implementation. Also the fact that implementation of big social and economic programmes must necessarily have the active co-operation of the great mass of our people. To both these approaches, we must address ourselves with all our might. If we do so, many of our internal troubles and controversies would tend to fritter away and the attention of our people will be directed towards constructive effort.

15. So far as the development of major industries is concerned, this is principally the work of the Central and State Governments, although even there the co-operation of all the people concerned is necessary. But, in agriculture, it is the farmer ultimately who functions and not all the various grades of officials, experts and others who are constantly advising him. We have to reach the farmer and convince him by practical demonstration about the worth of our programmes and proposals, and the successful officer or expert is one who does this himself and not merely talks about it. We all know what is to be done in agriculture and we have repeatedly laid down long lists of activities which are considered necessary. Our work has certainly borne fruit, but the pace has not been rapid enough and the time has now come when no slowness in pace can be tolerated and everything that comes in the way must be brushed aside. That is why I wrote to you more than once that agriculture must be considered the most vital in our economy. I even suggested that the Chief Minister should take charge of it. But whether the Chief Minister himself takes charge of it or

not, the basic fact which should be kept always in view is that the work of every State Government will be judged by the measure of progress in agricultural production. That measure will depend on the understanding and active participation of the individual farmers. We must remember that what we are aiming at is modernizing farming and getting out of centuries-old ruts.

16. Thousands of farmers visit Delhi almost daily. Those who come here are probably select groups and the better type of farmers. They appear to be eager and anxious to move forward and yet it surprised me when I found out from them how many used new ploughs and how many still stick to the ancient plough which has functioned in India for a thousand years or more. Quite a considerable number still use these old ploughs. How can we expect them to give better results unless they have better implements? I am not referring to tractors, combines and the like, although I have no objection to them. But, it is patent that our improvement of agriculture cannot wait for the introduction of tractors on a big scale. Indeed, with our vast manpower, the rapid introduction of tractors might well produce very difficult problems by increasing unemployment. It is only when our growing industry absorbs a large number of the people who depend on agriculture now that we can think in terms of progressive mechanization.

17. But when I say that tractors and combines are not the urgent need of India, I do not mean that the old tools and implements should continue to be used. There are simple and relatively cheap modern tools and these must replace the old implements which have served this country for a number of years, may be, thousands of years. Take the plough. A simple modern plough can obviously do much greater work than the old one which just scratches the surface of the soil. Its cost probably varies from about Rs. 25/- to Rs. 75/-. This is not a large sum even for our farmers and the cost of it comes back manifold in the first harvest after it is used. I think that a concerted and determined effort should be made

by all State Governments to replace these old ploughs with new ones. This process today is very slow and we have to depend on small-scale manufacturing plants by private agencies who price it at a figure higher than is necessary. There should, therefore, be large-scale manufacture of these ploughs, preferably by the Government itself, or by widespread cottage industries and cooperatives. These ploughs can be given to the farmer on hire-purchase system or the price can be realized at the time of harvesting. We should aim, therefore, all over the country at eliminating the old plough and introducing simple modern implements in the course of a year or two. Properly organized, there should be no considerable financial burden and all the money invested ought to come back within a few months. The results in production will be significant.

18. There is a tendency for all of us to sit in offices and draw up plans and to ignore a very vital aspect of our problem. We talk lightly of hundreds of thousands of crores. These figures have no meaning to the peasant, nor is he greatly impressed by stories of mighty river valley schemes and steel plants, etc. which do not directly affect him. What impresses him is what he sees roundabout. Therefore, it is better for us to lay stress on a large number of small schemes for irrigation purposes and small industries. These will require relatively little capital and they will bring forth results within a few months. The farmer can see them growing up and can appreciate the benefits which he derives from them. That is why we are now thinking more of a variety of minor schemes spread out all over the country. This leads to a more balanced development of the country and helps in training up our people and making them understand modern methods. This programme of having relatively small schemes can be applied to production of fertilizers and of pig iron. I am not running down big schemes for I think they are vital to our task, but I do appeal for a multitude of small schemes now which will bring all our planning to the eyes of the farmer.

19. The *panchayats* must be held responsible for imple-

mentation of these plans and they should be given adequate resources for this purpose. The cooperative will inevitably come into the picture. We have the knowledge of how to plan. What is needed now is quick implementation. For this purpose, the full understanding and co-operation of farmers must be sought. I find that our farmers are very intelligent and easily adopt new methods if they are approached in the right way and convinced by practical examples of the benefits of such methods.

20. There remains the great question of how to utilize our unused or partly used manpower. Whatever in the way of resources we may lack, we have an abundance of this particular type of resource, that is, manpower. Ultimately, with the growth of agriculture and industry, this manpower will be absorbed. But it is patent that this cannot happen for a considerable time. It becomes of great importance, therefore, to devise methods of utilizing this manpower. The Chinese increased their production greatly because they could take advantage of their huge manpower and they put practically everyone to work hard. There was no choice about it and the methods were coercive. We cannot and do not wish to function in that way, but that does not mean that we should wait supinely and do nothing effective.

21. There are many ways of utilizing this manpower and some have been tried already with success. Apart from this wider question, another question is now before us for consideration. That is a measure of compulsory training in social work for our students. It has been suggested that students who complete their school course should undertake a year's training in social work, including actual physical labour, before they go to the university. There may be some variations of this proposal, but the basic approach has to be on those lines. If such a training is given, much of the present so-called student indiscipline will disappear.

22. I should like you to give urgent thought to what I have suggested above. We shall have to consider many of these matters at the Congress Session at Bangalore which will be

held within two weeks from now.⁷ It is for the Congress to give a fairly clear and straight lead to every hamlet in the country. But, above all, those who are engaged in the business of Government have to set an example of functioning with efficiency and rapidity and devising methods of implementing whatever has been decided upon.

23. I send you all good wishes for this New Year that is upon us. When this year also comes to its appointed end, may we be able to look back upon our labours and achievements with satisfaction and some pride in the new India which it is our high privilege to serve.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The 65th Session of the Indian National Congress was held on 16 and 17 January 1960.

New Delhi
8 March, 1960

The attached notes¹ by Dr. K.N. Kaul,² Director of the National Botanical Gardens in Lucknow, will interest you. These notes show how much can be done simply without much expenditure of money. I hope you will draw the attention of your Departments concerned to these matters and follow this up.

Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special note addressed to all Chief Ministers.

1. In his notes, Kaul stated that the powder of the old fallen leaves had been successfully used as manure and for reclaiming the alkaline soil. Also a mechanical device was being developed to collect fallen leaves.

2. (1905-1983). Brother of Kamala Nehru; Director, National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow, 1953-60; Vice-Chancellor, C.S. Azad University of Agriculture and Technology, Kanpur from 1975 till his death.

New Delhi
8 June, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

It is just over five months since I wrote to you what we call a fortnightly letter. My last one was dated the 1st of January. I have almost lost the habit of writing these fortnightlies, and it is not easy to pick up old threads, or to bring back a mood which is helpful for this purpose. I suppose this long delay itself is guilt enough which cannot be washed away by excuses. How can I say that I have been busy all the time throughout these five months? That would not be true, although it is a fact that the burden of work has been heavy. I suppose the real reason is that I could not tune my mind to the task of writing to you the kind of letters I would wish to write. All this indicates not a proper state of the mind; perhaps it means an unhealthy habit of worrying. Anyhow, it is difficult for me to judge myself, even though I try to do so from time to time.

2. Of these five months, one month was passed in travels abroad.¹ Perhaps, I might as well deal with this period and what has happened during this past month. It is not much good my giving an account of previous events which, important as they were at the time they took place, have passed into history.

3. I went abroad principally for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.² This was held after rather a longer interval than usual, three years since the last Conference in 1957.³ It was being held just before the long-

1. From 1 to 29 May 1960.

2. Held from 3 to 13 May 1960.

3. See Vol. 4, p. 516.

awaited and much trumpeted Summit Conference.⁴ During these past three years, I had found it difficult to go abroad because of work and problems at home, even though two parts of the world attracted me greatly because of their growing importance. These two parts are Africa and the countries of Latin America. I have not been to Latin America at all, and, in Africa, I have only visited Egypt repeatedly and Sudan for two days.⁵ I have been very conscious of the necessity for us to develop greater contacts with both these vast and important regions. But it was not easy to pay a brief visit to either of these regions. There is a measure of dissatisfaction in the African countries as well as in Latin America at being left out by us, when I have travelled so often to various parts of Europe and Asia as well as North America. I wish I could remove this feeling because I am fully conscious of their great importance in the world today and probably even greater importance tomorrow.

4. When I decided to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, it was not my intention to extend my tour to other countries. But, step by step, I had to extend my tour. First of all, when President Nasser came here⁶ he pressed me so much to stop for a while in Cairo, which was on the way, that I could not well refuse.⁷ Later I felt that I might as well take advantage of this occasion to pay a brief visit to Turkey⁸ which had been on my list for two years ever since a pressing invitation came to me to go there. This again led to brief visits to Lebanon⁹ and Damascus.¹⁰ I am glad I went to these places because they gave me a greater insight into the forces and movements at work in these troubled areas of the so-called Middle East.

4. Scheduled to be held from 16 May at Paris.

5. See Vol. 4, p. 499.

6. Nasser visited India from 29 March to 10 April 1960.

7. Nehru visited Cairo on 17 and 18 May 1960.

8. He visited Turkey on 20 and 21 May 1960.

9. On 24 and 25 May 1960.

10. From 26 to 28 May 1960.

5. I found Egypt, or rather Cairo, bigger and brighter than it was previously. It had grown considerably and great new avenues had been constructed. On the whole, I had an impression of activity and development. There was no sense of depression or fear. I was in Cairo when news reached me of the collapse of the Summit Conference.¹¹ This enabled me to judge of reactions in the various countries I visited. While in Egypt I visited the famous big dam area at Aswan,¹² which has become part of recent history. I also visited the magnificent remains of the old temples at Luxar, which I had not previously seen.

6. From Cairo I paid a visit¹³ to the Gaza Strip which divides Israel from the U.A.R. and which is guarded by a United Nations' Force. A number of nations have contributed to this U.N. Force, but the Indian contingent is the largest. The whole force is at present under the command of an Indian General. I was glad to visit our officers and men in these areas and to find how popular they were both with the people of that area and with the contingents from other countries. Wherever our soldiers have gone in their mission for peace, they have brought credit to our country and to our Army.

11. At a private session, shortly before the start of the Conference on 16 May, Khrushchev demanded an apology from the U.S. Government for a spy plane's flight over Soviet territory on 1 May, punishment of the guilty persons, clarification of future American policy about conduct of such flights and postponement of the 'Summit' by six to eight months until conditions became favourable. He also took exception to Eisenhower's assertion on 11 May that the reconnaissance flights by U.S. planes "have been and remain the calculated policy of the United States." Eisenhower replied that while all such flights had been suspended, Khrushchev was sabotaging the Summit by making an issue of the incident. Attempts by De Gaulle and Macmillan to save the Conference having failed, the Heads of State left Paris on 19 May 1960.

12. On 18 May 1960.

13. On 19 and 20 May 1960.

7. My visit to Turkey took place under strange circumstances¹⁴ and many people have criticized me for going there when the country was in a state of unrest and turmoil.¹⁵ I had tried to get this visit postponed, but the then Turkish Government insisted that I should go there and I could not very well back out at that stage. As a matter of fact, I am glad that I went there. Not only because this enabled me to get some vivid impressions of conditions in Turkey, but, strange though it may appear, my visit was a popular one, and therefore, led to a greater appreciation of India by the people of Turkey. Naturally I had nothing to do with the internal affairs and troubles there. But I have enough experience to sense a situation in a country and my eyes and ears are fairly receptive. It was clear to me even during my stay there that the existing regime could not last long. I did not expect a change within two days of my departure, but a change seemed to me inevitable.

8. I met the members of the then Government. I also met the Leader of the Opposition, Ismet Inonu Pasha,¹⁶ who is a hero of the revolution started by Kemal Ataturk¹⁷ and is, I am sure, the most popular man in Turkey at present. It was good that I met Inonu Pasha at a big party given by our Ambassador¹⁸ at Ankara, because this meeting gave a

14. The Turkish Government's attempts to suppress the Opposition led to popular unrest in which students took a leading part. The army then seized control, banned all political parties, and on 27 May arrested President Bayar and Prime Minister Menderes.

15. *The Indian Express* on 30 May and *The Times of India* on the next day described the visit as "ill-timed" and "ill-advised". *The Hindustan Times* on 1 June called it "a diplomatic *faux pas* of the first magnitude."

16. (1894-1973). Leader of Republican Party in Turkey; Prime Minister, 1923-24, 1925-37, and 1961-65; President of Turkey, 1938-50.

17. For b.fn. see Vol. 2, p. 459.

18. J.K. Atal (b. 1914). Joined I.C.S., 1937; Ambassador to Turkey, 1959-63, Ethiopia, 1963-66, Yugoslavia and Greece, 1966-69, and Italy, 1970-71; High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1971; Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1972-74.

balance to my visit which otherwise might have been purely governmental. What pleased me, however, was the obvious welcome on the faces of the Turkish people who assembled in crowds to see me. That was not much of a personal welcome. It was a tribute to India and some slogans indicated that to them India was a land of freedom.

9. The Turks are a fine and tough people with a great deal of discipline. Even the demonstrations against the government were extraordinarily disciplined. Practically at no stage was there a trace of violence or injury by the crowds. They impressed me as a soldier nation, long accustomed to military discipline. In their language, odd words cropped up which were familiar to me as we have them in our own language. Even a group of common words brought a sense of kinship. The form of Hindi or Hindustani, which is called Urdu, thus serves as a slight link with the languages of Central and Western Asia.

10. Ankara was an attractive city situated on a number of low-lying hills. One might say that Ankara began its new career about the same time as New Delhi. But the other city that I visited, Istanbul or, as it was long known, Constantinople, is hoary with age and history. Its situation on both sides of the Bosphorus is unique and magnificent. Perhaps, no other city in the world has such a favourable and attractive site. The Bosphorus divides this city as it divides Europe from Asia, and on either side are the low hills which add to the beauty of the landscape. Within the city, there are great and world famous cathedrals which were subsequently turned into mosques. The greatest of these, St. Sophia, after being the seat of Eastern Christianity, the rival of Rome, for many hundreds of years, became the great symbol and citadel of Islam. For nearly five hundred years, it remained thus, developing into the seat of the Caliphate. Kemal Pasha wisely converted both the cathedral and the mosque into a museum to be carefully looked after and treasured.

11. Lebanon, with its prosperous capital of Beirut, is the pleasure resort of all the Middle Eastern region. It attracts

tourists from distant countries because, within a small compass, it gives a great variety of climate, from bathing in the sea to winter sports on the top of nearby mountains. Here, on the mountains, are the famous cedars of Lebanon, referred to so often in the Bible, which are closely related to our own deodars of the Himalayas.

12. The population of Lebanon is a very mixed one, roughly half Christian, half Muslim. But both the Christians and the Muslims are divided into several sects, each of which is considered a political entity. Thus, by convention, the President of Lebanon must be a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister has to be a Sunni Muslim. The Vice-President, the Speaker, the Commander-in-Chief, etc., are all given to different sects. It was not quite clear to me how these conventions can be followed. The people are industrious and successful traders. Indeed, they are descendants of the old Phoenicians, who took their ships to distant parts of the Mediterranean and beyond two thousand years ago. These people have higher standards than any in the Middle Eastern region and are relatively prosperous. Their standard of education is high, and they have I think three universities at Beirut. One of these is an American University, and another a French University,¹⁹ both founded about a hundred years ago. These universities have in a sense served the cause of Arab nationalism by producing numerous leaders of the national movements as well as by serving the cause of the Arabic language.

13. Beirut was a city full of pleasure-seekers. Many of the oil-rich Sheikhs from other Arabian countries came there for holiday-making in an easier atmosphere. At the same time, I was told that every other person in Beirut had a bomb in case of need or civil trouble. When I mentioned this to someone there, he laughed and said: "You are wrong. It is not every other person, but every person who has a bomb

19. The American University and The Universite Saint Joseph were founded in 1866 and 1881 respectively.

here.” And yet, there appeared no sign of trouble, and everything looked peaceful. Next month, or sooner, they are going to have elections there. I do not know if the bombs will come into play then.

14. On my way from Beirut to Damascus, I visited the old ruins of Baalbek, a city that flourished two thousand years ago or so. They were impressive. From Damascus, I visited another famous ruined city, that of Palmyra in the heart of the desert. The story of this city of the desert, known as the Queen of the Desert, and actually ruled by Queen Zenobia,²⁰ is rather a fascinating one. Because it was on the main route from the West to the Persian Gulf, all caravans used to pass that way and, no doubt, they must have paid tribute to this city. It is reported that the city was magnificent. Even the present ruins of the old temples and other buildings are awe-inspiring. We were told that a Sheikh from the Persian Gulf region, who came to see these ruins, expressed his opinion that these buildings could have been built only by *jinns* and not by human beings.

15. Damascus is said to be the oldest continuing city in the world. Probably Banaras is the only other city which has had a continuing life for such a long period. Here also, there was a great and magnificent mosque dating from the Ommayad period²¹ when Damascus was the capital of the early Arab Empire. We were shown a tomb which is supposed to be that of St. John the Baptist,²² and another tomb of Sala-ed-din²³ the Great. One rather narrow street is still named as it was in biblical times.

20. Queen of Palmyra who ruled after c267; was defeated by the Roman Emperor Aurelian in c271 and imprisoned; died after 274 A.D.

21. In the 7th Century Caliph Ommayad was the first to rule the Arab world with Damascus as his capital.

22. For b.fn. see Vol. 4, p. 407.

23. For b.fn. see Vol. 4, p. 407.

16. So while my mind was full of Summit Conferences and their failures and possible consequences, occasionally I sought relief in pictures and memories of days long ago.

17. To come back to the main theme of this letter. The Prime Ministers' Conference in London had to deal with many subjects, but really it was overshadowed by events in Africa and, more especially, those in South Africa.²⁴ The developments in Africa as a whole were a portent and a warning and everybody realized that. Out of the patchwork of colonial domains, new independent countries were rising up with amazing rapidity.²⁵ Indeed many people did not even know the names of these new countries. The whole picture of Africa was changing and behind that change were all kinds of social and other forces at play, which had induced the colonial powers to give way. A number of countries have already become independent.²⁶ In the course of 1960 some more will join this group and within two or

24. The policy of apartheid was condemned at the Conference by Nehru, Nkrumah and Tengku Abdul Rahman of Malaya, but defended by Eric Louw, the South African Minister.

25. Britain on 4th May, announced that Sierra Leone would become independent on 27 April 1961 and on 12 May that British Somaliland protectorate would be given independence on 26 June 1960.

26. Cameroon, a French and British protectorate, secured independence on 1 January 1960; Congo (Kinshasha), a Belgian colony, on 30 June 1960; French colonies of Togo on 27 April, Madagascar on 26 June 1960, Dahomey on 1 August, Niger on 3 August, Upper Volta on 5 August, Ivory Coast on 7 August, Chad on 11 August, Central African Republic on 13 August, Congo (Brazzaville) on 15 August, Gabon on 17 August, Senegal on 20 August and Mauritania on 28 November 1960; British and Italian protectorate of Somalia on 1 July and British colony of Nigeria on 1 October 1960.

three years there would be further additions.²⁷ The only country which outwardly remains unmoved by these forces is Angola, ruled by the Portuguese. I am sure, however, that even there, there are the same strivings which cannot be long suppressed.

18. Then there was the big question of apartheid and racial discrimination in the South African Union. According to the rules of the Prime Ministers' Conference, matters concerning internal affairs could not be discussed. And yet, this particular question was like a ghost all the time before us, sometimes taking physical shape. I need not tell you that the Prime Ministers from Asia and Africa felt strongly and gave clear expression to their feelings in public.²⁸ The other Prime Ministers were a little more circumspect but on the whole they also felt that the policy of the South African Government could not be tolerated for long.²⁹ Certainly the Commonwealth, as it is, could not continue with South Africa in it following that policy. As it is, half the Prime Ministers present were from Asia or Africa and belonged to the non-white races. Within a year or so the proportion of these would be even greater. It was obvious that the Commonwealth could not continue in its present shape or form without coming to a clear decision on racialism and apartheid. In spite of the strong feelings raised, the subject

27. The Belgian colonies of Burundi and Rwanda became independent on 30 June and 1 July 1962, the French colony of Algeria on 3 July 1962, the British colonies of Sierra Leone on 27 April 1961, Tanzania on 9 December 1961, Uganda on 9 October 1962, Kenya on 12 December 1963, Malawi on 6 July 1964, Zambia on 24 October 1964, Gambia on 18 February 1965, Botswana on 30 September 1966 and Lesotho on 4 October 1966.

28. On 2 May, Nehru and Tengku Abdul Rahman of Malaya, on 13 May, Ayub Khan, and on 12 May, Nkrumah, spoke against racial discrimination in South Africa.

29. On 2 May, John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, and on 12 May, Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, criticized the policy of apartheid.

was treated with a measure of politeness and moderation, but everyone knew that behind those polite phrases lay hidden volcanoes. The final communique³⁰ that was issued gave some hint to all this, but the hint was clear enough. I have no doubt that in the course of the year other developments will take place not to the advantage of the present regime in the South African Union. A number of African and Asian countries have already indicated that they will follow the policy which India adopted twelve years ago, that is, stop diplomatic and economic contacts with the South African Union Government. Also, the economy of South Africa is suffering and its reserves are going down at a rapid rate. Money, in the final analysis, does not care for races. It is concerned with itself and the profits it can make.

19. Even as we were carrying on our discussions in the Prime Ministers' Conference, came the news of the shooting down by the Russians of the spy plane U-2.³¹ That was obviously a serious affair. And yet there was general hope that it would not be allowed to break up the Summit Conference. Then came a succession of statements³² by

30. The communique stated that without doing violence to the practice of non-interference in the internal affairs of a member country, the Conference discussed the deteriorating racial situation in South Africa. The Ministers emphasized that "the Commonwealth itself being a multi-racial association, there was great need to ensure good relations between all member-States and peoples of the Commonwealth."

31. On 5 May, the Soviet Government announced the shooting down of the U.S. plane on 1 May 1960.

32. On 5 May, the U.S. State Department stated that an unarmed weather research plane had been shot down by the Soviets, and the next day, Eisenhower ordered an enquiry into the disappearance of the plane. The Soviet Union expressed surprise on 10 May when the State Department admitted on 7 May that the purpose of the flight was to gather information "against surprise attack by weapons of mass destruction." On 11 May, Eisenhower warned that the United States could not afford "another Pearl Harbour."

people in authority in the United States which were amazing and singularly inept. They contradicted each other. The effect produced on the Russian people was great. First of all, they realized that for four years this continuous espionage from the air had been going on and perhaps they were not so safe as they had imagined. Then the fact that this could take place on the eve of the Summit Conference brought all the old suspicions into their minds and the apprehension that all this talk of peaceful settlements might not be real at all. The only reality was preparation for the war to come. There were elements in Russia who had perhaps not viewed these peaceful approaches with any confidence or pleasure, just as there were elements in the United States who thought likewise from their own point of view. The only Government or people who took full pleasure in these developments was the Chinese³³ who had never allowed themselves to think in peaceful terms.

20. The pressure of circumstances as well as other pressures and no doubt his own feelings in the matter, made Mr. Khrushchev violent in speech in Paris and he said many things and made some demands which made it impossible for any conference to continue. The great Summit Conference faded out in a torrent of abuse.

21. So we were back in the full flood of the cold war and the prospect of any real attempt at peaceful talks became exceedingly remote. It is easy to blame and denounce; it is much more difficult to pick up broken threads and join them together again. And yet the very logic of circumstances demanded that in order to avoid the terrible calamity of a

33. On 19 May, Zhou Enlai declared that "encroachment on any socialist country is an encroachment on China, on the entire socialist camp, and will assuredly be met with an annihilating rebuff." The statement was in sharp contrast to Khrushchev's reaffirmation a day earlier of his faith in the peaceful co-existence of the two blocs.

nuclear war, effort should continue to be made for disarmament and a lessening of tensions.

22. After the first flush of anger, excitement and fear, there has been some slight toning down and the Disarmament Conference in Geneva is continuing to meet.³⁴ It is difficult to say what the future will bring, but the present is bad enough. You may have seen the joint statement that was issued by President Nasser and me after the collapse of the Summit.³⁵ We tried to refrain from mere denunciation and laid stress on efforts being continued to lessen tensions. If the Great Powers cannot come to terms, what is the duty of the other countries and more especially those that are called uncommitted or unaligned? They, like others, will suffer equally from the horrors of nuclear war. Are they to remain silent spectators of this approaching catastrophe? This question has come up before many of such countries and there is a general consensus of opinion among them that they must try to do their utmost to lessen these tensions. How exactly this can be done in present circumstances is not clear. But I feel sure that if these countries remain calm and do not lose their heads, they can help in this process.

23. One particular development is worthy of notice. The Chinese Government have not only expressed their pleasure at the break-up, but have tried to run down India. Their attempt has been to break up the friendly relations that exist between India and the Soviet Union as this comes in the way of their own policies. They are carrying on this campaign in

34. The Disarmament Conference of ten nations began at Geneva from 15 March 1960.

35. The joint communique of 20 May observed that the failure of the Summit Conference "may lead to the intensification of 'cold war' and even more active concentration on armaments which is particularly distressing." The communique warned against deterioration of the world situation and appealed to "build through peace a world community of nations."

their press and otherwise.³⁶

24. I have written to you so much about these matters that there is no space or time left to deal with internal affairs, important as they are. The most important is the draft of the third Five Year Plan which is being finalized now. When it comes out, you will no doubt consider it carefully. You should remember that this is a draft and that it may be changed later, and, in any event, we do not propose to have too rigid plans. At the same time, we have to give a clear indication of our objectives and the way we seek to achieve them. Too much vagueness is not good.

25. My own broad impression of economic conditions in India is entirely favourable in spite of the difficulties we have to face. I have no doubt that our industry is pulling up and there is a dynamic quality in it now. I have equally no doubt that our peasantry are waking up and will show results in the near future. I view the situation, therefore, with considerable optimism, but we shall have to work hard and not be led away by minor difficulties or pessimistic warnings.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. For example, *Hsin Hua*, wrote on 29 May that Nehru and G.B. Pant had criticized the Soviet Union's stand on the failure of the Summit Conference. The bulletin also carried another feature article 'Slander of the U.S.S.R. by Indian Right-wing Papers'.

New Delhi
12 June, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you about a subject which, perhaps, will seem to you very trivial and even unimportant. Here we are dealing with great issues, planning mighty projects and all that. But still what I am writing to you seems to me to have a basic importance.

2. I am writing to you about brooms, the humble broom used by our cleaners and sweepers as well as in our houses. The normal Indian broom can only be used if one bends down to it or even sits when using it. For most household purposes this might not matter much, although even there it is troublesome. A broom or a brush with a long handle, which can be used while a person is standing, is far more effective from the point of view of work and far less tiring to the person using it. So far as I know, all over the world these standing brooms or brushes are used. Why then do we carry on with a primitive, out of date, method which is inefficient and psychologically all wrong? Bending down in this way to sweep is physically more tiring and, I suppose, encourages a certain subservience in mind.

3. But the main consideration is not the individual householder but the large-scale cleaning operations done on behalf of Corporations and Municipalities. These can undoubtedly be made much more efficient by the use of the long-handled broom or brush. I think that every Corporation and Municipality must be induced to bring this small, but far-reaching, reform. They can easily supply the long-handled brooms and brushes to their sweepers and cleaners.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

In addition, every such sweeper or cleaner should be given a proper container with a lid to collect the refuse, etc. It is a disgusting sight for open pans or baskets to be used for this purpose.

4. I, therefore, urge you earnestly to take up this matter with your Municipalities and Corporations and insist on long-handled brooms and proper containers being given to their staff of cleaners, etc. It is quite possible that, to begin with, the sweepers might themselves object to this change. But this should not come in the way.

5. I think also that all Municipal sweepers and cleaners must have a proper uniform. All this adds to efficiency and cleanliness; and further raises this class in their own and other people's esteem which is important.

6. To turn to a completely different subject, I have frequently reminded you of the importance of our agriculturists using new ploughs. I am not referring to any complicated, expensive equipment, but just a modern plough costing probably from fifty to sixty rupees. It surprises me that we go on talking big about agricultural improvements and do not tackle immediately this basic implement, the plough, which every one can change without any big effort. Such a change would immediately lead to better production and the poorest agriculturist would get back the price of the plough, and much more even, in one season. Such ploughs should not be left only to private manufacture, but Government should have them made in a big way and, where necessary, they should be given on credit.

7. I suggest that some kind of a record should be kept, and revised from time to time, as to the number of such new ploughs that are being used. That will be a true index of the agricultural progress in our big schemes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
15 June, 1960

Some two years ago or so, I addressed some of our Central Ministers as well as Chief Ministers on the subject of conferences in the Jammu and Kashmir State and visits to that State. I pointed out that these conferences and visits had become a great burden and embarrassment to the Jammu and Kashmir State Government and I expressed the hope that in future these would be avoided. If such visits took place, they should be personal visits for which the State Government should not be made financially responsible.

2. I find that the request I made then has perhaps been forgotten and conferences and visits continue in large numbers. Indeed, these visits are often entirely private visits when families are taken and they are all supposed to be guests of the State Government. Motor cars are required and asked for, sometimes even from Pathankot to Srinagar. Some cases have been brought to my notice where these visits have been prolonged to lengthy periods.

3. The Jammu and Kashmir State Government is hospitable and generous in these matters and is anxious to treat Ministers, Speakers and others with their well-known hospitality. But the fact is that this has become a burden too heavy to be borne by them. Also, this is not good for our prestige, and the other numerous tourists often suffer because of these special arrangements made for the so-called V.I.Ps.

4. I would, therefore, request again all Ministers of the

* A special note circulated to all Chief Ministers and the Ministers of the Central Government.

Central or State Governments as well as Speakers to be good enough to help us in putting an end to this practice. No conference should be held in the Jammu and Kashmir State and when any Minister or Speaker visits the State, this should not be done so as to place any financial or other burden on the State.

5. I have myself been embarrassed by the special arrangements made for me whenever I go to Kashmir. I have repeatedly requested the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir not to do so, but I have been unable to convince him. In fact, because of this I go to Kashmir very seldom now and when I do go, it is only for two or three days. I hope the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir will agree in future to treat me as an ordinary citizen and not a V.I.P. demanding special treatment.

6. I would beg of you to pay particular attention to what I have suggested above. I hope that the Chief Ministers of States will be good enough to draw the attention of their other Ministers and their Speakers to what I have written.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
18 June, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

In my last letter to you, I referred to the failure of the Summit Conference. I added that in spite of this failure, the Disarmament Conference in Geneva was continuing to meet. This held out some hope, even though past experience and the present tensions did not warrant any optimism. Little progress has been made at this conference, although a number of proposals are before it.¹ Among these proposals is a new one put forward on behalf of the Soviet Union.² This, as well as other proposals, are complicated and I do not propose to discuss them. But it is generally recognized that the new Soviet proposals appear to be an earnest attempt to find some way out of the deadlock. They indicate a desire for disarmament. In the past it has often

1. The first Soviet plan called for total disarmament, that is, cessation of all nuclear tests to start with, reduction of armed forces, followed by complete liquidation and destruction of all nuclear warheads and setting up of an international organization for control and inspection. The Western plan envisaged setting up of an international body to verify and collect information on the arms strength of the two sides, reduction of conventional forces, prohibition on launching nuclear warheads, including missiles, in space—cessation of production of war materials, and disclosing budget allocations for defence. No progress was reported in reconciling the differences in approach of the two blocs on the question of the stages of the disarmament process.

2. The fresh Soviet proposals made on 3 June to meet various objections raised by the Western countries stressed fulfilment within four years, under an international treaty and control, of two main conditions preceding complete disarmament. These were the elimination of carrier weapons of mass destruction and the termination of foreign bases. The proposals were rejected by the Western Powers who objected to dismantling of foreign bases to start with.

appeared from the proposals made either by the Soviet Government or by the Western Powers that there is no such desire behind them and that they are made in the expectation of the other side rejecting them. That can hardly be said of the present proposals and the least that can be done about them is to consider them with due care. To reject them out of hand would mean that there is no desire for any agreement on this vital issue.

2. India has, in the past, taken great interest in disarmament and we have not only participated in the debates in the U.N., but have put forward a number of proposals.³ As with many others, our proposals met with a cold reception. It is interesting to find, however, that what we propose gradually becomes acceptable at a later period. Some important aspects of the Soviet proposals demonstrate this.

3. Unless some progress is made towards real disarmament, the cold war atmosphere will continue and even become worse. At one time we thought that some kind of an agreement was near. This was when Russia agreed to control and inspection. Even so all kinds of other obstacles have been raised and I must say that doubts arise about the sincerity of the various parties concerned in this matter of disarmament.

4. The recent demonstrations and conflicts in Tokyo, which ultimately resulted in President Eisenhower's giving

3. Following the French Government's decision to conduct a nuclear test in Sahara, India put forward two resolutions in the Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on 1 and 18 November 1959 calling upon all nations to desist from conducting nuclear tests and to reach an agreement for immediate cessation of all such tests to be followed by gradual total disarmament.

up his visit to Japan,⁴ were distressing in many ways and may be exploited for wrong ends. But it would be wrong to think that there was any personal animosity to President Eisenhower behind these demonstrations. Essentially they were against the treaty between Japan and the U.S. which is in effect a military alliance and which permits the stationing in Japan of American forces and aircraft. This treaty may be passed in the Diet there,⁵ but there can be little doubt that the opposition to any such military entanglement is very great in Japan. It would be wrong to say, as has been said, that certain Communists or leftist groups are mainly responsible for this opposition, although no doubt they have played an important part in it. The fact is that there is strong feeling in Japan against these military pacts and a fear that this will involve them in wars which they wish to avoid. Having had experience of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they want no more of such unwelcome visitors.

5. Japan is a curious mixture today of the old militarism and something almost akin to pacifism. There is even a growing tendency for intellectuals to think in terms of Gandhism, as they conceive it. Quite a considerable number of Gandhi centres have been formed for the study of Gandhian literature. This does not mean that people in Japan are anxious to learn everything about Gandhism, but

4. The visit scheduled to take place from 19 to 22 June was cancelled on 16 June in the wake of demonstrations by the trade unions and students protesting against the treaty signed on 19 January 1960 renewing the 1951 treaty by which the two countries agreed to join together to repulse any attack on Japan, or face any threat to the security of East Asia. On 6 June, Members of the Socialist Party in the Lower House of the Diet threatened mass resignations by all the 125 Members if the new treaty was ratified by the Upper House.

5. The treaty became automatically effective as per the Japanese Constitution on 19 June 1960 after the Upper House failed to ratify it within the stipulated 30 days of its being passed by the Lower House on 18 May 1960 when the entire Opposition boycotted the proceedings.

rather that they have a feeling that Gandhi stood for peace and India stands for non-alignment today.

6. This recent unhappy incident in Japan brings out forcibly the virtue of non-alignment. In this world conflict, suspicion and fear, always hovering at the brink of catastrophe, the policy of non-alignment becomes not idealistic but eminently practical. It is surprising that a few persons in India should still hanker after some kind of military alliance in the hope that this will strengthen our country.

7. Some newspapers have been giving considerable publicity recently to the appearance of unidentified aircraft in Ladakh.⁶ Much is also said about the building up of airstrips inside Tibet and of continuing conflicts in Tibet. It is rather difficult for us to know much about internal happenings in Tibet. Usually the news we see relayed in newspapers comes from refugees and the like who come from Tibet to India and is likely to be greatly exaggerated. It would appear, however, that the Chinese occupying forces in Tibet have had some trouble again with the Tibetans.

8. So far as the report that unidentified aircraft have been flying over Ladakh is concerned, we can say with assurance that we have had no foreign aircraft there. In the normal course of our work, our aircraft fly over Ladakh and carry supplies. Probably it is these aeroplanes which have led people to consider them foreign.

9. Recently many newspapers commented⁷ on the

6. It was reported that on 31 May, 6 and 15 June, unidentified aircraft had been sighted.

7. *The Times of India* in its editorial of 14 June quoting the Report that community development schemes "have failed to foster a spirit of self-reliance among the villagers" and that there had been "a decline in development activities," commented that "half measures will not do any longer in the reconstruction of the rural economy." *The Statesman* and *The Hindu* of 12 and 13 June respectively also drew attention to the Report's laying stress on involving people at the grass-roots level to achieve better results.

Evaluation Report⁸ on Community Development produced by some officers of the Planning Commission. I have not yet had a chance to see this Evaluation Report which, it is reported, called, community development work a patchwork of light and shadow, with shadow predominating.

10. This is distressing. Even though it has been pointed out that this evaluation was concerned with only 16 blocks out of 3,000, it is always good for us to see our own errors and shortcomings so that we can try to put them right. The recent conference on community development held in Srinagar, Kashmir, apparently expressed their disagreement⁹ with this Evaluation Report and said that it gave a one-sided picture of a small part of the work. Possibly both are correct, and it would be improper for a layman to express a firm opinion in spite of these expert statements. I might say, however, that my impression is that the community development movement is now moving at a faster pace than before and is concentrating on production. The spirit underlying the conference on community development as well as the conference of State Ministers on Co-operation, both held recently in Srinagar, was definitely one of optimism and an acceptance of the challenge to make good. They report that the colossus that is rural India is waking up. This means fresh problems, but it does not mean despondency.

11. Looking at other aspects of the Indian scene, we see an abundance of money. If any loan is floated or any company

8. The Seventh Evaluation Report, made public on 11 June 1960, commented that the community development programme had "become more governmental rather than popular in character" and was sustained "more by hope than by achievement," with people hardly regarding it "as their own programme."

9. The conference held on 10-11 June 1960 declared the Programme Evaluation Report as "unrealistic" and demanded that a fresh evaluation be done on the basis of "scientific data" rather than on "inadequate and unrepresentative studies."

shares are issued, money flows in and the amount desired is over-subscribed. Shops are full of goods and full of purchasers. People generally in rural areas are obviously better fed and better clothed. It is, of course, true that there are large numbers of the under-privileged in India who do not share in this general betterment in our economy. But that there is this betterment, there can be little doubt. The big plants in industries attract attention, but few people seem to be aware of the rapid development of small and medium-sized industries in many parts of India.

12. We have been struggling with the draft of the third Five Year Plan, and gradually it is nearing completion. Perhaps in the course of another two or three weeks it might be issued for public consideration and comment. Quite a great deal of thinking and discussion has gone towards making this draft, even though it is a provisional affair. We have had to balance our urge to go ahead fast with our capacity and our resources. On the whole, I think, this draft plan is going to be a brave effort and at the same time, not removed from the realities of the situation. The other day I was looking at the various indices of development in India ever since Independence. Even though I am connected with this work, I was surprised and pleased to see these charts because they showed quite surprising advance in a number of fields. Unfortunately many of us have developed a habit of depreciating our own efforts and running down what we do.

13. Education is one of the subjects which is being constantly talked about, discussed and sometimes condemned. So also what is called student indiscipline. No doubt there is a great deal that deserves criticism and change, and it is good that we are trying to do so. But it is well to remember that the growth in recent years has been fast. There are about fifty million boys and girls going to school. Even though most of the schools are not up to much, the mere fact of such a vast and ever-growing number of our children going to school and college is significant. This in itself is a factor gradually bringing about a social revolution in the country.

14. We have decided to make education compulsory from 6 or 7 to 11 years of age all over India;¹⁰ later we propose to raise the age to 14 as demanded by our Constitution. This leaves out two important periods in the life of the boy or the girl. One is the pre-school period, that is, below 6 or 7 years of age, and the other is after 11. Every educationist recognizes now the great importance of the early years of a child's life which are more formative than the later years. Some little efforts are being made in this direction, but they are far from adequate.

15. But what I particularly wish to draw your attention to is the period after 11. Some children go to higher schools, but the vast number do not. There is no particular provision for these young people at that rather critical age. Our technical institutes, polytechnics, etc. begin, I think, at the age of 16 or more. What is the boy or girl to do between 11 and 16 if he or she does not go in for any higher education?

16. In other countries, there is provision for this period which chiefly consists in the teaching of specific trades. That is, while the polytechnic or the technical institute gives some kind of all-round technical education in the course of several years, some simpler provision is made for this age-group between 11 and 16. They are made to learn some manual skills which may make them good fitters, welders, plumbers, house-repairers, electricians, and the like. A person learning these manual skills may not have a good grounding in technical education, but he will be good at the particular skill he has learnt. There is at present a tremendous demand for skilled persons of this type.

17. Some little effort was made to provide this type of training to our displaced persons when they first came. But even that appears to have faded out and anyhow there is no

10. This was provided for in the third Five Year Plan.

organized approach to this problem. In some of the superior schools there are hobby centres which help in the educational process, but are seldom meant to train a person in a particular trade or manual skill.

18. This type of lower grade professional training is urgently needed for economic reasons as we want such trained persons. It is equally necessary in order to develop the creative and imaginative side of a child's character. Perhaps the community development movement does something to this end or, at any rate, thinks of doing it. In urban centres this is completely lacking. I think that an organized approach should be made to give this so-called lower grade professional training to boys and girls between 11 and 16. There should be a multitude of subjects for training and the boy or girl can make a choice. After a year or so of such training he or she will be an expert in that particular work.

19. All this leads one to think of the necessity for a coordinated approach to child welfare and development. Our educational apparatus at present fails in this and only touches some limited aspects. Our Health Departments vaguely touch this subject but again from a very limited point of view. There is no Ministry or Department which really has responsibility for child welfare and training.

20. There are some non-official organizations which deal with the child but they work in a limited sphere and have small resources and their competence is often very little. Probably child welfare should be largely dealt with by non-official agencies provided they are good. A purely official approach may not be successful and any such official approach will probably become top-heavy and very expensive. Governments, Corporations and Municipalities can however help these non-official organizations and encourage them to expand their work under proper and trained auspices. It is not enough merely to have *Bal Mandirs*, good as they are.

21. You must have read of the Akali demonstration in

Delhi a few days ago.¹¹ This particular agitation¹² is singularly lacking in wisdom. It distresses me greatly to find how at a moment when India is struggling to break through the chains of poverty and under-development that have held her so long, many people should spend their energy in this type of conflict. The attraction of this kind of agitation and conflict is itself evidence of our lack of maturity. I should like to add that, during this recent big Akali demonstration in Delhi, the police showed remarkable patience and forbearance.

22. Our President is going to pay a fortnight's visit¹³ to the Soviet Union soon. That will be good in many ways. More particularly it is important that at this time of growing cold war we should stretch out our hands of friendship to all countries and refuse to allow ourselves to become partners in the cold war or to drift away from our policy of non-alignment.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. In a clash between the police and the Akalis on 2 June, one person died, 175 were injured and over 1000 arrested.

12. On 18 January 1960, Master Tara Singh had announced launching of an agitation for a Punjabi-speaking Sikh State called "Punjabi Suba". The march to Delhi on 12 June which was a part of this agitation was preceded by the arrest of Master Tara Singh on 24 May and violence in Amritsar on 2 June.

13. From 20 June to 5 July 1960.

New Delhi
30 June, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you today about the threat of having a general strike by employees of the Central Government.¹ This raises a number of important issues, and we have to give immediate thought to the steps we should take to meet this strike.

2. A general strike is always a serious affair if it comes off. A general strike of Government employees is very unusual and, so far as India is concerned, I believe it is the first time that such a proposal has been made. I must say that I am amazed at the irresponsibility of the promoters of the strike.

3. Such a strike has no resemblance to a normal trade union strike. The only common link among those who are urged to strike is the fact that they are all employed by the Central Government. Thus, we have the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the civil employees of our

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The Joint Council of Action formed in February 1960 by the representatives of the various Central Government, Posts and Telegraphs and Railway employees' federations gave a call for an all-India strike from 17 July 1960 if the Government did not accept: (1) Rs. 125/- as the national minimum wage instead of Rs. 80/- as recommended by the second Pay Commission, (2) payment of dearness allowance in accordance with the price rise as recommended by the first Pay Commission, (3) appointment of a permanent wage board to settle all disputes, (4) continuance of the existing amenities, rights, privileges, and all contractual services, and (5) recognition to no more than one union in any one industry.

Defence organization, the Civil Aviation and a host of others employed in Central Government offices in Delhi and all over India. Should such a strike come within any measure of success it would paralyse not only Government, but all our industry and most of our other activities.

4. What is this proposed strike about? It expresses dissatisfaction with the Pay Commission's² recommendations which were, by and large, accepted by Government. The Pay Commission was appointed in response to a demand made by Government employees. It was a Commission of high calibre, presided over by a Judge³ of the Supreme Court. This Commission went into the complicated questions of pay and allowances, amenities, etc., with great care and at considerable length. As a result of our accepting most of their recommendations, a heavy burden has been cast on our economy. Nevertheless, we thought it right that we should accept the recommendations of this high class Commission. It is true that in regard to some minor matters, of no great consequence, we varied the recommendations. Perhaps, it might have been wiser to accept even these minor recommendations. But, anyhow, the fact remains that we accepted the major recommendations of the Pay Commission.

5. The question thus arises: how far is it justifiable to upset the whole structure of the Pay Commission's recommendations and start considering these matters afresh? Obviously, if we do this, then the question of appointing a Pay Commission in future will hardly arise, and no eminent person would be prepared to serve on it. To reject the Pay Commission's recommendations, therefore, is to reject the whole conception of having such Commissions.

2. The Commission set up on 21 August 1957 submitted its report to the Government in August 1959 and it was placed on the table of the House on 30 November 1959.

3. B. Jagannath Das.

6. The main demands made on us now are for a minimum wage of about Rs. 125/- fixed for everyone and for the dearness allowance to be linked with the price index. To accept these demands would mean an addition to our annual expenditure of anything from rupees eighty crores to a hundred crores. And if, as would be natural, this is reflected in the States in regard to their employees then the increase in annual expenditure might be rupees one hundred and fifty crores. For our Five Year Plan period, this would mean rupees seven hundred and fifty crores. It would also mean the collapse of all attempts at drawing up a third Five Year Plan. It is manifestly impossible for us to accept these demands both on grounds of policy and for practical considerations. Why these demands have been advanced by any person considering himself responsible is difficult for me to understand. I can only arrive at the conclusion that this is some manoeuvre in a political game, as it must be known to those who make the demands that their acceptance is out of the question.

7. I do not personally believe in taking up rigid attitudes, and we should normally always be prepared to negotiate when such controversies arise. But we can only negotiate when a matter is negotiable. We could discuss some of the minor matters contained in the Pay Commission's report or the question of proper and speedy implementation of our decisions on these issues. But to throw the Pay Commission's report into the wastepaper basket and to negotiate about fantastic demands which would break the economy of the country, is something which is inadmissible.

8. I do not propose to go into the merits of some of these various matters, as you must be fully acquainted with them. For the present, we have to decide as to how to deal with this situation. It may well be that the promoters of the strike might realize the folly of their ways and the harmful results of their proposals to the nation. But, very probably, they will persist, and we shall have to meet this situation. We must, therefore, prepare for it.

9. This preparation means, first of all, the maintenance of law and order, and adequate protection to loyal workers who do not join the strike. It means arrangements to carry on the essential services such as railways, posts and telegraphs, ordnance factories, civil aviation, and the like.

10. Some three years ago, there was a well organized threat of a general strike in the Posts and Telegraphs all over India.⁴ We made then fairly adequate preparations to meet this threat. We appealed to the public and we received a very satisfactory response from them. We organized groups of people in every city in India for postal deliveries. If the P & T strike had occurred then, I think that we would have succeeded in carrying on this essential service adequately in spite of the strike. It was largely because of this preparation on the part of the Government and the public that the idea of the P & T strike was given up at almost the last moment.

11. State Governments will of course make all arrangements within their power to carry on various essential utility services. But it is essential that the full help and co-operation of the public should be invited. For this purpose not only should the circumstances leading to this totally unjustified strike be fully explained to the public, but popular organizations should be invited to cooperate in an organized way. Those trade unions who are opposed to the strike (and there are many such) will of course cooperate. The local Congress organizations should also give their full support and should organize Mohalla Committees for this purpose wherever possible. Other organizations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj and many social welfare organizations would no doubt help. The Lok Sahayak Sena, Home Guards, Prantiya Raksha Dal and like organizations should also be brought into this picture. Government authorities should realize that to meet

4. Following the announcement of the appointment of the Pay Commission by the Government, the proposed strike from 8 August 1957 did not take place.

such a threat the widest popular basis has to be organized. This is not a mere governmental affair. We have to deal not only with the conveniences of the public, but their daily life which will be completely upset by such an irresponsible strike. Therefore, there has to be the closest co-operation between governmental authorities and the public.

12. There should also be this co-operation and liaison between the local governments and the military authorities. The Chief Secretaries should establish such a liaison with the highest local military authority in the State.

13. I have indicated very briefly above the type of approach we should make to organize the people to meet this threat. I should like to lay stress on the fact that essentially this should be a popular movement and that it should not be looked upon as purely governmental work. Indeed there has to be full co-operation between Government and the people.

14. We considered the embodiment of the Railway and Posts and Telegraphs Territorials. Under normal conditions it is necessary that thirty days' notice should be given for this embodiment, but in an emergency the period of notice can be reduced. We propose to give ten days' notice for this.

15. It will of course be necessary for the State Governments to keep in constant touch with the Central Government. We have appointed a special committee of the Central Cabinet to deal with this situation from day to day. We have also appointed a committee of senior Secretaries to Government to help the Cabinet Committee. I suggest that your Government might also have a special committee for this purpose.

16. The purpose of this letter is not to give an exhaustive list of the steps we have to take, but rather to indicate what should be done. You will no doubt elaborate these general indications so as to fit in with the circumstances prevailing in your particular State.

17. Some of the State Police forces are on deputation in certain disturbed areas or frontiers, such as, Kashmir,

Assam, Naga Hills, Manipur. In view of the emergency, you might perhaps think of asking for these forces to be sent back to your State. But this would not be a proper course and all these forces should remain where they are for the present till at least the threat of the strike is over.

18. For the present we have to deal with the situation as it will arise. But we shall soon have to give thought to a more basic question, that is, the relations of the Government with the vast number of its employees. It is absurd for our national activities to be held up for ransom from time to time. Indeed a general strike such as is envisaged is opposed to the whole concept of the democratic functioning of a State. It must be remembered that such a strike is not the normal trade union approach, but is meant to strike at the very roots of any administration or government. The government apparatus is a machinery to help in the carrying out of the nation's principal activities. If the government apparatus cannot function adequately, then the nation's activities also dry up. If the railways stop, our industries may soon stop too and most other activities will also be affected. A strike of this kind is, therefore, an attack on the life of the nation and of scores of million of people. At any time this would be undesirable; at a moment like this when we face difficult and dangerous situations on our frontier and on the eve of drawing up our third Five Year Plan, which will demand a tremendous effort from us, a strike of this kind can only be called not only the height of folly, but even criminal folly. I cannot understand how any person in India can lend his support to a move which endangers India and which may do grievous injury to all our plans of economic development. The prosperity of our people and our attempts to give them better standards of living may well be powerfully affected. Thus the strike may actually result in lowering standards all round.

19. I wish well to our Central Government employees but it is well-known that they are much better off than State employees. Compared to the normal standards in India, all

Government employees are much better off. It is true that we cannot compare our standards with those in the more prosperous countries. The only way to raise our standards is to work hard and to produce more. It is an unfortunate fact that the general standard of work in India is lower than that of most advanced countries. We have far more holidays than other countries have and the intensity of work here is less. Even our attempt to reduce some of these holidays and bring them more in line with other countries is objected to. It is a little difficult to understand how anyone expects India to make rapid progress if our people are not prepared to work hard.

20. All this is one aspect of the question. There is another aspect which we must keep in mind. We have thus far not evolved any adequate machinery for the rapid settlement of disputes of this type. The Government way of dealing with such matters is a leisurely way and months and even years pass sometimes before we come to grips with problems. A problem which perhaps could have been solved with greater ease becomes more and more difficult, frustration takes place and passions are roused. All this leads to conflict which is ultimately good for no one.

21. Therefore, we must evolve a machinery for the prompt consideration and settlement of any such problem that arises. This of course applies to all kinds of disputes, industrial or other. It applies even more to the disputes between Government and its employees. The machinery should be such as can work almost automatically.

22. There is another aspect of this. We talk about the socialist pattern which inevitably involves the growth of the public sector. In Communist countries, where the public sector embraces almost everything, no strikes are permitted. In capitalist countries, the public sector is limited and most disputes come under the normal industrial disputes. What then are we to do with our increasing public sector? We cannot proceed along the authoritarian lines of the Communist countries. We must find other ways of settling

these disputes as they arise. That means close co-operation of the employer and the employee and a spirit of harmony that must subsist between them. Such a spirit of harmony is difficult where interests clash, as in the employer-employee relations in private industry. In State undertakings there is or should be no such clash of interests. Therefore, it should be easier to build up that psychological and emotional bond which should subsist in all grades of people working for a common cause. Difficulties no doubt will arise, but those difficulties should not be in the nature of class conflict which occurs in landlord-tenant relationship or in a private employer-employee relationship.

23. On a proper solution of these problems depends our future growth. Unfortunately in India at present there is a good deal of the spirit of violence. Even petty conflicts or controversies tend to lead to violence. We have to fight this tendency, for out of it only disaster can come. We can only fight it not from a superior governmental point of view, but by the development of the cooperative approach and by spreading the idea of joint work in great endeavours which are common to all. The old boss complex has to be changed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
30 July, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

We seem to be living in strange and turbulent times. The long, continued efforts to reduce tensions in the international sphere, which promised some results, broke down with the failure of the Summit Conference and we reverted to the 'cold war' in all its most disagreeable aspects.¹ The only redeeming feature has been that no country appears to welcome the prospect of a big war. But that is poor consolation, because everything that is happening in the world deepens the crisis and, in that sense, brings us nearer to catastrophe. Practically no one wants a war, but there has been an increasing realization of the facility with which some kind of an accident might lead to this kind of conflict. It is terrifying to realize how easy it is for an accident of this type to occur, plunging the world into the nightmare of nuclear war. The preamble of Unesco says, I think, that wars have their origin in the minds of men. If that is so, and I believe it is so, then the continuance of the cold war, with all its fear and hatred, leads almost inevitably to the war that we all dread.

1. Following the seizure of the American and Dutch oil companies in Cuba, the United States retaliated on 3 July by reducing sugar imports from Cuba, and on 9 July, warned the Soviet Union that it would not allow any foreign intervention in Latin America under the Monroe Doctrine. The Soviet Union, reacting sharply, declared on the same day, that they would support Fidel Castro's Government, and warned that the Soviet Union had rockets capable of hitting targets 13,000 kms away. On 1 July, the Soviet Union also shot down the U.S. spy plane RB 47. On 13 July, the Western Powers dismissed Soviet protests against the "provocative buzzing of Soviet ships."

2. Occasionally there are pious protestations for peace and homages paid to the ideal of disarmament. But all that is happening is directly opposed to all this. Only the fear of war and, I believe, the wishes of the vast majority of human beings prevent the final step being taken. And so, we live in what has been called “a balance of terror”. I have received many letters from prominent persons abroad asking why India does not take a lead and try to lessen these tensions.² India, it is said, is favourably situated because of her policy of non-alignment and her well-known love of peace. Certainly India should do something provided that what she says or does has some meaning and promises some result. But I have always been reluctant for India to jump into international controversies merely to show off that we are apparently better than others and have good advice for everyone.

3. For this reason, among others, we have kept rather quiet even when big things were happening in various parts of the world. Merely to denounce and condemn anything or anybody did not seem to help at all and probably merely produced more anger and emotion. Perhaps it might be a good thing if Foreign Ministers of the world and prominent politicians took a vow of silence for a while. I am sure the world would be a quieter and calmer place if that happened.

4. In Africa there has been a succession of independent States emerging one after another from the dark night of colonialism.³ Many people probably do not even know the names of some of these States and have only vague ideas

2. Among them was Bertrand Russell. After the failure of the Summit Conference, he wrote to Nehru on 19 May 1960 that “you have spoken sanely, even under great provocation, and the friends of humanity throughout the world have come to look to you for a kind of wisdom which is lacking in the nations that lead in the realm of destructive armaments. Those of us who will not yield to despair, hope that in this dangerous time you may find means of saving the world from criminal, suicidal madness.”

3. See *ante*, pp. 366-367.

about their geographical position. But everyone must surely have been stirred by this dynamic and dramatic awakening of the African people. This may well be the outstanding event of the present age. Even as we were rejoicing at these developments, the news from the Congo⁴ troubled us and made us wonder how the future in Africa will take shape. The Congo, as a result of Belgium's policy in the past, is almost wholly lacking in educated and trained personnel. One might almost say that there is a vacuum, and mere enthusiasm cannot fill that vacuum. It will be a long and arduous journey before the Congo can look after its own affairs adequately, and there is always the danger of someone else trying to fill that vacuum. International intrigues and manoeuvring for position will add to Congo's difficulties. Fortunately, the coming in of the United Nations has brought a measure of balance and, to some extent, has prevented the ambitions of some Powers to take advantage of this situation.

5. At the request of the Secretary-General of the U.N., we have supplied to the Congo some trained personnel, especially from our Air Services. There is a possibility of our sending some medical aid teams. We have also made a gift of some wheat.

6. All this and much more is happening in this troubled world of ours. But our attention has necessarily been concentrated on our own troubles and problems. There has been the Akali agitation for a Punjabi Suba, though this has met with many rebuffs and has toned down.⁵ It is

4. No sooner had Congo attained independence on 30 June 1960 than the Belgians in an attempt to retain their authority encouraged Moise Tshombe to proclaim on 11 July the independence of Katanga which amounted to reversal to the former status of a Belgian colony. The Belgian troops, with the ostensible aim of protecting Belgian nationals, virtually overran the country. The Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, appealed to the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Nations, for military assistance. With the arrival of the U.N. troops on 15 July, Congo announced the breaking of ties with Belgium.

5. See *ante*, p. 384.

unfortunately still dragging on. There was a general strike,⁶ and about the same time, the tragic occurrences in Assam.⁷ During the last few days, I have been dealing with the Naga problem and meeting representatives of the Naga People's Convention.⁸ Overshadowing all this has been the general economic condition of the country, the Five Year Plan, the lessening of our sterling balances, and the question of price control, which is so vital. Each one of these problems is enough to occupy all our minds and energies. What then when we have to face a bunch of them together? I have not mentioned the situation on our border, and the talks our officials have had with Chinese officials in Peking.⁹

7. The general strike has come and gone. But three outstanding features of this strike were: the amazing irresponsibility of those who sponsored it, the efficient way in which the Central Government and the State Governments dealt with the situation that had arisen and, most heartening of all, the general public response to the menace of this strike. A general strike of Government employees and essential services must have a political content. It is not an industrial or trade dispute. If the strike

6. The Central Government employees were on strike for five days from 11 July 1960 during which 17,780 employees and 2,359 trade union leaders were arrested. The strike was formally called off on 19 July 1960.

7. In an agitation led by Assam Sahitya Sabha to get Assamese declared as the sole official language of the State in place of Assamese, Bengali and English as accepted till then, violence accompanied by acts of arson and looting broke out on 4 July 1960 in major towns in the State. 20 persons were killed and several families belonging to a linguistic minority community driven out from their homes.

8. The Government decided on 30 July 1960 to form a separate State of Nagaland.

9. As agreed to during Zhou Enlai's visit to Delhi in April 1960, the talks between Indian and Chinese officials were held in Beijing from 15 June to 25 July, later in Delhi from 19 August to 5 October 1960, and finally in Rangoon from 7 November to 12 December 1960, to discuss the boundary alignment on the basis of historical material.

succeeds, it would result in complete chaos in the country. Everyone with a modicum of intelligence must realize this. No Government can tolerate it, and no sensible person should encourage it. But in the conditions that exist today, logic and commonsense are not very evident. The strike failed, as it had to fail. It has taught us many lessons and raised new problems. It was pleasing to find that the administrative apparatus of the country could stand up squarely to face such a challenge and deal with it effectively. Even more pleasing was the response of the public and the innumerable volunteers that came to do some service during this emergency. These are healthy signs, and we should take advantage of them for constructive purposes.

8. We have to distinguish between those who deliberately created mischief and the many others who were misled in supporting the strike. We have to remember that even in the ranks of Government employees and their organizations, a very large number refused to obey the call for the strike. We have to prevent such general strikes from occurring again. We may do so by law. But the constructive approach is to devise an adequate machinery which should deal effectively with disputes or problems that arise from time to time and settle them satisfactorily. We intend pursuing this course, and I am sure that we shall have your full support and co-operation in this matter.

9. The riots and disturbances in Assam were peculiarly bad. It is true that some newspapers have given exaggerated accounts. But the fact remains that fifty thousand or more Bengalee-speaking people of Assam became refugees. Many of these persons left their homes from fear of what might happen. Many had actually to face attacks from excited mobs. It is a terrible thing to contemplate that tens of thousands of persons are driven away from their homes. One may analyze this and trace the causes of this conflict. The language issue was dominant, and yet, surely, it was not merely because of language that these passions were roused. There were economic causes, more especially unemployment,

and the fear of the Assamese that outsiders, and especially Bengalees, got the lion's share of employment in their own State. There was the fear of the Bengalees which led so many to leave their homes, and there was the fear of the Assamese that they might be submerged in the influx of others and thus almost lose their identity. When fear grips any people, it is difficult to reason. I suppose almost all the problems of the world, international or national, have this complex of fear at their base. How to get rid of this fear and devote ourselves to solving the problems dispassionately?

10. One very depressing feature of the Assam disturbances was the part that young men played in it. And yet, these young men are basically good material and can be made into fine citizens. The Assamese are a very likable people. But the best of us, if we go astray, behave almost in an inhuman manner. Some of us saw extreme instances of this soon after the partition, here in Delhi city and elsewhere in Pakistan and India. I can never forget that sight.

11. Conditions in Assam are now outwardly more or less normal. There is no chance of any mob violence, and the immediate step to be taken is to bring back these refugees to their homes and help to rehabilitate them. This process has already begun insofar as the refugees are in camps in Assam. It will be more complicated for those who have crossed the borders of Assam and entered West Bengal. But this has to be done. The approach must be to give them full protection and sense of security. That is the external aspect. An equally important one is the internal aspect which removes fear and bitterness in people's minds. I was glad to find, when I visited Assam, a certain change in the mental atmosphere of the people, a feeling of shame at what had happened, and a desire to help in the rehabilitation of refugees.

12. Demands have been made, especially in Bengal, for President's rule in Assam. In the circumstances, such a demand has to be considered carefully and cannot be rejected out of hand. But we have given a good deal of thought to this and come to the conclusion that this would not be desirable

at present and, we hope, in the future.¹⁰ We cannot rule out the possibility of it and if conditions do not improve, we shall have to find some other remedies. But President's rule, though it may have some external advantages, will not be able to bring about those internal changes in Assam which are so essential. Indeed, it will come in the way of them. The Assamese would feel angry and sullen and might retire into their shells. The atmosphere would remain strained and full of tension, even though nothing happened outside. We have to try to deal with these inner and deeper causes and emotions.

13. Yesterday, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the Assam disturbances.¹¹ I would like to invite your special attention to this resolution.

14. I have referred above to my talks with the Naga delegation which has been in Delhi. I am glad to say that we have arrived at an agreement, and I propose to make a statement in Parliament about it on the 1st August. Broadly speaking, this agreement means establishment of a new State in the Naga country, to be called Nagaland, with the normal rights and obligations of a State. But it is obvious that so long as the law and order situation is not quite normal there, special arrangements will have to be made to deal with it. The Governor, therefore, will be responsible for law and order. There is likely to be a fairly long period of transition. But this too would depend on the situation.

10. In a letter on 11 July to B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Nehru rejected the suggestion that President's rule be imposed in Assam.

11. The resolution adopted on 29 July 1960 suggested measures for rehabilitation of refugees in Assam, and asked the State Government to take steps to prevent recurrence of such disturbances and punish those responsible for the present unrest. It also urged that while encouraging Assamese, care should be taken that its use was not imposed on areas where other languages predominated.

15. It has to be remembered that the hostile hard core are not likely to accept this agreement, even though the great majority of the Naga people might approve of it. And so we may still have to continue to deal with the activities of these hostile groups. But I feel sure in my mind that the tide has turned in Nagaland and we move now towards more peaceful conditions and normality. The process of achieving peace and normality may well be a rather lengthy one. However that may be, I am very happy at this agreement because we have acted up to our principles and given the fullest freedom to the Naga people, as to any others in India. My conscience is at ease now.

16. The new State of Nagaland is, of course, a very small State compared to our great States. But that need not be a barrier. We have got too used to our States being big, and they have undoubtedly some superstructure of a big State. We have made this clear, and I think it is understood. It will be a special type of State because they will continue in many ways their tribal customs and laws.

17. You must have heard of Phizo's¹² rather dramatic appearance in London¹³ and of the charges he has brought against the Indian Government and the Indian Army.¹⁴ These charges are very serious. I have been connected with the activities in Nagaland for these last few years rather intimately, and my own impression has been that our Army, in spite of great difficulties, has behaved rather well, probably better than any other Army in like circumstances. A few cases of individual misbehaviour came to us and we immediately took disciplinary action against those concerned. The charges of Phizo go far beyond this, and I

12. Angami Zapu Phizo. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 156.

13. After living in Pakistan for many years Phizo reached London on 12 June 1960.

14. On 26 July, Phizo alleged that Indians had committed a large number of atrocities in the Naga area since 1954.

can hardly credit any of them. Some of them indeed were examined when they were made some years ago, and found to be without any valid foundation. We shall examine the others also.

18. It is in this background that we have to consider our major problem of India, how to bring about rapid development and a betterment of the living conditions of our people. We have put forward a draft of the third Five Year Plan which will, no doubt, attract your close attention.¹⁵ It presents a curious picture of great potentiality and a hope of rapid advance; also it brings out the magnitude of our problems and the hard work we shall have to do.¹⁶ There is no way of success without hard work.

19. Immediately, the most important problem for us is to hold down prices and, more especially, to check the prices of some basic commodities like foodgrains and cloth.¹⁷ That is of high importance. We know that we do not really lack foodgrains, more especially when we have arranged to get large quantities from abroad. Cloth production also is considerable and can be increased. Sugar production has jumped up greatly¹⁸ and indeed we have to export a good deal of it and earn foreign exchange. And yet, prices tend to

15. The Draft Plan was to be finalized after giving careful consideration to various criticisms and views expressed in Parliament and State Legislatures, and by important sections of public opinion.

16. The draft placed the total cost of the Plan at Rs. 1,125 crores, of which Rs. 725 crores was to be in the public sector and Rs. 400 crores in the private sector. It laid special emphasis on development of agriculture and small scale industry, and aimed at raising the level of investment from 11 per cent of national income to 19 per cent by the end of the Plan. It also envisaged a rise in the rate of savings from 8 to 11 per cent of the national income.

17. With 1952-53 as base, the price of food articles had gone up from 116.9 in July 1959 to 124.6 in July 1960. The price of cotton had risen from 109.6 in July 1959 to 120.1 in July 1960.

18. It rose from 19.18 lakh tons in 1958-59 to 24.18 lakh tons in 1959-60.

rise.¹⁹ It is true that in a developing economy that trend is to some extent natural. But much of this rise in prices is due to speculation and the desire of the intermediate traders to profiteer. In some States, not many, State trading has been fairly successful. Because of that prices have been held there. I have no doubt that prices can be held everywhere in regard to these basic commodities, and I feel that we must take every possible step to do so. We cannot tolerate groups of interested parties manoeuvring so as to profiteer by raising prices.

20. You may have seen that the prospects of oil production in India are becoming more and more promising.²⁰ We have also signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for the import of some kinds of oil.²¹ I hope that in the course of a year or two, this production of indigenous oil will increase substantially, but for us to derive full benefit from it will take a few years.

21. Early this month I paid a visit to our distant frontiers in eastern Ladakh. I was tremendously impressed by this visit. I was impressed at the sight of our magnificent Himalayan peaks covered with snow; I was impressed by our soldiers stationed far from every amenity of civilized life and living in very hard conditions and at high altitudes, guarding our country's borders.

19. The general index of wholesale prices, with 1952-53 as base, had gone up from 122.0 in June to 125.7 in July 1960. This was 6.8 per cent higher than the previous year.

20. On 14 May 1960, oil was struck at Ankleshwar, about 135 kilometres from Cambay. The Government also announced that a refinery would be set up at Cambay.

21. The agreement was signed on 15 July 1960. Earlier, on 16 June 1960, an Indo-Soviet Agreement had been signed for collaboration in oil and gas exploration.

30 July, 1960

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22. The new session of Parliament begins on the 1st of August. It will be a brief session, as time goes, but a very full and arduous session.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
4 August, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you today more particularly about some rather simple and well known matters connected with our planning. They are simple, but they are of the greatest importance.

2. You will no doubt have seen the draft outline of our third Five Year Plan. We shall gladly receive comments and suggestions about it and, no doubt, we shall have them. But, broadly speaking, the problem before us is not so much to lay down high policies, but to implement them. We must realize that we have not always succeeded in implementing what we have laid down. Thus, in land reform, the progress in implementation has been slow. And yet, this is in a sense the very foundation of our agricultural progress. I would beg of you, therefore, to direct all your attention to the implementation of the plans that we draw up.

3. A great deal of attention is directed to industrial growth, and that is as it should be. But the fact remains that the whole future of our Plan, and indeed even of industrial growth, depends on agricultural progress. We all know what exactly should be done in agriculture in order to increase production. And yet, much remains to be done. Instead of sending circulars and long letters giving lengthy lists of the kind of work we have to do, it would be advisable to concentrate on some specific matters in regard to agriculture and to see to it that these are carried out. I shall indicate some of these later in this letter.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

4. The background of agricultural progress is land reform, the establishment and proper functioning of *panchayat samitis* with adequate powers, and service cooperatives. I need not add that a cooperative should be a real cooperative and not something on paper. There are many such paper cooperatives today in the country which miss the essence of co-operation. Co-operation to succeed must be based on non-official work and guidance. It will never go far if it hangs on to officials and is constantly looking up to them. Indeed, I am convinced that in many of our other activities also we should rely more and more on non-official effort.

5. The whole purpose of *panchayat samitis* is to shift this burden on to non-officials and develop their own initiative and sense of responsibility. Where this has been done a marked change is already taking place. In cooperatives probably the most advanced States are Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and to a somewhat lesser extent, Punjab. The success in these places is largely due to the part non-officials have played there.

6. There is undoubtedly a growing awakening among our peasantry. They realize that they must move out of their old ruts; they are eager to have more fertilizers and new agricultural implements and better seeds. The demand has come with tremendous force. How do we meet it? So far as fertilizers are concerned, we are making every effort to increase the supply.

7. Better seeds, better implements, small irrigation works, green manure, etc. do not require foreign exchange or indeed any heavy expenditure. What they require is proper organization and hard work. Also it must be remembered that the element of timing is important. Very often seeds have been given too late in the season to be used effectively.

8. Then again, take better implements. I am sorry to say that in spite of our efforts, the implements that our agriculturists use are generally completely out of date. I am not thinking of tractors and the like, but of better ploughs and other simple implements which can be made anywhere.

I have repeatedly drawn your attention to this matter, and I think that every State Government must now concentrate on these four matters:—

- (1) Better seeds supplied in time.
- (2) Better implements, ploughs, etc.
- (3) Green manure.
- (4) Small irrigation works.

This is the heart of the matter in regard to progress in agriculture, and I have no doubt that changes will be rapid if we pay attention to these small and simple methods.

9. How do we provide better equipment? Not by good advice but by actually making these better implements available. Ultimately every block must have good ploughs and other agricultural implements stocked and made available. Also to have arrangements for servicing, because without servicing the smallest machine cannot function for long. Therefore, to begin with, each State must establish a centre for the production on a large scale of good ploughs and other agricultural implements. The second step should be to have these made at least in each district and later in each block. It may be that some more complicated part may be made centrally, but generally speaking, they should be made locally in each area. Servicing is of high importance.

10. It is said that lack of pig iron or steel comes in the way of making these implements. That lack must be got over. Normally, agricultural implements do not require high quality of steel, and even pig iron might often serve the purpose. In any event, enough iron or steel must be found for this even if some other work suffers. So far as I know, allotment of steel or pig iron are made to State Governments, and it is for those Governments to see to it that enough of this is diverted for agricultural implements.

11. I should like to see a small workshop in every community block and a number of big workshops in the State.

12. May I venture to repeat that the work before us now is one of implementation and concentration on these vital

matters. Success will be judged by how far we make good in spreading these simple but effective methods. It is quite absurd for us to talk about agricultural progress and yet permit thousand-year old ploughs to be used in our fields.

13. I should like to mention one other matter, and this is the control of prices. All of us, including myself, state piously that prices must be controlled. But, surely, this will not be done by merely pious statements. We have to take action, and effective action, even though this might be inconvenient. What must be done to hold prices? The first thing, of course, is greater production. What more? Our fiscal and monetary policies can have a considerable effect on prices, and then we can adopt some measure of controls. No one likes controls as such, but no one likes high prices either, and if a choice has to be made, there can be no doubt that controls have to be preferred. But the principle of control has to be accepted if we are to keep prices down.

14. The point is that we should always realize that it is incumbent on us to take every conceivable step to control prices. We cannot leave this to chance or to the vagaries of the market place or the cupidity of traders.

15. When grave emergencies like that of a war descend upon a country, immediately control measures are introduced, because everyone recognizes the vital necessity of carrying on the war to a successful conclusion, and not allowing private interests to come in the way. Surely, the situation we have to face in India is no less important from the point of view of our present and future than a war. It may be said that we are carrying on a war of an economic kind and that requires unusual and abnormal measures if we aim at success.

16. I am merely indicating to you the line of thinking which is being forced upon us by events. We cannot allow matters to drift because we dislike a new thought or a new type of action. What that action may be is a matter for careful consideration.

17. Another but important matter. It must be laid down

that every shopkeeper must display in his shop the prices he charges. Again, we can think of wartime when this was done, and people put up with it. But, now, we hesitate to take any serious step although the situation is serious enough. It may be that if prices are so marked, some of the goods might go underground and be secretly sold for higher prices. If that occurs, it can be dealt with in other ways. Anyhow, the psychological consequences of such a step will be considerable and will be greatly appreciated by the public.

18. To jump to another and very different subject. The Third Plan Report refers to child welfare. I am afraid exceedingly little thought has been given by our Governments to this vital subject. We plan, but the biggest part of the Plan is the planning or training of human beings, and there the educational process comes in. Even that educational process is rather vitiated if we ignore the child. In most advanced countries child welfare is given first importance. I realize that to set up any kind of a machinery to look after all the children of India is a colossal task, utterly beyond our capacity at present. It is beyond our capacity not only from the financial point of view, but also because we have not got the trained persons who can look after the child. Let us, therefore, begin in a relatively small way in selected places. But where we do it, we should do it effectively.

19. Another jump. I have been concerned to notice indications in some States to amend or vary the provisions of the Hindu Succession Act passed by Parliament some years ago. That Act was passed by Parliament after prolonged debate and the fullest consideration. To vary them because of local pressures would be most unfortunate and a retrograde step. I hope, therefore, that you will not encourage this kind of thing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
23 October, 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a long interval. I wonder sometimes why these repeated delays take place in my so-called fortnightly letters. It is not just because I am heavily engaged, for I have been so engaged during these many past years. Nor is it because of any physical disability. Is it then something that has to do with the mind or the spirit which, almost unconsciously, comes in the way of my writing? Perhaps so.

2. I returned from New York after attending the meetings of the General Assembly of the U.N. twelve days ago.¹ I was tired both by the stay in New York and the long journey back without any breaks on the way. During the journey or perhaps just after, I managed to get a cold which persisted for some time. This is a small matter but it added to the discomfort of my mind. After my stay and experiences in the U.N. General Assembly, I came back with a certain exhaustion of spirit. This kind of thing happens from time to time and one recovers from it fairly quickly. I suppose I shall recover, as indeed I have done partly, even now.

3. In New York, I did not work terribly hard. Certainly I worked less than I do in Delhi. But the nature of the work was somewhat different from my normal routine. Hence it drew upon me more and created that feeling which I have referred to above as a certain exhaustion of spirit. Returning

1. Nehru was in New York from 26 September to 10 October, and attended the session of the U.N. General Assembly from 26 September to 5 October 1960.

to India, I did not find much to hearten me. Problems are, of course, our daily lot and I find them more of a challenge than otherwise. In a growing, dynamic country, problems are bound to arise and are a sign indeed of growth. But there are some types of problems which occasionally have a depressing effect—a type which appears to lower the spirit of man. In India we always have two aspects; one is heartening and enlivening, the growth of a great country struggling under adverse circumstances and making good; the other is this lowering of spirit, the absence of idealism and of living confined to one's petty self and the growth of all manner of narrow-minded, petty jealousies.

4. But why blame India although, being of India, we feel this most here. This narrowness of outlook and lack of the broader vision appears to be characteristic of a great part of the world today. On the whole, India is fortunately still free from the intense hatreds and suspicions that envelop a large part of mankind today.

5. In the United Nations one saw this hatred, suspicion and the breath of violence. The whole atmosphere was thick with it, and I think it was this that rather depressed me and darkened the horizon. There were fine speeches and loud praises of the virtues of peace, but most of them seemed rather hollow. What attracted attention most was the bitter attacks made by individuals or groups.

6. It does appear that the world is in a bad way and hovers on the brink of crises. The attempts made in recent years for some kind of disengagement and a lessening of international tensions are now a thing of the past and, in various parts of the world one sees smouldering fires which may break out into flame at almost any moment. I do not expect the horrors of actual war to descend upon us in the near future, but the drift seems to be in that direction. There are, however, two hopeful signs. One is the passionate desire for peace among practically all the peoples of the world. The other is a fuller realization of the terrible consequences of war. And yet that drift continues.

7. During the two weeks I was in New York, I saw this tragic drama played on a world stage. The great ones of the earth had gathered there² and, in the minds of men, there was everything that might lead to war; only the fear of its consequences acted as a brake. There was much eloquence and fine words, there was feasting and even many friendly gatherings, but the dark shadow remained. The outstanding figure, from many points of view, both individual and national, was Mr. Khrushchev. I have no doubt that he earnestly desires disarmament and the prevention of the possibility of war.³ But he spoke in a language which was not that of peace,⁴ and his general behaviour also was one which had far from a soothing effect.⁵ Others, in reply to

2. 15 Heads of State and Government and 50 Foreign Ministers participated in the general debate of the 15th Session of the General Assembly.

3. On 23 September, Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union was committed to complete disarmament but her efforts had failed because the United States and N.A.T.O. countries had dismissed the Soviet plan as "meaningless talk" and insisted on prior agreement on international control. Instead, he reiterated Soviet commitment to a three-stage plan of complete disarmament under international control.

4. Accusing Hammarskjöld of "siding with the colonialists" in the Congo, Khrushchev suggested that instead of one Secretary-General of the United Nations, there should be three, representing the Communist Powers, the Western Powers, and the neutral nations, to ensure impartial executive action. He said that a single executive head could also not be trusted with an army which after complete disarmament would be the custodian of peace. Khrushchev attacked the Western Powers for supporting colonialism and urged the freeing of all colonies "at once".

5. In exchanges with Macmillan, it was reported in the press that Khrushchev pounded the desk and waved his shoe. When Macmillan held the Soviet Union responsible for the breakdown of the Paris 'summit' conference Khrushchev retorted: "Don't talk about that—you were supporting aggressive action."

him, behaved more decorously, but their language was bitter and rigid and equally far from soothing.⁶ Why did these people, representing the power and might of their countries and desiring peace, function in this way? Perhaps they thought that war was not likely and so they could play about on the brink and even take risks which might otherwise have been avoided. But this game of brinkmanship is dangerous in the extreme. Perhaps they thought that by speaking in terms of what is called strength and in the language of threats, they might frighten the other party a little and thus lessen the possibility of war. Thus, in this age of terror, nations try to protect themselves by exhibiting their strength of muscle, breadth of jaw, and stiffness of the upper lip. Or is it that this exhibition of concentrated power is a reaction to the fear and suspicion within their minds and hearts?

8. It is a strange world we live in. While statesmen and diplomats, of high standing and breeding, discuss interminably international problems without getting anywhere, science and technology move on as if driven by an uncontrollable force, and add both to the possibilities of the benefits that humanity can share and the dangers which may well end the brief span of life of man on earth. News comes to us that some scientists in Western Germany have discovered a quicker and easier way of making nuclear weapons.⁷ That was bound to happen and, if not now, it will come sooner or later. When that comes, then all talks of disarmament may well become futile insofar as nuclear weapons are concerned.

6. The Western leaders blamed the Soviet Union for the failure of the disarmament talks and criticized Khrushchev's attack on the Secretary-General, his proposal to change the U.N. executive, his support of Lumumba even after he had been dismissed by President Kasavubu on 9 September, and the Soviet Government's own practise of "colonialism" in East Europe and in the autonomous republics in the Soviet Union.

7. The West German Government announced on 12 October that a chemical company in Frankfurt had developed a process to produce uranium-235 for use in nuclear weapons.

9. It is this possibility that has made the question of disarmament one of the most urgent importance today. It is said that after two or three or perhaps four years, the chance of having effective disarmament may well be past. Also it becomes essential to lower the tensions of the world because in a state of high tension anything may happen, any accident even, which may let loose the hounds of war, and nobody would be able to put them on leash again. It is in this connection that the General Assembly presented a rather frightening aspect, for it was the picture of the cold war almost at its worst.

10. The problems that came up in the General Assembly were, in the main, three—disarmament, colonialism and the structure of the United Nations and how far it is possible to reform it to bring it more in conformity with present conditions. Little or no progress has been made in regard to any of these three problems. The Assembly continues to meet and perhaps if we are fortunate it may make some progress. But the chances of this happening are not great.

11. One reason for the lack of progress in the Assembly was the Presidential election in the United States.⁸ Nothing much can be settled unless the United States and the Soviet Union agree. The election made it difficult for the U.S. to adopt any firm or forward policy. All the debates in the U.N. therefore became sparring matches in preparation for some future development after the election was over. That was understandable, but therein also lay a danger. If during this intervening period the situation becomes so bad and so rigid that it cannot be dealt with adequately even after the election, whoever wins the election, then the world remains tied up in an inextricable knot. Efforts are being made even now in the Assembly for some way out to be found, not to solve any major question, but at least to leave a loophole open for the future.

8. John F. Kennedy was elected President on 8 November 1960 defeating Richard Nixon.

12. How friendly men and women are everywhere and how anxious to avoid wars and troubles. The Americans are among the most hospitable and friendly people, proud of their own achievements and anxious to help others; the Russians are equally friendly and hospitable, also proud of their own achievements and prepared to share them. Essentially, both these great peoples have a tremendous deal in common with each other. Both are dynamic, hard-working, with great capacity. Both are devoted to science and technology and worship the gods of the machine, more so than probably any other countries. Science, technology and the machine are not covered by ideologies. There is no capitalist physics or communist chemistry, and the rules of mechanics or those governing the machine are the same all over the world. Progressively the machine is dominating man's life and producing similar patterns wherever it functions. I am convinced that the similarities, the commonness in the present and even more so in the future of American civilization and Soviet civilization are far greater than their dissimilarities. It is true that there are basic differences between the two countries and their peoples and more especially in their thinking. But those differences are bound to grow less under the dominion of the machine and each will gradually move towards the other, provided we escape universal disaster.

13. What applies to the Americans or the Russians applies in varying degrees to other countries. The real difference that emerges in the world today is not between the highly industrialized countries but between them and those that are backward in science and technology and industrialization. Even that will progressively grow less, though the pace of change is very slow at present.

14. What then comes in the way? Something almost intangible, something beyond normal logic and reason, something that has to do with fear and passion, something of the spirit or the absence of spirit. The real problem thus becomes one which is not easy to grasp or to deal with.

Education might, and should be a remedy. But we find that the most highly educated people suffer most from these fears and hatreds, and, in any event, it is a long process to change people through educational media. And, meanwhile, danger sits on our thresholds.

15. I am writing all this to you so that you may have a full realization of the dangerous state of the world today. There is danger in this cold war between the Communist countries and the Western nations, there is danger in the basic attitude and the circumstances surrounding the People's Republic of China,⁹ there is danger in some accident or untoward happening letting loose war upon the world, there is danger in the situation in Germany and Berlin,¹⁰ there is danger in Indo-China,¹¹ and even in little Cuba.¹² And then there is Africa, with its dynamism bursting out, often uncontrolled,

9. Even while, in pursuance of the decision reached at the meeting of the Indian and Chinese Prime Ministers in New Delhi in April 1960, the officials of the two Governments were jointly examining the documents in support of the stand taken by each Government on the border question, the Chinese intruded into Taktong Gompa in the eastern sector and into Sikkim in June and September 1960.

10. On 31 August, East Germany warned the Western Powers not to misuse the air corridors to West Berlin for military purposes. From 8 September, West Germans were to be allowed entry into East Berlin through permits, and on 13 September, West Berlin passports were derecognized and possession of identity cards issued by East German police was insisted upon. The Western Powers described these regulations as imposed unilaterally and contrary to the terms of the Four Power agreement.

11. The civil war in Laos took a new turn with Prince Souvanna Phouma's neutralist government starting negotiations on 28 September with Prince Boun Oum's rightist committee in Luang Prabang and with Prince Souphanouvong of pro-Communist Pathet Lao movement in Vientiane on 11 October in a bid to form an all-party Government. On 21 September, the Soviet Union condemned the interference of the United States in Laos by the offers of military and financial aid, and on 17 October herself offered financial aid to Laos. This led to a possible confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in Laos.

12. On 19 October 1960, the United States imposed an embargo on exports to Cuba, and on 22 October, Khrushchev declared that the Soviet Union stood by her statement of 9 July to help Cuba defend herself with rockets against attack by the United States.

and rousing the jealousies and fears of other countries. There is danger in the continuation of colonial policies in some parts of the world still, and there is danger in racial discrimination and suppression. If we examine individual countries, we also find situations which may lead to much mischief, such as even in the great country of France. Above all this hovers the umbrella-like covering of nuclear bombs.

16. In our own country, there is danger on our frontiers, and there is danger in our domestic conflicts and narrow-minded squabbles. We have had to face a mighty problem, full of difficulty and requiring all the strength and energy that we possess in order to solve it. This is the great problem of development and marching out of a backward past into the modern age of science. We have not done badly in this respect. But we could have done far more if our attention had not been diverted to petty issues and internal squabbles. Is it not possible for us, even now, to get out of our narrowness of mind and see this picture of the struggling world and our own country's march forward?

17. We have recently produced a draft third Five Year Plan,¹³ a skeleton which we have to cover with flesh and blood and give it life and the vibrant energy of a dynamic race. Is there anything in India which is more important than this mighty task? Is there any other course open to us but this? Or else, we sink again into insignificance. And yet, I wonder how many of our politicians, how many of our Members of Parliament and Assemblies, or those who aspire to become Members of Parliament and Assemblies, have given much thought to this Plan. They are too busy with their party squabbles, not realizing that a group or party success may have no meaning at all if we lose the major battle.

13. The draft Plan was approved by the Lok Sabha on 26 August and by the Rajya Sabha on 6 September 1960.

18. All this is rather depressing stuff, but I see also the other side of this shield, a side which fills me with hope and even enthusiasm. In spite of her difficulties and internal troubles, I see this country of ours inevitably marching ahead, and full of a dynamic energy which pushes her on. Oddly enough, intelligent foreigners who come here can see this more than many of us who are too close to see this properly. There is a bursting energy in India which is breaking out in all directions. Sometimes the directions are not good, but the fact of the energy is patent. This may be seen not only in the rapid development of our industries, the big ones that are growing up and the innumerable small ones that are changing the face of India. But most of all, it is visible in our rural areas. There can be no doubt that our peasantry has improved and is improving in living standards, in education, and in a feeling of self-respect and self-reliance. The most heartening feature of this rural scene is to be seen in those States where what is called *panchayati raj* has come into existence.

19. A few days ago I had a report from a number of Members of Parliament¹⁴ who were sent by the Congress Party to inspect this *panchayati raj* in Rajasthan. They saw a good deal of this and tried to observe it from the inside and not merely superficially. They came back surprised and delighted and full of enthusiasm for what they had seen. They saw a new life developing in these villages, a self-reliant peasantry looking to themselves and not to the officials or the Government, realizing their responsibilities and trying to live up to them. This committee has gone to Andhra Pradesh now and I have little doubt that they will see a similar picture there. Some other States are also moving in this direction. I wish that the speed was greater there.

20. The growth of industry, both big and small, is essential for our progress. I think we have laid and are laying strong

14. The committee of seven members was appointed by the Congress Parliamentary Party on 1 September 1960.

foundations for its growth, and the results are beginning to show. Basic heavy industries are appearing in various parts of India. As for small industries, they are sprouting out all over the place. Important as all this industrialization is, we have always to remember that this as well as any real betterment of our people depends upon agriculture. It is by better agriculture, employing the newer techniques, that growth in production comes, bringing with it higher standards for the mass of our peasantry. A comparison of Indian statistics shows that the peasantry is better off where agriculture is better. It is, therefore, on the growth of our agriculture in its various ways and more especially by the employment of modern techniques, that the future of our country depends. Industrial growth requires big scale investment. To some extent, agriculture also requires big investment, chiefly in irrigation and fertilizers. But broadly speaking, a great deal can be done in agriculture without much investment, and particularly with no foreign exchange being involved. It is hard work, simple modern techniques and implements which are not expensive, and intelligent application that are necessary. Land reform becomes the essential basis, and cooperatives the principal means.

21. Fertilizers are certainly necessary. But may I remind you again of the tremendous results that have been obtained by the green-manuring programme which costs very little? Wherever this has been tried, it has produced remarkable results. Then again, I have often told you of the success achieved in reclaiming *usar* and saline lands. The experiment started at the Banthra Farm near Lucknow is no longer an experiment. It is a remarkable success, and it can be repeated without much expenditure over millions of acres in India which are lying unused and uncultivated today. Then these and other ways are obvious and simple and require little in the way of big scale expenditure. We have got so much in the habit of tying up every scheme of development with vast sums of money and often with imports from abroad involving foreign exchange that we overlook what

lies at our very doorstep.

22. Then there is the question of utilizing rural manpower. Our Planning Commission has given much thought to this and has, I believe, recently sent your Government a long note¹⁵ as to how this can be utilized, more especially by pilot projects for works programmes. Behind this, of course, lies the goodwill and enthusiasm of the people concerned, and this again brings us back to the *panchayati raj* where responsibility is cast on the *panchayat samitis*. There are any number of small industries or cottage industries which can be started, in addition to scientific agriculture, in the rural areas. I would beg of you to direct the attention of your Government to this matter and to see to it that something is done soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. The note sent in September 1960 stressed the need for the compulsory enforcement through *panchayats* of manual labour in such villages as benefited from irrigation works.

New Delhi
26 February, 1961

The deplorable communal incidents that occurred earlier this month in Jabalpur¹ and some other towns of Madhya Pradesh have had very unfortunate and harmful consequences. A full enquiry is going to be held. But there can be no doubt that the widespread attacks on Muslims and their houses and shops were pre-planned and organized. Once this kind of thing is started, all the *goonda* and anti-social elements take advantage of this. Local newspapers fan the flame and communal organizations come to the forefront.

2. These incidents have had far-reaching repercussions. You must have read about the attack on our Embassy in Karachi yesterday.² This can hardly be called spontaneous. The press in Karachi has been inciting people for some days³ and the people who took part in this attack were mostly school boys and some inevitable *goonda* elements. The police did not interfere. In Karachi, nothing of this kind can happen without the active or passive approval of the authorities. One reason for this is probably the desire by the Pakistan Government to exploit these tragic happenings in Muslim countries abroad.

* Telex message sent to all Chief Ministers.

1. Communal riots broke out in Jabalpur and Sagar in February 1961.

2. A mob of over 1000 people hurled stones at the Indian High Commission causing extensive damage.

3. For example, *Dawn* of Karachi in an editorial entitled "Another Blood Bath" on 12 February wrote: "The fact that a not unusual crime of this sort should be seized upon by India's majority community as a pretext for committing widespread and organized acts of savagery against Muslim minority shows how utterly false is the claim that India is a secular State."

3. There is the possibility of provocation partly from some Muslim elements, but chiefly from Hindu communal organizations. As *Holi* is coming soon, there is this particular danger then. I hope that your Government will take immediate and effective measures to meet any possible trouble of this kind. There should be no hesitation about measures to be taken because we cannot possibly permit this kind of thing to happen again anywhere in India. It is better to take these measures before anything occurs than to wait till something happens. District authorities and the police must be warned that it is their full responsibility to keep the peace and to punish those who are guilty. The *goonda* and other dangerous elements might well be dealt with early. Local newspapers who indulge in inflammatory writing must also be warned and action taken against them. In effect, the situation must be kept entirely in control and every step that may be thought necessary taken in good time.

4. This type of communal trouble is more likely in the Northern States. I am, however, sending this message to all our Chief Ministers with the request that they will do their utmost to prevent any mishap or incident from happening.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
6 March, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,

I have rather a vague memory of when I sent you last a fortnightly letter. That was long ago, and it is difficult to pick up old threads again. During these many months, a great deal has happened which deserves record and our consideration. I am not referring to events which find space in newspapers, or to the visits of eminent persons from abroad like Queen Elizabeth of England.¹ Our letters tend to become far too much a record of obvious events.

2. But I should have liked to write to you about certain developments, both internal and external, which have significance for us. Yet I have not written for a variety of reasons which probably do not bear close examination. Today, I am writing to you after this long interval because I am leaving in a few hours for England for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference,² and I do not want to go away without making an attempt to revive this old practice of writing fortnightly letters and thus keeping in intimate touch with you through this informal correspondence. It is important for us to have our minds in tune with each other. All of us are heavily occupied with the worries and problems of the day, and it may happen that, because of this preoccupation, we miss that commerce of minds and ideas which is so essential for us in these changing times. I know that I have missed writing to you and, perhaps, you may have occasionally missed my letters. Life and its varied

1. She was in India from 22 January to 1 February and from 28 February to 2 March 1961. In between she visited Pakistan and Nepal. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 566.

2. Held in London from 8 to 17 March 1961.

burdens sometimes sit heavily upon us. We cannot run away from our responsibilities, however heavy they might be. And yet, it is of the highest importance that we keep track of the basic changes that are happening around us, apart from the superficial happenings that engage our attention. We are too much engrossed in these petty conflicts and, perhaps because of that, we forget more fundamental issues.

3. I cannot write to you now at any length or refer to the many ideas and urges that I have in my mind. I am racing with time so as to send you something at least before I leave India. The challenge of the times is upon us, so also the challenge of our country. We have to be big enough to face it, whatever happens.

4. For the last two weeks we have faced an additional burden and a continuing sorrow. This is the grave illness of our dear and valued colleague, Govind Ballabh Pant.³ It is difficult for me to bring my mind to consider other issues as always it reverts to this struggle for life that is being fought by one who has played such a dominating part both in our public life and in our private lives. Even so, we have to face this impending disaster with as much strength and calmness as we may possess.

5. So I go to England heavy with sorrow and with no mood to leave my country at this juncture. And yet, I have thought that one cannot give in or surrender to shock or sorrow. The responsibilities we have undertaken must be shouldered, and the work we have to do must be done, not for ourselves but for the larger causes that have to some extent ennobled our petty selves.

6. The world changes from day to day and every day brings a fresh crop of problems and difficulties. We have to deal with them. But essentially the major problem for us must be the problem of India. Few things have happened in India in

3. He fell seriously ill on 20 February and died on 8 March 1961. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 383.

recent years which have shocked me so much as the recent disturbances in Jabalpur, Sagar and some other places in Madhya Pradesh.⁴ This shocked me not merely because of the damage done to life and property, but even more so because it uncovered something that was painful to us. We talk glibly of nationalism and unity, but we do not live up to what we say. Communalism, casteism and regionalism hold us in their grip and often disable us from advancing along the path of our choice. Jabalpur was a peculiarly bad example of this. It represented the failure of our administrative apparatus; even more so it represented the narrowness of outlook of many of us and the differences that still survive. There is going to be a judicial enquiry, and no doubt all kinds of evidence, true and false, will be placed before it. No doubt, many people will try to build up cases to protect themselves even though they might have little substance behind them. But the real thing is that this should have happened. I have no doubt that in Jabalpur and other places it was the basic communalism and narrow-mindedness of the majority Hindu community that is at fault. I would hold to this opinion even if the minority misbehaved to some extent. Always, I think that it is the duty and responsibility of the majority not only to deal with the minorities fairly but to win them over, to make them feel that they belong to the nation and not merely to a smaller group in it, to have a sense of solidarity with others. Let us realize that we are far from having reached this goal.

7. If so, are we going to surrender to this evil force and tendency? Obviously not, for that means a betrayal of everything that we have stood for. I am convinced that this narrow communal outlook, whether it is Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or any other, is more harmful to us than anything else. Also that this outlook is almost always closely associated with social reaction. It is under cover of communalism that reactionaries function. There is plenty of reaction in India today, and it has begun to flaunt itself even in

4. See *ante*, p. 420.

public, and is challenging our basic policies. We must understand this fully and not merely run about applying some kind of superficial balm for the treatment of serious diseases. We have to fight this reaction and remember that the first thing still remains, the building up of social solidarity in our nation. You know how much importance I attach to our economic development, Five Year Plans, higher standards for our people, and all that. But if we cannot subdue and conquer these evil separatist tendencies in our country, how then are we going to make that rapid advance that we seek to achieve?

8. The fact is that in spite of our Constitution and our brave talk, we often function in narrow spheres, communal, caste, region and language. We have to search our hearts and find out where we have failed. The test of success is not what we may think. The only test is how the minority feels. Do they get their proper due in the public life of our country, in the Services, in economic development, in the numerous vital aspects of our dynamic society today?

9. For our society is dynamic today. In spite of our many failings there can be no doubt that India is marching ahead on the economic and like fronts. Both our agriculture and industry are, I think, moving in the right direction and often moving fairly fast. We have largely got out of the rut of ages and are changing the face of India. Education marches ahead and is probably the most revolutionary factor in changing India; health has great advances to its credit. Even the problems we face today are the consequences of this dynamism and change. To me all this is evident. But I rather doubt if this is equally evident to many of our people. The world outside has begun to understand this and to realize that something rather remarkable is happening in India. It is time that we did so also and put our full strength into it, and, more particularly, get out of our petty squabbles and internal conflicts.

10. Look at the world. Here is a rocket rushing at incredible speed to Venus.⁵ Presently, men will be indulging

5. On 12 February 1961, the Soviet Union launched a satellite which was to reach Venus in the second half of May 1961.

in space travel. At the same time, men also continue to indulge in building up terrible weapons of war, and no one can say that they will not be used, even if this results in the utter destruction of mankind. Disarmament should be the first and vital issue before every one, not only disarmament in the physical sense of putting an end to vast armed forces, but even more so in its effect on the mind. We have to disarm our minds of hatred and the spirit of violence. When that will be, I do not know. But unless this comes about, disaster on an inconceivable scale is inevitable.

11. I do not despair. Although sometimes I feel a little angry at our own failings and weaknesses I have faith in our people and in the future of India; also in a better ordered world. It is because of this faith that I carry on as, I presume, most of us carry on. Life would be hollow emptiness without that faith in the future and faith in ourselves to face that future.

12. It is on this note of faith that I should like to end this letter and not refer here to other matters, even though they are very important. There is the Congo where we have decided to send a considerable body of armed forces.⁶ There is the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London to which I am going and which will have to face the question of South Africa and racial discrimination. There are very difficult problems on our border. There is the increasing tension between India and Pakistan, and there is the vast poverty of so many of our Indian people. And yet, we move forward and face all these problems with strength and confidence and faith.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. In pursuance of the resolution of the Security Council of 21 February, India sent an armed brigade of 3,000 men to join the U.N. force in Congo, assist in the withdrawal of the Belgian forces, and help to find a solution to the political crisis.

New Delhi
3 June, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

Among the many problems that face us today in India, probably the most important is the growth of disruptive tendencies in the country. This is, of course, no new development. We have always had them. The only difference has been that in the days of our struggle for freedom such tendencies were pushed into the background. On the attainment of Independence, we had the terrible experience which followed Partition when communalism was at its height. We fought this with some courage and determination and held it in check. Soon after, there was the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a communal fanatic. The terrible shock that this gave us and the country pulled us up again and we became alert to these basic dangers. In April 1948, the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) passed a strong resolution.¹ That represented the mood of the country at the time.

2. This resolution could not be fully given effect to because

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The resolution passed on 3 April 1948 stated that "for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity, communalism should be eliminated from Indian life and no communal organization... should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the *bonafide* religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities, should be taken."

of certain provisions of our Constitution.² Gradually the passionate feeling against communalism somewhat toned it down and most of us became involved in the work of Government, of planning, and numerous other activities. Communal elements also toned down their activities to some extent.

3. But this deep-seated disease continued to poison our public life and came out occasionally in distressing boils and ulcers. We realized, with some distress, that this malady would not automatically disappear after the coming of Independence. The fact that our neighbour Pakistan had been founded on the basis of a communal outlook and was continuing to function on that basis produced reactions in India. But such reactions can only take place when there is fertile ground for them to work on.

4. It was not much good for us really to blame Pakistan, for we have carried all this time the seeds of communalism. Muslim communalism continued in a small way in India. But it could not play any big part because it was weak. Hindu and Sikh communalism, as well as other varieties of it, however, continued to flourish in India.

5. After the publication of the report of the States Reorganization Commission,³ another dangerous disruptive force came into evidence. This was linguism. It has been shown in the last few years how the best of us have been influenced by linguistic controversies and have been unable to rise above them. We have had major civil disturbances leaving a trail of hatred and bitterness.

6. At the Bhavnagar Session of the Congress⁴ there was full realization of these dangerous tendencies, and a National Integration Committee was formed.⁵ Even while this

2. Article 25 of the Constitution protects freedom of religious opinion as well as acts in pursuance of religion.

3. On 30 September 1955. See Vol. 4, p. 224.

4. Held from 6 to 7 January 1961.

5. On 7 January 1961, by a resolution, a committee was formed with Indira Gandhi as chairperson.

committee was dealing with these problems, in some towns of Madhya Pradesh, notably Jabalpur and Sagar, fierce and disgraceful communal disturbances took place. Last year the Assam State witnessed a new type of linguistic trouble⁶ which was shocking. With great difficulty, gradually, we got over these troubles, and many of the people who have been affected by it were in the process of rehabilitation. But it soon became apparent that the improvement of the situation in Assam was superficial only. The troubles in the Brahmaputra Valley led to movements in the Hill Districts of Assam and in the Bengali-speaking District of Cachar.⁷

7. We have been endeavouring to deal with the questions raised in these autonomous Hill Districts of Assam, and it is hoped that some satisfactory settlement will be arrived at.⁸ Meanwhile the Cachar agitation came to fever point and led to shocking incidents of police firing on crowds.⁹ How far this firing was justifiable or not, it is for the enquiring Judge to indicate.¹⁰ But the mere fact that such firing has to take place is itself a very distressing symptom of the disease that we are suffering from.

8. This Silchar firing led to fierce and uncontrolled feelings in Bengal¹¹ chiefly, and to a lesser extent elsewhere.

6. See *ante*, p. 396.

7. On 19 May 1961, the Cachar Sangram Parishad launched a movement demanding recognition of Bengali as an additional State language of Assam.

8. On 21 May in the discussions held between Nehru and the Shillong Council of Action of All-Parties Hill Leaders' Conference, Nehru proposed that the question of granting more autonomy to the hill districts on the Scottish pattern of administration be examined in all aspects, including the question of language so that the people in these districts were not put to any disadvantage in any matter. The All-Parties Hill Leaders' Conference which was demanding a separate State rejected Nehru's proposal.

9. Police opened fire on a crowd in Silchar on 19 May 1961, resulting in several deaths and injuries to many.

10. On 27 May 1961, Gopalji Mehrotra, Chief Justice of Assam High Court, was appointed to hold an enquiry into Silchar firing.

11. On 24 May 1961, Calcutta city and certain parts of 24 Parganas observed a hartal in protest against police firing in Silchar.

Thus a problem which was escaping solution became even more difficult and intractable.

9. It is easy to blame people for these deplorable occurrences and no doubt many have been blamed. Indeed in a sense, it may be said that none of us are free from blame. Whether it is the communal question or the linguistic trouble, there are few amongst the best of us who can take a fully objective and impartial view. When a crisis comes, we get swept away and, instead of logic, anger and passion seize hold of us. The devil which had been pushed away into some corner of our minds, displays itself again and it becomes evident that we are still far from having developed a broadminded, tolerant and all-India nationalism. We may trace this state of affairs to past history and conditioning. We may blame the caste system which has divided the Hindus into innumerable compartments. We may find many other reasons for this present state of affairs, or we may just say, as I have said, that this represents social backwardness and the only way to get rid of it is for social and economic progress to be made.

10. The fact remains that, in spite of creditable and sometimes remarkable progress in many directions, we still remain narrow and intolerant in outlook, each one thinking more of his own group, religious, linguistic, State or caste, than of the larger community of India. Basically it is the progress we make in social and economic matters that will make a real difference and divert people's minds to the broader issues before us. The third Five Year Plan which has been given its final shape is the sign of promise for this progress.

11. And yet, these destructive tendencies, whether religious or linguistic, may well undermine and to some extent even prevent the implementation of this Plan. We have therefore to face these tendencies directly and not leave them to chance, and we have to do so in full realization of how widespread they are and how they affect most of us in greater or lesser degree. Our future depends on the measure of

success we attain in combating all these various destructive tendencies.

12. The A.I.C.C. session at Durgapur¹² discussed these matters at some length¹³ and, subsequently, we have had a small conference in Delhi as well as a meeting with Chief Ministers and others,¹⁴ mainly to consider this question. Both the A.I.C.C. and these meetings in Delhi approved of and endorsed the recommendations of the National Integration Committee which had been formed by the Congress. The Delhi meeting considered this question in a more practical way and has made a number of suggestions.¹⁵ I am enclosing a memorandum containing a gist of its recommendations. Also a copy of a press communique issued after these meetings were held and the report of the National Integration Committee.

12. Held from 28 to 29 May 1961.

13. On 27 May, the Congress Working Committee approved the report of the National Integration Committee, which recommended that the Central and State Governments should foster a national outlook through education, books, cultural academies, films, and newspapers; promote employment opportunities at all levels for minorities in public and private undertakings; take effective steps to ensure security of life and property of people during riots; institute immediate judicial enquiries into riots, and set up vigilance committees; asked P.C.C. Chiefs to report regularly to the Congress President about the communal situation in their States; urged Congressmen to take immediate steps to bring calm in riot-affected areas; and pleaded for adequate representation to minorities in all Congress committees, State Legislatures and Parliament.

14. At an informal meeting of Congress leaders, including the Chief Ministers, held at the Prime Minister's House on 31 May and 1 June 1961 to consider the report of the National Integration Committee, it was proposed to set up regional committees in States to watch the implementation of the recommendations made by the Committee.

15. The meeting suggested amendment of the Indian Penal Code to make disturbance of communal harmony a cognizable offence, and disqualifying a person or party from contesting elections for creating disaffection among people on grounds of religion, caste or language.

13. I would most earnestly invite your attention to these papers and what they contain. They should be looked upon as guides to action to be undertaken by Governments. I shall be grateful if you could send me reports, as suggested by the Delhi Conference, on the steps taken to implement its recommendations.
14. When we have to fight the evil which is partly obvious and feasible, and partially insidious and deep down within ourselves, it is easy enough to deal with an obvious evil, at least we see it and know it; it is much more difficult to go deep down and deal with such aspects of that evil which are hidden. There are many things we do in the normal course which are not wrong in themselves, but which, in the context we live in, may have an evil result. The test of any action should be how far it comes in the way of a broad all-India outlook, or how far it encourages narrow provincialism or communalism or linguism.
15. The press can be of considerable help in this campaign. Unfortunately the press itself sometimes completely loses its balance and encourages the wrong tendencies. I believe however that, with a measure of co-operation, the press may be induced to function on a higher level.
16. This is a vital matter for the future of our nation and I commend it in all earnestness to you in the hope that you and your Government will take all effective steps to check and ultimately root out this cancerous growth in our public and private lives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
4 June, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have written to you today at some length about national integration and matters connected with it. There are one or two other matters to which I should like to draw your special attention.

One is the importance of our having men from the minorities, more particularly in the police service. I think this is necessary and desirable from many points of view. This will make the police service more balanced and give greater confidence to all concerned. The minorities will especially appreciate this. Also, from the point of view of employment, we should encourage the minorities in this way. In the past minorities were adequately represented in the police service and we have remains of that even now. But I am told that such recruitment has almost stopped now and is very low. This should be increased.

Another aspect that troubles me is that in our various examinations, either for the Services or for matriculation, etc., the proportion of minorities in some States is astonishingly low. What is the reason for this? Is it that they do not appear for the examinations or that they do not pass? I think that this matter requires looking into.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

New Delhi
7 June, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,

A few days ago I wrote to you at some length on the subject of national integration. Some recent developments have given special importance to this matter, and I wanted to draw your particular attention to it. A nation's progress depends on many factors. But the very base for it is a feeling of forming a nation, a certain cohesiveness, shared objectives, and a certain commonness which holds us together. This does not mean a regimented uniformity. In a country like India, there is considerable diversity which we welcome and seek to preserve. But if this diversity is not held together by the cement of a national feeling, then this will lead to disruption.

2. There is no doubt of a certain unity of feeling in India. This can be traced back to India's long past, for India, throughout the ages, has been a cultural and spiritual entity with a special impress which has survived all manner of changes and attacks in the past. The modern age has brought about a political unity and a political consciousness. Our planning and development, while leading to substantial results, has not kept pace with this political consciousness and the demands that flow from it. Oddly enough this political consciousness and the democratic structure that we have built up, while on the one hand increasing the major concept of unity, have, on the other hand, encouraged fissiparous tendencies which take the shape of provincialism, communalism, casteism and linguism. These are distressing and injurious. Nevertheless, we must view all this in proper perspective and realize that all this is a process of growth, the stirring up of millions of

people out of their ancient ruts, the basic conflict between traditional ways of living and doing things in the modern world. It is a tough problem and a challenge to us. The greatest challenge is not that of the obvious forces of disruption, but of the more insidious ones which lie deep down in all of us in varying degrees.

3. Communalism is one of the obvious examples of backward-looking and trying to hold on to something that is wholly out of place in the modern world and is essentially opposed to the concept of nationalism. In fact, it splits up nationalism into a number of narrower nationalisms. That was the basis of the two-nation theory of the Muslim League. That is the basis of Hindu or Sikh or other communalism today.

4. Distressing as all this is, we must look at the picture in the larger context and in perspective, with something of the sweep of history behind it. In this larger context, it is social backwardness that counts and comes in our way. We are struggling to get out of it, and all our Five Year Plans and the like aim in this direction. We have to fight this social backwardness in many ways and on many fronts. But I feel that the basic approach is indicated by the development of the Indian people as envisaged in our Five Year Plans.

5. We are engaged in this mighty task and we are trying to achieve success through democratic means, that is, by the consent of the people, and not by compulsion and a regimented organization. Looking back at the past ten years or more, we see certain strong foundations being laid and a new ferment at work all over India. With the third Five Year Plan, we have arrived at a crucial stage when we begin the superstructure, while at the same time strengthening and widening the foundations.

6. As you know, we recently had a meeting of the National Development Council.¹ At most of the previous meetings of

1. The session was held in New Delhi on 31 May and 1 June 1961.

this Council, discussions were largely confined to the demands of each individual's State which Chief Ministers put forward. Gradually a change has come over the scene, and at the last meeting of the National Development Council, the discussion was more directed to wider all-India approaches and less to the needs of each State. This was a welcome change. The appointment of a savings committee² at a previous meeting of the National Development Council helped in bringing about this change. This led to the members of the savings committee examining our resources and other factors from this wider viewpoint, and our discussions, therefore, became much more helpful and informative. Several Chief Ministers brought to the discussion a more detailed knowledge of the subjects.

7. In all such discussions, it is possible to take a more optimistic view or a more conservative view. Either of these by itself may lead to unrealistic conclusions. It is only a combination of the two that gives us a correct appraisal of the situation. That was the attempt of the National Development Council, and I think that what it has decided represents a true balance between these different viewpoints. Personally I am inclined to the more optimistic view, but I have to check myself from time to time lest my enthusiasm might lead me too far. I still think, however, that the more optimistic outlook, if based on a certain factual appreciation, is desirable and is a truer index of the urge that drives us. It is this vital urge that counts in the end and that can surmount any difficulty.

8. The third Five Year Plan is certainly a landmark in our historical development. I do not suggest that by the end of the five year period we shall be out of the woods. That would take a longer time. But we hope that by that time we shall be largely in control of the situation and in a position to push it

2. The committee of seven members was appointed by the National Development Council to examine the feasibility of mobilization of savings on a country-wide basis.

in the right direction. Probably it can only be at the beginning of the Fifth Plan that India can think with some satisfaction of its achievements leading to a self-generating economy and a higher level of living standards. It will be then that the socialist pattern of society, which we aim at, will take shape.

9. The report on the Third Plan has been finalized in all its main particulars. It is now being revised and will, I hope, be published within a month or so. This report should be given the widest publicity among all our people, to whatever grade or class they might belong. It may be difficult for large numbers of people to read the full report, but shorter accounts, giving the essential philosophy of the plan, should receive wide publicity in all languages. Our *panchayats*, which have become such an important element in our national life, should consider it and discuss it and indeed criticize it where needed. Our schools and colleges should also discuss it; our trade unions and other organizations should do likewise. Only thus can we get a nationwide appreciation of what we are aiming at, what we have already done, and what we intend to achieve, not only in the five years to come, but also subsequently. Our radio system should help in this process. This matter should not be approached from a Party point of view, but from the wider national one.

10. I think it is important that in our schools and colleges, this broad study of our Five Year Plan should be encouraged. This will not only give a picture of changing India as a whole, but will also divert attention from the disruptive tendencies which trouble us so much at present. What is important is not so much the study of individual schemes in the Plan, but the understanding of its philosophy and its objectives. Those objectives are indicated in terms of a growth of agriculture, industry, social services, etc; greater production therefore becomes essential. But no such plan can ever carry the masses of our people unless an idea of social justice is always kept in view and progressively implemented. When we talk about socialism or a socialist pattern of

society, we mean social justice which is so lacking today, in spite of our efforts and declarations. There are few countries where there is so much disparity in economic conditions as in India. We cannot change this by some law or sudden action, but we have to keep that in view all the time as a governing factor in our thinking and our activities.

11. Social justice is indeed the theme of our present age, not only for socialists, but even for capitalists, although their concepts of social justice might differ.

12. When we make a law or undertake any scheme, do we think of the thin top layer of the well-to-do people or the larger groups of humanity? When we manufacture goods, who do we have in mind about the possible consumers? We would like to manufacture as large a number of commodities as possible. But when our resources are limited, then we have to choose as to what to encourage. Obviously, if we spend a part of our resources on luxury or semi-luxury goods, to that extent our capacity to make the more necessary things would be limited.

13. Indian standards are so terribly low that the actual necessities today for the masses of our population are very limited—food, clothing, housing, education and health. We can hardly accept the standard of living of our masses when considering future production. We have, therefore, to strike some kind of a mean. Perhaps an income of Rs. 400/- or Rs. 500/- a month might be that mean. This is, of course, far beyond the average man or woman in India today. Yet it is not wholly out of his reach and may be considered a proper income to keep in view. If we accept this as a working figure, then we should think in terms of concentrating on production of goods that a person or family with an income of Rs. 500/- per month or so might require. From this point of view a bicycle is far more important in India today than a motor car, even if a small one. One of the significant changes coming over the Indian scene today is the growth of the number of bicycles in rural areas. I have described this as the bicycle age in India. The difference between the bicycle age and the previous traditional stage is far greater than between

the bicycle and the automobile. The bicycle represents coming out of the rut of the old traditional society. The rest is more or less a quantitative progress.

14. We rightly lay great stress now on widespread education to make it within the reach of more children. This is not only essential for our development but is also one important step towards equalizing opportunity. We have made considerable progress in education even though the quality might not be up to the standard we require.

15. In our country unfortunately there are many people who are economically very backward. There are the scheduled castes and tribes and others. They ask for special privileges and we should help them if we can. But I have no doubt that the biggest help we can give them is to provide opportunities for good education.

16. Let us always remember that we are not merely having various schemes of development, but that we are in the middle of a social revolution. Unless this social revolution keeps pace with our other schemes, we shall not achieve success. In fact, the Five Year Plans essentially aim at social revolution in India, though that process should be peaceful and phased. It is in the measure we bring about this social revolution that we shall put an end to the disruptive tendencies which plague us today. There is no other way.

17. My colleague, the Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri,³ returned from his week's stay in Assam last night.⁴ He faced problems there which almost appeared intractable.

3. (1904-1966). General Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 1935-38; Home Minister, U.P., 1947-51; General Secretary, A.I.C.C., 1951; Union Minister for Railways, 1952-56, for Communications, 1957-58, for Commerce and Industry, 1958-61, for Home Affairs, 1961-63, Minister without Portfolio, January-May 1964; Prime Minister, June 1964-January 1966.

4. Visited Assam from 30 May to 6 June 1961.

He dealt with them with great tact and enormous patience.⁵ It appears that he has achieved a considerable measure of success in winning people's minds towards a fair and equitable solution of the language and other problems in Assam. I cannot say now if this has been solved, as there are many people who have worked themselves up to such a state of passion and fury that it is almost impossible to talk to them logically and reasonably. But I do feel that the work that Lal Bahadurji has done in Assam is of first importance and will bear fruit. I should like to express my hope that the people of Assam, both of the Brahmaputra Valley and Cachar as well as, of course, the Hill Districts, will be able to settle their problems in a friendly way and then devote their energies to the progress of their people.

18. Tomorrow morning I am going to Manali for about ten days.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 6 June 1961, after holding consultations with the Congress leaders, Shastri announced that the language of the administration in Cachar may not for the present be changed from Bengali to Assamese, communications between the Governments and the district authorities in Cachar and the autonomous hill districts may continue to be in English until replaced by Hindi, and English would be used at the State level but may be used later along with Assamese. He also desired that the linguistic minorities be accorded the necessary safeguards and the agitation in Cachar withdrawn.

6. He stayed in Manali from 8 to 19 June 1961.

Manali
16 June, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

While you are no doubt busy with important questions of State, may I draw your attention to two matters which are wholly unconnected with each other or any major decision of State? Yet I think they are important enough to merit your consideration.

2. We are constantly discussing the problem of slums and how to remove them. Some little progress is made in the big cities, but while this little progress is made in dealing with the old slums, new slums grow up. Surely, the first thing to do is to prevent the formation of new slums. Otherwise all our labour is in vain.

3. Therefore, it is important that in a big city or a small town, there should be some measure of planning. Planning need not necessarily mean grandiose schemes and vast expenditure. It means, to begin with, an intelligent approach, some aesthetic sense and a desire to prevent needless ugliness, overcrowdedness and lack of cleanliness.

4. I am writing to you from Manali. This is a lovely spot at the end of the Kulu Valley, nestling at the foot of the higher Himalayas, which lead, through the Rohtang Pass, to Lahaul and Spiti. I came to Manali three years ago for a few days and was charmed not only by its beauty but also by the peace and calm that reigned here. Everything was delightful, except the little bazaar road which was slummy and dirty. It was easy, without much expenditure, to improve this out of recognition. Only some simple rules had to be laid down and followed, and some interest taken in this business.

* A special letter in addition to Fortnightly Letters.

5. Because of my visit here three years ago, Manali has attracted more attention and more tourists come here. The Punjab Government has also put up some buildings for tourists in their various schemes to improve this little mountain village. New roads are to be built. But the old bazaar road is as unlovely and generally as filthy as it used to be, if not worse. This has surprised me, because my first inclination would have been to improve this heart of the village and see to it that no fresh constructions took place which tended to make it worse. As a matter of fact, this is just what was not done.
6. When I enquired why this was so, I was told that the fault lay with the Tibetan refugees, who had come here or had been sent here for work on the roads, etc., and who were exceedingly dirty in their habits. That seemed to me a very poor explanation. The fact of the matter is that no attention was paid to this little bazaar road while the authorities thought of new roads to be built and new structures to be put up for tourists.
7. I have given you this little account of Manali because I happen to be here now. But I am sure this kind of a thing is repeated all over India. The pity of it is that much of this happened simply because no thought is given to it. It is surprising how much can be done without any large expenditure of money. Indeed, something can be done without any expenditure except that of good taste and desire to improve our little villages and towns.
8. To come to another aspect of town or city improvement. Generally, slums develop in crowded surroundings in the heart of cities or even on the outskirts. To remove those slums means acquisition of land on either side of the road in order to broaden it, and this is an expensive matter. Oddly enough, in building new roads this aspect does not strike our municipal authorities. Often these roads are built on the outskirts of a town or a city where there is plenty of land available but no one looks into the future and a narrow road is built and small huts and houses grow up on either side of it. As these constructions come up it becomes much more

difficult to widen the road.

9. It is, therefore, of importance everywhere and, more particularly, in a growing city to build wide roads or rather to leave enough room for a wide road even though the first road built is a narrow one. When I say a wide road, I mean a really wide expanse leaving plenty of room for growth. A proper road today has usually a double track with, perhaps, some greenery in between. Then on either side there may be, and normally should be, a bicycle track because we live in an age of bicycles and finally there should be the foot-path on either side. All this taken together makes a wide expanse. It is not necessary to build all this, but it is necessary to leave all this space for the future and not to allow any house or hut to encroach on this space.

10. This seems so obvious, yet, unfortunately, little attention is paid to it. The city fathers concentrate their attention on the heart of the city and do not think much of the outskirts. With the growth of industry traffic grows rapidly and this is often heavy traffic. If the road is narrow it comes in the way of this traffic and is wasteful. Also accidents are likely to occur.

11. In India, both in cities and even in rural areas, there is what might be called a flourishing industry. This is encroachment on the public road. Gradually this encroachment creeps up till the road becomes almost one-half size of what it was meant to be. Very little importance is attached to the rural roads and houses are allowed to be built up almost on the edge. This becomes a terrible nuisance later, when traffic grows, as it is growing now. Therefore, right from the beginning, the land mapped out for the road should be very broad indeed; I should say at least a hundred feet, preferably more.

12. The city of Bombay is one of our best run cities with an efficient Corporation and yet, unfortunately, I have noticed in recent years, these processes continuing there without let or hindrance. A new road was built there, a few years ago, to Trombay where the Atomic Energy Establishment has

spread out. This road was built on empty land and it would have been quite easy to reserve plenty of land for the road and its subsequent development. No one gave thought to this. Now, one finds a narrow road with houses recently built on either side of it and heavy traffic.

13. I shall now refer to an entirely different subject. You know that the reading habit in India is singularly undeveloped. Considering even our literate population, very few books are sold or are read. Even the books that are sold are usually of a cheap fiction variety. Various attempts have been made, and to some extent they are succeeding, for cheap and better class books to be produced. These deserve encouragement.

14. I am particularly drawing your attention to the publications of the Sahitya Akademi.¹ This Akademi publishes books in all the languages of India as well as English. It has made a special effort to publish translations of classics from foreign languages into the Indian languages, and from many Indian languages into others. All these books are carefully chosen and represent the best in that particular language. Some hundreds of books have been published in this way either through publishers or directly by the Akademi. The Akademi is a non-profit making concern and is aided by the Central Government. It should be our endeavour to encourage these books for a variety of reasons. Among these is the knowledge of the classics of all the languages of India. Thus will come about wider appreciation of the various Indian languages outside their own regions. Our present linguistic controversies are largely due to sheer ignorance of other languages or even of translations from them. Thus it should be our business to encourage these books. Almost every State Government is encouraging

1. Inaugurated on 12 March 1954, the Akademi functions as the national institute for the promotion and development of works of literary merit and quality in all Indian languages and English.

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the opening of new libraries. Then there are school libraries and *panchayat* libraries. The Sahitya Akademi publications consist of high class books in all the languages of India, apart from English, and these should deserve a place in our public libraries, school libraries, etc. I think much can be done if State Governments took some interest in this matter and included the Sahitya Akademi publications in the list of books annually purchased for libraries and schools. I commend this matter for your favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
27 June, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,

I do not propose to give you a chronicle of events either in India or abroad, although much happens from day to day which attracts attention and sometimes has a measure of significance. I only wish to draw your attention to certain happenings as well as certain aspects of the problems we have to face.

2. In a sense, everything domestic is always overshadowed to some extent by the possibilities of dangerous developments abroad. Just at the present moment there is no immediate crisis in international affairs. Nevertheless, there is a sense of foreboding about the future. Our ideas of a crisis now have grown in the sense that a real crisis is envisaged as something leading to a major nuclear war. Short of this, there are many crises occurring almost all the time. There is the Laos problem¹ and the conference going on in Geneva;²

1. The fighting between Prince Boun Oum's forces, the Pathet Lao forces, and Prince Souvanna Phouma's forces intensified in late 1960 and 1961. On 24 April, the British and the Soviet Foreign Ministers, as co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, appealed for a ceasefire in Laos and requested the Indian Government to convene the International Control Commission (I.C.C.) and to summon a 14-Power Conference on Laos to meet in Geneva. A *de facto* ceasefire came into effect on 3 May and the I.C.C. reached Laos on 8 May 1961.

2. The conference in Geneva from 16 May to 22 August 1961 agreed that neutrality and independence of Laos will be ensured by the I.C.C. An all-party Government agreed to on 22 June could not be formed due to differences on the distribution of portfolios.

there is Algeria³ and the Congo,⁴ and Angola.⁵ There is also the European Common Market (E.C.M.) which is exercising the minds of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries greatly.⁶

3. So far as we in India are concerned, we have to face all the time problems of our far-flung frontiers—problems vis-a-vis Pakistan and those relating to China. Pakistan has been of late particularly aggressive, and even though I cannot easily believe that Pakistan will indulge in big adventures on our frontier, we have naturally to be on our guard.

3. On 20 May 1961, the French Government released political prisoners, and began negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, which though suspended on 13 June were later on continued for the whole year. The French Government made grant of independence conditional on retaining their rights in the Sahara and insisted on guarantees to the French community.

4. Kasavubu's Government announced on 20 June the convening of the Central Congolese Parliament, as had been decided at a Conference attended by several groups on 27 May. While the Conference had not been attended by A. Gizenga's group, Tshombe also immediately repudiated Kasavubu Government's announcement saying that he had agreed to form the Union under duress. Tshombe was arrested on 28 April but released on 24 June when he agreed that Katanga would become part of Congo and would fully co-operate with the Centre.

5. From early February terrorist attacks on European settlements were met by indiscriminate reprisals by the Portuguese authorities. On 9 June, the Security Council called upon Portugal "to desist forthwith from repressive measures in Angola" and allow the U.N. committee appointed earlier by the General Assembly to investigate.

6. Reports about Britain joining the European Common Market impelled Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister, to call on 9 June a meeting of the Commonwealth countries to discuss formation of a united front to protect their interests in Common Market countries. Australia and New Zealand also hoped that Britain would help protect their trade interests. India was primarily concerned about her export of tea, textiles, and tobacco to Britain and the E.C.M. countries.

4. In the main, our problems are internal, such as linguistic controversies in Assam and Bengal, and in the Punjab. It is true that the Punjab problem is really not a linguistic one, but definitely a political and communal one.

5. To come back to the international situation, the real crisis that hovers in the air and threatens us in the coming future is that of Berlin and Germany.⁷ Mr. Khrushchev has stated repeatedly and forcefully that this must be solved by the end of this year, or else he would go ahead unilaterally. President Kennedy⁸ and the Western Powers have, on the other hand, stated that they are not going to be pushed away from Berlin, whatever happens. Why has Mr. Khrushchev taken up such a strong line in this matter? There are many reasons, but probably the most important is the Soviet Union's deep anxiety about the growing power of Western Germany. I do not think that the Soviet Union is really afraid of the great strength of the United States, although there must be some apprehension about an accidental war breaking out. But the basic fear of the Soviets continues to be about Germany. They had frequent experience of Germany's ability to fight, as also Germany's scientific and industrial advance, and then Germany is a close neighbour. During the last few years, the progress which Germany has made in

7. A Soviet memorandum of 4 June urged demilitarization of Berlin. On 15 June, Khrushchev declared that Moscow would conclude a peace treaty by the end of the year and "rebuff" any Western move to assert rights of access to West Berlin. The Western Powers rejected the Soviet proposals to make Berlin a free city, and on 25 July, Kennedy reaffirmed the Allied Powers' right to free access to Berlin, accused Soviet Union of having "stirred up this crisis", and assured increased allocations for U.S. defence preparedness.

8. John F. Kennedy (1917-1963). Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1947-53 and of the Senate, 1953-60; President of the United States from 1961 till his assassination in November 1963.

many ways has been truly remarkable. From being a defeated country with her industry shattered and her economy broken up, she has grown again as industrial giant whose voice is dominant in Western Europe. Behind that lies the enormous potential of Germany to build up a military machine with speed. It is this that probably worries the Soviet Union which feels that this must be checked before it has gone too far.

6. You know that it is proposed to hold a conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade, in Yugoslavia, early in September.⁹ We were not very keen on such a conference because of various difficulties in the way. However, we agreed to take the preliminary steps and during the last few days¹⁰ discussions have been going on in Cairo as to who should be invited. There has been much difference of opinion in regard to this matter.¹¹ Our own view has been that we should interpret non-alignment as widely as possible. Some other countries want this conference to be a more limited one. I do not know yet what the final outcome will be, but probably some middle way will be found. We have made it clear that we do not approve of the idea to build up a third bloc or a third force, and both the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia have also accepted this approach.

9. The Conference, convened jointly by Tito and Nasser as a result of their discussions at Cairo from 15 to 19 April 1961, was held from 1 to 6 September 1961 and attended by 25 non-aligned countries.

10. From 5 to 13 June 1961.

11. India wanted the non-aligned countries to become not a bloc but a movement, and therefore insisted that the Conference should discuss issues of global importance only and not get involved in discussion of local issues or regional conflicts. For example, she resisted the attempts to invite the provisional Governments of Algeria and Congo to the Conference as she feared that these Governments would canvass support of the non-aligned countries to use the movement as a pressure group which, if it happened, might prove counter-productive for them. She also insisted on laying flexible criteria for joining the movement.

Nevertheless, there is a tendency to build up a group. Non-alignment, according to us, does not mean merely non-alignment with the Soviet Union or the group of the Western Powers; it means non-alignment with other countries also. To get tied up with a group of countries except in terms of broad policies is to limit one's freedom of decision, and action later on.

7. I have not finally decided yet about going to Belgrade. That decision will come a little later. Probably I may have to go. There is also the question of my visiting the United States to meet President Kennedy.¹² He has expressed a wish that I should go there and I would like to meet him, but I have no desire to rush this meeting and, indeed, I shall have much to do in India during the next three months or more, with the Parliament Session beginning early in August. There is also the question of visiting Moscow¹³ to meet Mr. Khrushchev. He has repeatedly invited me to go there and I have vaguely accepted his invitation.

8. To come to India. Our minds are often absorbed in political controversies. There is the demand for a Punjabi Suba and Master Tara Singh's¹⁴ threat to fast unto death.¹⁵ I have had a lengthy correspondence with him which, I hope, has ended now because there is no point in going on repeating the same thing. I have made it clear to him that we cannot agree to the splitting up of the Punjab, but we are prepared to do everything that we can for the development of the Punjabi language. In fact Punjabi is making very good progress. The demand takes on a linguistic garb, but is essentially and purely a communal demand. It is quite impossible for us or for any Government to accept such

12. He visited the United States from 5 to 15 November 1961.

13. He visited Soviet Union from 7 to 11 September 1961.

14. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 299.

15. After the failure of talks, the general body of Akali Dal endorsed on 29 May the decision by Master Tara Singh to fast unto death from 15 August for the achievement of their objective.

demands because of the threat of a fast. As a matter of fact, to accept it would not bring peace but conflict all over the Punjab.

9. Then there is the deep-seated conflict between the Assamese and the Bengali elements in Assam, with its repercussions in West Bengal. Again, this appears to be purely a question of language. But I am convinced that language has not much to do with it. It is much deeper. It is most unfortunate that many of us should get excited beyond measure over this question which really is easily capable of solution if tackled reasonably and in a friendly way. That indicates how skin-deep is our nationalism and how we lose our anchorage over relatively small matters. The proposals¹⁶ made by our Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, appear to me eminently reasonable. But reason has little to do with passion and prejudice.

10. Let us look at another picture. Only recently we have had two remarkable triumphs in the sphere of mountaineering. Indian teams have conquered one of the high peaks in the Himalayas known as Annapurna III,¹⁷ and the difficult and almost inaccessible Nilkantha.¹⁸ This has nothing to do with politics or economics. But it has everything to do with the spirit of the nation and the call of adventure which is so important for a growing people. I have been heartened by these successes as you must have been. They are signs of a new life and a new energy, which are in the final analysis more important than the controversies on political matters.

11. Take again the recent achievement of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. where only a few days ago a trial flight took place¹⁹ of a supersonic fighter²⁰ designed and built entirely

16. See *ante*, p. 440.

17. On 6 May 1961, a team led by Lt. M.S. Kohli, climbed this peak 24, 858 ft. high.

18. Under Captain N. Kumar's leadership, O.P. Sharma, a school teacher, accompanied by two sherpas, climbed this peak 21, 640 ft. high.

19. On 24 June 1961.

20. HF-24.

at HAL in Bangalore, with the help of some eminent German experts. It was five years or more ago when we decided to go ahead with this project. It was no easy task as there are very few countries in the world which have produced supersonic aircraft from their own designs. The fact that we have succeeded is indeed a great achievement from the point of view of the growth of our defence science and the ability of our technicians and pilots. Such successes bring a sense of achievement, not merely in the military or air sphere, but in the larger picture of India's growth.

12. Again look at our Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay and the progress we are making in the peaceful development of atomic energy.²¹ The other day an eminent American expert referred to this and said that India had one of the finest and most advanced establishments in the world at Trombay for the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

13. These are some of the basic changes that are taking place in India which are pulling her out of her old traditional ruts and bringing her to the forefront of modern scientific nations. It is true that these are high peaks which we climb while still the general level of our life and achievement is low. But the fact that we are climbing these peaks does represent a general growth because the peaks of achievement do not come from the sky. The tasks before us are indeed colossal, but it gives us heart to see how we can make good even where the test is a very difficult one.

14. Our third Five Year Plan is an attempt to raise the general level and to infuse our life with the modern spirit of science and technology. Science and technology, with all the good they have done, have also increased tremendously the capacity for destruction. The fact, however, remains that if we are to succeed in producing an integrated world, as we must, if we are to avoid total destruction, these will come about now only through the growth of science and technology.

21. A reactor set up with Canadian collaboration was inaugurated on 16 January 1961.

15. This does not apply to the world only but to our own country also. Our problems of poverty and under-development, of unemployment and very low standards can only be solved through the growth of science and technology in this country. Let us go a little further. Our present difficulties with various disruptive tendencies, whether they are based on provincialism or communalism or linguism or caste, are all the consequences of backward social conditions. We try to solve these problems created by these disruptive tendencies from day to day as best as we can. But the real solution lies in the widespread application of science and technology with its inevitable companion, education.

16. We must realize the basic fact that we live in an age of social revolution and our problems are the conflict between a traditional society and the new temper of the age. In this context it becomes exceedingly important for us to bring about this social revolution as rapidly as possible. The objective of the Five Year Plan is to produce this change.

17. That does not mean that we should ignore these disruptive tendencies and allow them to lapse or fade away when the social revolution is more or less complete. We have to fight on all fronts, but in doing so we must realize that the basic remedy is to bring about these economic and social changes. Meanwhile, we must avoid and oppose these disruptive tendencies. Just as in the wider world we stand on the threshold of vast progress because of the development of science and technology, provided we escape the scourge of war; so also in India we stand on the frontier of a new land, provided we escape these tremendous dangers due to our social backwardness.

18. We have been rather weak and compromising in the past. I hope we have thoroughly understood now that any compromise with an evil tendency, whatever apparent temporary good it may bring us, does us great harm later on. So, whether it is provincialism or linguism or communalism or caste, we must not compromise.

19. The recent Orissa elections have many lessons for

us.²² For the last ten years or more, Orissa has been a weak province with rather unstable governments because we were compromising with diverse elements and not taking up a brave and clear line. As soon as this clear line was taken, and all compromises were avoided, the people generally welcomed it and gave it support. This clear line was both in regard to the avoidance of compromises with other groups which were reactionary and a straightforward social and economic policy. The lesson we learn is that we must avoid in future not in Orissa only, but all over the country, any compromise with a communal or reactionary group, and any deviation from the social and economic policies laid down in our Five Year Plans. No temporary excuse should lead us astray from this basic decision. Communalism is the very antithesis of social progress. So also, indeed, is provincialism and casteism.

20. We have laid down socialism or the socialist pattern of society as our objective. We shall not achieve it quickly because it is a mighty task to create that society in a backward, undeveloped and traditionally-minded country of more than 400 million people. But whatever we may do or plan, we should always keep that objective in view and judge every step accordingly. Some groups and parties oppose this objective of planning in a straightforward way, others talk glibly of socialism, probably without understanding it and certainly without meaning it. Those who oppose this broad socialistic approach and our planning represent complete reaction. Their coming out in the open is a sign of the growth of the nation because it helps to clear up issues. They will have no chance with the public of India

22. In the elections held on 7-8 June 1961 for the Orissa Assembly, the Congress secured 82 seats compared to 56 in 1957 elections while Gantantra Parishad secured 37 seats compared to 51 in 1957. Congress secured an absolute majority for the first time and won a number of seats in former princely states in West Orissa, previously held by Gantantra Parishad. It also improved its position in coastal areas by wresting a few seats from the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

because they are going against the whole country, against India's life and urges. But they sometimes succeed in creating a measure of confusion in our minds. In fact, our chief difficulty has been from a lack of clarity in our thinking.

21. The second difficulty and an even more important one is lack of proper implementation of our plans. It is generally recognized now, even by our critics in India or abroad, that we plan well and we lay down the most excellent of principles. The difficulty comes in implementation. Attention therefore has to be directed in future to this business of implementation and carrying out what we have laid down in our plans, whether in agriculture and *panchayati raj* and cooperatives, or in small and big industry. The public undertakings that we have set up are great achievements, but they have been described by an eminent authority as "post office socialism."²³

22. What does this mean? I am not quite sure. But, broadly, I think it means that we look upon them as we look upon the post office which should balance its income and expenditure. That is not good enough. The purpose of the public undertakings is to help us in increasing our resources. The profits that normally would have gone to private owners should come into the public exchequer and add to the funds available for further investment. It is of the utmost importance that this should be done and this indeed is the test of success of any public undertaking. The old idea that profit-making is a private concern and not a public concern has to be discarded completely. Our public enterprises have to be run with the greatest efficiency and the greatest profit. I am glad to say that some of them have shown quite remarkable success, such as the Hindustan Machine Tools of

23. John Kenneth Galbraith on his visit to India in 1959 had described public enterprises "operated at no profit, hopefully no loss, with no particular efficiency and with no clear purpose in mind," as post office socialism.

Bangalore,²⁴ and I could mention others. But this should apply to all our undertakings, big or small. It is of the greatest importance that we should give up the idea, which often attaches to governmental work, that profit is not aimed at. It is ultimately out of the profits of this growing public sector that investments will be made and this sector itself will grow.

23. I am sorry that the third Five Year Plan report is still not out. I hope that by the end of July it will be placed before the public. I would invite your attention to this report, not so much to the detailed plans, which will of course interest you, but to the whole basic approach and philosophy of our planning and our objectives aimed at. There can be no double thinking about them. Either we accept them knowingly and deliberately, or we give them up and do something else. Vaguely talking about them without realizing their significance and without passionately desiring them, is not fair to ourselves or to the public. We have taken a pledge to the hundreds of millions of our people, and indeed to the world at large, and we have got to honour that pledge.

24. I have referred above to efficiency and to our getting out of our traditional ruts. This necessitates our getting out of the old habit of reservations and particular privileges being given to this caste or that group. The recent meeting we held here, at which the Chief Ministers were present, to consider national integration, laid down that help should be given on economic considerations and not on caste. It is true that we are tied up with certain rules and conventions about helping the scheduled castes and tribes. They deserve help but, even so, I dislike any kind of reservation, more particularly in Services. I react strongly against anything which leads to inefficiency and second-rate standards. I want my country to

24. On 11 June, the Hindustan Machine Tools declared 10% dividend for 1960-61, the highest dividend paid by a public sector undertaking so far. The net profit of the Company was Rs. 74,04,249 in 1960-61 as against Rs. 37,06,933 in 1959-60.

be a first class country in everything. The moment we encourage the second-rate, we are lost.

25. The only real way to help a backward group is to give opportunities of good education, this includes technical education which is becoming more and more important. Everything else is provision of some kind of crutches which do not add to the strength or health of the body. We have made recently two decisions which are very important: one is, universal free elementary education, that is the base; and the second is scholarships on a very wide scale at every grade of education to the bright boys and girls, and this applies not merely to literary education, but, much more so, to technical, scientific and medical training. I lay stress on the bright and able boys and girls because it is only they who will raise our standards. I have no doubt that there is a vast reservoir of potential talent in this country if only we can give it opportunity.

26. But if we go in for reservations on communal and caste basis, we swamp the bright and able people and remain second-rate or third-rate. I am grieved to learn of how far this business of reservation has gone based on communal considerations. It has amazed me to learn that even promotions are based sometimes on communal or caste considerations. This way lies not only folly, but disaster. Let us help the backward groups by all means, but never at the cost of efficiency. How are we going to build our public sector or indeed any sector with second-rate people?

27. Recently there was a Muslim Convention in Delhi²⁵ which has attracted much attention and controversy. My own reaction to this, when the idea was first broached, was against it. Later, I came to the conclusion that it would not be right to try to stop it. I knew the risks and the possible harm it might do, but I felt that to stop it was a greater risk involving greater harm; and also so many steps had already been taken for this Convention that it became difficult to

25. On 10-11 June 1961.

reverse them. But my main consideration was that in the case of the Muslims, as perhaps in some other cases also, this attempt to suppress their feelings would not get them rid of these, but perhaps lead to greater frustration. After this conference, I am still of that opinion and I do not regret that it was held, even though I dislike much that happened there. The resolutions²⁶ were not so bad, but the tenor of the speeches²⁷ made was definitely bad. But, good or bad, it represented widespread feeling and we have to recognize that and try to get rid of it. It is that feeling of frustration which leads to narrow-mindedness and reactionary thinking. Indeed, the problem of minorities or, for the matter of that, even the majority, grows from the background of social backwardness in which we live. Perhaps the Muslims suffer more from this because of various causes. There is enough social reaction among the Hindus or other groups, but it is more balanced there by progressive thinking.

28. Hindu and Muslim communalism in India is largely confined to Northern India. It was North India that gave rise to the demand for Pakistan and certainly one of the reasons for that demand was the communalism of extremely reactionary Hindu groups. Muslims in North India were probably more connected with the zamindari system. The breakdown of that system left many of them high and dry and led to these feelings of frustration.

29. I think that much that was said at the Muslim Convention was wrong and grossly exaggerated. But the fact remains that there have often been difficulties in their way and we have to remove them. This does not mean pandering to communalism, but, doing justice where it is due and,

26. The Conference condemned communalism and urged the majority community to adopt an attitude of tolerance, large-heartedness and fairness towards minorities; called for more representation of Muslims in government service; asked for better status for the Urdu language; and demanded that all mosques and tombs declared as evacuee property be handed over to them.

27. For example, Syed Mahmud regretted that it was "more disgraceful than surprising" that Muslims, despite their being full-fledged citizens of this country "did not find their life, honour, and property safe."

more particularly, creating an atmosphere where people feel that justice is done and they have fair chances of advancement.

30. There is one more matter to which I should like to draw your attention. At the Durgapur Session²⁸ of the A.I.C.C. the Congress President²⁹ happened to say that, generally speaking, members of the Legislatures should retire after ten years and devote themselves to organizational work. This has led to many interpretations and sometimes to rather extreme ones. This does not and cannot mean that we should make this a rigid rule regardless of the public good. We have another broad rule that about one-third of old members should retire and give place to new ones. That is broadly a good rule. But to apply these rules in such a way as to get rid of people who have been doing good work or so as to create too big a gap and a lack of continuity, would be definitely bad. We do not want people to continue indefinitely in the Legislatures, but we do want experience not to be discarded and the persons who have done good work to be pushed out. There can be no rigid approach to these problems. Even in the selection of candidates, we should lay stress on ability and competence as well as, of course, on their holding correct views about our basic policies.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. Held from 27 to 29 May 1961.

29. N. Sanjeeva Reddy (b. 1913). Congress leader from Andhra; Member, Madras Assembly, 1946, Constituent Assembly, 1947-48; Minister for Prohibition, Housing and Forests, Madras Government, 1947-51; President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, 1951-52; Deputy Chief Minister, 1955-56 and Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1956-57 and 1962-64; President, Indian National Congress, 1960-62; Union Minister of Steel and Mines, 1964-65, and of Transport, Aviation and Tourism, 1966-67; Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1967-69; President of India, 1977-82.

New Delhi
3 July, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

The question of education has been much in my mind recently. We all realize the importance of it from every point of view and indeed it is essential for our social and economic development. We want mass education as well as higher education, more particularly technical education.

2. When we talk about emotional integration of India, we think immediately of the educational process which will help in this integration. No doubt it will do so, and it has become important that our text-books and courses should be prepared accordingly.

3. And yet, there is an obvious danger that faces us if certain present trends in educational matters are allowed to continue. It may be that these linguistic trends might actually lead to greater provincialism and feelings of separateness among the States. This is not merely a linguistic matter, although that is important enough, but certain other trends which lay stress on the State and not on the country as a whole. The gods we pay homage to become tied up with our conception of the State and not the nation.

4. I am myself convinced that the medium of education must be the mother tongue of the child, boy and girl. Only then can his or her mind develop adequately. But unless the larger ideal of India and its unity is always kept in view, this may well lead us to a form of separatism which will impede both our unity and our progress. Our Universities adopting, if they do, the regional languages, will get more and more isolated from each other. Professors and teaching staff will

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

not be easily exchangeable and generally speaking, the outlook that will inevitably grow out of these surroundings, will be a narrow one and not so much an all-India one. There are, of course, strong urges in favour of Indian unity. I do not mean to suggest that they will be easily overcome, but while intellectually we may continue to think of the unity, emotionally we will be conditioned otherwise.

5. How are we to get over this dilemma? The Universities are supposed to build up a certain intellectual atmosphere in the country. If there is no common approach in the Universities, then this atmosphere itself will be not a common one but a somewhat disruptive one. As a matter of fact, while standards of education are going up in other advanced countries, our own standards are said to be deteriorating. It has become important to pull up these standards by an attempt at a more effective organization of post-graduate teaching and research. Our existing resources are in many cases spread out too thinly to be really effective. This is particularly applicable to scientific and technological studies, but it applies to the humanities also.

6. In science or in any of the higher studies, it is not the brilliant individual who counts so much now, but the team of able men who work together. If we have done well in atomic energy, it is because we have collected a considerable number of able young men and women to work together as a team. In our Universities, this kind of thing is lacking, even though they may have individual teachers who are good.

7. It has been suggested that the way to pull up standards in Universities is to encourage this team work by having centres of advanced study in as many Universities as possible. That is to say, each centre will be for a particular subject, and it should function on an all-India basis. In regard to scientific and technological subjects, such centres should work in close co-operation with national laboratories and institutes.

8. Each such centre in a University would have a team of professors, lecturers, research fellows, etc., of outstanding

ability and qualifications actively engaged in research and advanced teaching, in a particular branch of study. It is considered important that there should be a combination of research and teaching, thus not only maintaining contact with fresh young minds, but also creating a proper academic atmosphere for serious and sustained work. We have found that we have quite an adequate number of bright young students, and given the chance, they will do very well. But that chance is usually lacking.

9. All this would mean an addition to our professorial and teaching staff. In this matter of team work, a certain minimum number is necessary.

10. We dare not allow the standards of our Universities to go down. For, a University can only justify itself by maintaining high academic and professional standards. It would be an essential part of any such scheme for Universities to keep in close touch with each other, exchanging professors, teachers, scholars and senior students, and thus building up a corporate intellectual life of India.

11. If Universities are functioning in different languages, how do we bring about this close co-operation and exchange of professors, students, etc., between one region of the country and another? This question has been troubling me and I would like to draw your attention to it. All our progress depends not on a number of factories and plants that are put up, but on the quality of human beings that we produce and train. That quality depends, in the final analysis, on our Universities and on their close contact with each other.

12. I have often noticed that the appointment of Vice-Chancellors to Universities is considered almost entirely from the administrative point of view. Administration is important, but essentially a University is a body of persons devoted to academic pursuits, and this must always be kept in view so that a proper academic atmosphere is maintained and encouraged. If the Vice-Chancellor, who is the executive head of the University, is merely an administrator, then he

cannot enter into that academic life which is so important, nor is he likely to be respected greatly by the large body of students. I think it is essential, therefore, that our Vice-Chancellors should be men of learning and high academic standards.

13. We should try in every way to increase the status of our Universities and the respect that should be accorded to them and to our men of learning. In spite of the Indian tradition which gave such a high place to men of learning, that is not so in India today. In Germany, the men of learning have always been held in high repute. In Soviet Russia today, the academician is given a very high position in their set-up, in addition to special facilities, etc. I think we should learn from these examples. This is not so much a question of high salaries, although adequate salaries should be paid, but rather of what status we give to our scientists, professors, and other teachers and what facilities we give to them to do their work.

14. But I come back to my original query. Are we going to split up our higher education linguistically in such a way as to make it difficult to function as a whole in India, or are we going to survive this obstacle and really build up a more or less unified system and thus create the real climate of unity in India and of scientific and cultural progress?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
5 July, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have drawn your attention in recent weeks to the problem of national integration. On May 31st last advantage was taken of the presence of nearly all the Chief Ministers in Delhi for the National Development Council meeting, to hold a small conference to consider this question of national integration. We arrived at certain decisions then. I think it would be desirable for another similar conference to be held in Delhi to give further thought to various aspects of this vital question.

2. National integration is not and should not be considered on a party level. As its very name implies, it is “national”, and I should like to deal with it on that basis. But there is the apprehension that a mixed gathering may lead to a great deal of vague and general talk and not to clear decisions.

3. Therefore, I think that the first step should be for Chief Ministers (and Home Ministers also, if necessary) of the States to meet together with some Ministers of the Central Government. At such a meeting, it will be easier to come to grips with this subject and perhaps lay down specific methods as to how to deal with it. We may then consider also the desirability of having a larger and more composite gathering at which other parties might be represented, as well as eminent non-party men.

4. There are many aspects of this question of national integration—the communal aspect, that is, the intrusion of religion or so-called religion into political matters, linguistic controversies, casteism, and provincialism. Recently our attention has been drawn particularly to

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

communalism and what is called linguism, and we might perhaps take up these two especially for further consideration.

5. There can be no doubt that in recent months there has been a recrudescence of what is called communalism. This is evident in regard to Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. A considerable controversy has arisen on the subject of the recent Muslim Convention held in Delhi and some of the speeches delivered there certainly appeared to me to be objectionable. We have to remember, however, that Hindu communal organizations are frequently holding their conventions or conferences. So also the Sikhs. Anyhow, it would be desirable to review the situation in regard to communalism, keeping as our base the decisions arrived at the Chief Ministers' Conference of May 31st. What progress have we made since then and what other steps should we take? I might inform you that it is our intention to introduce some legislation during the next session of Parliament,¹ as agreed to at the Chief Ministers' Conference.

6. There is then the other very important matter, which has been giving us so much trouble, that is, linguistic controversies. I do not suggest that in the Conference of the Chief Ministers, we should take into consideration these controversies separately. What I have in mind is our laying down general principles which should cover the activities of both the Central and the State Governments.

7. We have a good deal of material on this subject. There is the Constitution itself; there are instructions issued from

1. On 10 August 1961, the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill and Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill were introduced in Lok Sabha which provided for punishment under the Penal Code and disenfranchisement of the person or persons found guilty of promoting enmity between different groups on grounds of religion, race or language. The Bills were passed by Lok Sabha on 31 August and by Rajya Sabha on 6 September, and came into force on 12 September 1961.

time to time by the Central Government, and perhaps the State Governments in some cases; there is the report of the States Reorganization Commission; and there is the important memorandum issued by the Home Ministry of the Central Government which was partly based on the States Reorganization Commission's report. All these give us definite directions as to the use of language for educational purposes, more particularly in regard to the linguistic minorities. It would be desirable to consider this entire picture as it emerges and give it a more definite shape.

8. It is to some extent the lack of this definiteness and clarity that leads to controversies. These controversies then get tied up with linguistic and provincial passions and prestige, and become difficult of solution. If however there are clear rules governing our conduct, then perhaps these controversies may not arise.

9. I would suggest, therefore, that a small conference² consisting of Chief Ministers (also Home Ministers, if considered necessary) of States and some Central Ministers should meet for two or three days and discuss all these matters in their broad aspects, without dealing with any particular controversy in a State or between two States. I have no doubt that such a frank discussion would help us all, even though it might not lead to a full solution of the problems that afflict us. I have particularly suggested that this conference should not deal with specific issues which have arisen, but rather with the principles that we should follow. In this way we can consider all these questions calmly and dispassionately, keeping in view the basic outlook which has been laid down by our Constitution.

10. I would suggest 10th or 11th August for this meeting in Delhi. But, before fixing a final date, I should like to find out what would be convenient to you. As I have said above, I should like you to reserve three days for these talks. Could you, therefore, kindly let me know if the 10th to 12th August would suit you for this conference.

2. Held from 10 to 12 August 1961.

5 July, 1961

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11. It would be helpful if you sent me a note containing your own ideas on the subjects we are going to discuss at the conference. I would particularly like these discussions not to be vague and general, but to tackle the kind of problems that arise from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
5 July, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

I hope you do not mind my addressing you rather frequently. I have written to you separately suggesting that we might hold a small conference in Delhi next month to consider further the question of national integration. I am now writing to you about another aspect of this same subject.

Apart from the broad policies that we may follow and which we should endeavour to lay down as clearly as possible, we have to interpret that policy in our day-to-day activities and dealings with the people. This is not a question of Ministers only, but it affects the entire administrative system. We must, therefore, instruct all our Departments of Government, all our officers, at Headquarters as well as in the Districts, to keep this concept of national and emotional integration constantly before them and to translate it into their day-to-day dealings.

Each one of them should be made to realize the importance of this approach and that his ability and capacity will be judged by his success in this matter.

This is not merely a question of law and order, important as that is. It really should be reflected in our entire approach to our daily round of activities and the way we lay stress on this emotional integration in speech and writing and general behaviour.

So far as law and order are concerned, it should be clearly understood that any failure in a district or in an area will be considered the direct responsibility of the District Magistrate

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

and the Chief of Police there. These officers must keep wide awake and in touch with the currents of public opinion and the mischievous activities of some people who wish to create trouble on communal or like lines. It is a failure of the District authority if he is taken by surprise. A wide awake person should be able to deal with the situation before it arises, and I have no doubt that this can be done, as it has been done wherever such a person has been in charge. In this matter, the State Governments might well issue specific instructions to those in authority in the Districts or at Headquarters and tell them that in any necessary action they might take to prevent a failure of law and order, they will be supported.

Special attention should be paid to newspapers and pamphlets and leaflets which create communal bitterness and, where necessary, action under the Preventive Detention Act might well be taken. Above all, officers must realize clearly that it is the firm and determined policy of Government to bring about national and emotional integration and they must pursue this in every way possible to them. Communal bias in an officer must be considered one of the major sins. Inactivity in dealing with a situation which requires prompt action will discredit that officer. It is not merely what the officer does that is important, but also the reputation of fair dealing that he gets. He has to set an example all the time.

I repeat that I am not referring to particular incidents when there might be trouble, but to the day-to-day activities of all our officers wherever they may function. My own impression has been that some of our officers at least are not free from communal bias. I think that this is often unintentional, and if they are pulled up and told how they should function and what the firm policy of Government is, they will act accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
10 July, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

You have probably seen the draft chapter on "Public Co-operation and Participation" which is part of the third Five Year Plan report. Soon you will receive the full report. This subject deserves your attention and, what is more, your action.

2. There are two aspects of this question: (1) economy of construction and, therefore, saving money, and (2) the psychological element in getting the people themselves to do the work, which makes them partners in the undertaking. Both are important.

3. In our various estimates for our Third Plan, a large part of the expenditure goes towards some form of construction. Any saving in this thus means more money being available for other work. I think it has been established, without any possibility of doubt, that our old established methods of construction through contractors, etc., are needlessly expensive. Further, it has been established that this construction work can be done more economically and with a considerable saving of money through other agencies. I am not, for the moment, referring to *shramdan*, which is unpaid work. I am rather referring to the methods adopted whereby we save a good deal of the middleman's and the contractor's profits, which are often unusually high.

4. There are or may be a number of agencies which can do this work, apart from the traditional contractor's methods.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

For the present I am thinking of the Bharat Sevak Samaj¹ which has actually done remarkably good work of various kinds, from building dams to constructing buildings, and done it well and economically. They have built up an efficient organization for the purpose, consisting of competent engineers, etc. Whenever they have taken up this work they have saved large sums of money and often done the work in lesser time than was at first imagined. The actual figures are really surprisingly good.

5. Ever since the Bharat Sevak Samaj started this work in a big way, such as at the Kosi Dam in Bihar,² all kinds of criticisms were made and objections raised. This was inevitable because they were attacking a traditional way of doing things in which vested interests had grown. But they persevered and made good. They have now a good deal of experience and competent personnel. The result has been good for the State and good for the people who participated.

6. I mention the Bharat Sevak Samaj because I happen to know about its work. But my main point is that we must get out of this traditional method of getting work done through contractors at heavy cost and find out other methods of doing it.

7. The second aspect of this work is the element of a feeling of co-operation in the public. They become partners of the scheme. They work with much better heart and know that the benefits of the scheme will go to them. Apart from their normal wages that they get, they put aside a sum for village development. Altogether, this approach has far-reaching and desirable consequences.

1. A non-political and non-official national organization, sponsored by the Planning Commission in 1951, with Nehru as President, was engaged in mobilizing public participation in various developmental programmes under the Five Year Plans.

2. The work on the Kosi dam undertaken by the Samaj cost rupees two crores only compared to the original estimates which were almost double. The Samaj also undertook work at Nagarjunasagar and Chambal river valley schemes.

8. But, as I have said above, whenever such a change is made, all the traditional vested interests stand up in embattled array to oppose it. Yet the change has to be accepted, and the more we accept it the more we profit both financially and in the sense of public partnership. I would, therefore, earnestly commend this to you and particularly point out that you must not be disheartened by criticism or objections raised by people used to the old traditional methods.

9. Apart from this general approach, I am troubled by another aspect of our construction work. We build hospitals and spend vast sums of money on them. We build medical colleges also at great expense in construction. A large part of the amount available for medical education or relief work thus goes into brick and stone and mortar. How can we expand our medical education or hospital system rapidly if we have to pay this terrible cost for each step forward?

10. I see no reason why we cannot save very considerable sums of money over these constructions. We should get out of the old rut of thinking and have construction of a simpler type, and more of them.

11. So far as medical education is concerned, we want the best of it and not any second-rate stuff. But it is worth considering how far it is also necessary to have a second-grade of medical licentiates, or whatever they are called, who may work under the fully qualified doctors. Such persons could spread out in the villages and deal with normal ailments. Any more complicated case could be sent on to the bigger hospital where more competent men are in charge.

12. There is no way of spreading medical education and hospitals rapidly all over India unless we evolve simpler and cheaper methods. It is not necessary for every hospital that we put up in a village area to have very expensive equipment. Such equipment can be reserved for the bigger hospitals only where complicated cases can be sent. It is important to reach the village and give quick aid. We need not think that it is not possible to give medical aid without the exceedingly

expensive equipment of the bigger hospital. I know of very efficient small hospitals in villages which have been built very cheaply and are run cheaply and yet are doing excellent work. But all this was done not in the traditional way but by discarding old traditions.

In this as in so many other things, we have to get rid of our traditional approach to things and accept more modern methods.

14. I have to make a confession to you. In the last fourteen years or so, ever since I became Prime Minister, probably nothing has disheartened me so much as our failure to deal with the problem of slums. Repeatedly I make an effort and talk bravely about it. I tell those in charge of the urgent and vital necessity to deal with this problem. I come away with some feeling of exhilaration that something at least is going to be done. Days and weeks and months and years pass, and nothing, or practically nothing is done. The experience is repeated with the same result. And I began to feel quite frustrated about this matter.

15. It would be absurd to say that this question of slums is beyond human capacity. It should really be one of the simplest, if vested interests did not come in the way. Normally corporations and municipalities have to deal with it. The money difficulty is not so great because the Central Government or the State Government often provide the money. Essentially it is the amazingly slow functioning of the corporation or the municipality. It is this that brings about this utter sense of frustration. I have come to the conclusion that if this is to be done with any rapidity and success, power should be given by the corporation or whoever is the authority, to competent individuals or small committees who can go ahead without being held up at every stage by some person interested in objecting to the change. If it is necessary, changes can be made in the existing laws.

16. Here also public co-operation can speed up matters and, what is more important, can bring about that sense of

joint effort which is so necessary.

17. There is one thing I should like to warn you against. When we have slum improvement schemes and spend money on them, we seem to think that the people who are pushed out of the slums can be sent anywhere. They are not supposed to be good enough or capable of paying the higher rents, etc., which the brand new buildings may require. And so, more prosperous people come there and the poor slum dwellers are sent to some far away place, probably to build another slum area. I do not think this is at all fair. In removing a slum and the slum dwellers, we have to think of these latter first of all. There is no reason why they should be thrown out of that area. As far as possible, they should be accommodated there even at the cost of subsidies.

18. I talk about the removal of slums, but a greater danger is the building up of new slums. This is constantly happening before my eyes in Delhi, in spite of the efforts that we have tried to make. Surely, the first thing to do is to prevent conditions which give rise to new slums. I feel rather strongly about this subject, and I want you to feel strongly also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
10 July, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to remind you that the fortnightly letters I send you are meant to be shared by you with all your other Ministers. I find that sometimes this is not done. Those letters are meant for all Ministers.

This does not apply to every letter which I send you. In regard to them, you can exercise your own discretion; but, in any event, the fortnightly letters should be so shared.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

New Delhi
23 July, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,

The last few days have been full of anxiety because of the serious illness of the President.¹ Fortunately since last evening there has been an improvement in his condition, and this has continued today. We have all been greatly relieved by this, but even so, cause for anxiety continues.

2. As you know, I have invited the Chief Ministers to come to Delhi for a conference with some Central Ministers to discuss various problems of integration. We are beginning this conference on the afternoon of the 10th August and we have reserved the 11th and 12th also for this work. I hope that you will attend this conference and come fully prepared to discuss these problems which have given us so much trouble. Among these problems will be the language issue. It is desirable that we should lay down clear directions which would be helpful in dealing with the various aspects of this problem. As a matter of fact, much has been written and said on this subject in our Constitution and subsequently. Our broad approach has always been an inclusive one so as to give for our recognized major languages the fullest chance of development. Unfortunately this is often interpreted in a restrictive sense as if there is a conflict among our languages and the way to encourage one language is to suppress the other.

3. The real issue before us is really a much deeper one. How far will these different languages lead to separatist

1. Rajendra Prasad suffered an attack of haematemesis (vomitting of blood) and was in a nursing home in Delhi from 19 July to 1 August 1961.

tendencies? How far will they create barriers in the intellectual growth of India? If our Universities function in entirely separate spheres, they will lose contact with each other, and there will not be that intellectual and scientific communion which is so essential for any growth.

4. It seems to me that both on the language issue as well as on other matters relating to emotional integration, we have to lay down our general policies with as much clarity as possible and that we should not compromise on any vital issue simply to get over a present difficulty. Nor can we afford to take any step which comes in the way of our scientific and technological growth. All our five-year developmental plans are essentially based on developing a modern outlook and thus developing a technologically mature society. If this process suffers, then the bottom is knocked out of our plans. Of course, anything that weakens the unity of India must necessarily injure the cause of our progress.

5. While this is axiomatic, it is even more important in the conditions that exist in the world today. Everywhere there is a drift towards conflicts and possibly major disasters. People talk even of the possibility of a major war by the end of the year. I earnestly hope that this will not happen. But no one can afford to live in a state of complacency when these grave dangers face us.

6. Our frontiers with China have to be continuously guarded. Our frontiers with Pakistan equally require careful watching and guarding. The attitude taken up by Pakistan recently is an aggressive and even offensive one. The recent tour abroad of President Ayub Khan, and especially his visit to the United States,² has been, in some ways, a revelation.

2. From 11 to 18 July 1961.

The kind of language he used even on State occasions was the essence of bitterness against India.³ The Pakistan newspapers are full of venom.⁴ In this atmosphere, none of us can afford to be complacent, even though it is difficult to imagine the folly of a war between India and Pakistan. The leaders of Pakistan appear to be full of envy and fear because of India's progress. They seem to imagine that this progress is directed against them.

7. I paid a brief visit to Kashmir recently and spoke with some frankness about President Ayub Khan's recent statements.⁵ Normally I have avoided using any strong language in regard to Pakistan, but I felt on this occasion that clarity was necessary lest some people might mistake India's feelings and intentions.

3. On 10 July, Ayub stated in London that despite what India had been saying about the Chinese threat only 15 per cent of her army was posted on her northern frontiers; the rest was deployed against Pakistan. He feared that if the United States continued to give aid to India, the smaller nations in the region may be forced to join hands with China. On 13 July, at Washington, he said that while Pakistan wished to live in peace with India, the people of Pakistan felt "insecure" because of India's armed might and because they "could not let Kashmir go to India." On 16 July, he criticized U.S. aid to India which would only make India stronger and make her neighbours feel "insecure."

4. The Pakistan press reported, for example, Z.A. Bhutto's speech on 14 July that Pakistan's crusade against India would end only after Kashmir had become hers. Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of the 'Azad Kashmir' Conference, said on 21 July that over a lakh of Razakars were ready to march across the ceasefire line in Kashmir as soon as the Kashmir liberation movement was resumed.

5. On 19 July, Nehru in a speech at Srinagar described Ayub's statements as theatrical and said that he had "never seen such a political behaviour during my 40 or 50 years in public life. I too have been in politics, but I have never seen such acting." He alleged that for Ayub "the main policy of Pakistan is India-baiting." Commenting on Ayub's statement that India's progress constituted a threat to smaller nations around her, Nehru said that "those who make such statements have lost their commonsense first. In the case of Pakistan, it is due to the fact that the leadership in that country is in the hands of a soldier who lacks vision."

8. All this puts a heavy burden on us and a burden which we cannot avoid shouldering. It is a pity that just when we have begun the third Five Year Plan with all its tremendous tasks and responsibilities, we should have to face these international problems and carry heavier burdens because of them.

9. The fact that considerable sums of money have been promised to us as credits or loans by the United States of America and other countries,⁶ must not lead us to imagine that our path is easy. All these monies are more or less earmarked for specific schemes and it should always be remembered that we have to pay them back. There is a tendency for us to undertake rather lightheartedly new burdens. I should like to warn you and all concerned against this approach. We just cannot afford to live beyond our means, more especially in regard to foreign exchange.

10. Our foreign exchange position is a very serious one. We have arrived almost at the rock-bottom of our reserves.⁷ We have had to make some temporary accommodations to meet this difficult situation,⁸ but this is no remedy at all as we have to pay back soon the sum we have borrowed.

11. The painful fact emerges that we continue to spend much more for imported goods and services than we are earning by our exports. This obviously cannot continue without upsetting all our plans. The only test for importing anything has to be its essential nature, not merely its desirability.

6. The Consortium of five western nations and the United States and Japan, agreed to provide 5,500 million dollars for the third Five Year Plan. The largest sum was to be provided by the United States, followed by West Germany, Britain, Japan, Canada, and France.

7. While the minimum balance of Rs. 200 crores as sterling balances was required to be kept, the reserves in April 1961 had stood at 36 crores, and went down further by 26 crores by July 1961.

8. India withdrew 200 million dollars from the International Monetary Fund of which 125.5 million had to be repaid while the rest helped to maintain the reserves at 153 crores.

12. We have also to remember that we cannot accept short-term credits. They do not help at all and merely add to our burdens. Also, we cannot borrow on any high rate of interest. In this matter, the loans or credits we have had from the Soviet Union have been helpful as the interest rate has been the lowest, that is, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There is a tendency for these low rates now to be offered elsewhere too. We must not accept any proposal which goes against this trend.

13. For the present we must concentrate on the projects and schemes which have been included in the Third Plan and for which, by and large, funds are likely to be available. Even this availability is by no means certain yet. The gap for 1962-63 has only been partially covered and no arrangement has thus far been made for the subsequent three years.

14. The only real way to cover these gaps in foreign exchange is to increase our exports. It is pleasing to note that our exports have shown an increase during the last six months, an increase of 30 crores as compared to the corresponding period last year. But at the same time, our imports have also increased, and this by 67 crores, and thus the gap is bigger than ever. The only way to deal with this is to increase exports and to limit imports.

15. On top of all this, we have to face the biggest flood disasters that this country has known probably in recorded history. These major disasters began in Kerala and then spread to other parts of southern, eastern and western India. Although floods have occurred in Assam and the Punjab and, to some extent, in Bihar, thus far the real disasters have been in the south and west. Poona City especially stands out as a victim of the fury of the waters.⁹ This fair and famous city was suddenly reduced to helpless impotence by the breaking down of dams and reservoirs and the rushing in of vast quantities of waters. The Maharashtra Government, aided by our Defence Forces, met this terrible situation with courage and every effort is being made to deal with it.

9. The dam on the Mutha river collapsed due to heavy rain and Pune city was submerged.

16. These major disasters cannot be considered the sole responsibility of the State or region. All of us owe a duty to help and no doubt this help will be given to the best of our ability. But this makes us think even more about the vital necessity of our husbanding our resources and applying them to the most urgent tasks of today.

17. Just when we want our exports to increase rapidly, we have to face the consequences of the European Common Market which even the United Kingdom might join. If this happens, our exports are likely to suffer, unless some special arrangements are made.

18. I should like to draw your attention to a certain unfortunate tendency which is growing. Some foreign governments invite our Ministers and other eminent personalities to visit their countries as their guests, the government concerned paying all the expenses. No doubt such visits sometimes do good, but, on the whole, they have done us harm and it is not in keeping with our dignity to accept these free trips abroad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
5 August, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,

Odd and disturbing incidents happen in various parts of the world like the recent Bizerta tragedy in Tunisia;¹ the Algerian deadlock continues;² so also more or less, in Laos;³ and yet, on the whole, it may be said that there is relative calm in the world. But behind that calm there is a growing apprehension about the near future. From the practice of occasional brinkmanship we have arrived at a stage of the world living at the very edge of the precipice. And so the feeling of some dreadful fate descending upon us is now our constant companion.

2. I am referring to the German or Berlin issue.⁴ Both the groups of Great Powers, which confront each other with their military alliances, have now taken rigid attitudes which are in conflict with each other. The period of grace, one might say, will end towards the end of this year, and if nothing happens to relieve and lessen this mounting tension, that conflict which has been the nightmare of humanity ever since nuclear weapons came on the scene, may well begin.

1. As a sequel to the demand by Tunisia for the removal of the French naval and air bases in Bizerta, the French air force bombed the city indiscriminately on 21 and 22 July causing heavy casualties.

2. See *ante*, p. 447.

3. See *ante*, p. 446.

4. On 3 August 1961, the Soviet Union reiterated that she was ready for talks but if an agreement was not reached between all parties she would sign a unilateral peace treaty with East Germany.

3. And, yet it is hard to believe that statesmanship is so bankrupt as to permit this to happen. I have no doubt that before the final plunge takes place, one or more attempts will be made to prevent it. At the same time the drift towards the actual conflict continues and is intensified by feverish attempts at additions to the existing armaments, big as they are. The voices of people in high authority become more strident and threatening and the whole atmosphere is vitiated by the language of war.

4. What is going to happen I do not know. What are we to do in the circumstances, that too I do not know, and I rather doubt if we can make any great difference in this approaching conflict of Titans. I receive letters from odd and unknown people in Europe and America asking me to throw the weight of India on the side of peace and to try to rescue the world from what almost appears to be an inevitable catastrophe. These letters indicate the grave anxiety and even passion for peace in the common people everywhere. But they do not help much. If we can do anything at any time in furtherance of the cause of peace, we shall certainly do so, but what effective step we can take is very doubtful.

5. I am mentioning this matter to you, even though you are well aware of it, so that you may keep this dark and threatening background in your mind during the coming months.

6. In India there is relative calm, but, here also, dangers loom ahead. There is the Punjab and Master Tara Singh's threatened fast unto death in order to achieve what is called the Punjabi Suba.⁵ My colleagues and I have given earnest consideration to this and have come to the firm conclusion that to give in to this demand would be wholly wrong and harmful; to give in to it on the threat of a fast would also be completely wrong and dangerous; so we have held firmly to our decision, and so has the Punjab Government which has

5. See *ante*, p. 450.

primarily to face any situation that might arise. While we do so, we are not oblivious of all the dangers ahead.

7. In a few days we shall meet the Chief Ministers in Delhi to consider problems of integration. In a sense, these problems have become the most important and basic for us today. If we cannot check these tendencies towards disintegration, then all our great efforts are doomed to failure; all our Five Year Plans may become just airy theorizing. I do not think this will happen because I have very considerable faith in our people and I think that we have the strength and self-confidence to survive any danger and peril. But no one can view these prospects with any degree of complacency and we have, to use a metaphor, to tighten our belts and shoulder our knapsacks to face whatever contingency might arise.

8. Among these various problems and difficulties, the President's illness has been the cause of great anxiety to all of us. Fortunately he has recovered from that crisis that suddenly descended upon us two weeks ago. We have to be thankful for that, but we cannot become complacent, for his illness has been a serious one and the period of convalescence will require all our care.

9. The Members of the Planning Commission have signed⁶ the Commission's Report on the third Five Year Plan. As we did so, we felt a sense of exhilaration at a great work accomplished and a great journey well begun. It was pleasing to think that in spite of all the troubles that encompass us in India and the world, we have carried on with this heavy and complicated work and brought it to fruition. It has indeed been heavy work for all those who work in the Planning Commission and I should like to express my gratitude to them.

10. One labour ends, another and a much bigger one begins. I think it may well be said that we have learnt to plan and to draw up impressive reports of Five Year Plans, but the

6. On 3 August 1961.

real question is one of implementation and of translating the words of the Report into achievement—achievement not only in the specific projects and schemes which abound in the Report, but also in marching towards the goal which is so clearly laid down in this Report.

11. As I was looking through this Report, with all its record of achievement and sometimes the lack of it, its hopes to be, one set of figures attracted my particular attention. These relate to birth rates, death rates and expectation of life. The birth rate during the last twenty years has varied little, the death rate has gone down markedly, and so has the infant mortality rate. We knew this, broadly speaking. But the figures given for the expectation of life at birth appear to me striking. For the decade 1941–51, this expectation of life was about 32. For the five years from 1951 to 1956, it was about 37.5. For the next five years, the average figure given is 42. As a matter of fact, the present figure for 1961 is, I am told, 47.5. This is a striking and impressive figure and it brings out, as perhaps nothing else could, the progress made in India in living standards. It has to be remembered that this has been done at a time of very rapid growth in the population. Both these facts, taken together, are remarkable evidence of the dynamic progress being made by our people.

12. Do not think that I am satisfied with the state of affairs as it is today. I think that we shall have to work our hardest in order to make good and realize the targets set down in the Plan. Already we are experiencing difficulties in some of our basic targets like steel and power and transport. In dealing with these vast undertakings, we have not only to bring competence and efficiency, but something that is of vital importance—the spirit of devotion to a cause. The workers in the steel plant or in any other plant must feel pride in their plant and a sense of organic unity with it and among themselves. The old bureaucratic approach, even when efficient, is not good enough, and it is seldom as efficient as it ought to be. In planning, we aim at a nation's growth, but we think also of the individual's growth; we want to preserve national freedom as well as individual freedom. It is this

feeling in the individual that he is working for great causes that makes all the difference in the world. We talk about incentives and, of course, there should be incentives and a fair deal. But the biggest incentive of all is somehow to create this feeling among all who work in various grades and capacities.

13. There are outstanding examples of this and the success that has followed. Only a few days ago⁷ I went to Bangalore to open a second machine tool plant which the first plant has built out of its own resources and profits and called it a gift to the nation. This is a remarkable achievement in the course of five or six years. It could only have been done by the highest efficiency and also by the workers and officers there being infused with this spirit and with pride in and devotion to their plant.

14. I mention this outstanding example. As a matter of fact, there are a number of other enterprises in the public sector which have shown striking success. The question is how far we can carry this wave of feeling and success to all our industrial undertakings as well as our agricultural work. We must think in these terms and get out of the ruts and routines of signing papers and files. Files have a certain importance, but not if they make us routine-minded and oblivious of the important work in hand. We are still too much in the ruts. It is of the highest importance that we should get out of them and give the largest measure of freedom to people to function without constant reference to others which delay and cause great loss. We should not be afraid of mistakes occasionally committed. Our main objective should be to draw out the spirit of enterprise, the spirit which dares to do big things. We have very big things to do, and we are not going to do them in the spirit of small men and women afraid of taking a risk.

15. We talk of integration. Probably the most important approach to this question is through education. This means

7. On 28 July 1961.

that the type of text-books that we use from the earliest stages onwards must always bear this in mind. When I look at some of the books used in primary and secondary schools, I feel quite alarmed because of their complete inadequacy. I do not know who writes them or prepares them, but it almost seemed to me that the writers were hardly educated themselves. A book for the child requires the highest intelligence. And our best writers and thinkers should be asked to prepare these children's textbooks and other books.

16. Also, the present method of using privately published text-books seems to me quite bad. I think that the normal text-books meant for primary and secondary schools should be prepared at the instance of the State, by the very best persons that are available. They should be published by the State. We cannot afford to make our children's education a matter of exploitation by various contending publishers.

17. I have said above that I have been distressed by some of the text-books I have seen. One particular example amazed me. This was an elementary English reader, prepared, I think, for the Delhi schools. It was so bad that I could not conceive even a semi-educated person being responsible for it. This refers to the language, which was faulty, but more important is the content and the spirit behind the book. I hope we shall be able to mobilize the best of our writers for this important work.

18. But even apart from text-books, we should have an abundance of simple books, teaching directly and indirectly the lesson of integration, the variety of India and at the same time its abiding unity, the knowledge of various parts of India, the respect for the various religions and faiths of India and the lesson of tolerance for all of them, the ideals we have for the new India we are building up and so on and so forth. I am afraid that today many of our States produce these school text-books keeping in view the State only and rather forgetting India. People connected with the State in the past and in the present are eulogized; not so much the great men of India in the past.

19. Integration means our deliberately checking many of the present-day tendencies which glorify the province or State, the particular language at the cost of other languages in India, the particular religion or faith as a rival of others and the prevalence of caste which is the enemy of equality and democracy at which we aim.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
13 August, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

You have been present here at the conference held in connection with national integration and we have discussed these matters for three days.¹ It was obvious at this meeting that all of us who were present there realized the vital importance of this subject. The work we did was, I think, significant and helpful. But we have really only touched on some aspects of this problem. We shall have to meet again to consider other aspects.

For the present, I am writing to you to draw your particular attention to what I said towards the end of the meeting. This was that we have to consider this question of national integration on a national plane and it was therefore desirable to hold a larger conference for this purpose. At this

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The Conference agreed that (1) advocacy of secession by an individual or a group should be declared a penal offence; (2) the rotation of officers of the all-India services between the Centre and the State should be more rigorously followed; (3) all High Court Judges should be posted outside their parent States; (4) the linguistic minorities in all the States should be assured the minimum safeguards and should be extended the right to have instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage; (5) the study of regional language along with Hindi and English at secondary and University level should be stressed; (6) the use of Hindi and English as communication languages at all-India level should be encouraged; (7) the linguistic minority groups should be always addressed for official purposes in their own languages; (8) degrees and diplomas recognized by the University Grants Commission should be the basis of qualification for recruitment to Services; and (9) the promotion of national integration should be taken up at the national level.

conference, of course, I would like you to come. Apart from the Chief Ministers, I would like to invite some leading members of different parties in Parliament and other eminent personalities, including educationists, scientists and professional men.

I do not want this conference to be a very big one. At the outside, the number of invitees should not exceed one hundred. I should like you to suggest to me whom I should invite to this conference, that is, chiefly, non-political persons who are important in public life or in education, science, professions, etc. I may not be able to invite all those whom you suggest because of the limitation of numbers. Anyhow, I should like your help in this matter. I shall be grateful if you could reply to me soon.

I think that a suitable time for this conference would be some time in the last week of September. I hope this will suit you. I do not want to delay this conference, but it is difficult to hold it in August as I am leaving India on the 30th August and probably returning about the middle of September.

The A.I.C.C. is meeting early in October. We should have this conference in good time before that date.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 August, 1961

My dear Chief Minister,*

At our last meeting of Chief Ministers and some Central Ministers held in Delhi on the 10th, 11th and 12th August, it was decided to hold a larger meeting on the subject of national integration. It was suggested that this should be on a wider basis and leaders of other parties in Parliament and some prominent personalities all over the country might be invited to this meeting. I have already requested you to suggest some names of prominent people outside Parliament and generally non-political, who might be invited. We cannot invite too many persons. My own idea is to have about a hundred persons all told at this conference. These will include Chief Ministers and a number of Central Ministers.

I also intend inviting the members of the National Integration Committee of which Indira Gandhi¹ has been Chairman. This will leave perhaps about fifty others to be invited from all over India. I hope you will send your suggestions.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. (1917-1984). Daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru; joined Congress, 1931 and was imprisoned, 1942; President, Indian National Congress, 1959-60; Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1964-1966; Prime Minister, 1966-77, and from 1980 till her assassination in 1984.

I have decided to fix Thursday, 28th and Friday, 29th September (possibly the 30th also) for this conference which will be held in Delhi. I hope this will suit you.

I do not think it will be necessary for you to bring official advisers to this conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
27 October, 1961

Dear Friend,*

The birth centenary of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,¹ the great patriot and the founder of the Banaras Hindu University, falls on the 25th December, 1961, which was the date of his birth according to the Gregorian calendar and on the 30th December, 1961, which was his birthday according to the Samvat calendar. An All-India Malaviyaji Centenary Celebration Committee has been formed for this purpose and it is proposed to hold centenary celebrations between the 25th and 30th December, 1961 (both days inclusive) all over the country.

I shall highly appreciate if you in your own jurisdiction will take appropriate steps for the purpose of celebrating the said centenary during the aforesaid period, namely, 25th December, 1961 to 30th December, 1961.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters circulated to all Chief Ministers.

1. (1861-1946). Joined Congress, 1886, and was its President, 1909, 1918 and 1933; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1902-12, Central Legislative Council, 1912-19, and Central Legislative Assembly, 1924-46; founder of Banaras Hindu University, 1915, and Vice-Chancellor, 1919-39, and Rector, 1939-46; attended the Second Round Table Conference in London, 1931-1932; President, Hindu Mahasabha, 1923, 1924 and 1936.

I send you herewith a copy each of the appeals in English and Hindi which have been issued by the All India Malaviyaji Centenary Celebration Committee for collection of funds. It has been decided to hold centenary celebrations all throughout the year between 25th December, 1961 and 24th December, 1962. Any steps which may be taken in the collection of necessary funds for the purpose will be appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
16 March, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you about the coming *Holi* festival and the possibilities of some communal trouble.¹ We have received some warnings to this effect. It is conceivable that after the elections,² some mischief-makers may try to create trouble during the *Holi* festival. I hope you will warn your District Magistrates to take all necessary steps to prevent any such thing happening and to keep wide awake.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter addressed to the Chief Ministers of U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Bihar.

1. No incident marred the celebration of *Holi* on 20 March 1962.

2. The third general elections to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies, excepting Kerala, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh, were held from 16 to 25 February 1962. In Kerala and Orissa the elections had been held in 1959 and 1961 respectively, and in Himachal Pradesh, they were held in April 1962.

New Delhi
12 May, 1962

Reports have reached me that there is some possibility of trouble in the district of Malda in Bengal and some areas in other States on the 15th May which is *Id* day.¹ I would specially request you to take full precautions so that minorities might feel confident in all these areas in various States.

2. Attempts are being made to defame us in some foreign countries and any such incident will injure India's reputation greatly.
3. District authorities must be made fully responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and should be told that they will be held responsible for any unfortunate communal incident.

Jawaharlal Nehru

* Telegram to the Chief Ministers of West Bengal, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Chief Commissioner of Tripura.

1. In fact, there was no trouble in Malda during the *Id* celebrations.

New Delhi
8 June, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am writing to you about a matter which may perhaps appear to you unimportant, as it is not political, but which is I think of essential importance. This is the eradication of smallpox, a perfectly preventable disease. It has indeed been eradicated from many countries of the world. Unfortunately, our country as well as Pakistan are considered to be important foci in the world from which there is danger of importation of disease to other countries.

Our Ministry of Health is making an effort to put an end to this disease in India and to remove this national stigma. They have formulated a National Smallpox Eradication Programme for covering the entire country with mass smallpox vaccination. The Planning Commission has provided a sum of Rs. 688.98 lakhs during the third Five Year Plan for this scheme.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. has made a gift of 250 million doses of this vaccine to us. It is highly desirable and indeed essential for us to take advantage of this gift and of the resources that are now available to carry through this campaign. I hope that not only your Health Department but all other Departments in the State will extend their co-operation to this campaign. I trust also that you will take a personal interest in this matter. It will be a great thing for us to rid our country of this scourge which has caused so much sorrow and suffering to our people.¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. Small pox was officially declared eradicated in 1975.

New Delhi
27 June, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,*

You are aware that the problem of rail-road co-ordination is one which has given headaches to many countries. We have not been free from these troubles. Ultimately we appointed a Committee on Transport Policy and Co-ordination¹ to consider this matter and make recommendations. This Committee, under the Chairmanship of Shri K.C. Neogy,² has worked hard and is still making a thorough study of the subject.³ Shri Neogy intends sending some of his officers to visit various States on behalf of the Committee so as to expedite the necessary discussions on the spot.

I should like you to give all help to Shri Neogy and his officers. While you are all interested in road transport, perhaps you are not so much interested in transport by rail. But the two questions are intimately interlinked.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The Committee was appointed in July 1959 to recommend "a long-term transport policy for the country" taking into account the various economic and other considerations, define the role of various means of transport during the next 5 to 10 years, and suggest a mechanism for the regulation and coordination of the various means of transport.

2. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 91.

3. The surveys undertaken on six selected routes in the country between November 1959 and February 1961 provided useful data regarding the volume and type of traffic carried by road transport.

27 June, 1962

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I am afraid that some States have not taken much interest in this Committee, and a questionnaire issued by them elicited replies only from very few States. I hope, therefore, that you will kindly pay attention to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Pahalgam (Kashmir)
10 July, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,

It is almost eleven months now since I wrote to you what was supposed to be a fortnightly letter. This long break has made it difficult for me to pick up the old threads again. I feel very guilty at this lapse of mine because I have always attached importance to the fortnightly letters I wrote to you and those which you wrote to me. We meet each other from time to time and occasionally write to each other on special subjects. Nevertheless, the sending of these fortnightly letters did create an additional bond between us which I valued. Therefore, the break that has occurred has been most unfortunate and something which I regret very much.

2. Why has this long break occurred? There was the election campaign and then the elections¹ themselves. Subsequently other matters followed; the formation of a new Government at the Centre,² the election of the President³ and the Vice-President,⁴ and the formation of new Governments in the States. Unfortunately, I did not keep well during this period and suffered from an indisposition⁵ which, though,

1. See *ante*, p. 495.

2. The new Council of Ministers consisting of 17 Cabinet Ministers and 6 Ministers of State assumed office on 10 April 1962.

3. On 11 May 1962, the electoral college comprising the Members of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and the State Legislatures elected S. Radhakrishnan as the President of the Indian Union to succeed Rajendra Prasad.

4. Zakir Hussain was elected as the Vice-President on 7 May 1962.

5. A viral infection of the urinary tract which caused intermittent fever confined Nehru to bed for the greater part of April 1962.

not serious, did affect my working capacity. And so month after month passed without my usual letter to you. There was, I think, some reason for my not keeping up my old routine, but none of the reasons I have indicated was adequate if I had really been anxious to write. The fact is that somehow the urge to write to you became much less and I could not easily develop the mood to do so. And so, heavily occupied as I was, I made this an excuse for not writing. You will forgive me, I hope. I see no point in sending you a letter full of trivial details which have no importance. I do not want to tell you of my programme and what I have been doing, nor do I want to repeat the news that appears in the papers. A letter, such as I want to write to you, if it has any relevance, should deal with matters which are not obvious, or should try to indicate the importance of something that has happened. It should be a link and a bond between us and our minds.

3. We talk of integration and consider it rightly as something of vital importance in India. That integration has to take place at all levels; beginning from the top between you and me and our respective Governments, in our Party structures, where there is often too great a tendency to form groups, and so on down to the mass of people.

4. Perhaps it was my indisposition, added to many other factors, that led to a certain unease in my mind and this again came in the way of my writing letters to you. I did not wish to convey this sense of unease to you, as a letter is likely to do to some extent.

5. First of all, I shall refer briefly to a subject of no great importance and yet one which has been talked about a great deal during the past few months. That is my health. I am sure that nothing serious has been or is the matter with it and doctors have assured me of this. I have always taken good care about it and led a fairly regular life. It is true that I tend to overtax my system by putting too much of a burden on it. My body has reacted well to this during all these years. Ultimately, however, the continuing strain brought about

an accumulation of fatigue which led to my indisposition. This has been a warning to me not to overdo things in future. I have a dislike for ill-health. I do not like the idea of not keeping fit. I think it is everyone's duty to do so and not to complain all the time of ailments and weaknesses. In India, we are apt to talk a great deal about these ailments and one's ill-health. The whole atmosphere thus becomes rather depressing. One of my chief troubles during the last few months has been people asking me about my health and showing great concern about it.

6. These last few months have been full of new developments which are noteworthy. I do not propose to weary you with an account of what has happened. Indeed I shall only refer to some important aspects of these developments. This letter is more to break this long period of not writing and to try to get into stride again. I hope to be more regular in my letters in future but I shall put a somewhat lesser aim before me, that is, instead of sending you fortnightly letters, I shall try to write at the beginning of every month.

7. Among the many problems, national and international, that face us, the most important is that of our development according to the plans laid down for it. There is I find an element of disappointment even among our friends at the slow pace of progress and the many bottlenecks that have arisen. Those who are not our friends, whether in India or abroad, point to our failures and difficulties. Undoubtedly, there are these difficulties which make our burden all the heavier. But I see no reason for dismay at the outlook, provided always that we remain stout of heart and do not waste our energy in internal conflict. We have set out on a journey and are well advanced on the way. I do not think anything that can happen can effectively stop our progress; it may occasionally delay it. We have learnt by and large to plan and to plan well. We have to learn to implement our plans equally well. Thus implementation and good administration are the bases of our progress. Good administration necessarily includes an administration at all levels which works with integrity and efficiency.

8. I should like to lay stress on this because on this depends the atmosphere we create for our work. Unfortunately, our administration, though very good in parts, is not uniformly so and there are far too many complaints of lack of integrity.⁶ Our critics rejoice in repeating this all the time and perhaps they exaggerate that we should not take things lightly and remain complacent. We have to work with all our strength and energy to root out corruption and inefficiency, wherever they may exist. All Ministers, whether at the Centre or in the States, have a special responsibility to this end.

9. Any rapid development necessitates a good deal of investment. The money for investment has largely to be raised in the country and partly, in the case of under-developed countries, by aid from abroad. There is no other way. The aid need not be free grants but should consist of loans and credits. That is how we have been progressing thus far and our people have borne this heavy burden. We must also express our gratitude to many friendly countries who have helped and aided us in many ways.⁷ The fact, however, remains that the main burden must be borne by our own people. The moment we shirk this burden and imagine that others will carry it for us and thus grow complacent, we have basically lost the race.

10. Apart from the fact that too great a dependence on

6. *The Sunday Standard* (Delhi) of 13 May 1962 reporting that there were 551 cases of corruption detected in 1956, which increased to 1,127 in 1961, commented that "if the welfare State is not to be equated with 'licence and permit raj' (as Mr. Rajagopalachari does), stringent steps must be taken to root out corruption and to restore the probity of administration. . . . Everybody is agreed that the present legal provisions leave too many loopholes to the corrupt officials to defeat the hands of justice."

7. On 28 February 1962, the U.S. Government announced three U.S. loans to India aggregating Rs. 74 crores, including Rs. 65 crores in foreign exchange. On 23 May, Britain agreed to give 22 million (sterling) for the expansion of the steel works at Durgapur and 10 million (sterling) for paying for a wide range of British exports to India. On 21 June, the U.S. granted four loans to India amounting to \$ 288.2 million (Rs. 135 crores).

others is dangerous even for our independence and freedom of action, real progress depends upon the spirit we create in the country on self-reliance.

11. I refer to these matters because we are faced with a set of circumstances which may materially reduce the aid we might get from abroad. This will add to our difficulties and yet perhaps, from a long-term view, this may be for our good because it will force us to think in terms of doing things ourselves rather than relying on others. Fortunately we have advanced industrially and technologically enough almost to make everything that we need here. It may be that what we make will be a little more expensive. Even so, if we make it in our own country, it is more advantageous for us. So I am not altogether unhappy at the greater difficulties we have to face in regard to foreign aid. Of course, I would like to have as much of it as we need. But the price for it will be too great if we lose our sense of self-reliance and begin to depend too much on others.

12. This dilemma faces us at every step. We have naturally and rightly, tried to get as much aid in the shape of long-term loans and credits from friendly countries as possible. We have made it clear that this aid must have no strings attached to it. But it is equally clear that where there is financial dependence, this might affect our larger policies to some extent. I think it is true that those who have helped us have not attached any strings to their aid and we must be grateful to them for the help they have given. It is not right that we should feel annoyed if that help does not come when we expect it or is less than our expectations. Whatever is given to us with goodwill, we should be thankful for it. Our Finance Minister has gone abroad⁸ to explain our position

8. Morarji Desai visited Britain, Netherlands, West Germany and Italy from 2 to 22 July 1962.

to those who might help and I am sure his visits will produce some results.⁹ What these results are likely to be, I cannot say. It is clear, however, that we cannot barter our freedom of action for the sake of aid. That would be losing something very valuable which cannot be measured in terms of financial aid. Our Finance Minister fully realizes this, as we all do.

13. Another point with which the Finance Minister will deal is the question of the European Common Market and its effect upon us if the United Kingdom joins it, as it is likely to do.¹⁰ It is not for us to advise the United Kingdom but we are entitled to point out the consequences on us in case our export markets are limited. We talk of aid, but trade is much better than aid. The Finance Minister will be meeting the countries of the European Common Market. It is right that we should deal with them directly and not merely through the United Kingdom.

14. This question of aid has arisen rather unexpectedly in connection with the proposal by us to buy Russian supersonic fighters, the MIGs.¹¹ We have not made any definite proposal about this matter but, owing to pressures on us because of the policies adopted by Pakistan and China, our Defence Advisers are anxious that we should strengthen our

9. After Morarji Desai's meeting with British members, Britain promised \$ 90 million credit for the first two years of the plan and also agreed to meet the deficit gap of \$ 220 million by contributing to the one million dollars aid expected from the 'Aid India' Consortium.

10. On 2 July 1962, Morarji Desai informed the British Government of India's dissatisfaction with the general assurance given by the six members of the Common Market and stressed the need to work out comprehensive agreements between Britain, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka before Britain joined the Common Market.

11. On 23 June 1962, Nehru assured the Parliament that "in coming to a decision, we are not going to be governed or influenced either by pressures, pressure tactics from outside, or hope that aid will come 'if you don't do it'."

position. To buy modern weapons is an expensive undertaking and we cannot indulge in it for too long. Therefore, we thought of manufacturing them ourselves and it was the relative ease of manufacturing the MIGs in India that turned our attention to them, apart from their comparative cost. This has created a furore in the United Kingdom¹² and in the United States.¹³ I did not expect this as I thought that foreign governments cannot object to a commercial transaction which we consider favourable to us. But the fact is that the political aspect of this transaction has affected these countries greatly. We have made it clear to them that we cannot limit our choice because of these political considerations when we are thinking only of a commercial transaction. However, we have sent a team to England¹⁴ to enquire what they have to offer and the terms of their offer. The important aspect continues to be facility of manufacture in India. It is possible that our expert team may subsequently go to Russia to find out what the possibilities there are. After investigating all the proposals we shall have to come to a decision. That decision will take into consideration all the factors and will inevitably be based on what is good for India in the

12. The British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations came to India on 28 May to offer the supersonic fighter "Lightning" on easy terms, and ask the Indian Government to postpone a decision on buying Soviet aircraft. On 14 July 1962, Mountbatten asked Nehru not to turn to the Soviet Union for arms or aircraft, as India could not get along without aid from the United States.

13. On 19 May 1962, John F. Galbraith, the U.S. Ambassador to India, was summoned home for consultations. On 17 June 1962, the *New York Times* reported that India's apparent readiness to buy Soviet jet fighter planes had caused "far more agitation" in Washington than President Kennedy and his aides had been willing to admit publicly. Galbraith, who returned to New Delhi on 19 June, met Nehru on 21 June to suggest the desirability of considering alternatives, as in the view of the United States Soviet planes were not very relevant to Indian defence.

14. On 7 July 1962, a team of senior Air Force Officers left for London to have a "close look" at the British fighter 'Lightning' and to study the possibility of its manufacture in India.

short run as well as the long run.

15. This involves the possibility of financial aid and credits being cut down even to a great extent.¹⁵ This will be hard on us, but I have no doubt that there is no other choice for us. If we change our broader policies because of pressures from abroad, that may well mean a basic change in those policies which we are not prepared to accept, even though the consequences may be hard for us.

16. When this was mentioned in Parliament by me,¹⁶ there was almost unanimous approval of what I said. That was gratifying. There was a tendency also to blame or at least to criticize the U.S.A. and the U.K. for their pressure upon us in this matter as well as for the attitude they had taken up in regard to Goa¹⁷ and Kashmir.¹⁸ We feel strongly on these

15. The decision of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of 22 May to reduce economic aid to India by 25 per cent was criticized by the Kennedy Administration which persuaded House of Representatives to vote a total of \$ 815 million aid to India as granted by it though the Senate had reduced it to \$ 724 million.

16. On 23 June 1962, Nehru informed the Lok Sabha that, "We want aid badly for our civil economic programmes. All our Five Year Plans, etc., depend on aid, but we are not going to take that aid or ask for that aid, if it means giving up our independence in any respect."

17. India's military operation in Goa on 17 December 1961 was widely criticized in Britain, France and the United States.

18. During the discussions on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council, on 21 June, the U.S. desired negotiations between India and Pakistan and both parties availing of the good offices of an impartial third party to assist in negotiations. A resolution moved on 22 June in the Security Council on this basis was vetoed by the U.S.S.R.

subjects and are convinced that we are in the right.¹⁹ Nevertheless, I hope that the friendly relations which exist between the U.S.A., U.K., and ourselves will not be affected by these developments. I want to lay stress on this because it is not right for us to blame others if they do not help us according to our wishes. They have helped us greatly in the past and we should be thankful to them for it. Unfortunately, an element of the cold war creeps in when we fall out in any matter with other countries. I would earnestly hope that we should resist this temptation and continue to have friendly feelings with these great countries even though they might not fall in with our wishes occasionally.

17. This element of the cold war is already very much in evidence in our relations with China and Pakistan. With China, there has been a spate of strongly-worded statements on both sides;²⁰ with Pakistan also our present relations are greatly strained.²¹ Believing as we do that we are completely

19. On 23 June 1962, replying to the debate in Rajya Sabha Nehru said that the U.S. representative speaking on the Kashmir question in the Security Council had tried to "tell us what to do. . . not realizing that Kashmir is flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone." On the U.S. representative's stand in the Security Council on Goa, Nehru said that his speech had "hurt us, annoyed us, irritated us, and angered us."

20. On 19 May 1962, the Chinese had warned on the issue of Longju in the eastern sector that they "will not stand idly by." On 4 June China accused India of following a policy of "out-and-out Great Power chauvinism." On 30 June 1962, replying to a protest of the Chinese Government "against the increasingly frequent Indian aircraft intrusions and aggravating the tensions on the border. . ." The Indian Government said that "by repeating such baseless allegations, the Government of China are merely serving the ends of their anti-Indian propaganda. . . . they have steadily increased their wrongful occupation of Indian territory in recent years and have carried out activities there in violation of India's sovereignty and territorial integrity."

21. On 10 May 1962, India warned China and Pakistan that they would face grave consequences in the event of their negotiating any border demarcation agreement on the portion of Kashmir which was illegally occupied by Pakistan.

right in our attitudes towards China and Pakistan, I am convinced that we should avoid the language of cold war in dealing with them. In no event does that help and we have to take special care about this matter. After all, the only sensible thing to aim at is for a solution of our problems with these countries and peaceful relations. We may get angry occasionally on what they do to us. But still we have to keep the ultimate objective in view. We have to strengthen our military position when they threaten us. Even so, we must realize that it will be a tragedy for us to have military operations against each other. While we keep our powder dry and are ready for emergencies, we should strive for a peaceful settlement. Anything else with Pakistan would be a tragedy not only for the two countries but for the peoples of these countries who are so closely allied to each other. With China, our contacts are not great, but the consequences of our conflict are very far-reaching.

18. But apart from these considerations, I think that the policy we have pursued or attempted to pursue is essentially based on always trying for peaceful solutions and of avoidance of war. Peaceful solutions are not furthered by the language of war which is embodied in what is called the cold war. We have seen this on a much larger scale on the world's stage. It is the cold war which has bedevilled every attempt to find a solution of problems. Behind the cold war lie fear, suspicion, distrust and anger. We must try not to fall a victim to these emotions and passions while, at the same time, doing everything to protect our national interests. Even from the point of view of national interests, a peaceful approach is obviously desirable.

19. We have recently seen in our relations with Pakistan how one bad act leads to another from the other side and something much worse happens.²² This again leads to

22. Exaggerated reports of communal violence in Malda and Murshidabad in West Bengal in March-April 1962 led to retaliatory acts in Rajshahi, Dacca and other towns in East Bengal. Both Governments protested against the threat to the security of the lives of the minorities and demanded stern measures to control the situation.

excitements on our side and something undesirable happens which produces its own reactions in Pakistan. If this kind of thing is allowed to continue, then the situation might well get out of hand on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan frontier and produce disastrous results. A special responsibility, therefore, lies on political and other leaders as well as newspapers to prevent these deplorable happenings and developments and to realize that there can be no such thing as reprisals against innocent people.

20. On our frontier with China-Tibet, we have gradually been building up our position and increasing our outposts in Ladakh, etc. The building of mountain roads, which is still going on, has helped us. The result is that we are in a somewhat more advantageous position than we were a year or two ago. Even so, it would be unwise for us to indulge in any action. The Chinese Government, realizing that we are strengthening our position and weakening theirs, has lately become more aggressive in tone in its statements made to us. I do not know what this signifies, and we have to be wide awake and careful.

21. But I would repeat that, apart from any high morality, it is the strictest practical good sense for us not to fall into the trap of cold war in regard to Pakistan and China. Even if Governments are, we must not think that the people are our enemies.

22. In Pakistan, strange things are happening. The coming up of the new Constitution,²³ very limited as it is, has opened the floodgates of criticism and agitation.²⁴ A military rule

23. On 1 March 1962 Ayub Khan, promulgated the new Constitution which gave Pakistan a Presidential form of Government, with a National Assembly at the Centre and Legislative Assemblies for the two provinces of East and West Pakistan.

24. A statement on 24 June 1962, issued by former Chief Ministers and other political leaders of Pakistan criticized the new Constitution for lacking "in basic strength viz., popular consensus enshrined in basic laws framed by the people's representatives entrusted with that mandate."

and such agitations are not compatible. The position is, therefore, essentially a fluid one. In East Pakistan, more especially, there is discontent.²⁵ Some authorities there want to turn people's minds to anger and hatred against India in order to lessen this discontent against themselves. We must not fall into this trap and act in a way which creates ill will between peoples.

23. Looking round to our neighbours, we should feel thankful that we have escaped many of their troubles. We have a constitutional democratic Government functioning with a large measure of success. We have plans for development which already have produced good results and which promise greater results in the future in spite of the difficulties that face us. This can hardly be said about our neighbours. We have goodwill for these neighbour countries of ours and wish them progress. Our progress certainly is not dependent on their remaining backward.

24. Meanwhile, it should be remembered that the most important question of all is that of disarmament. Unless some effective results are achieved by the Disarmament Committee at Geneva,²⁶ the outlook for the world is bleak indeed. Thus far the only success achieved is in drafting a preamble²⁷ which, as far as it goes, is satisfactory. But obviously much more is needed. Peace Congresses are held and I suppose they do some good work. But there appears to be an attempt in them to gain political advantage and the quest for peace is often connected with warlike language. Yet we must hope that peace will triumph in the end.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. There was strong resentment at being treated as an unequal partner.

26. On 14 March 1962, the Disarmament Conference of 17 countries opened in Geneva (France boycotted the Conference). It continued till 15 June, when it was adjourned for a month.

27. The draft preamble for a Disarmament Treaty, drawn up jointly by the Soviet Union and U.S.A. was approved except for one paragraph and a few words, by the Conference on 17 April 1962.

New Delhi
8 August, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,*

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Sardar Hukam Singh,¹ has kindly referred to me the question of sending an Indian Parliamentary Delegation to the next Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference to be held in Nigeria in October-November 1962.² Perhaps you may remember that I wrote to you a letter on the 9th June 1962 on this subject. In that letter, I suggested that it was perhaps not necessary to have State branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. It seemed to me that the main purpose of establishing these branches was to collect considerable sums of money as subscriptions.

At first it was suggested that we need not send any delegation to this year's conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Subsequently, however, it was felt that, as the next conference was being held in Nigeria, it would not be desirable not to be represented at it when it was held in an African country. It is proposed, therefore, to send a very small delegation to Nigeria, probably consisting of three persons.³ Our foreign exchange position is very

* A special letter addressed to the Chief Ministers of Gujarat, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

1. (1895-1983). Member, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, 1926-41; Member, Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament, 1946-52 and of Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Deputy Speaker, 1956-62 and Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1962-67; Governor of Rajasthan, 1967-73.

2. From 5 to 13 November 1962.

3. The delegation consisted of Hukam Singh, Violet Alva, P.K. Deo, Naval Prabhakar and M.N. Kaul.

8 August, 1962

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difficult and we have to restrict any expenditure involving foreign exchange to the utmost. You will, I trust, appreciate that it will not be possible on this occasion to send representatives from the State branches. I hope you will be good enough to explain this to the Speaker of your Assembly, who, I presume, is the Chairman of the State branch.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
3 September, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,

In another four days, I am leaving India¹ to attend the London meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers.² After that meeting I hope to go for about two days to Paris³ to meet President De Gaulle. From there I go to Nigeria and Ghana.⁴ On my return journey I shall spend a few hours at Cairo.⁵ I hope to be back in Delhi on October 1st.

2. I have travelled about a good deal, but I have not been to South America at all, and in Africa I have only been to Egypt and the Sudan. Both these vast areas of South America and Africa are changing fast and are likely to play an ever-increasing part in world affairs. Indeed, Africa is already attracting a great deal of attention. It is a vital continent, and now that it is awake, it is bound to go ahead, even though it may have many difficulties. I am glad, therefore, that I am going to Ghana and Nigeria, two of the important newly independent countries in West Africa. I hope, some time in the not distant future, to visit the North African countries and East Africa.

3. Usually I look forward to a visit abroad. It brings about a change in scene for me and refreshes me. But on this occasion I do not feel at all happy at leaving India and her

1. On 7 September 1962.

2. Held from 10 to 17 September 1962.

3. From 21 to 23 September 1962.

4. From 23 to 27 September 1962.

5. From 28 to 30 September 1962.

many problems. These problems fill my mind and I confess they distress me. We seem to be passing through a peculiarly difficult phase. In the life of a human being the 15th and 16th years are supposed to be rather critical as they bring about many biological and psychical developments. We are now in our sixteenth year of Independence, and I wonder if some such process of change bringing about a new social structure is now taking place in India leading to various crises. The country is being industrialized, and many social developments are taking place. Modern mechanical civilization is gradually creeping in and coming into conflict with the old agricultural order. The machine requires definite organizational work and it often imposes its own will. Our youth, passing through this phase, find great difficulty in adapting themselves to it. Often they take up a negative attitude towards patterns of behaviour transmitted by their elders. There is a rejection of old moral patterns and standards and sometimes an emphasis on their being different. In Western countries especially, there is a desire for eccentricity and a cynicism and a negative attitude to work. There is in the West a great deal of juvenile delinquency and alcoholism. All this leads to many individuals becoming socially useless and sometimes even harmful.

4. In India we have not gone that far. But the beginnings of this deterioration are visible. This often leads to our youth turning to communal and disruptive organizations and our education helps very little in preparing the young people to take part in collective life and to perform useful functions for society.

5. It is not much good blaming our young people. They react to the environment and to changing patterns of behaviour. But it does become important for our educational system to lay stress on certain intellectual and moral features, and more especially to prepare them for the collective life which we hope to build up in India.

6. We live in a world today which has lost its old permanence. The atomic age is made up of whirling atomic

particles of vast energies which can be released for good and evil, and the possibility of destruction on a wide scale. Scientists and technicians create modern machinery and new sources of energy. But the use of all this is decided upon by people who are hardly capable of understanding them. In the old days people grew up with a picture of nature in which the world was built with solid materials and there was an element of permanence in our lives. That is no longer there. The tragedy of every generation, especially during a period of rapid change, is the discovery of the divergence between the ideals and actual picture of the world. The change in the developed countries is great. In India it is likely to be even greater because we have to cover the track of centuries. This will inevitably bring about changes in the individuals and a sense of tension and often of frustration.

7. We are supposed to be a people with an ideological and philosophical and even metaphysical background. With the coming of a technical civilization and the forms of social life accompanying it, there is inevitably lack of harmony. Possibly after the present transitional phase and the development of new techniques, a new base of civilization and new forms of collective life will be established which will lead to a new ideology and philosophy of life. In the old days economic theories were often a rationalization of dominant interests. Even metaphysics and religion were sometimes exploited to this end. The growth of the sciences and technology may lead to a new science of sociology, that is if we survive the atomic and the hydrogen bombs. The amazingly swift diffusion of technology and its advance gives little time to mankind in order to adjust itself to the new conditions of life.

8. It is the degree of maturity of a society's productive resources that determines the general character of social, political and intellectual life. We aim at socialism, but socialism in a backward under-developed country becomes inevitably backward and under-developed socialism.

9. In our planning, we are beginning to realize more and

more than five years is too brief a period to keep in view. Even in regard to industrial progress that is too short a time. But if we consider the long-term interests of a nation, then we have to keep in mind always the kind of society we are building up and the patterns of behaviour that we wish to encourage. Education and health may not bring immediate profit in terms of cost, and yet from the long-term and national point of view, they are essential.

10. It amazes me that some people in this age of swift transition should still cling to ideas which have no relevance today; should be attracted to communalism and provincialism; and should be powerfully influenced by caste. That itself shows how backward we are and the great distance we have to cover. It is distressing that elections should turn on caste and communal aspects. The chief value of election propaganda is to lay stress on our basic objectives and our programmes to reach them. I think that our people generally in the mass are sound and have a good deal of commonsense. Even in the general elections, it was my experience, and it may have been yours also, that when the approach is on that level, they were greatly interested and reacted favourably. But, unfortunately, this was seldom done, and narrow slogans and appeals took the place of reasoned arguments and a peep into the future that we were building up. Many of our Opposition parties especially, and sometimes even the Congress, approached the electorate in a narrow way, imagining that they would gain advantage thereby. It is possible that occasionally they gained some advantage. But, even if they did so, it was only for a very short time. They laid no foundations of the future.

11. I am repeating some platitudes. Yet platitudes often embody truths and have to be remembered. The strength of the Congress and its mass appeal has been due to the fact that we have in the past spoken to our people frankly and fully about the ideals that moved us. Those ideals seeped down to the people and found an echo in their minds and hearts. That strength was also due to an appreciation by the general public of the moral fibre of Congressmen as a whole. I fear

that appreciation is sadly lacking today and, without it, our message cannot go far or carry conviction. We have, therefore, to pull ourselves up in our personal lives as well as in our organizations and, of course, in our governmental activity. This conviction is growing upon me more and more. It is right that we should think clearly and put our policy and programme before the public. But, even more so, it is necessary for us to create the impression of a certain unselfish service of the nation.

12. Coming to our broad policies and programmes, I find that we take some of our resolutions about socialism for granted and say little about them. As a matter of fact, this requires constant reiteration not only to others, but to ourselves also, so that we may not slip away from the straight and narrow path. We have adopted socialism not only because it seemed to us a right goal, but also because the compulsion of events in India forces us in that direction. There is no other way of progress and certainly no other way of mass betterment. But we need not think of this socialism as some rigid doctrinaire theory, but rather as a broad objective and pattern of society which should be adapted to a country's background and needs. Above all, we should always keep in mind that any real advance must have a moral and spiritual foundation in the broadest sense of those terms.

13. I have no doubt that we have made marked progress in the last fifteen years in India. The mere continuation of an orderly democratic structure of Government and society is commendable. But, even in the industrial and agricultural fields, we have gone ahead though not as much as we had hoped. This very progress has not only created new problems for us to solve, but has also aroused our people to demand more and more. Our Plans are meant to ensure this continuing progress and to fulfil, in so far as we can, the legitimate demands of our people. It may be that we have erred from time to time. I have no doubt that we have. But the general progress made is, I believe, in the right direction in spite of the many pulls to the contrary. But the time has

come when we should, far from being complacent, be critical of what we have done and what we should do. While we want industrial and agricultural progress, there is always a tendency for the more favoured people to profit by these and not so much those who are down and out. That is, I suppose, to some extent, inevitable. Yet we must check that and pay greater attention to those who lack the basic necessities of life.

14. We had in the Lok Sabha a Bill for acquisition of land recently.⁶ This aimed rightly, but it gave rise to a furore in Parliament⁷ because it was felt that this might be to the advantage of favoured individuals and at the cost of our poor agriculturists. That urge which Parliament exhibited was all to the good, and we should always have that urge. Finally, the Bill was passed with many amendments⁸ which improved it greatly and ensured, to a large extent, the welfare of the agriculturists. Apart from this, I think it should always be borne in mind that any industrial progress that we make, should not spoil the good agricultural land

6. The Bill was to replace the Ordinance promulgated by the President on 20 July 1962 to amend the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 so as to enable State Governments to acquire land for industries likely to promote the economic development of the country or which were essential to the life of the community.

7. During the debate on the Bill in Lok Sabha on 29 and 30 August 1962, several Members of the Opposition argued that land acquired for a public purpose but handed over to a private company or an individual was a fundamental contradiction. The Members demanded that land acquired by the Government be transferred to a non-Government industrial establishment only when it had been ensured that the Government had more than 50% of the shares in it.

8. The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 31 August 1962 after S.K. Patil, the Union Food Minister, accepted the demand of the Members that the land should be acquired only for 'public purposes'.

that we possess. This is bad from the point of view of food production as well as the peasantry. This might even be kept in mind in the planning of growing cities, though sometimes it is a little difficult to do so. Delhi, for instance, is a rapidly growing city and we are planning on a large scale for this future growth.⁹ It threatens to swallow up some of the best agricultural land that we possess. I hope this will be avoided.

15. One question that worries almost every householder today is the question of prices. Wholesale prices have gone up a little, though not very much;¹⁰ but retail prices often tend to shoot up. We have repeatedly said that we must control prices, and we are trying our utmost to do so.¹¹ It may be possible to control wholesale prices. But it is exceedingly difficult to do so in regard to retail prices. Some method of controlled distribution may have to be devised,¹² though it is exceedingly difficult to control the innumerable retailers. Cooperatives can certainly bring about a great change. We are making fairly good progress in the establishment of cooperatives in the rural areas. But, in regard to consumer cooperatives, not much has been done. Yet it should not be difficult to build up these consumer cooperatives.

16. The growth in the public sector, which is so important

9. On 1 September 1962, Delhi's Master Plan of Rs. 732 crores received the approval of the Union Government. The Plan allotted an area of 1,10,500 acres of rural land to be acquired for urbanization.

10. At the end of August 1962 the index of wholesale prices stood at 131.8 (March 1953: 100) as compared to 128.7 during the corresponding period in 1961.

11. On 27 August, Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, said that the Government would not hesitate to take action "for regulating prices of basic essentials within confined limits."

12. On 30 August, the Planning Commission suggested that to control prices retailers should display their current stock position, consumer co-operatives should be opened, and fair price shops started for low income groups.

from our larger point of view, will affect wholesale prices. The private sector, although it is a necessary part of our Plan, has no such social outlook, and its main objective is rapid profit. If our public sector gradually controls our basic industries, it can exercise a strong influence on the private sector and prevent it from going astray.

17. It must be remembered that we run our public sector industries so as to make profits which will help in our Plans for investment. The old idea that a public sector industry must be on a no-profit and no-loss basis is quite absurd. The public sector is not only good in itself, but it should be considered as a nucleus and starting point of the development of a socialist economy. It should gradually lessen and remove the existing concentrations of private economic power. If it becomes subservient to these concentrations of economic power, then it has lost its function.

18. Foreign exchange difficulties encompass us, and a great part of this foreign exchange is required for spares and accessories and maintenance of our existing industries, especially in the private sector. Why should not these spares and accessories be made in India? I think that we have the capacity to make almost everything. We should aim, therefore, at making these ourselves so as to reduce the need for foreign exchange.¹³ Meanwhile, of course, we have inevitably to cut down our imports. There has been a tendency to increase our private sector industries regardless of the future burden in the shape of foreign exchange that they might cast upon us.

13. On 6 June 1962, the Indian Chambers of Commerce in a statement stressed the need for clarity in the Government's policy regarding imports and encouragement of domestic manufacture of items which required foreign exchange. On 8 June, the Government decided to reduce the grant of licences during the licencing period from April 1962 to March 1963.

19. There have been some amendments of our Constitution which, though relatively small, have a historic significance. The 288-year old French rule over Pondicherry has ended in law¹⁴ and this former French enclave has become fully a part of India. So have Goa and the other Portuguese territories.¹⁵ The freedom of India is complete. We have no claims on other territories except insofar as there are some territories which have been occupied by other Powers.

20. I regret to say that our relations with Pakistan have worsened. There are constant incidents on our eastern border with Pakistan¹⁶ and those in authority in Pakistan talk constantly in terms of violence and war.¹⁷ We have often repeated that we mean no ill for Pakistan. It is our conviction that India and Pakistan should be friendly nations cooperating with each other. We shall hold to that

14. French settlements in India became part of the Indian Union after the ratification of the treaty of cession between India and France on 16 August 1961 and by the Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Bill passed by Parliament on 30 August 1962. The Bill provided for the representation of the former French settlements in the Lok Sabha and for the setting up of a representative government.

15. By the Constitution (Fourteenth) Amendment Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on 30 August 1962.

16. On 17 August 1962, the Lok Sabha was informed of the concentration of Pakistani troops in Rangpur and Dinapur districts contiguous to Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar districts of West Bengal. On 21 August, Nehru informed the House that about a hundred acres of land in South Berubari had been occupied forcibly by Pakistan.

17. For example, on 4 August 1962, Ayub Khan, addressing a meeting in Karachi appealed for national unity on the basis of Islamic ideology to counter the machinations of the Indian leadership determined to destroy Pakistan and its ideology. He charged that India's foreign policy was designed to destroy Pakistan and "that shall not happen." On 6 August, he said that India and the Soviet Union were going to subjugate Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran unless they got together to form an Islamic State. On 15 August, Ayub said that if India desired even an inch of Pakistan's territory, Pakistan would fight in a manner which history would remember with pride.

objective even though we have to take steps to protect our territory from attack and invasion.

21. A much more serious threat comes to us from China. Much has been said about this in Parliament and I shall not repeat it here. But the situation continues to be serious and the notes we get from the Chinese Government become progressively more strident and abusive.¹⁸ What this indicates it is difficult to say. But it seems to me obvious that we have to be on the alert and guard our country. At the same time, we have to be prepared for a long term of tension and possibly petty conflicts. That is presuming that there is no major conflict.

22. An additional autonomous State of India is coming into existence with the amendment of our Constitution¹⁹ in regard to Nagaland. This area has caused us many headaches, and I fear that our troubles are not over yet. But the step that we have taken is a right step and I feel that it will help us greatly in normalizing that area and in convincing the people who live in Nagaland that they can live in freedom and dignity in the larger family of India.

23. We have decided to give a large measure of autonomy to all our Union territories.²⁰ The present Bill that has been

18. The Chinese Government on 27 August 1962 reiterated that "the Indian Government's attempt to realize its ambitious territorial claims by force and to coerce China into submission is bound to fail. If the Indian side should overdo it, the Chinese side will have to resort to self-defence, and the Indian side must bear responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom." The next day, China alleged that "the Indian side tried to cover up aggressive activities by slanderously accusing the Chinese troops of encroaching on Indian territory. This clumsy tactics has long been seen through and will not work at all."

19. By the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on 28 August 1962.

20. The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Bill, passed by the Lok Sabha on 30 August 1962, provided for the representation of the former French settlements in the Lok Sabha and setting up of legislatures in the Union territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Goa, Daman and Diu and Pondicherry.

introduced in the Lok Sabha does not include two areas—the Andaman Islands and Delhi. These areas are at opposite poles. The Andaman Islands have to be dealt with separately because of its backwardness and other like reasons. Delhi, on the other hand, is an advanced area which will require special treatment.

24. I am not writing to you about the rest of the world, troubled as it is. One of the saddest developments is the internal conflict in Algeria²¹ whose brave people sacrificed so greatly for their freedom.

25. There is one thing to which I should like to draw your special attention, that is, the question of exports. It is obvious that this is of the highest importance to us. Today we are exporting about 5½ per cent of our gross national product. If we raise this percentage to 6, we can achieve the target we have set for ourselves. I have no doubt that we can increase our exports adequately. We are trying to do our best to this end, and I should like your co-operation in this matter by removing the hurdles and bottlenecks of administrative procedures and particularly in simplifying sales tax on exports. I hope you will give thought to this matter and get it examined by your experts. If we do not succeed in increasing our exports to the minimum figure aimed at, our whole Plan will be in jeopardy.

26. Just when we are struggling with this export question comes a new blow from the European Common Market and

21. Following the French proclamation of Algerian freedom on 3 July, the Algerian political leaders postponed indefinitely on 25 August 1962 the elections to be held in Algeria on 2 September, declaring that the guerilla troops were attempting a *coup* against them. The political bureau of the National Liberation Front (F.L.N.) in a statement said that the Council of Wilaya IV, the organization of the guerillas, “wishes to impose its absolute authority in Algiers by force of arms.” On 1 September, the Algerian forces loyal to Ben Bella launched a two-pronged attack on the guerillas from the west and the south.

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the probability of the United Kingdom joining it. We are trying our best to maintain our exports to the United Kingdom and to increase them in the area of the European Common Market. But the outlook is not a very happy one.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru



New Delhi
12 October, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,

I have been wanting to write to you for some time, ever since my return from abroad, to tell you not only about my impressions of the countries I visited, but more so about our own problems. I suppose there is little I can say about my tour to foreign countries which has not appeared in the press and of which you are not already informed.

2. As for our problems in India, they are troublesome enough. What requires the greatest attention is the progress of our Five Year Plan and, more especially, the rise in prices. Just before I went abroad, our Cabinet appointed some committees and asked the Planning Commission especially to look into these matters and report to us.¹ We expect to get their reports within a few days and then to consider them. As you will appreciate, these matters require the most careful consideration based on facts and not merely on theory. Hence, the delay in getting all these facts, etc. together.

3. The international situation continues to be full of tension, though I believe there is also a desire not to push it to the ultimate crisis. Probably, the two most important questions today which might give rise to further trouble are

1. In September, the Cabinet held discussions with the Planning Commission on price control. On 4 October, the Expert Advisory Committee on Economic Policy of the Planning Commission, consisting of D.R. Gadgil, M.L. Dantwala, V.K.R.V. Rao, P.S. Lokanathan and Bhabatosh Dutta, met in New Delhi to discuss immediate steps for holding the price line.

Berlin² and Cuba.³ In Yemen there has been a revolution,⁴ and the old Imam,⁵ the autocratic ruler, has been replaced by a more or less military government.⁶ This Government appears to be fairly firmly in the saddle, although Saudi Arabia and Jordan are opposed to it⁷ and would like to suppress it. The chances are that it will continue because it has already got the support not only of the U.A.R., but some other countries.⁸ In fact, there is some possibility of this revolutionary movement spreading to Saudi Arabia itself.

2. Tension in Berlin increased following the introduction of restrictions by East Berlin authorities on movement of civilians between the two sectors of the city. On 24 August 1962, Britain, France and the United States renewed their proposal of 25 June for a four-power meeting to defuse the situation, but the proposal was rejected by the Soviet Union on 29 August. On 3 October, the talks on this question between the American and Soviet Foreign Ministers ended in failure.

3. After U.S. aerial surveillance had discovered the Soviet missile and bomber bases in Cuba, President Kennedy ordered air and sea quarantine of Cuba to prevent shipment of arms to that country. On 5 September, Dean Rusk asked the Organization of American States to hold a Foreign Ministers' Conference and on 11 September the Soviet Union appealed to all nations to raise their voice against "American aggressors from staging a war." The next day, the United States described "the Soviet statement" as reflecting "a lust for power and disregard for truth."

4. On 27 September 1962, army officers in Yemen staged a *coup d'état* and proclaimed 'a free Yemen Republic'.

5. Imam Ahmed (1898-1962). Ruler of Yemen from 1949 till his death on 19 September 1962; was succeeded by Prince Muhammed al Badr who in fact was deposed in the *coup*.

6. On 28 September 1962, Col. Abdullah Al Sallal, former Chief of Muhammed's bodyguard, was appointed Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the new Republic of Yemen.

7. On 9 October 1962, King Hussein of Jordan promised support to Prince Hassan of Saudi Arabia in his efforts to restore the monarchy in Yemen. On 10 October, Radio Amman reported that Prince Hassan was advancing at the head of the armed forces towards Yemen.

8. In fact, on 4 October 1962, the U.A.R. and Yemen renewed the mutual defence pact of 1956 which called for mutual assistance in case of aggression against either country.

4. In Nepal, conditions have deteriorated fast.⁹ That is very unfortunate. We have tried our utmost to smooth the difficulties that had arisen between Nepal and India. Just before going abroad, I received a letter¹⁰ from the King¹¹ in which he accused us of arms-running into Nepal and otherwise encouraging the Nepalese rebels. I replied to him immediately¹² that what he had stated was not true. We had issued explicit instructions,¹³ which I believe have been followed, to the effect that no arms should be allowed to go into Nepal from India. From our information very few arms have gone, probably some individuals taking them by some bypath. Most of the arms that the Nepalese rebels possess, have been acquired from police posts and army posts in Nepal which were overpowered by them. I wrote to the King a friendly letter assuring him of our policy of non-interference in Nepal. In spite of this letter, a few days later, the Nepal King dismissed his Foreign Minister¹⁴ who was

9. In a Cabinet reshuffle on 22 September 1962, King Mahendra removed Rishikesh Shaha, the Foreign Minister, and appointed Tulsi Giri as Vice-Chairman and Biswa Bandhu Thapa as Home Minister. The press communique announcing the reshuffle charged that "anti-national elements have been receiving all kinds of aid, co-operation and facilities from India and that they enter fully armed into the Nepalese territory from their bases across the border, commit acts of arson, loot and murder and run back to their safe haven in India."

10. On 2 September 1962.

11. King Mahendra Bir Bikrama Shah Deva. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 148.

12. On 6 September 1962.

13. In his reply Nehru said that the Chief Minister of Bihar denied King Mahendra's accusation and assured the King that effective steps had been taken to "stop any persons wanting to make India the base of raids on Nepal."

14. Rishikesh Shaha (b. 1925). Nepalese politician and diplomat; Ambassador to U.S.A., 1958-60; Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, 1961-62, Foreign Affairs, June-September, 1962 when he went into exile; arrested on re-entry into Nepal in 1974 and 1977; author of several books including *Nepal and the World* (1954), and *Future of South Asia* (1986).

supposed to be perhaps slightly friendly to India, and issued a very provocative statement accusing India of various things. This statement was not based on any facts. We refrained, however, from replying to it, so as not to carry on this controversy. Our Ambassador¹⁵ in Kathmandu, however, pointed out to him the true facts.

5. Then occurred an incident at Raxaul¹⁶ on the border where some Nepalese people came and shot at and killed some persons in Indian territory and then escaped. The persons who did the shooting were recognized and their names were communicated to the Nepal Government. We asked for a joint enquiry into this incident.¹⁷ But the Nepal Government has sent us no answer to our request.¹⁸ Instead they have issued statements completely denying the facts and accusing India of various acts against them. In particular, they have accused us of stopping supplies from going to Nepal from India and thus blockading it. This was untrue. What happened was that people on our side of the border being greatly irritated at attacks on them from Nepal had for a while stopped some of the trucks, etc. going across.¹⁹ This had nothing to do with any Government order and, in fact, Government took steps soon after to let these trucks pass. But much was made of this incident, and newspapers of Nepal, which are of course Government sponsored, have

15. Harishwar Dayal (1915-1964). Joined I.C.S., 1937; Political Officer, Sikkim, 1948-52; Minister in the Embassy of India, Washington, 1956-59; Ambassador to Nepal, 1960-64.

16. On 29 September 1962.

17. On 4 October 1962.

18. Denying the Indian allegation as "false and baseless", the Nepal Government suggested on 16 October 1962 that a better and more effective method be devised through mutual discussions to inquire into border incidents.

19. Refuting the Nepalese allegation, the Indian Embassy in Nepal clarified on 4 October that a procession going up to the Indian border at Birganj had caused the stopping of trucks carrying petrol and other goods for Kathmandu.

been writing the most vituperative articles about India.²⁰ Meanwhile, the Chinese Foreign Minister²¹ stated²² that they were prepared to come to help Nepal if any other country attacked it. Obviously, the reference was to India.

6. This is a very disturbing situation. We have tried to remain calm about it because excitement does not do any good. The fact of the matter is that the economic and political situation in Nepal is progressively deteriorating and the King and his advisers, not knowing what to do, find a scapegoat in India and blame us. I hope that our restraint in the face of these provocations will help in easing the situation. But it is difficult to deal with persons who have developed a tremendous bias against us.

7. What I particularly want to draw your attention to is the dangerous situation that has arisen on our N.E.F.A. border with Tibet-China. Till last month N.E.F.A. was intact and free from any Chinese aggression except a small village on the border called Longju, which also had been vacated by the Chinese. On the 8th of September, some Chinese forces came down through the Thagla Pass and occupied a mile or two of territory there. This was a new development, and we had immediately to take steps to meet the situation that had arisen. As elsewhere the Chinese have an advantage of lines of communication. They have roads almost right up to the international frontier in Tibet, while our people have to go

20. For example, on 3 October 1962, the *Motherland* (Kathmandu) alleged that "for the third consecutive day since last Saturday, Indian officials continued their blockade of goods traffic to Nepal." It wrote editorially that "the events along the border are provocative enough for the Nepal Government to assume justifiably an aggressive mood."

21. Marshal Chen Yi (1901-1972). Chinese Army General; Commander, Third Field Army, 1948-49; Mayor, Shanghai, 1949-58; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1958-71.

22. He made this remark on 5 October 1962 at a reception at Beijing to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Nepalese Boundary Treaty.

through difficult mountain terrain for long distances. The normal altitudes of these places vary from 10,000 to 15,000 feet or more. We have taken steps to strengthen our position and to try to push the Chinese out. There have been a number of incidents involving firing at each other and resulting in some casualties on both sides. The latest one of these was two days ago²³ when there were about 11 killed on our side and about 10 or 11 wounded. On the Chinese side the casualties were much heavier, and probably about a hundred.

8. This incident and other facts brought to light that the Chinese had been strengthening their forces very considerably in this area. That is the present position. It is a difficult one chiefly because we have to supply our forces by air in very difficult terrain. Meanwhile winter is coming on fast. Both sides, of course, will be affected by these wintry conditions. It is exceedingly cold there and snow has started falling.

9. This situation in the North East Frontier is definitely a dangerous one, and it may lead to major conflicts. We shall, of course, try to do our best. But it seems likely that conflicts on a bigger scale might take place there. All this will involve a considerable additional burden on us. We cannot avoid it, and we have to face every danger to India and shoulder the burdens that this might involve. I would like you, therefore, to keep this in mind and be prepared for such burdens as we might have to carry.

10. The Chinese Government has been, more especially during the last three or four weeks, carrying on an intensive campaign in China against India accusing us of committing aggression on their territory. It is a little difficult to understand this charge or this reasoning. Quite apart from any claims that China may make, and we are convinced that

23. On 10 October 1962, the Chinese attacked the Indian outpost at Dhola.

these claims have no foundation, the patent fact is that the Chinese were not there, that is, across the McMahon Line, up to early in September. Thus their coming across the Pass then was a new move which can only be termed fresh aggression. While they commit aggression, they talk continuously of their wanting to have a peaceful settlement.²⁴ We, for our part, have pointed out that while we are always willing to talk and to have a peaceful settlement, this cannot be done till a climate is created for such talks.²⁵ Therefore, we had suggested that the representatives of the two countries might meet to discuss, to begin with, not the basic claims or positions of either party, but how to reduce this tension. Obviously there can be no such reduction when the Chinese continue committing aggression daily. Now, of course, with these petty conflicts going on in the N.E.F.A. border and the ever-present possibility of a large conflict, it has become still more difficult for us to sit down at the table to discuss our controversies.

11. I cannot obviously go into details about this position in the North East border. All I wish to impress upon you is that it is a very serious situation and that in any event, whatever may happen in the near future, we shall have to face this situation for a considerable time. That must involve a great burden on us for which we have to be prepared. That is the price we pay for our independence and integrity.

12. While we have to keep all this in mind, we should avoid saying or doing anything which creates any alarm in the minds of some of our people.

24. In a note on 13 September 1962 the Chinese Government proposed talks from 15 October, first in Beijing and then in Delhi, adding that "with a view to easing the border tension the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire border."

25. The Indian Government, in their reply on 1 October stated that "the Government of China, while repeating their professions for a peaceful settlement, are determined to do all they can to continue their aggressive activities and to alter by force the *status quo* of the boundary," and were using talks and discussions between the two Governments only as "a cloak to further their aggressive and expansionist aim."

13. I should like to say that even in the few conflicts we have had on the border, our Army has behaved with exemplary courage and our Air Force has carried out its task of dropping supplies from the air under very difficult circumstances with great ability in spite of the risks involved in it.

14. I am going today to Ceylon for four days. I shall return to Delhi on the 16th of October.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
21 October, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,*

The last two or three days have brought very disturbing news about the situation on our frontiers.¹ As I write to you, we have not yet received any accurate information of this situation. But it is clear that the Chinese forces have attacked us all along the frontier in the N.E.F.A. and Ladakh in great numbers² and have dislodged positions that our forces had taken up at various places. They have been advancing. We do not yet know what our casualties or the Chinese casualties have been. But one of our helicopters used for removal of casualties has been shot down, and another is missing. In the Ladakh sector, one of our transport planes was shot at by the Chinese, but managed to return safely to its base.

The Chinese are issuing statement after statement trying to show that it was the Indian forces that organized a large scale attack on them in all the sectors and that they acted

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. On 16 October 1962, the Chinese attacked Indian forces in Dhola area of N.E.F.A.

2. On 20 October 1962, China mounted a massive attack on N.E.F.A. along a 12-mile sector. Indian posts were overwhelmed by about 20,000 Chinese troops, who attacked them with heavy mortars and machine guns. Khinzemane and Dhola Posts were captured and Chip Chap in Ladakh was under heavy fire. Indian supply planes were also attacked.

only in defence.³ It is amazing to what lengths the Chinese are going in disseminating utterly false accounts. In view of the overwhelming forces that the Chinese had with them, accompanied by artillery, mountain guns and automatics, we could not afford to carry out any large scale attack. Our instructions were to defend our line to the best of our ability.

As a matter of fact, the Chinese Government issued a statement at about 7 a.m. (Beijing time) on the 20th October stating that the Indian forces had attacked them in large numbers. It was only some time after this that the major attack of the Chinese started. It has become a habit for the Chinese to blame others for what they propose to do.

Anyhow, the fact remains that Chinese have attacked us with overwhelming strength and fire power, and this had led to a grave setback to our forces in N.E.F.A. where they have captured some of our posts and driven back our forces. In the Ladakh sector, some of our minor posts have also been captured by them. The position is a fluid one, rather to our disadvantage.

We are taking all possible steps to check this Chinese advance and have sent additional forces there. It is clear that the situation that has arisen is one of gravity and danger to India and its integrity.

It would be foolish for me to prophesy what further developments may take place in the near future. But about one thing we are certain: that we must throw all our strength and determination in resisting this blatant attack and aggression on India by the Chinese. We propose to do so. At

3. For example, on 20 October 1962, the Chinese Ministry of Defence alleged that Indian troops had initiated an "all out attack" on the border with China and their frontier guards had "defeated the many attacks by Indian troops" and "recovered Khinzemane, Chedong and Kalung." On 21 October, New China News Agency claimed that its troops "recovered" seven posts from "aggressive Indian troops."

the same time, it must be realized that the situation before us is a difficult one and that it is likely to continue for a long time. Indeed, we must be prepared for a lengthy struggle which will affect India in various ways, even apart from the purely military aspect of it.

We have not declared war against China and we do not intend doing so at present or in the foreseeable future. Any such declaration of war is not beneficial to us in any way and would lead to far-reaching consequences. But the fact is that we are in military conflict with the Chinese, and all the consequences of this conflict will be borne by us. We have thus to prepare ourselves in every way not only to carry on this conflict to its successful conclusion, but also to face the other consequences that may arise from it. Whatever happens, we cannot surrender to the Chinese aggression or bow down to it. However long time it may take us, we shall fight with all our strength against this outrageous aggression on our territory.

The Chinese go on making statements which are so manifestly false that it is difficult to keep pace with this distortion of facts. They say that we have committed aggression on their territory, that our military aircrafts are being used in the fighting, and that they had not crossed the McMahon Line which now, according to them, is not the high Himalayan watershed that we claim, but somewhat further south. It is apparently their habit to consider every place that they have occupied by aggression as their territory. That fact is that neither our soldiers nor our planes have gone into Chinese territory or air space. Further, that no military aircraft has been used in these border encounters. We have used transport planes and helicopters to drop supplies or to remove casualties.

As for the so-called McMahon Line, it is clearly stated in the old Treaty that the high ridge of the watershed of the Himalayas is the international frontier.⁴ The map

4. As confirmed by the tripartite agreement between Britain, Tibet and China of 3 July 1914, the International Boundary runs along the crest of the Himalayas from the north-east corner of Bhutan to Isu Razi Pass in North Burma.

attached to the Treaty is on a very small scale, and the line drawn covers a few miles in that scale. It is quite absurd to say that, in spite of the clear definition in the Treaty, the actual frontier is further south of it because the line covers a few miles in a small-scale map.

Apart from this, we have been long in possession of this area and the Treaty itself is nearly 50 years old.

But I need not go into these arguments because you know them and do not require to be convinced. The position now is that a full-scale invasion by Chinese forces is taking place both in the eastern border and the northern, and we have to face it, whatever ups and downs there may be in the struggle.

It is a tragedy that we who have stood for peace everywhere, should be attacked in this way and be compelled to resist attack by arms. But there is no help for it. No self-respecting nation can tolerate this kind of aggression, and we will certainly not do so. I cannot say how long it may take us to clear our territory from the aggressors. However long that may be, we have to work to that end with resolution and the determination to achieve our objective.

It is not enough for us to say that and to shout slogans. We have to prepare for it and throw in all our strength and resources. We have been too long used to a relatively quiet and peaceful life and are not accustomed to meet such situations with speed. Even in the last two great wars, India did not come into the picture much although our soldiers took part in them. We have now to face a dangerous crisis, such as we have not had since Independence. Our procedures are slow-moving. These have to be vitalized and speeded up. No military struggle can be carried on with slow civil procedures. We shall have to spend much money in procuring supplies and in adding to our forces.

We shall have to think of the economic aspect of all this and to introduce measures to control any untoward development. I am writing to you now in barest outline of the problem that faces us and asking you to make your colleagues and others realize the significance of it. We have

to concentrate on this great struggle which threatens our integrity and freedom. Everything else will have to take second place. This is a matter which cannot be dealt with on party lines. It is a supreme national issue, and every person who is an Indian must realize his duty in this crisis. We must, therefore, concentrate on building up this unity to face this invasion of India and try to put aside, as far as we can, controversial matters. We have to create a sensation all over India that we stand together to oppose this invasion and shall continue to do so till we have freed India from the aggressor. This may be a long process. But, however long it may be and whatever temporary reverses we may suffer from, we must be determined to win.

We have felt no ill will against the Chinese people. In international matters, we have often helped the Chinese Government. It has been a matter of great grief to me that, in spite of our friendly attitude to them, the Chinese Government should have paid us back by aggression and calumny. The Chinese newspapers are full of the utmost vituperation against India and the Government of India.

I do not want even now for us to indulge in calumny and vituperation, or to encourage hatred against a people. We must view the situation calmly and without panic or hysteria. But that calmness must be accompanied by a firm determination. China is a great and powerful country with enormous resources. But India is no weak country to be frightened by threats and military might. We shall build up our strength, both military and economic, to win this battle of Indian freedom. We shall always be willing to negotiate a peace, but that can only be on condition that aggression is vacated.⁵ We can never submit or surrender to aggression.

5. On 16 October 1962, the Indian Government pointed out to the Chinese Government, that it was still open to them, if their repeated professions of resolving the differences peacefully by discussions had any meaning, to direct their forces which had occupied the territory south of the Thag La Ridge to return to its northern side.

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That has not been our way, and that will not be our way in the future.

We shall have to take measures in regard to prices going up, etc. I would like you to think about these matters also and be wide awake so that no untoward happening takes place. There must, of course, be no panicky reactions to events. That is a sign of weakness.

Above all, I would beg of you to avoid controversial issues and to concentrate on the unity of the nation and our united resolve to meet this menace together and with full strength. I am sure that all parties will feel this way. It is always to be stressed that this is a national issue demanding the service of every Indian, to whatever group or party he might belong.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
22 December, 1962

My dear Chief Minister,

In the two months or so since I wrote to you last, events have happened on our borders which have shaken up the whole country¹ and left an unpleasant memory behind. Suddenly the entire country realized that the Chinese incursion was no mere frontier incident but a major invasion. Not only the integrity of India was threatened, but even our independence was menaced.

2. That was bad. The reaction in the country, however, was most heartening. Suddenly our petty controversies, divisions and all the fissiparous tendencies stopped and there was a remarkable unity which one saw and sensed over the entire country. It is from the way the nation behaves, when peril threatens it, that the quality of the people is judged. We realized, even as grave threats faced us, that the quality of our people was excellent. If that was so, as it is, then everything else was secondary, and we had nothing ultimately to fear. Perhaps, as I said in the Lok Sabha,² this sudden and callous invasion of India by the Chinese, returning evil for good, would benefit our country. More and more I have felt so, and therefore I have no feeling of depression; rather I have been

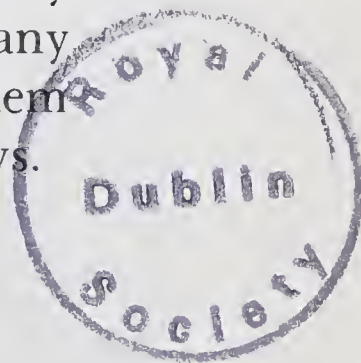
1. On 20 October, the Chinese forces launched major attacks on Indian positions in both the eastern and the western sectors and almost all the Indian forward positions were overrun within days. On 21 November, the Chinese declared a ceasefire and announced the withdrawal from 1 December of their forces by 20 kilometres.

2. On 2 November 1962.

feeling a sense of joy and satisfaction that we have to face this crisis as a united people and with good heart. I feel confident that we shall emerge out of it stronger in every way, and chastened by what we have experienced and will experience.

3. Many guesses and surmises have been made about the motives behind the Chinese aggressive action. Merely to say that it is the desire for conquest is not an adequate answer. I shall deal with this a little more fully later in this letter.

4. For the present, you must be specially interested to know what the situation is now and how it is likely to develop. I cannot, of course, speak with any measure of certainty and, in any event, one thing is certain that we have to prepare and strengthen ourselves as rapidly as possible, both for any happenings in the near future as well as afterwards. At present, there is a ceasefire and withdrawal of the Chinese. The withdrawal has largely taken place, though not completely. This ceasefire and withdrawal were unilaterally declared by the Chinese. Some people said that we should reject them.³ It is not quite clear what they meant by it. Obviously, we cannot object to the Chinese withdrawal from our territory. The more they withdraw the better. As for the ceasefire, we could not very well say that this should not take place and that we shall immediately continue to fight on. Strictly from our points of view, military and other, we wanted time to prepare ourselves for the future conflict that might take place. It would have been foolish and militarily unwise for us to continue fighting just then. We have taken advantage of this gap period and, to a considerable extent, strengthened ourselves. I do not think there is any possibility in the near future of the Chinese attacking us with any success. We can certainly hold them and possibly push them back even now. As more time elapses, our strength grows.



3. For example, A.V. Nath Pai of the Praja Socialist Party on 25 November, and Atal Behari Vajpayee of Bharatiya Jan Sangh on 9 December suggested rejection of the ceasefire proposals.

5. The question, therefore, is not of our acceptance or rejection of the Chinese ceasefire and withdrawal, but rather of our not preventing this. What we objected to were certain conditions attached to this by the Chinese.⁴ It was not quite clear what these were, and so we asked for clarifications. When these came, even then there were many snags in it which we could not accept.⁵ The matter rests there. That is, we have not accepted the Chinese proposals, but we have not impeded in any way the ceasefire or the withdrawal.

6. Meanwhile, a new development took place. This was the Colombo Conference of six so-called unaligned powers in Colombo.⁶ We have received the recommendations of this

4. On 1 December 1962, Nehru in his reply to Zhou's letter of 28 November 1962 stated that while the Chinese Premier had mentioned in his letter that the measures the Chinese Government had decided to take were not conditional on simultaneous corresponding measures by the Indian side, yet, later in his message he stated that withdrawal by China alone of its frontier guards beyond 20 kilometres on its side of the 1959 line of actual control could not ensure the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides, nor prevent the recurrence of border clashes. "On the contrary, in case the Indian side should refuse to cooperate, even the ceasefire which has been effected is liable to be upset. These observations appear to be contradictory."

5. On 9 December, India stated that instead of clarifying or offering fresh arguments, China had rejected India's demand for withdrawal of both the forces beyond the 8 September 1962 line and had also refused to consider any proposition other than her three-point proposal, based on its own interpretation of the so-called "line of actual control" as on 7 November 1959. On 22 November, the three-point proposal made by China was: ceasefire, withdrawal of forces, and top-level Sino-Indian talks without prejudicing the claims of either side in subsequent negotiations.

6. Held from 9 to 12 December 1962, the six nations represented at the conference in Colombo were the U.A.R., Sri Lanka, Kampuchea, Burma, Indonesia and Ghana.

Conference,⁷ but to that is added an urgent request to keep them secret till the Prime Minister of Ceylon⁸ comes to Delhi on the 10th January and discusses the matter with us. Before that she will go to Peking.⁹ We shall naturally give careful thought to what the Colombo Conference says. Their recommendations are by no means clear in every respect and are liable to varying interpretations. We must know exactly what their meaning and implications are before we can decide what our line of action will be. That is the present position.

7. It is highly probable that there will be no military conflict, therefore, for the next three weeks or so at least. For some time after that, such a conflict is unlikely because the affected areas are in the depth of winter. That need not prevent any development in the nature of a military conflict and we should be ready for any such occurrence. But this is unlikely.

8. Thus, we have to speed up all our preparations and be ready all the time for conflict if it occurs. Normally, the winter period will be one of continuing ceasefire and we should take full advantage of this. It is just possible that other developments might take place which may lengthen this period.

7. The recommendations, with subsequent clarifications as communicated to the Indian Government, envisaged that, without prejudice to the final alignment or the claims of the two sides, in the western sector, the Chinese should withdraw twenty kilometres and the Indian forces should not move forward though civilian posts may be established by both sides in the demilitarized zone; in the middle sector, the minor points of dispute should be settled peacefully; and in the eastern sector, India could move up to the line of actual control, that is the McMahon line, except in the Thagla and Longju areas.

8. Sirimavo Bandaranaike (b. 1917). Wife of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka (d. 1959); President, Sri Lanka Freedom Party, 1960; Prime Minister, 1960-65 and 1970-77. Visited New Delhi on this occasion from 10 to 15 January 1963.

9. She visited Beijing from 27 December 1962 to 9 January 1963.

9. A great deal has been said about the unpreparedness of our Army. This may be partly true but the general impression created on this subject is, I think, not true. Why then did our armed forces suffer serious reverses? People talk about lack of proper arms or even warm clothing, etc. It is true that our Army did not possess automatic weapons, in the sense of automatic rifles, though they had other automatic weapons like machine guns of various kinds. They had also the normal winter clothing. Unfortunately, some difficulty was experienced in sending them further winter outfits because everything we sent had to be dropped from the air and as the terrain was very mountainous with deep precipices, many of the air droppings were lost and could not be recovered. But, on the whole, it could not be said that lack of winter clothing or modern arms had any very great effect.
10. As for arms, our Army had the well-known 303 rifle which is still used by most countries and is a good rifle. Even in Great Britain, till the present year, the changeover to automatic rifles had not been completed. It is a lengthy process for a whole Army. We had begun the process of manufacturing these automatic rifles in India two or three years ago. It is now bearing fruit and will progressively supply us with more and more such rifles. As even that is not enough for the near future, we are importing as many as we can get from abroad, together with other weapons.
11. It seems to me that the major reasons for our reverses were the choice of the terrain on which we had to fight the Chinese. This was all to the advantage of the enemy and very disadvantageous for us, the main disadvantage for us being that there was no easy access to it by road or other means of communications. We had thus to send everything by dropping from the air. This included ammunition, other supplies, clothing, etc. Our Air Force did a very fine job of work, but this lack of proper communications was a great disadvantage. The Chinese, on the other hand, had easy communications behind them as the road system in Tibet came right up to our frontier. Looked at from a purely military

point of view, we should have selected a much more effective line of defence which was connected by road at least to our main supply centres. This, however, would have entailed retiring to our own territory and allowing the Chinese to march along it without major fighting. Although this was the wiser thing to do, it was not a pleasant course to follow.

12. A second major disadvantage to our Army was the fact that our forces had been sent rather hurriedly from low altitudes near sea level to an altitude of about 14,000 feet. Anyone who has done any mountaineering knows the effect of this sudden change to high altitudes. It produces severe headaches and sleepless nights and generally devitalizes one. It is always desirable to acclimatize people at various stages before they reach the high altitude. We could not do so because the Chinese had already crossed our border and were massing their forces there.

13. It may be said that we ought to have thought of this and placed our forces at that high altitude long before. Even that was not very feasible because that would have meant supplying them with everything a large Army wanted by air dropping. The only course was to build up good roads right up to the frontier. This was undertaken two years or more ago and many roads have been built. But the process was not completed. The terrain is difficult and road building requires high engineering skill. It takes time.

14. It is interesting to note the difference in the fighting quality of our troops in Ladakh and those in N.E.F.A. In Ladakh they had been acclimatized to the high altitudes for some time past. They fought, therefore, extraordinarily well and inflicted very heavy casualties on the Chinese. Even when they had to withdraw because of superior numbers of the Chinese, they did so gradually and did not allow the Chinese forces to advance much. In N.E.F.A. they had not been acclimatized and could not fight as they normally do.

15. It is easy to be wise after the event. It is easier to criticize what has happened. But I do think that the two major causes for our reverses were those two that I have mentioned. Some

of our Generals have been heavily criticized and have been retired from Service.¹⁰ Many unkind things are said about them without much justification. It was right perhaps that they offered their resignation as honourable men. But the fault was hardly theirs. The faults, such as occurred, were of the local Commanders of Brigades and the like who had to decide on the spur of the moment what they should do when they were being overwhelmed by large numbers of the enemy. The Chief of the Army Staff¹¹ and the Army Commander¹² who have resigned could hardly be said to be directly responsible. They were competent and brave men and it is very unfair to them to accuse them for something that was due to a large number of circumstances, many of them outside their control.

16. There was also the fact that the Chinese, after many long years of warfare, are experts at mountain fighting and have been trained specially for this purpose. Their methods of fighting are a mixture of regular orthodox warfare and guerilla war. In Korea, with much worse weapons, they showed what they could do against armies which had the latest modern weapons. Since then the Chinese had got much better weapons and had perfected their methods of mountain warfare. It is evident that they had been preparing for some such invasion for a long time past in Tibet. They had accumulated large supplies and their troops were living all the time at a high altitude.

10. On 20 November 1962 Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that Lt. Gen. J.N. Chaudhuri, GOC-in-C, Southern Command, had taken over as Chief of the Army Staff from Gen. P.N. Thapar. On 29 November, Maj. Gen. S.H.F.J. Manekshaw succeeded Lt. Gen. B.M. Kaul as Corps Commander.

11. General P.N. Thapar (1906-1975). Commissioned in Indian Army, 1926; Chief of Army Staff, 1961-62; Ambassador to Afghanistan, 1964.

12. General B.M. Kaul (1912-1972). Commissioned in Indian Army, 1933; Quarter Master General, 1959-61; Coordinator of Goa operation, 1961; Chief of General Staff, 1961; Corps Commander in North East Frontier Agency, 1962.

17. We have learnt by our experiences and misfortunes and we shall take good care that they do not repeat themselves. The present position is, as I have said above, that our armies, both in N.E.F.A. and Ladakh, hold their positions strongly and even if the Chinese attack them where they are, the positions would still be held. There is no chance, as far as one can see, of any further retreat by our forces. Assam, therefore, is safe from any invasion and as the days go by, our strength increases. Meanwhile, we are not only raising additional forces of various kinds, but also adding as speedily as we can to our equipment and fighting apparatus. For the present, we have to get much of this fighting material from abroad and we are doing so. But, real strength can only come from our manufacturing and producing all this equipment in our own country.

18. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that our manufacture of munitions and other war material should be speeded up as rapidly as possible. At the same time, we shall continue trying to get such material as we require and as is available from abroad. There is a slight danger of the tempo of our work gradually becoming slower because the excitement of day to day fighting may not be there to keep up the sense of urgency. We have to guard against it because the danger that threatens us is not of today or tomorrow, but will last a considerable time, whether there is actual fighting or not. We can afford to take no more risks for the future.

19. What were the motives that drove the Chinese to attack us in a big way? To say that this was just a desire to expand their territories or to take possession of the areas they claimed is not wholly an adequate answer, though there is something in it. Countries do not take such action involving dangerous consequences without a much deeper reason. The world today is in a state of cold war between the two major blocs of nations led respectively by the Soviet Union and the United States of America, both of which are nuclear powers, with a tremendous capacity for destruction. A certain balance of terror has been struck up between them

which exercises a restraining influence, but which also brings the ever-present danger of deliberate move or an accident which might bring nuclear war and the ultimate catastrophe. Between these two blocs, there is fear on both sides resulting in an attempt at continuous arming with the latest weapons of mass destruction. There are also attempts being made at some approach to a peaceful settlement of the problems that face them. Recently, we came very near to a nuclear war over Cuba.¹³ It almost seemed for a few days that at any moment the atomic and hydrogen bombs might start bursting in various parts of the world bringing death and destruction to millions or even perhaps hundreds of millions. Fortunately, that crisis passed because both of the major parties concerned wanted to avoid such a war.¹⁴ Ever since then there has been a certain relaxation of tension, though that is not very great yet. Still it is noticeable, and for the first time in many years the hopes of people are reviving.

20. Besides these two major blocs of heavily armed powers there are a number, and a growing number of countries, weak in armed power but still exercising some influence in favour of peace. Perhaps they cannot by themselves make the ultimate decision in favour of peace. But they can and they have in the past made just that little difference which prevents a war from breaking out. They have become symbols, to some extent, of peaceful co-existence and their policy of non-alignment to military blocs has gradually been appreciated more and more even by the big blocs. Both the United States of America and the Soviet Union have appreciated this policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, even though they cannot adopt it for themselves because of their fear of each other. And yet, inevitably almost

13. See *ante*, p. 527.

14. In his letters to Kennedy on 26 and 27 October, Khrushchev proposed removal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba, withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Turkey and fulfilment of these pledges to be supervised by the Security Council. The Cuban crisis was defused on 28 October 1962 when the Soviet Union agreed to dismantle its bases following mediation by U Thant, Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations.

the world moves towards peaceful co-existence and should ultimately realize that objective unless war overwhelms it before that realization comes.

21. While some individuals in either group of countries may think and behave like war-mongers, the fact is that most countries or nearly all, including the leaders of the two blocs, do not want a war and would welcome some peaceful arrangement. The hunger for disarmament is itself witness of this urge.

22. But to this desire for peace and co-existence there is one major exception, and that is China. China has repudiated the doctrine of peaceful co-existence,¹⁵ even though sometimes it repeats it. It believes in the inevitability of war and, therefore, does not want the tensions in the world to lessen. It dislikes non-alignment and it would much rather have a clear polarization of the different countries in the world. It is not afraid even of a nuclear war because as it is often said, they can afford to lose a few hundred million people and yet have enough numbers left.¹⁶

23. Because of this difference of opinion, there is a wide and growing rift between the Soviet Union and China, even though they are military allies. They condemn bitterly each other's policies. It is obviously of high importance to the world as to how far this rift has gone and whether ultimately it will result in a complete break. Every chancellery in the world is deeply interested in this and tries to find out what the exact relationship of the two great countries is. Latterly,

15. For example, on 15 November 1962, the *People's Daily*, editorially condemned the policy of peaceful co-existence as a big 'humbug' and declared that revolution alone was "the locomotive of history."

16. Mao Zedong, giving his version in Moscow on 18 November 1957 of the discussion with Nehru in October 1954 on this subject, had said: "I had an argument about this with Nehru. In this respect he is more pessimistic than I am. I told him that if half of humanity is destroyed the other half will still remain but imperialism will be destroyed entirely and there will be only socialism in all the world, and within half a century, or a whole century, the population will again increase by even more than half..." See J. Gittings, *Survey of the Sino-Soviet Dispute* (Oxford, 1968), p. 83.

this inner conflict has come out into the open, and there has been much public cursing of each other.¹⁷

24. China, for all its belligerency and the progress it has made in the past dozen years, is still by and large an undeveloped country and during the last three years or so, has had bad harvests. This has weakened it greatly although its war apparatus may for the present be fairly strong. It realizes, however, that strength comes from industrial development and this is a difficult and slow process. However hard it may work, it requires a great deal of aid from outside. The only country from which it can get substantial aid is the Soviet Union; to some extent also from the East European Communist countries. Russia's softening down, in its opinion, in revolutionary ardour and its thinking of peace and peaceful co-existence, more and more annoys China greatly. This is partly because of their ideological differences, partly also because this leads Russia to help India and like countries in their industrial development. To that extent Russia cannot help China, and indeed because of ideological differences, it has stopped helping it at all and has withdrawn all its technicians and experts from China.¹⁸ Many of the factories built with Russian help now lie deserted in China.

17. On 12 December 1962, Khrushchev condemned the Chinese leadership for taking the "Trotskyite position" and alienating the people all over the Communist world by using force to attain their goal. The Supreme Soviet criticized the Chinese for preaching war elsewhere but themselves "tolerating colonial repression in Macao and Hong Kong." On 15 December, the *People's Daily* decried attempts by the "self-styled Marxist-Leninists" to "cast Marxism-Leninism to the wind," and for "never bothering to analyze from the class-point of Marxism-Leninism the Nehru Government's reactionary policy of provoking the Sino-Indian boundary conflict."

18. With the Chinese intrusions into Soviet territory and rejection of several technical and economic agreements with Moscow, Sino-Soviet differences had become pronounced by 1960. On the eve of the Moscow Conference of fraternal parties in November 1960, Beijing called for immediate revision of all the previously concluded protocols in scientific and economic matters between the two countries and drastically reduced the volume of trade with the Soviet Union.

25. It was possible for China to fall into line with Russian thinking and present policy, and thus perhaps get more aid. But they are too proud to do this and trained too much in the old revolutionary tradition to accept defeat in this matter. What else then could they do? The other course was to heighten tensions in the world and to make non-alignment and peaceful co-existence more and more difficult to maintain. This was a direct assault on Russian policy. It can only be indulged in if they demonstrate that there was no such thing as real non-alignment by breaking those countries which practise it, and thus by increasing the polarization of the world. India was said to be the chief non-aligned country in the world, and a country which constantly preached the virtues of peaceful co-existence. If India could be humiliated and defeated and perhaps even driven into the other camp of the Western Powers, that would be the end of non-alignment for other countries also, and Russia's policy would have been broken down. The cold war would be at its fiercest and Russia would be compelled then to help China to a much greater degree and to withdraw help from the nations that did not side with it completely in the cold war.

26. This had also the advantage of frightening many of the smaller non-aligned countries which would have to choose between one bloc and the other. China's position would then become much stronger in Asia and her policy would have triumphed in the Communist world. Therefore, India had to be dealt with in furtherance of this wider policy and humiliated and forced either into joining the Western Bloc or into submitting to China. This submission does not mean physical domination but more of a mental surrender.

27. If this reasoning is correct, then India became the stumbling block to China in the furtherance of its wider policy. The removal of India as a power which has become an obstacle in the way of China becoming a great power, became the primary objective of Chinese policy, and the elimination of non-alignment became particularly important from China's viewpoint. China wanted to show

that Soviet policy was wrong.¹⁹ If this could be demonstrated then the Communist countries and those that followed them would veer round to the Chinese point of view and a hegemony of that bloc would be created. At the same time, the Asian and African countries would have to choose one way or the other. Many of them would be frightened of China. In this state of affairs, China would get much more help from the Soviet and allied countries and her industrialization would proceed more rapidly. If war comes, well and good. If it does not come, the strength of the Communist and allied bloc would grow and there would be interdependence of Soviet Union and China.

28. This analysis of course is a limited one. There are other factors which work too. The internal difficulties in China have made it more rash and adventurist and the extreme elements in the Government there have taken control. They see that unless some such action is taken and China's industrial progress speeded up very greatly, it will weaken and the pace of progress will slow down. The only way, therefore, to prevent this is to create a situation in which the Soviet Union would be forced to come to China's help. In order to do this, India appeared to be the safest target for the present.

29. In the world today there is increasing realization that nuclear war is a tremendous threat to humanity and that a way should be found of removing this threat and diverting human resources and energies to more constructive channels. China alone has rejected this theory and their

19. On 15 December 1962, *People's Daily* violently protested against the attacks by Soviet-led European Communist Parties and renewed its call for a world meeting of Communist Parties to resolve the quarrel which it said threatened international communism. It defended the use of force in the Sino-Indian border issue and accused the Soviet Union of pretending to be neutral "while actually regarding the Indian reactionary group as their kinsmen."

whole emphasis is on war and violence and on bringing about changes by revolutionary means including, if necessary, a nuclear war. Gradually China has seen that this is getting less likely and a sense of frustration has filled her. The fact of countries like India progressing and developing by other means is a challenge to her and she wants to stop this trend. The border dispute with India, however important, was relatively easy to solve, but this dispute was kept alive and the attack on India was part of a larger design to humiliate India and bring pressure on the Soviets and create discord among the unaligned countries, and thus weaken the more progressive forces in the Soviet Union itself. The Chinese have come out with a new thesis which is mainly directed against India and against the Soviet Union which has looked upon India as a country helpful in the larger sense, for furthering the cause of peace and co-existence.

30. This is the broad analysis of the situation which the Yugoslav Vice-President,²⁰ who is here in India at present,²¹ has given. He is a very able man with a great deal of experience of international affairs. Yugoslavia being a Communist country, and yet unaligned, and having fairly close contacts with both blocs, has been in a good position to judge trends in world politics. Curiously enough, over seven weeks ago, a very able Arab leader, who is not a Communist at all, gave me the same appraisal of the situation. He felt that the policy China is pursuing in India was very harmful to the Arab countries as well as other unaligned countries and he was anxious that this real objective of China should be appreciated by these other unaligned countries. He suggested to us then, and this was very early in November last, that we should approach the Arab and other countries and discuss this aspect of the

20. Edvard Kardelj (1910-1979). Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, 1948-53; Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist League, Yugoslavia, 1948-66; Member, Executive Bureau of the Presidium, 1969.

21. From 18 to 27 December 1962.

question with them, so that they might not be led away by Chinese propaganda.

31. I think there is a great deal of truth in what the Yugoslav Vice-President and the Arab leader said to me. The situation is of course a more complicated one and cannot easily be explained by looking at only some aspects of it. But I do think that basically this appraisal is a correct one. This leads us to consider what our policy should be, apart of course from resisting China with all our strength. We have to adhere to non-alignment fully and we have not to put Russia and China in the same basket. That would be utter folly and would be playing in China's hands, just as our giving up non-alignment would be falling into the Chinese trap completely.

32. This analysis of the situation is partly supported by the assessment made by the United States though of course there are some differences in approach. Even according to the latter, the attack on India, partly at least, is a vicarious assault on Khrushchev's position. China was, of course, irritated at India not falling in line with her wishes in many ways. They were angry at our attitude towards Tibet, to our giving asylum to the Dalai Lama and others, to our strong attitude in regard to our frontier and generally to our opposing many of the contentions advanced by China. The actual time of the attack came after there was some relief from the very difficult food position in China. China had hoped that the Communist Party in India would support it and other disruptive tendencies would weaken India. For some time past, they had written off India as a backward and reactionary country, depending on the imperialist powers. China's dispute with the Soviet Union was largely due to the Soviet Union's different concept of India.

33. In spite of some early military successes, China was greatly disappointed at the reaction in India to its aggression. Instead of weakening, India became more unified and stronger. The Communist Party, for various

reasons, sided wholly with Indian nationalism²² and condemned the Chinese aggression and Russia continued its broad policy towards India. The Indian Communist Party, in Chinese eyes, became also reactionary. Instead of India crumbling down before the Chinese attack and prepared to accept almost any terms that China may lay down, India thought in terms of a long struggle, of a long campaign and of no submission, whatever the cost. All this went against Chinese thinking and anticipations. They were not prepared and did not intend a continuously long campaign. They had peculiar difficulties to face because of the distance of the scene of action from China. All supplies had to come from two to three thousand miles and one thousand of these had to come by road. Previously, they had stocked up and accumulated supplies in Tibet for their invasion of India. It was another matter for them to have to face this question of supplies continuously. This was perhaps one reason why they had their ceasefire and withdrawal.

34. If Russia was the main object of attack by China, then they have failed completely. The Soviet Union has become even more anti-China than it was and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe, with the exception of little Albania,²³ are following Soviet Union's lead. Rumania is particularly bitter against China. It is important to remember that the only sources of supply of oil and petroleum

22. On 1 November 1962, in a resolution, the Communist Party of India branded China the aggressor, supported Nehru's terms for negotiations, and rejected the Chinese charge that Nehru was the leader of the 'reactionaries' and 'expansionists' and his Government was acting as a tool of U.S.A. to secure more aid. On 2 December, the Party accused China of launching a "full-scale invasion" of India after deliberate preparation and supported Nehru's stand that no negotiations could take place until the *status quo* of 8 September 1962 had been restored.

23. On 27 November Haxhi Lleshi, the Albanian President, called Khrushchev a traitor and demagogue, ready to surrender communism to the capitalists.

products, apart from some indigenous production, are the Soviet Union and Rumania. It is fairly well-known that the Soviet Union has exercised considerable pressure on China in regard to their aggression on India. This may also have had some effect on their declaring ceasefire.

35. China has been very careful of maintaining a fiction of reasonableness, of willingness to negotiate and even of being the victim of aggression. They continue repeating *panchsheel* or the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, even though they have broken them in every way. This, however, indicates that they attach value to the effect they produce on other Asian and African countries.

36. I have laid stress on the necessity of our strengthening ourselves in every way to meet this menace of China, whatever developments the near future might bring about. This must be our firm and continuing policy. We shall, of course, get such military hardware and equipment from our friends abroad as we can. But it must be remembered always that the real strength of a nation does not depend on gift or loan of arms from abroad but on its own production. In fact, it is the industrial capacity of a country that makes it strong. Therefore, it becomes of the utmost importance for us to strengthen our industrial base, more particularly with a view to the production of military equipment. Unless we do this, we shall remain weak and dependent on others. That indeed was the basic purpose of the Five Year Plans. While those Plans may undergo some variations, the agricultural and industrial advance contemplated by them has to be made good.

37. An able British economist said the other day that military and like preparations represented the top of an iceberg which shows above water. The real and biggest part of the iceberg is under water. That represents the industrial and agricultural base. Unless that base is strong, the top is not stable. We have always to remember this and build up a strong base.

38. Below even that strong industrial and agricultural base

is the general morale of the country which is absolutely essential. I think we can say with confidence that this general morale is in very good shape and we can, therefore, face the future with confidence.

39. Some critics of our policy want us to give up non-alignment and definitely want us to join the Western military bloc,²⁴ thus depending completely upon it for our defence. That would be completely wrong and harmful, both from the point of view of the analysis given above and because that would create a sense of dependence in the country and weaken it.

40. I have already written a very long letter to you, although much remains to be said. I shall briefly refer to Indo-Pakistan problems, notably Kashmir. In another four days' time, Sardar Swaran Singh²⁵ will lead a delegation to Rawalpindi to discuss these problems.²⁶ We realize that this is not a good time to have such a conference because the Pakistan press and leading politicians have vitiated the atmosphere by wild abuse and attacks on India.²⁷ Nevertheless, we have agreed to go and to try our best to arrive at some reasonable settlement. It is clear, however, that we cannot agree to anything which is against our basic principles and ultimately injures the cause of Indo-Pakistan friendship.

24. For example, on 23 November 1962, C. Rajagopalachari addressing the students in Madras, said that non-alignment had no meaning any longer, and called for a positive alliance with the Western Powers.

25. (b. 1907). Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1946-52; Member, Partition Committee, 1947; Union Minister, Works, Housing and Supply, 1952-57, Steel, Mines and Fuel, 1957-62, Railways, 1962-63, Food and Agriculture, 1963-64, Industry, 1964, External Affairs, 1970-74 and of Defence, 1966-70 and 1974-75.

26. Soon after the ceasefire, Averell Harriman, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, and Duncan Sandys, Britain's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, visited Rawalpindi and New Delhi and secured from Nehru and Ayub an agreement on 29 November 1962 to start talks on Kashmir and the related issues. The first ministerial-level talks on Kashmir were held at Rawalpindi from 27 to 29 December 1962.

27. See *ante*, p. 522.

41. The New Year is almost upon us and as far as we can see, it will bring many difficulties and troubles to us. Yet, I have a feeling of confidence and a belief that we shall survive all these difficulties and become stronger in the end. That feeling is based not on some mere wishful thinking and sentiment but on an attempt at a clear analysis of our own country and of the world situation. Ultimately it rests on my faith in the Indian people.

42. I send you my good wishes for the New Year and I hope that during this year we shall work hard, all together, and move towards the realization of the objectives and ideals we aim at.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
1 January, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

The main purpose of my writing to you today, which is New Year's Day, is to send you and the people of your State my greetings and all good wishes for the New Year. 1962 turned out to be an unhappy year for us. I hope and believe that the year beginning today will bring us good fortune and will enable us to overcome the difficulties that have encompassed us. It is our high privilege to occupy positions of responsibility in the service of India. That casts an additional burden on us and I trust that all of us will always remember our primary duty of serving India to the best of our ability and strength.

2. Moments of crisis bring out the good points and the weak points of an individual as of a nation. We have seen both and I think we can say with confidence that the good points of our people as a whole have filled us with joy and gratitude. We have to be worthy of our people. So, we face this New Year with every hope and confidence.

3. In doing so we have not only to meet the needs of today, and of day to day developments, but have always to remember the principles for which our country has stood and not forget them for any so-called momentary advantage. We play for high stakes and many people in the world look to India and want to find out how we function under stress and strain. Our people have already given an adequate answer to this query. We have to translate this into broad terms of policy and programmes.

4. I hope that we will not allow ourselves at this historic moment in our country's history to waste our energy in petty squabbles, but rather to think of the great future which we

have been privileged to shape little by little. We have always to keep in view the unity and progress of India. We may be small men or women, but fate and circumstance have put us in important positions of great responsibility. If we face these problems aright and in good spirit then something of the greatness of the tasks descends upon us. Let us, therefore, remember always the great example set by the Father of the Nation, Gandhiji, and face the future without fear and without hatred for anyone or any country, but also with a firm determination not to surrender to evil and not in any way do anything which brings dishonour to India.

5. Two days ago our delegation to Rawalpindi,¹ under the leadership of Sardar Swaran Singh, came back to Delhi. They had long talks with the leaders of Pakistan and it was something achieved that these talks were friendly and frank. They did not achieve any results insofar as our problems were concerned,² but I think that it was some achievement to lessen, to a small degree, the barriers of fear and distrust which make our approach to these problems difficult. I do not wish to exaggerate in any way what happened at Rawalpindi, but I do think there has been some little gain by these talks which will now be continued in Delhi towards the middle of this month.³

6. The conference at Rawalpindi made an appeal for the avoidance of any word or writing which might create ill will

1. See *ante*, p. 557.

2. During the talks while India asserted that Kashmir had become an integral part of the Republic of India by internationally accepted practices of law and of democracy, she was anxious to explore with Pakistan the possibilities of a solution on Kashmir question because she wished to live in peace and friendship with Pakistan. Pakistan on the other hand insisted on speedy implementation of the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949. Before the talks started, the Indian delegation took strong exception to Pakistan Government's announcement on the eve of the talks of having reached an agreement in principle with China on the common border of the Pakistani-held areas of Kashmir and China.

3. The talks were held at New Delhi from 16 to 19 January 1963.

between India and Pakistan. All of us should carry out this direction and help to the utmost of our ability in creating an atmosphere free of fear and ill will. I realize that it is a difficult matter for us to solve the Indo-Pakistan problems and especially that of Kashmir and that we cannot give up our basic principles in dealing with them. Yet, it is always a gain to clear this atmosphere. It has always been my belief that the bitterness that has arisen between Pakistan and India is not due to the Kashmir or any other problem, but that these problems are largely the result of the ill will and bitterness that have come in the wake of Partition and bedevilled our relations. It is true that so far as the people of Pakistan and India are concerned, they have largely got over this evil inheritance. Unfortunately, that cannot be said of important personalities who have nurtured this ill will and conflict.

7. In regard to the Sino-Indian questions and Chinese aggression, I have little to add to what I wrote to you in my last letter. Since then we have received further communications⁴ from the Chinese Government to which we are sending replies.⁵ But, essentially, nothing effective can be done till the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs Bandaranaike, comes to Delhi after her visit to Peking and we discuss with her the proposals of the Colombo Conference. We are anxious to find a peaceful way for the solution of our

4. On 30 December Zhou in his letter to Nehru formally rejected as "absolutely unacceptable" India's demand for restoration of *status quo* as it obtained on 8 September. China's decision to withdraw, Zhou maintained, by 20 kms from 7 November 1959 line indicated her willingness to pull back her forces to points well beyond 8 September 1962 line in some sectors, but warned that the areas evacuated did not imply India's right to reoccupy the territory though she could set up civilian posts there.

5. Nehru in his reply of 1 January 1963 urged China to vacate aggression committed by her since 8 September 1962 to enable India to come to the conference table and suggested recourse to the International Court of Justice. He rejected the suggestion that the Indian military posts be excluded from the areas withdrawn by the Chinese forces.

conflicts subject always to the honour and basic interests of our people. As you perhaps know, I stated in the Lok Sabha⁶ that we will even be prepared to refer this Sino-Indian dispute to the International Court at The Hague.

8. In any event, we have to go full speed ahead in strengthening our defences and in fulfilling the tasks allotted to us by the third Five Year Plan. I would particularly draw your attention to the plan for rural mobilization drawn up by the Community Development Ministry.⁷ This is of great importance and even if we succeed in a partial measure that will revolutionize our countryside.

9. There are plans for civil defence also and our Home Ministry is giving you some instructions in regard to them. Civil defence in the minds of many people, from memories of the last great war, consists chiefly of digging trenches and having blackouts in towns. That kind of civil defence is hardly necessary now and is not called for in India. But there are other kinds of civil defence which are good anyhow even though we may not have to face aerial bombardment. It is good to train people for fire-fighting, home nursing, etc. Disciplined training improves the individual and the group and for us who, by and large, are not a disciplined people, this would be particularly useful.

10. Under the Defence of India Rules a number of people have been arrested in various parts of the country. Most of

6. On 10 December 1962.

7. The salient features of the plan announced on 13 December 1962 were: (1) creation of a village volunteer force to be inaugurated on 26 January 1963 to cover 200 million able-bodied villagers who would work for twelve days in a year on a voluntary basis with such labour's value in terms of money to be credited to defence labour banks for utilization for purposes of rural development, including creation of opportunities for rural employment and civil defence; (2) effecting economies in the community development expenditure by surrender of good jeeps to the Ministry of Defence and curtailing building programmes and retrenching surplus staff; and (3) each community development block to be given an additional sum of rupees one lakh for increasing agricultural production.

these are Communists. Where any person is indulging in harmful and mischief-making activities, action should certainly be taken against him or her. But it would be unwise to take this action because the person is a member of any Party. The test should be his own activities. We should not create an impression of taking advantage of the Defence of India Act or Rules to suppress any Party. If, however, the person is behaving in a harmful way, that is a different matter and notice should be taken of it.

11. The Central Council of the Communist Party of India has passed a resolution⁸ strongly condemning the Chinese aggression in India. That is very good in so far as it goes. Some people think that that resolution was passed not because it was believed in, but because of pressures from outside. That may be so. But it has been known for a considerable time that the Communist Party was more or less split into two on this issue of China and India. Some of their leading members had taken a strong line in regard to it even from earlier days. In any event, their resolution has been of advantage to us in many countries. It is obvious that if even the Communists in India condemn Chinese aggression, then large numbers of people abroad are influenced by this. In the Communist countries especially this would have a powerful effect. As I have mentioned to you before, the Soviet Union's relations with China are of great importance not only for us, but from the world point of view. It would be folly on our part not to understand and recognize the differences between the Soviet Union and China.

12. It is generally recognized now, even by some of the Opposition Parties,⁹ that our policy of non-alignment must be continued. To leave it would be very harmful to us. Yet, some odd groups and one or two Parties still go on demanding

8. See *ante*, p. 555.

9. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Praja Socialist Party, and the Communist Party.

that we should give up non-alignment.¹⁰ Any person who wishes us to do so exhibits a frame of mind which is fundamentally different from ours. I am quite sure that this view is based on fear and the utter lack of confidence in our people. That is a bad approach to any national problem. Unless we have confidence in our people we can achieve little. It is one thing to get help from friendly countries, which we are doing and for which we are duly grateful; it is quite another to hand over the defence of our country and all that this implies to powerful military blocs.

13. Even in the ruling circles of America and England an appreciation of our policy of non-alignment has been growing. Certainly, from the point of view of world peace, even apart from the advantages we derive from it, non-alignment for us is very necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. On 6 November 1962, the Swatantra Party in a resolution said that "when our country is attacked by a Communist power, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning."

New Delhi
2 February, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

Much is happening in India and abroad, but the situation created by the Chinese aggression overrides all other matters in our minds. You must have read reports of the debate in Parliament about the Colombo proposals.¹ I endeavoured to explain our position as clearly as I could there,² and both Houses of Parliament were pleased to express their approval of that position. Some of the Opposition Parties expressed themselves with a great deal of heat, though not with much logic.³

2. It is not necessary for us to take our cue from foreign nations or papers. But it is interesting to note that even relatively conservative papers in England and America have supported the attitude we have taken up in regard to the Colombo proposals. That attitude became inevitable if we had to follow up our previous proposal of the restoration of

1. A special session of the Indian Parliament held from 21 to 25 January 1963 endorsed Government's decision to accept the Colombo proposals on condition that China also accepted them in full.

2. On 23 January, Nehru said that China had accepted the Colombo proposals not in full but in principle and said that there would be no official talks unless the Chinese Government accepted the proposals in full. He reiterated that the proposals satisfied the Indian demand of China vacating her aggression and withdrawing her forces to the 8 September line, and explained that India's losses of some posts in Ladakh were compensated by Chinese withdrawal in other areas.

3. During the debate the Opposition, apart from the Communist Party, criticized the Government as having gone back on 8 November 1962 resolution which had affirmed the Indian people's resolve to drive out the Chinese aggressors from the Indian soil. But they agreed not to introduce motions asking for rejection of the proposals.

the 8th September line on our borders. The Colombo proposals certainly in essence restore that line. In one or two respects they are better than that line from a military point of view.

3. But, apart from this, our rejecting those proposals would have created a bad impression in most countries of the world and especially the so-called non-aligned countries. Also, from the point of view of our military preparations, it was desirable for us not to leave things as they are and possibly bring about an early major conflict.

4. The fact to remember is that the Colombo proposals do not envisage any settlement at this stage, but rather prepare the grounds for talks which may or may not lead ultimately to some kind of a settlement. I confess I do not see any reasonable settlement in the near future. But we have to take such steps as are advantageous to us and disadvantageous to China. We do not know at present what China's final response to the Colombo proposals will be. So far they have not accepted them.⁴ If they accept them ultimately, that is certainly a diplomatic gain for us and helps us in the future. If they do not accept them, the burden of rejection lies on them, and that too is a diplomatic gain for us.

5. As I have often stated, our conflict with China is a much deeper one and is likely to last a long time. We have, therefore, to think of the long term and not take any steps which weaken us in that respect, but help us to build up our strength, both from the purely defence point of view and from that of world opinion.

4. On 21 January 1963, Marshal Chen Yi announced that China had accepted the Colombo proposals "in principle" only, and Zhou Enlai in a letter to Bandarnaike on 19 January had insisted that both China and India should withdraw their forces, and not China alone, by twenty kilometres, and along the whole boundary and not only in the western sector.

6. It is a little naive to think that all this trouble with China is essentially due to a struggle over some territory. It has deeper reasons. Two of the largest countries in Asia confront each other over a vast border. They differ in many ways. And the test is as to whether anyone of them will have a more dominating position than the other in this border and in Asia itself. We do not desire to dominate any country, and we are content to live peacefully with other countries, provided they do not interfere with us or commit aggression. China, on the other hand, clearly does not like the idea of such peaceful existence and wants to have a dominating position in Asia. We do not want communism to come here and yet the essential conflict is more political and geographical than that of communism, although communism is an important factor in the background. Communism too is gradually developing two facets, one represented by the Soviet Union and the other by China. It is possible to live peacefully with the Soviet Union. But it does not appear to be possible to do that with China. Hence the essential conflict.

7. Meanwhile, as is well known, Russia and China are on bad terms, which are growing worse from day to day.⁵ They differ ideologically and in various other ways. But, again, the basic difference between Russia and China is that of two huge land masses confronting each other and gradually coming into conflict over national interests and for political

5. On 29 December 1962, an article in *Pravda* attacked Mao's thesis dismissing Western strength as a "paper tiger" and said that "this is nothing but renunciation ... of the policy of peaceful co-existence." An article published in all leading Chinese newspapers on 6 January 1963 defended Mao's thesis of "paper tiger" and criticized "modern revisionists" and "right opportunists" in the world Communist movement. On 27 January, the Chinese Communist Party warned the Soviet Party to change its attitude towards Yugoslav "revisionism" or cause a complete split in the international Communist movement, and called for a meeting of all Communist Parties to discuss ideological differences.

reasons. If communism had not been there, this would have still happened. Communism, to some extent, apparently lessens the conflict between them. But national interests are more important than any ideological affinity.

8. We are thus seeing an inherent conflict between Russia and China developing fairly rapidly for reasons which are not connected with communism as such, although communism affects that conflict to some extent. It would appear that this conflict between these two vast countries will grow, and their relations will have a great effect on the world situation.

9. This is perhaps too simple an analysis and there may certainly be other factors to be considered. But essentially I think this is the basic cause.

10. So far as India is concerned, not only do the interests of India and China conflict, but also the conflict between China and Russia indirectly aggravates the situation between India and China.

11. In any event we have to look upon this from a long term and a world point of view and have to prepare ourselves accordingly. Our strength must necessarily depend on what we can do and that strength ultimately depends upon our industrial growth. We welcome and accept such help as can be given to us by friendly countries. But it would be wrong to rely wholly on those countries because that will mean a continuous weakness on our part resulting in dependence.

12. That is why we feel that the best way to prepare ourselves is to increase our strength by building up our own war manufactures and everything else that goes to strengthen a nation. At the same time, we shall try to get whatever we can from friendly countries. This process of getting it from other countries can only be looked upon from a relatively short-term point of view.

13. This line of thinking leads us to the conclusion that industrial and agricultural growth, including the growth of power and transport and the necessary education of various

kinds to back all this up, is essential for us. To weaken on that front in order to strengthen our military position is a contradiction in terms, as the military position essentially depends upon growth in other directions. This is the reason for our proceeding with the implementation of the third Five Year Plan in all its essential features. A certain turn can be given to it which will help directly the defence effort. Also, certain minor variations can be made in it from this point of view. But, essentially, it has to go on.

14. At the same time, we have to think continually of the military effort which may be required from us at any time. We cannot wait till our long-term efforts bear fruit. Therefore, we have also to speed up our military machine, both in regard to production in India and by obtaining such help from friendly countries as we can and as soon as we can. All this involves a great burden on our economy, but there is no help for it and we have to shoulder that burden as any country has to do when it is faced with a crisis. If we shoulder that burden adequately, that will also impress other countries and make it easier for us to obtain help from them. If we rely on others alone and not make that effort ourselves, we will gradually lose our independence and drift into a weak state of dependence on others. What is worse, that will produce a mentality in our own country which will not be good.

15. There has been much talk about our policy of non-alignment. Except for a few die-hards, who want us to give this up, most people not only in India but from abroad realize that that policy is essential for us from the practical point of view.⁶ From other points of view also, it is equally necessary. I am surprised that anyone should not realize this.

6. For example, on 31 January 1963, Jayaprakash Narayan criticized C. Rajagopalachari's speech of 20 January in which he had demanded "an unambiguous alliance with Western Powers" and giving up of non-alignment.

It seems to me that those who talk of giving up non-alignment have no faith in our own people and our capacity to protect ourselves. It is true that in China we have a mighty adversary and it is no easy matter to fight it. Still, from the point of view of defending ourselves, it certainly is not and will not be beyond our capacity. If we thought of an aggressive war against China, the balance would be much against us. But to defend our own country tilts the balance wholly in our favour. I am not thinking of an odd battle or two, but rather of the basic and long-standing struggle which we have to carry on both by war and by other means.

16. When national interests of great countries come into conflict, we cannot take a short-term view or be dispirited because of the initial turn of events which may go against us. What counts is the ultimate result and our policy should aim at that. That policy should consider the internal situation, the military situation as well as the context of events in the world. The international situation is a changing and dynamic one and we have to keep that in view all the time. Fortunately for us China is becoming increasingly isolated in the world. To a greater or lesser degree, most countries sympathize and support us. We should encourage this trend of events and not do anything which injures us internationally. The Western Powers have certainly shown their friendship for us by the generous help that they are giving. In the world context, whatever we do against China helps the Western Powers. This is not so clear in regard to the Soviet Union. But, essentially, the same argument applies. Russia is not sympathetic towards China and is helping us indirectly and to some extent even directly, not just because of friendly feelings towards us, but because in the longer run its national interests require it to do so.

17. But, whichever way we look at it, we come back to the basic question of our strengthening ourselves and trying to carry this burden ourselves. The moment we think that we cannot do so and must basically rely on others, we lose the *raison d'être* of independence. Other factors come into play which gradually undermine our freedom.

18. There has been some talk in the newspapers about a so-called "air umbrella".⁷ I do not quite know how this talk has begun because there has been no discussion of this subject between us and the Anglo-American teams that have come here. No one can say what in an extreme crisis a country might have to do. No one can say that an actual war between China and India might not develop into a world war. We have to watch carefully developments and prepare ourselves accordingly. But in the present circumstances it will be quite wrong to think of an "air umbrella" and be complacent about it. That will not only be politically wrong, but also will produce a feeling in the country which comes in the way of active preparation.

19. There is also no question of our having foreign bases in India, even though foreign help is welcomed by us.

20. I think that our preparations for strengthening our defences are making progress, though I wish that progress was faster. We have to speed up our governmental apparatus much more and I hope it will be possible for us to do it. We have to continue to look upon the situation as one of urgency and not relapse into a complacent attitude. It is curious that some of our people who are constantly telling us to keep up the sense of urgency, at the same time, advise us

7. The British Commonwealth Relations Office and the U.S. State Department announced on 23 January that a joint Commonwealth-U.S. mission would visit India from 29 January, at the invitation of Government of India, to examine with the Indian Air Force, the "problems and technical requirements involved in organizing an effective air defence against the possibility of any further Chinese attack." The mission remained in India till 23 February 1963. Some Indian and British newspapers carried reports on a possible working out of an effective "air umbrella" which would involve granting of air bases in India to a joint Indo-U.S. Commonwealth Command or of provision of foreign pilots and planes under Indian command to provide defence against Chinese attack.

to withdraw the emergency.⁸ If we withdraw the Emergency laws or regulations, this will immediately put an end to all thoughts of crisis or urgency and produce that very feeling of complacency which weakens more than anything else.

21. I have noticed with regret that some of our newspapers, in dealing with the Colombo proposals, have written very ungenerously and often wrongly about the Colombo Powers as well as the other unaligned countries. Differences of opinion can and do occur and we must put up with them. But it is utter lack of wisdom and an essential weakness of spirit to go about condemning other countries because they do not say ditto to us. Some of these articles in the press have shown an utter lack of decorum which has been most distressing. This creates feelings against us in other countries and spoils all the good publicity or propaganda that we might be endeavouring to do.

22. May I also suggest to you that while we want to produce and continue a feeling of resistance against all aggression and especially Chinese aggression, this does not mean that we should go about cursing the Chinese people. This is not only wholly against our traditions, but, even from the point of view of other civilized countries, is not considered right or wise. I am venturing to point this out to you as sometimes speeches delivered or poems recited at public gatherings go over the mark of decency and civilized behaviour. That is not a sign of strength, but merely of temporary anger.

23. Another matter to which I should like to draw your attention is the complaint that has come to me from some

8. J.B. Kripalani, M.R. Masani, and the National Conference of the Socialist Party on 31 December 1962 had demanded ending of emergency and restoration of civil liberties.

parts of the country about compulsion in the collection of funds for the National Defence Fund. We have had a wonderful and spontaneous response all over the country in regard to these funds as well as gold and gold ornaments that have been given. To spoil this by pressures applied would be most unfortunate.

24. We have to consider not only our immediate trouble with China and all that it entails in the present and the future, but our continuing difficulties with Pakistan. I think I can truthfully say that we have wanted a peaceful and satisfactory settlement with Pakistan ever since trouble arose between us after Partition. We have been strong and perhaps rigid about certain matters relating to Kashmir and other problems between us, but that was because those particular matters were of vital significance to us and not because we wanted to have any ill will and continuing tension between India and Pakistan. One of the basic issues that is of the highest importance to us is not to accept anything which is based on a communal approach or some aspect of the two-nation theory. There are of course other important considerations which I need not go into here. It surprises and distresses me that some of our countrymen do not realize these basic issues, but talk loosely of what we should do or not do in this matter. As a matter of fact, events have brought about a certain connection between our problems with China and our difficulties with Pakistan. What we do in regard to one affects the other.

25. The recent announcement of Pakistan agreeing in principle to some boundary adjustment with China in the Kashmir area occupied by Pakistan is objectionable in principle and we have protested against it.⁹ There is one aspect of this which has been rather glossed over, especially

9. On 26 January 1963, India protested against the "illegal" agreement reached between Pakistan and China in principle on demarcation of boundary.

by some of our friends and others in other countries. Gilgit, which is also a part of the area of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan, has been made into a powerful military and air centre with the help of the United States. The agreement to give more territory on this frontier to China by Pakistan will enable China to build up a rival major centre which may affect Gilgit. We have deliberately avoided saying much on this issue or other issues connected with Pakistan because we want to lessen these controversies, especially at the present moment when talks are taking place between us. But I am afraid Pakistan has not reacted in the same way. The surprising part of it is that the Pakistan Foreign Secretary¹⁰ has recently undertaken a lengthy tour in Europe¹¹ especially to defame India and her policies and, more particularly, to prevent the Western countries from giving us any help. The line taken up is that our trouble with China is not only a petty affair, but almost a put up job so that we might get a good deal of military assistance from America and England, etc., which can be used by us against Pakistan later. The fact that we have repeatedly pressed for a 'No-War Declaration' with Pakistan without success is conveniently forgotten. As a matter of fact, we have gone beyond that and given a unilateral assurance to Pakistan some years ago that we will not take the initiative in regard to war and only if we are attacked shall we defend ourselves.¹²

26. On Republic Day a step was taken by us which is of great significance¹³ and which should bring about far-reaching results. This was the pledge that was taken all over rural India by tens of millions of people to start volunteer organizations in all the villages for three main purposes: (1) higher production, (2) education, and (3) defence, and law and order purposes. I hope you will encourage this in every way.

10. S.K. Dehlavi (1913-1976). Joined I.C.S., 1938; Charge d' Affaires, France, 1950-53; Ambassador to Italy, 1957-61; Foreign Secretary, 1961-63.

11. From 3 January to 2 February 1963.

12. See Vol. 2, p. 477.

13. See also *ante*, p. 562.

27. In foreign affairs, I should like to mention the development in the Congo where at last the secessionist movement in Katanga has been scotched.¹⁴ The part that the Indian military contingent took in this affair has met with high appreciation everywhere. There has been some advance in regard to nuclear test ban talks and the prospects of Russia and the Western Powers coming to an agreement are better than they have been for a long time.¹⁵ President De Gaulle's rigid line about the entry of the United Kingdom into the European Common Market¹⁶ has created a difficult situation in the Western lines.¹⁷

28. We have recently had a number of distinguished visitors from abroad. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike,¹⁸ Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Aly Sabry,¹⁹ Premier of the U.A.R.,

14. On 14 January, Tshombe, the leader of Katanga, surrendered to the U.N. forces, announced the end of Katanga's secession and promised co-operation to U.N. plan for reunification of Congo.

15. The nuclear test ban talks being held in Geneva since 14 September were adjourned on 20 December 1962 due to differences on the question of on-site inspection of sites where tests had been conducted. The representatives of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union met from 22 to 28 January 1963 in Washington to discuss the nuclear test ban treaty to cover only the atmosphere, outer space and under-water which did not require on-site inspection. The meeting agreed to discuss the new proposal when the talks resume in Geneva.

16. The negotiations from 14 to 18 January 1963 to discuss Britain's application of 9 August 1961 for entry in to the Common Market failed after France asked for their suspension. On 14 January, De Gaulle in a press conference expressed fears that Britain's entry would cause serious disruption in the existing arrangements, "the adjustments, the agreements, the compensation, the rules, between the six European countries which unlike Britain have very important peculiarities."

17. West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy urged France that negotiations should continue for the British entry into the Common Market for "urgent, political and economic reasons."

18. Visited New Delhi on 10-15 January 1963.

19. (b. 1920). Minister for Presidential Affairs, 1960-62, for Suez Zone, 1962-68; Prime Minister, 1962-65; Vice-President, 1965-67 and 1970-71; General Secretary, Arab Socialist Union, 1965-67, 1968-70; tried for treason in 1971 and sentenced to death, which was later commuted to life imprisonment; released in 1981.

and the Minister of Justice²⁰ of Ghana, came here in connection with the Colombo Conference proposals. Other visitors have been Dr. Rachid Karame,²¹ Prime Minister of Lebanon, Mr Adam Rapacki,²² Foreign Minister of Poland, who became famous because he made the proposal called the Rapacki proposal for making Central Europe free of atomic weapons, Prince Norodom Sihanouk,²³ Chief of State of Cambodia, and Dr. Subandrio,²⁴ Foreign Minister of Indonesia. At present, we have the King²⁵ and Queen²⁶ of Greece in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta. Visited India from 10 to 15 January 1963.

21. Rachid Abdul Hamid Karame (b. 1921). Leader of Parliamentary Democratic Front, Minister of National Economy and Social Affairs, 1954-55; Prime Minister, 1958-70; 1975-76, and since 1984. He visited India from 15 to 25 January 1963.

22. (1909-1970). Foreign Minister of Poland, 1956-68. He visited India from 19 to 25 January 1963.

23. For b. fn. see Vol. 3. p. 318. He visited India from 24 January to 8 February 1963.

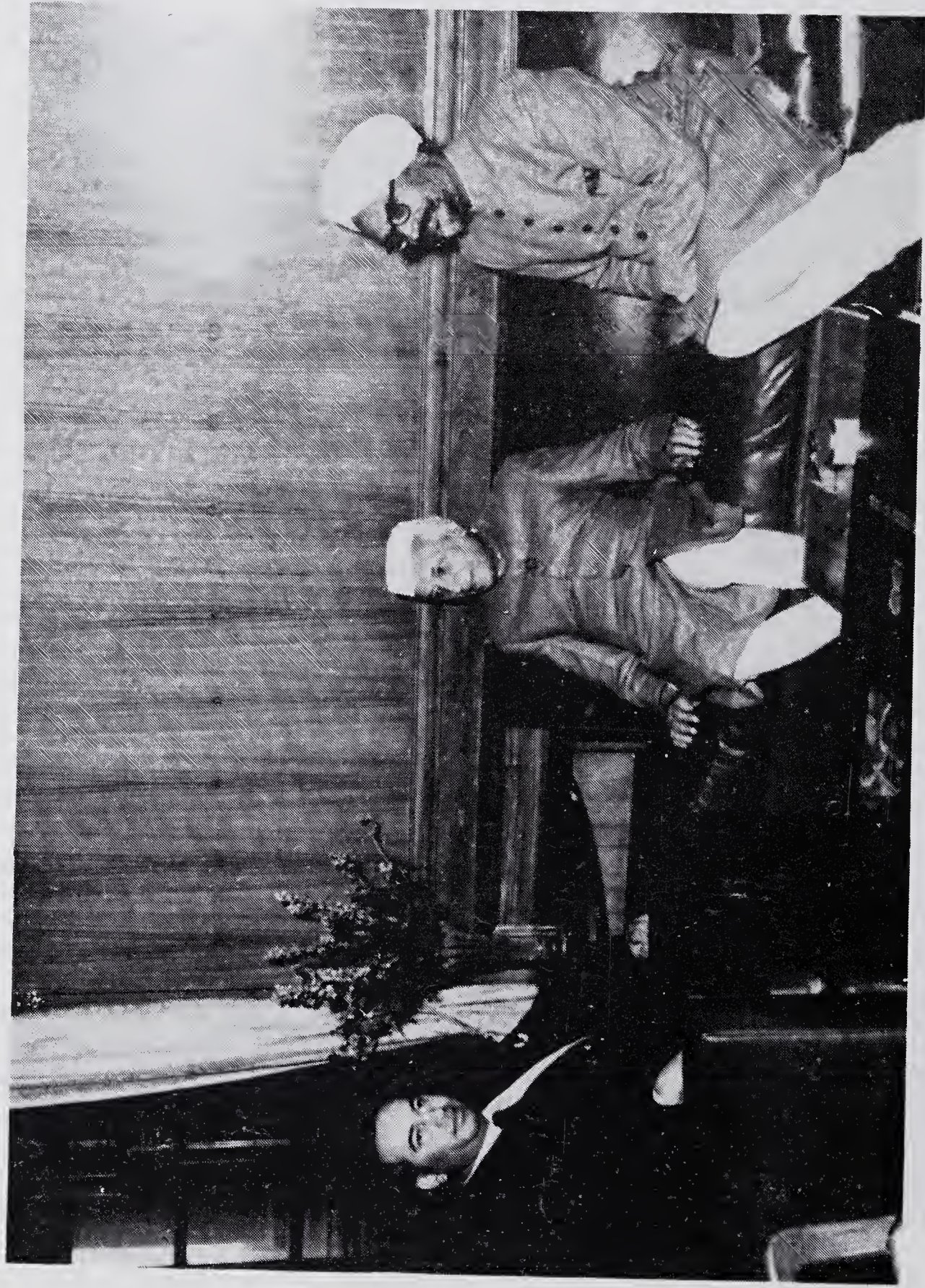
24. (b. 1914). Indonesian Ambassador to Britain, 1950-54, and U.S.S.R., 1954-56; Foreign Minister, 1957-63; Prime Minister, 1963-66; convicted of complicity in attempted Communist *coup* and sentenced to death, 1966; sentence commuted to life imprisonment, 1970. He visited India from 29 to 31 January 1963.

25. King Paul (1901-1964). King of Greece, 1947-64. Visited India from 2 to 14 February 1963.

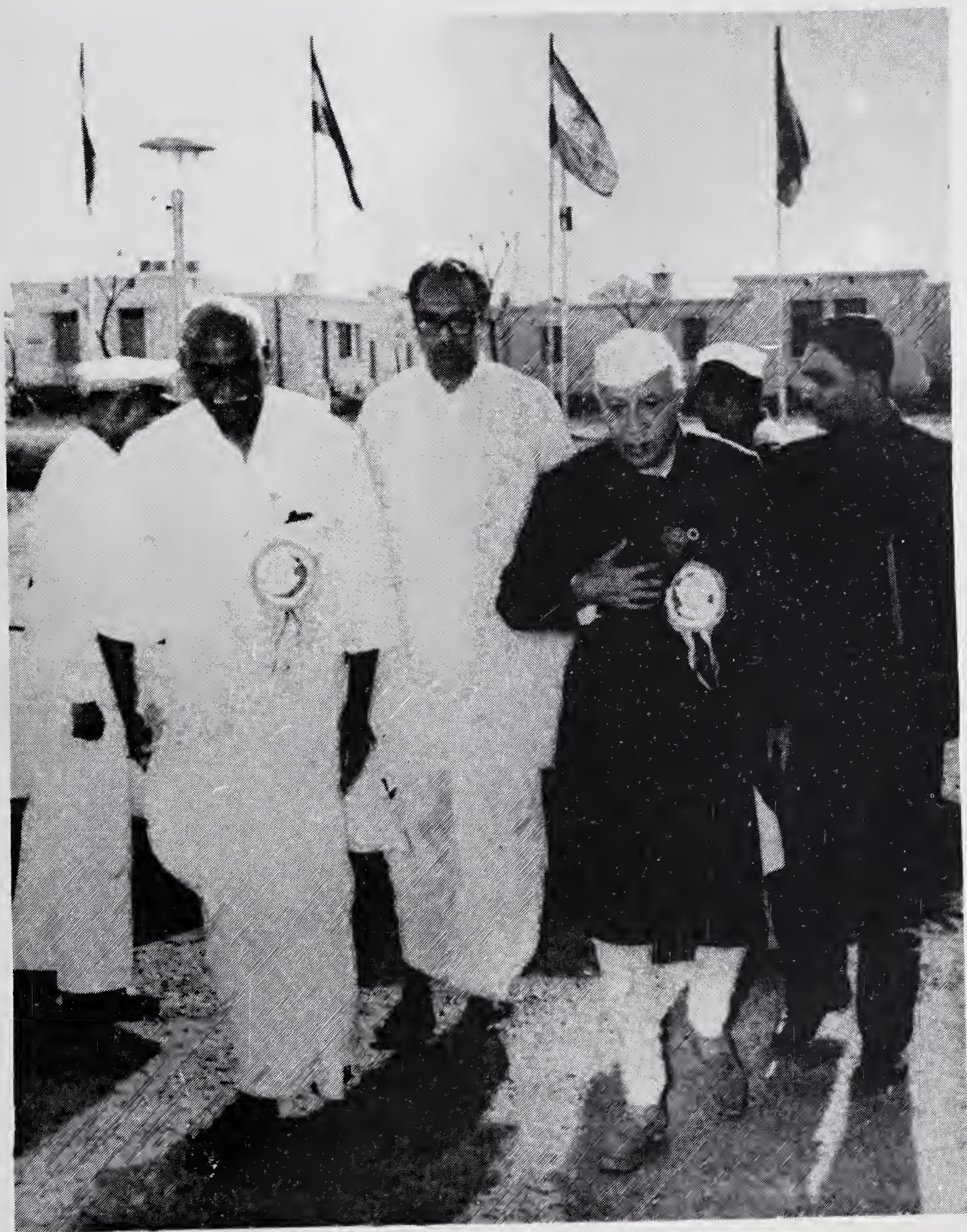
26. Queen Frederica.



In a forward area in the North East Frontier Agency,
December 1962



With Z.A. Bhutto and Swaran Singh,
New Delhi, 16 January 1963



With K. Kamaraj and Biju Patnaik at A.I.C.C. Session,
Bhuvaneshwar, January 1964



At Dehra Dun, 26 May 1964

New Delhi
18 February, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

The Budget Session of Parliament began today. There was a very unfortunate interruption to the President's Address to the joint session of the two Houses when two or three Members objected to the President speaking in English.¹ They wanted him to speak in Hindi. Fortunately, all the other Members present, although they were greatly annoyed at this interruption, observed a disciplined decorum and remained quiet. The objectors were, I think, about six, all except one being members of the Socialist Party. They left the Hall and proceedings went on peacefully after that.

2. This incident, the first of its kind in Parliament, lasted only two or three minutes or less. Nevertheless, it was most regrettable. It appears that the Socialist Party in particular is bent on creating trouble in Parliament, and thus bringing the whole process of democratic parliamentary procedure into disrepute. Subsequently, reference was made to this in the Lok Sabha and the leaders of every party there, except the Socialist Party of course, condemned this exhibition of discourtesy. The House agreed to the Speaker appointing a sub-committee² of the House to consider this matter and what steps should be taken in regard to it and such like occurrences.

1. A number of Socialist Party members pressed the President to speak in Hindi, and on his refusal, five members of the Party staged a walk-out from the joint session.

2. The sub-committee in its report on 12 March recommended suspension for one year of any member who "in future" was responsible for "any disorderly conduct during the President's Address."

3. Although this incident happened for the first time in Parliament, similar incidents have, I believe, occurred in the Punjab, U.P. and Bihar. It is clear that this kind of thing has to be met effectively; otherwise the work of our Parliament and Assemblies would be made difficult and brought into disrepute. This is a vital matter and I hope Parliament will set a good example which will be followed in the State Assemblies.
4. Since I wrote to you last, no appreciable change has taken place in regard to developments on our border. As I informed you, we had accepted the Colombo proposals without any reservation. The Chinese Government, however, after loudly proclaiming that they accepted these proposals in principle, are raising all manner of difficulties. In effect, they do not accept them and, it might be said, something in the nature of a stalemate continues. We cannot say what the Chinese Government will ultimately do. They might perhaps accept those proposals, but the probability appears to be that they will not. If so, then the question arises whether the Chinese will again attack us on our borders, either in N.E.F.A. or in Ladakh or elsewhere. We have to keep all this in view and prepare for it.
5. So far as N.E.F.A. is concerned, the rainy season starts there rather early, at the beginning of May, and even before that sometimes violent rainstorms come over those mountains. It is difficult for any military operations to be carried on there when the rains come. It may be said, therefore, that if there are to be military operations, they will have to be undertaken in March or early in April.
6. In Ladakh conditions are different, and the summer is a relatively convenient time for military operations.
7. The Election Commissioner expressed a wish that our elections occasioned by vacancies created for the Lok Sabha or in the State Assemblies should be held before the summer sets in fully; otherwise there would be great delay as it will be difficult to hold them during the monsoon period. We have informed him that we are quite agreeable to these elections

to fill these vacancies being held some time in April. Probably they will be fixed for the middle of April.

8. The incident at the time of the President addressing the Joint Session of the two Houses of Parliament, to which I have referred earlier, was meant to be in connection with the agitation in favour of Hindi and against English. It was an exceedingly foolish thing to do because this kind of thing injures the cause of Hindi more than anything else. Lately we have had a growing agitation over the proposal to have English as an associate language for official purposes.³ Because the Bill to this effect was not brought into Parliament during its brief session in January, there has been apprehension that it is going to be postponed indefinitely. There is no truth in this. We could not possibly have it during the five-day session in January because that was taken up almost entirely by the discussion on the frontier situation. The present session will, to begin with, be devoted to the Budget, etc. We certainly hope to bring the Bill⁴ or amendment of the Constitution in regard to English being an associate language during this session as soon as it is convenient to do so. I have made this perfectly clear.

9. In any event, Government stated this in Parliament some two years ago when our late Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, made a statement to this effect.⁵ The House accepted it at the time. We are, therefore, pledged to taking steps accordingly and we certainly are going to honour our pledge.

3. While the Socialist Party and Bhartiya Jana Sangh opposed any proposal to make English an associate language after 1965, the D.M.K. demanded *status quo* as on August 1947 and a national consensus whether Hindi "be at all accepted as a national language."

4. The Official Language Bill, passed by Lok Sabha on 27 April and by Rajya Sabha on 4 May 1963, provided that English may continue to be used, in addition to Hindi, after 27 January 1965 for all official purposes of the Union and for the transaction of business in Parliament.

5. In fact, it was on 9 September 1959.

10. But pledge apart, I am quite sure that this is the right thing to do, both for wider reasons and even in the interests of the growth of Hindi. The wider reasons are obvious, because in the world today English is becoming an even more important language than previously, and all the development in science and technology depends upon our knowledge of a foreign language. Hindi is growing pretty fast and will grow. The one thing that will come in the way of its growth is a heated controversy on this language issue. That will surely impede its growth and injure us in many other respects also.

11. There is another and, I think, a deeper reason for our being associated with English for some time more at least. We in India live in a large country and have been to a great extent, inward-looking. Long before the British came, we had little knowledge of the world or of the developments that were taking place in the world. The coming of the British had two effects. We remained cut off from the world, except for our outlet on England, for political and linguistic reasons. Nevertheless, that outlet brought us into contact with the wider world and the currents that were moving it. It seems to me important that we should develop these outer contacts not only politically, but in the realms of thought and science and culture. If we discard English, we will revert even more to inward-looking and will be cut off from the outer world, to a large extent. I have referred to some reasons for our continuing English as an associate language while at the same time developing Hindi as fast as we can. But essentially the overriding reason for it is the necessity of not encouraging any disruptive tendencies in India.

12. As you must know, various missions from England and America have been here to enquire into our military and air needs in view of the Chinese aggression. These missions are largely technical, and they will soon go back to report. I do not yet know what kind of a report they will submit. Our needs are very considerable and all such preparation requires time. As it is, we are, of course, doing our best in the way of preparation, but some things are urgently needed in

the way of machinery and equipment. Our Air Force, though good, is rather out-dated from the point of view of modern aircraft. We have to remember that China has got probably the largest land army in the world and the third biggest Air Force. They cannot, of course, bring all their army and air force to our frontiers. Nevertheless, that is the challenge we have to meet, and we must be strong enough to meet it and beat it back from our frontiers.

13. There has been much reference in the newspapers to a so-called “Air Umbrella”.⁶ As a matter of fact, there has been no formal or informal discussion about this with the teams that have come here, and much of this newspapers’ discussion has little basis. I have not encouraged this idea because, apart from political reasons, it means that our attention will be diverted from strengthening our own Air Force. We shall become complacent relying on others to defend us in case of necessity. That is a bad mentality to develop and that will leave us weak to meet any crisis. Therefore, it is much more important to develop our own strength, certainly with the help of others, and thus prepare ourselves to face any contingency that might arise. This may take a little time. But this is the surest method. As I have often stated previously, we have to be prepared for repeated crises during the next few years.

14. Ultimate strength depends not on some weapons or aircraft which we get from abroad, although that may be necessary during an emergency, but rather on our producing them ourselves. That means developing our basic industrial strength. That again means our going ahead with our programmes for development and industrialization as fast as we can. We cannot afford to allow the Five Year Plan to be ignored or delayed.

6. In a resolution passed on 11 February 1963 the Communist Party of India strongly condemned the proposal for a Western “air umbrella” for Indian defence.

15. I have just been reading about the growth of science and technology in China, and it appears that they have made very considerable progress during the last dozen years. Most of this progress was due to the help received from the Soviet Union. That help has been stopped, during the past year or two, and this has been a great loss to the Chinese. Nevertheless, the progress made by them is considerable, and they will no doubt go ahead in this respect. It is basically science and the applications of science that give strength to a country. For this reason, it is highly important that we should go ahead with scientific research in all its fields and apply it to our needs.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
14 April, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

There has been a good deal of uncertainty about the possible developments on our northern and north-eastern frontier. We are naturally concerned as to what might happen there and what the Chinese might do. A certain concentration of forces in Tibet by the Chinese and the further building of roads there would indicate that they were preparing for further aggression. On the other hand, certain political developments would indicate that there was not likely to be any further aggressive step by the Chinese in the near future. The Colombo proposals remain where they were. As you know, we have accepted them without any reservation, but the Chinese still raise two important objections and try to induce us to go to the conference table before this matter is cleared up. In effect, their two objections,¹ both in regard to N.E.F.A. and to Ladakh, are vital matters and it would not be right for us to accept the position as suggested by the Chinese.

2. Meanwhile an argument goes on, chiefly between the Colombo Powers and the Chinese Government, about these proposals.² Mr. Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of the United Arab Republic, is going to Peking soon³ to discuss this very matter. He will pay a brief visit to Delhi⁴ on

1. See *ante*, p. 566.

2. On 17 February 1963, Marshal Chen Yi said that there was "great discrepancy" in the clarification of the proposals given to India and to his country and added that anyway, these clarifications could not be considered part of the Colombo proposals." This charge was denied by Sri Lanka on 5 April 1963.

3. He visited Beijing from 21 to 25 April 1963.

4. From 26 to 28 April 1963.

his way back. President Liu Shao Chi⁵ of China is at present in Indonesia⁶ and he will no doubt press his viewpoint. By the beginning of next month we shall know a little more definitely what the result of these visits is likely to be.

3. We have made it clear⁷ to the Chinese that there must be a full acceptance of the Colombo proposals without any reservations before any progress can be made. That would be the first step. This would be followed by an implementation of these proposals both in N.E.F.A. and in Ladakh. It is true that to some extent these proposals have been implemented by the Chinese already. But an important part of them remains and this can only be done after full agreement in regard to it.

4. The third step would then be presumably a meeting of representatives of India and China to consider the question about disputes on the merits. It is rather doubtful that this will result in a satisfactory settlement. Hence we have suggested to the Chinese Government that in the event of no satisfactory settlement being arrived at, we would be prepared to refer the matter to The Hague Court of International Justice or, in the alternative, to arbitrators appointed by agreement by the two countries.

5. You will thus notice that we have gone as far as we can. We will continue to search for a peaceful settlement, but this will have to be, in our opinion, a settlement preserving the honour, dignity and integrity of India. Unofficially it is said that they do not approve of the proposals for arbitration and it is doubtful how far they are prepared to agree to a reference to The Hague Court. That is the position at present. Meanwhile, they are returning in batches the Indian

5. For b. fn. see Vol. 4, p. 276.

6. He visited Indonesia from 12 to 20 April 1963.

7. In a note of the Government of India to the Chinese Government on 3 April 1963.

Prisoners of War that they have held.⁸ We, on our part, are going ahead with our programme for strengthening our defence forces, both of the land and the air. Apart from the steps we are taking ourselves in India, in this respect, we are sending a delegation of experts to the United States of America in regard to the help they can give us in building up our defence strength. This deputation will be followed up early in May by our Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, paying a visit to the United States of America and to Canada.⁹ Even before this visit he is going to Australia and New Zealand this month.¹⁰

6. The process of building up a solid defence force naturally takes some time. This means a considerable addition to our present army, increase in our own production of defence equipment, which means not only modernizing our existing ordnance factories, but building up new ones; increasing our Air Force by speeding up our arrangements for production of aircraft and obtaining aircraft from abroad with radar, etc. Our Defence Ministry, under the able and energetic guidance of our Defence Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan,¹¹ is devoting itself to this building up.¹² Shri T.T. Krishnamachari is of great help in these processes.

7. As I have often said, whatever the developments might be in regard to our conflict with China in the near future,

8. On 2 April the Chinese Government announced that all captured Indian personnel in Chinese custody would be released and repatriated from 10 April 1963.

9. From 15 to 28 May 1963.

10. He visited from 23 to 29 April 1963.

11. Y.B. Chavan (1913-1984). Chief Minister of Maharashtra, 1956-62; Minister for Defence, 1962-66, Home Affairs, 1966-70, Finance, 1970-74, External Affairs, 1974-77; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs, 1979-80.

12. On 8 April, Chavan told Lok Sabha that it was proposed to double the existing strength of the Army within the next few years by the creation of six new divisions, to construct new air-fields, set up six new ordnance factories, and develop communications and the transport system.

our programme for strengthening our defences must continue. That is the only sure guarantee of our preventing Chinese aggression and of combating it whenever necessity arises. We have lost faith in the *bona fides* of the Chinese Government. They have a strange way of twisting everything and even getting round what they have said previously. We have thus to face a continuing menace and we cannot afford to take any risks about that based on the assurances of the Chinese. We shall have inevitably to shoulder this burden for a considerable time. This is the price we have to pay for our freedom.

8. Freedom does not merely require an adequate defence apparatus, but the basic background to it. Defence does not merely consist of armies and aircraft and navies, but also the means of producing all that these require in India. That means an industrial background which is adequate for the purpose. It is for this reason, apart from other well known reasons, that it is incumbent on us to build up this industrial background as rapidly as possible. The third Five Year Plan represents our efforts to do this and we cannot allow it, as some unthinking persons have suggested, to be delayed or postponed.

9. Most of us are anxious about the need of developing industry, but perhaps all of us do not yet fully realize that, whether it is defence or industrial background, this is based intimately on our agricultural production. Without a sound agricultural base, we shall not be in a position to make much progress in industry. For us to have to spend foreign exchange for agricultural imports means weakening tremendously our capacity for industrial growth. It is true that we have made considerable progress in agriculture and have laid the foundations for greater progress in the future. Also it is perfectly true that agriculture depends much on climatic conditions and the weather. The steps we take to improve it takes some time in bearing fruit. While all this is true, still there is a strong feeling in the country, which I believe is justified, that our progress ought to be faster. In small selected areas, our production has grown considerably. Why

cannot we apply this growth to other areas also? Real progress consists in producing more per acre and not so much in cultivating additional land. Even a relatively small increase per acre all over India would make a great difference. We know what should be done. The question is of implementation. That implementation is largely the responsibility of the States. Today, therefore, the work of the Agriculture Ministries in the States is of vital importance requiring the services of the ablest persons they have.

10. At a recent meeting¹³ of the All India Congress Committee, there was a good and frank discussion about agriculture. It was pointed out there that while Punjab and some of the Southern States, such as Madras, are showing good results, some other States, notably Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, are still backward in this respect. According to the data supplied to us, in the case of rice, these four States are well below the national average. Orissa and U.P., which between them have 23.6 per cent of the all-India acreage, their yield per acre is less than 73 per cent of the national average and less than half of the yield per acre in Madras. In the case of wheat, Maharashtra and Gujarat, with nearly 11 per cent of the national acreage, their yield is 35 per cent below the national average. In the case of *jowar*, Mysore and Rajasthan have yields well below the national average.

11. I could give many other figures to show how great the differences are between our States. This may partly be explained by irrigation facilities, soil differences, etc. But I do not think that the explanation is an adequate one. There is something that has thus far eluded us. That something can only be the human element and the capacity of that human element to take advantage of modern methods. It is broadly true to say that the part of India which was under the jagirdari or zamindari system previously, is still backward in agriculture. That is the burden we carry of that unfortunate system which not only did not make the best use of land, but reduced the capacity of the human element.

13. On 6 and 7 April 1963 at New Delhi.

12. The problem before us is to increase the production per acre in the States where this is low. This will not only raise the national average, but will help in minimizing inter-State differences and will raise the per capita income of the poorer parts of the country.
13. Stress is often laid on greater investment for agricultural progress. While the importance of this is obvious, especially in regard to irrigation and fertilizers, we have seen that even investment by itself does not produce adequate results. We spend vast sums of money on irrigation, and yet all the water that is available is not used properly for lack of water channels, etc. There is much too great a lag in the use of the opportunities that are created. The tools we use such as ploughs, etc., are often primitive. Indeed one can say that higher agricultural production per acre is directly connected with the better tools used. The human factor continues to be the most vital in all the processes at work. It was to develop this human factor that community development programmes and *panchayati raj* were started. They have done good, but still a great deal remains to be done. How can we give a different outlook to the peasant? That can come partly by education, partly by using better tools, partly by co-operation.
14. I have been a strong advocate of community development and *panchayati raj*, and I still have great faith in these movements. But we must realize that there is considerable criticism of these which requires looking into. I have been surprised to hear the strong and bitter references to the Block Development Officers.¹⁴ It is stated by some people who know that the average Block Development Officer has developed the superior mentality of an officer and not the crusading spirit of the worker. If that is so, it requires looking into and correcting. What we have been trying to do is to make even our officer class take to manual work and to

14. During the discussion on agriculture at the A.I.C.C. meeting, the Block Development Officers were described as "new nawabs", and "bureaucrats" who had "not inspired the farmer."

influence those whom they are seeking to train by personal example and not merely by advice. It would indeed be a tragedy if the Block Development Officer and the village level worker even behaved like bureaucrats. They must be pulled up or replaced by more suitable persons.

15. Then there is the question of village channels and the proper utilization of the water already available. Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, than whom we have no person with greater experience in these matters, has been repeating ever so many times the necessity of village channels being constructed by the village people themselves. No Government or State can undertake this vast task of constructing thousands of miles of channels. But if this work is divided up in our hundreds of thousands of villages, it becomes easy to have them. It must, therefore, be made the responsibility of the village *panchayat* to build and look after these village channels and, if it is necessary, legislation should be passed to this effect.

16. The question, therefore, is not merely of investment but much more so of developing the human factor and of vitalizing and modernizing the man who works in the field. It is this aspect which must be emphasized and our work should concentrate on this.

17. The cooperative movement, if properly run, is an essential part of this process. Unfortunately, even now in some States this movement is far too official. Whatever good it may do otherwise, it does not touch the improvement of the human factor which can only come if the responsibility for running the movement is cast on the peasantry itself.

18. Improving the human factor means basically education, and primary education is obviously the foundation for any other kind of education that we may give. I have been distressed at the fact that because of the Emergency, there has been a slowing down of the growth of primary education. Indeed in some cases there has even been a backward movement. I do think, both from the agricultural and industrial points of view, as well as others, that primary

education is of the most vital importance and must be made to grow with a proper teacher-pupil ratio. We are laying stress on technical education, and that is completely justified. But there must be a base of primary education before one advances further. I should like you to look into the position of primary education in your State and see how far it is suffering on the excuse of the Emergency. That is no justifiable excuse, and whatever happens, I do not think it can ever be made an excuse if we are to progress. Primary education, of course, does not mean just enrolling young boys and girls, but having adequate teachers and also a proper teacher training programme. In spite of my strong desire for the growth of our industry, I am convinced that it is better to do without some industrial growth than to do without adequate education at the base.

19. We have created a good deal of enthusiasm in our villages for school going. It would be a tragedy if we cannot satisfy this urge by providing good schools. We can do without buildings, and as a matter of fact, new building programmes have been largely curtailed. We can have the shift system wherever possible, provided additional teachers are appointed. But we should try to have some basic training in these schools. This basic training means education that is work-oriented, and some productive effort being joined to education, whatever that productive effort might be. That would be a proper response to the Emergency, and not to shrivel up and lessen this vital aspect of growth of the nation.

20. I understand that the target for admission of children fixed for the fifth year of the Third Plan has been so successful that it can be reached even at the end of the third year. But adequate number of teachers cannot be appointed for lack of funds. This is most unfortunate.

21. I think that if an enquiry is made, it will be found that agricultural production is higher in the States where the percentage of literacy is also higher. I would, therefore, invite your attention most particularly to this question of

14 April, 1963

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primary education being extended and organized on a proper basis with enough teachers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru



New Delhi
21 May, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

An unfortunate turn of circumstances has, as you know, put a heavy burden on us. Indeed the burdens are manifold. There is the Chinese menace which is a continuing one, even though there may be no actual fighting on our borders at present. There is Pakistan's bitter attitude towards India which concentrates, for the present, on Kashmir, but which is much deeper and wider than the Kashmir issue, and then there are our internal problems of development and the way we run the Government.

2. I confess to being a little worried about all these burdens that we have to carry, even though we try our best to meet them. While the Chinese menace is highly important and requires constant care and preparation and the Pakistani trouble has been with us for many years, yet, I think that our internal problems are of high importance, not only in themselves, but insofar as they affect our capacity and preparedness to meet our external troubles.

3. So far as the Chinese menace is concerned, we are more or less where we were. The menace is there and we cannot say what particular action or aggression China may indulge in again. All we can do is to expedite our defence preparedness to the utmost. This is being done. But, in the nature of things, it takes some time to develop adequately. We have taxed our country heavily for this purpose, and we are trying to go ahead with our internal arrangements.¹ We are also

1. India's defence expenditure increased from Rs. 192.15 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 289.54 crores in 1961-62 and to Rs. 451.81 crores in 1962-63. The Union Budget for 1963-64 provided an outlay of Rs. 867 crores for defence and leaned heavily on indirect taxation through increase in excise duties, introduction of super-profits tax on the corporate sector and deficit financing.

trying to get as much assistance in this work from other friendly countries. There is no certainty yet of what help we will get. As you know, we have sent first-class teams to the United States and to the United Kingdom to explain our position and our needs. At present, our senior Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, is in the United States, and I believe he is doing good work there. He will then go to the United Kingdom.² Previously, he paid a visit to Australia and New Zealand. Probably, we shall know the result of these visits early in June. It may be that we shall not be wholly satisfied with the response, though I hope that it will be fairly good. Whatever it is, we shall have to try to do our best in the circumstances.

4. So far as China is concerned, their attitude continues to be rigid even in regard to the Colombo proposals.³ Though the difference in regard to these proposals is not by itself of very great importance, yet it is significant and may well affect the future of our dealings with China. That is why it has assumed the importance it has done. We cannot therefore, give in on the two issues that have arisen from this difference. These two issues are: the establishment of civil posts in the twentyfive kilometres' demilitarized zone in Ladakh, and our freedom to send our armed forces into that part of N.E.F.A. which was vacated by the Chinese. In a purely military sense, neither of these two has any great importance as they would not add much to our defence preparations, having regard to the terrain and other circumstances. But, politically, this means our surrendering to Chinese demands and thus inferentially to accept many of

2. Visited Britain from 27 May to 2 June 1963.

3. On 20 April 1963, Zhou in his reply to Nehru's letter of 3 April 1963 argued that the task of the Colombo Conference was "to mediate, not arbitrate", that the Conference proposals "were merely recommendations for the consideration of China and India, not a verdict or adjudication" which China and India had to accept in full; and that the clarifications given by the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka to India did not form part of the official document which embodied the Colombo proposals.

their claims on our territory, chiefly in Ladakh. That we cannot do. Probably, if we were to meet the Chinese representatives without clearing this matter up, as they suggest, they would agree to these two matters and thus appear to be generous but, in agreeing to these matters, they would strengthen their hold on the other parts of Ladakh and expect us to give in there also. We do not propose to do so.

5. Even if these two preliminary matters were settled satisfactorily, the real problem would remain. If we then meet round the conference table, it is highly unlikely that the Chinese would accept our case. The stalemate or worse will continue. For us to deal with the Chinese even round the conference table, we must be backed by adequate strength. That is essential in any event.

6. As you know, we had suggested to the Chinese a reference to The Hague Court of International Justice or, in the alternative, to high-level arbitration. We have not had a clear and formal answer to these suggestions of ours, but, indirectly and through their press, they have rejected these proposals.⁴ For the present, therefore, we have to concentrate on increasing our strength not only in defence, but in other basic ways also. As I have said previously, this conflict with China is a long-term affair, and we must be prepared for it and shoulder the burdens that it necessarily brings to us.

7. Pakistan has been and continues to be a headache. By a curious quirk of circumstance this has got tied up with the Chinese menace. Surely, there must be few instances in history of a country tying itself up with military alliances against some of the countries, in the present case, Communist countries,⁵ and then suddenly turning over and coming

4. In fact, on 20 April 1963, Zhou Enlai in his letter to Nehru said that the Chinese Government "has never agreed to refer the Sino-Indian boundary dispute to international arbitration, nor will it do so."

5. Pakistan was given military assistance by the United States under the American Mutual Defence Pacts of 1949 and 1951 and she joined S.E.A.T.O. on 7 September 1954 and the C.E.N.T.O. (Baghdad Pact) on 23 September 1955 whose object was to check communist expansion in South-East and West Asia.

to an understanding with one of these Communist countries.⁶ This indicates clearly that the main objective of Pakistan is not a possible conflict with the Communist countries, but the continuance of its bitterness and hatred against India. Kashmir is not the cause for this conflict with India but the result of the basic urge. This fact is not recognized by the Western friends of Pakistan. They realize, I suppose, that Pakistan is slowly slipping away from their influence. They try to prevent this by bringing pressure on India to come to a settlement with Pakistan about Kashmir.⁷ That is a very simple way of looking at a more complicated problem. We are, of course, anxious and eager to put an end to our various difficulties with Pakistan. I think that no one can be more eager to bring about normal and satisfactory relations between India and Pakistan than we are. But any real understanding of the situation will demonstrate that this cannot be achieved by methods of blackmail and undue pressure taking advantage of the Chinese menace. Indeed, even if we were so weak and frightened as to submit to this blackmail, the result will be the very reverse of bringing about a satisfactory settlement with Pakistan. Because of Chinese aggression on us, Pakistan's appetite has grown tremendously and she feels that now is the time to extract the most from us. If she were to succeed in this endeavour, that appetite, far from being satisfied, will grow and the relations of India and Pakistan would become much more strained and difficult. I do not know how far it may be true that some understanding has been arrived at between Pakistan and China, but even without any secret understanding the facts

6. Pakistan and China signed a border agreement on 2 March 1963.

7. The British Prime Minister said on 7 May 1963 that "Britain would give everything India wanted" but, "we want India to settle the Kashmir issue amicably with Pakistan." He added that President Kennedy agreed with him. Duncan Sandys, while in New Delhi from 1 to 4 May, had stressed that a settlement of differences between India and Pakistan would greatly ease Britain's task.

that we know are clear enough. For the present, both these countries feel that the major impediment in their way is India; therefore both have the common objective of doing injury to India and humiliating her so that in future they can proceed for realizing their aims without this major obstacle.

8. For us this is indeed a difficult position, but I am sure that however difficult it might be, we have to face it without surrendering in any vital matter either to China or to Pakistan. Any surrender on either side would weaken our position greatly on the other side, apart from the grave reactions in India itself.

9. This matter is somehow tied up with the help that we may get from the Western countries. Perhaps it is not quite correct to say that it is tied up, and we have been assured that it is not. Nevertheless, it has its effect on that aid. This in itself indicated how too much reliance on outside aid has undesirable consequences. This does not mean that we should in case of need avoid help. We are indeed earnestly trying to get that help but if that aid is tied up with other policies to our disadvantage, then it injures, at the same time, as it helps. We have to keep all this in view. During these difficult days we have to keep a stout heart and a clear mind.

10. As you know, the last and sixth series of talks between India and Pakistan did not last long.⁸ They came to rather an

8. The sixth and last round of Indo-Pakistan ministerial talks in New Delhi from 15 to 19 May ended abruptly on 16 May 1963 when Z.A. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, insisted that India should concede to Pakistan her claim to almost the whole of the Jammu region and transfer the Kashmir Valley to her. Alternatively, he proposed "internationalization" of Kashmir Valley for six months after which the State could decide its future by a plebiscite. He also rejected India's offer of a "no war pact". While India had offered maximum concessions to draw up a new international boundary on the basis of the principles agreed upon by both sides in earlier discussions, Bhutto's demands were not acceptable to her.

abrupt end. That end perhaps was inevitable in the circumstances, but nevertheless the manner of its taking place was somewhat unexpected. It is clear that Pakistan representatives came to these talks with the firm intention of breaking them up. The only alternative to this was for us to surrender to them all along the line, which it was completely impossible for us to do. They were not even willing to issue a joint communique and when a brief communique was agreed upon,⁹ they resolutely opposed any reference in it to further efforts being made by the two countries for a peaceful solution of our problems. This in itself shows their mental approach.

11. There has been a good deal of talk about some eminent person offering his good offices or some kind of mediation.¹⁰ There was no reference to this in our talks with Pakistan. Earlier, we had said that we were anxious to explore every possible avenue of a settlement with Pakistan and, in order to do this, we might not be averse to this good offices approach. Even then, however, we had made it clear that this could only be agreed to if all the Indo-Pakistani problems, and not Kashmir only, were considered. Further, that this must be done quietly, in an unobtrusive way and with adequate time given to it, so as to avoid a hurried approach. I confess that, even so, I was not happy at this suggestion, and we had made it clear that insofar as Kashmir is concerned, the questions of the partition¹¹ of the Valley or of

9. The joint communique issued on 16 May 1963 stated that "at the end of the last meeting which concluded today the two Ministers recorded with regret that no agreement could be reached on the settlement of the Kashmir dispute."

10. During the visit of Dean Rusk, Duncan Sandys and Mountbatten to New Delhi in the first week of May 1963 a note was submitted urging Indo-Pakistan settlement on Kashmir through mediation by a third party mutually acceptable to both sides.

11. Nehru told Lok Sabha on 7 May 1963 that Sandys' suggestion that India should agree to some kind of partition of Kashmir "is unacceptable" to India. India maintained this stand all through their talks with Pakistan on Kashmir.

internationalization¹² of it were not agreeable to us.

12. So far as I know, Pakistan has not said anything clear about this matter. The break up of the talks and the manner of their breaking up made us feel that even this approach of good offices could not, in the present circumstances, yield any satisfactory results. This would only prolong the agony.

13. There are no proposals about this matter now before us. Nor has Pakistan said anything about them, although I see that Mr. Zafrullah Khan¹³ had referred to this question recently. We do not wish to encourage this business at all. I do not know what shape it might take and what further pressures might be brought to bear upon us. It is said that Pakistan might perhaps agree to it subject to various provisos, such as (1) a definite time-limit should be placed; (2) it should be confined to Kashmir; (3) the question of aid to India should not be decided till that approach is completed, and perhaps some other provisos also.¹⁴ Now all these provisos are objectionable and cannot be accepted by us. They indicate no real desire for a settlement, but only a wish to exercise all the pressure they can to take advantage of our situation vis-a-vis China.

14. Some of our friends who are very anxious for us to fight China, appear to be of opinion that we should agree to or rather surrender to Pakistan in regard to Kashmir. I realize that these are the views of only a very few persons. It is surprising to me that even those few persons should think in

12. In March 1963, the British Government proposed internationalization of the Kashmir Valley and in April 1963 it was suggested to Pakistan and India that both countries should have a "substantial position" in the Kashmir Valley with freedom of access to countries and armies of both sides, and that the Indus Water Treaty be considered afresh to include provision of the availability of the Chenab River waters to Pakistan. India rejected the proposals on 20 April 1963.

13. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 362.

14. On 19 May 1963, Pakistan amplified these terms for mediation to the United States Government.

this manner. As I have repeatedly said, we are anxious to have a settlement with Pakistan about Kashmir as well as about other matters, but any surrender of ours to Pakistan's wholly unjustified claims would not only create the strongest of reactions in India, but would also make it much more difficult for us to face China. The result will be a feeling of defeatism which will affect our struggle with China. But, apart from this, if the Valley is even partly controlled by Pakistan, our struggle against China in Ladakh would be grievously affected. In fact, the Valley is the base of the struggle and the way to Ladakh. Thus, a surrender in Kashmir will make it almost impossible for us to face China adequately in Ladakh. Pakistan realizes this and, in fact, Mr. Bhutto¹⁵ to some extent admitted it. Thus, the two, that is, our struggle against China and our difficulties with Pakistan, are closely mixed up. One affects the other, and in this mix-up, unfortunately, Pakistan and China help each other. It is easy to be generous at the expense of a third party.

15. The result of all this is that we must fully realize the difficulties we face and that we can have no relief from them either from China or from Pakistan. The two stand on a different footing; that is true. Pakistan was till recently a part of India. In a way, we are historically, geographically, culturally, and even racially, connected in many ways. It should be natural for us to come to friendly settlements and cooperate with each other. That has been our view, and we have tried to do so to the best of our ability. With China, the differences are great and, however much we may want to be friendly with her, the gap is wide. It is true that even countries that have fought each other may become friends later. Every war leads to a peace, good or bad. We should not, therefore, think in terms of permanent enemies and we should always try to leave a door open for friendship. But the

15. Z.A. Bhutto, (1928-1979). Pakistani politician; Minister for Commerce, 1958-60, for Minority Affairs, 1960-62, for Industries, 1962-63 and Foreign Minister, 1963-66; President of Pakistan, 1971-73 and Prime Minister, 1973-77; deposed in 1977 and hanged on a charge of murder, 1979.

fact remains that, in spite of verbal assurances, China has shut and bolted the door insofar as we are concerned. For the moment, therefore, there is no prospect of friendly relations with her, and we have to face this conflict with energy and resolution. Pakistan has, most unfortunately, tied herself to China at this crucial moment of our history and Asia's history. Her fear and hatred of India has been the basic motive force guiding her actions. I am afraid that in the long run Pakistan will not profit by this approach, even though today she might be able to utilize the Chinese menace to our disadvantage.

16. All this requires strength, unity and hard work on our part. The people of India have demonstrated their sense of solidarity on this occasion. But, as the actual military conflict becomes a thing of the past, many people tend to revert to their party squabbles and to their normal industry of running down and blaming Government for everything that happens. That makes it all the more incumbent on us to strengthen our Government apparatus and to fight a ceaseless war against corruption and inefficiency. I am absolutely convinced that our strength depends not only on our defensive apparatus, but on the efficiency, integrity and unity in our civil administration at all levels. It is a platitude to say that the strength of the country depends on these factors as well as on the growth of our economy.

17. The tragedy of the situation is that just when we had to make a tremendous effort to push our economy forward, we have had to face these external dangers which divert so much of our energy and our resources to purposes other than developmental. Perhaps, this is a trial and a test for us. If we survive it, as I trust and believe that we will, we shall come out all the stronger and will advance more rapidly.

18. But it is essential that we realize the vital importance of these factors in the working of our Government and in our public life. What is even success on the battle front worth if we fail inwardly. We have too many weaknesses and disruptive forces at work. Caste still plays an unholy role.

Caste also helps in bringing about inefficiency, nepotism and corruption. One leads to the other. I think that we must be quite clear in our minds that we cannot succeed outwardly and externally unless we do so inwardly also and try to conquer our weaknesses. There is far too much talk of corruption. I think it is exaggerated a good deal but we must realize that it is there and we must face that with all our will and strength. Our governmental apparatus is still slow-moving and full of brakes which come in the way of all the brave schemes that we have in mind. Our law, good as it is, is slow-moving also in regard to the punishment of the guilty.

19. I am writing about this to you because I feel strongly that we must clean up our public life and make it worthy and efficient for the great objectives that we have.

20. What are these objectives? There must be a life worthwhile for all the hundreds of millions who live here so that all of us can lead a purposeful existence and rid ourselves of the curses of poverty, unemployment, disease and ignorance. In effect, to produce the opportunities for every human being in India to rise materially, culturally and spiritually, and to create a sense of cooperative endeavour and cooperative living. We call this socialism and that, I think, is the nearest term which can embrace our objectives. Of course, socialism has a particular economic significance, but we use it in a larger sense even. We see about us the growth of big money and concentrations and the power that big money gives. This affects our public life as well as our economic life and we have to do something to curb it and to rid it of its abuse. There is a certain vulgarity which hurts a sensitive person about the vast difference between the rich and the poor in India.

21. In the final analysis, right education open to all is perhaps the basic remedy for most of our ills. That education has, in the present circumstances, to be devoted, to a large extent, towards technical training, but the basis of education must necessarily be cultural and, if I may use the term, spiritual also. It must essentially be mass education. I am,

therefore, grieved to learn that the spread of mass education is suffering because of the Emergency and the other demands upon us. It is only through and out of this mass education that worthwhile persons grow out. I would, therefore, earnestly plead with you to encourage the spread of this mass education as much as possible and not allow it to suffer because of any other reason.

22. Of course, education must mean a definite attempt to give it right direction. I do feel, as I have felt before, that the basic system of education gives it a right turn and probably does away with many of the evils that we see in our schools and colleges today. It may be that this basic education is difficult to organize because of lack of good teachers, but if it is the right education, we should face this problem and produce the right teachers.

23. We have a multitude of problems and in effect we fight for our survival not only as an independent country, but also a country with its own individuality, its own basic culture and all that is worthwhile in us. Let us carry on this fight with a stout heart and with goodwill.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
21 December, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,*

Last month I had an opportunity of discussing with Chairman¹ of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission² and his other colleagues certain matters concerning the implementation of khadi and village industries schemes. I was very happy to learn that the Commission is implementing its programmes in the various States through the State Khadi and Village Industries Boards³ which are statutory bodies set up by the State Legislatures. The Commission gives assistance to the State Khadi and Village Industries Boards for enabling them to implement such schemes. As you are aware, however, the Commission is responsible to the Central Government and to Parliament for funds placed at its disposal by the Government of India. The accountability of the Commission to Parliament can be discharged

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. Vaikunth Lallubhai Mehta (1891-1964). Finance Minister, Bombay, 1947-52; Member, Finance Commission and Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1952; Chairman, All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, 1953-54; Chairman, All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, 1957-63.

2. In 1956, Parliament passed the Khadi and Village Industries Commission Act and constituted a Commission on 1 April 1957 to (1) plan and implement the programmes for development of khadi and village industries; (2) arrange for them the supply of funds, raw materials, guidance and market facilities; (3) organize cooperative societies; (4) organize training, and (5) promote technical research to help those industries to become commercially viable.

3. Statutory State Khadi and Village Industries Boards were constituted in all States through which funds by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission were provided for.

only if the State Khadi and Village Industries Boards are also equally conscious of their responsibility in this matter.

During the course of the discussions, the Commission pointed out certain difficulties and I consider that in order to see that the programmes of khadi and village industries are executed effectively, the relations between the Commission and the statutory State Khadi and Village Industries Boards should be understood properly.

The Commission and the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board are composed of men and women who have abiding interest in the khadi and village industries programmes and or have been constructive workers. Besides, in the composition of the Commission and the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, the Government of India consults the Chairman of the Commission and the Sarva Seva Sangh. I believe that if the State Khadi and Village Industries Boards are also composed of men animated by the same motives and having similar experience and aptitude, they will be able to render better service to the artisans engaged in the khadi and village industries programmes. I would, therefore, suggest that in the composition of these Boards and especially in the nomination of their principal office-bearers, the President, the Vice-President, and the Member-Secretary, you may consult the Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and obtain his views before finalizing the personnel. I have no doubt that this arrangement will be of mutual benefit to your Government and the Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Glossary

Bal Mandir	centre for children's activities
Chhatak	a measure of weight around two ounces
Deepavali	festival of lights
Goonda	hooligan
Gramdan	voluntary donation of land to the village
Gram Sahayaks	village volunteers
Gur	jaggery
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Holi	festival of spring
Jayanti	birth anniversary
Khandsari	unrefined sugar
Kutcha wells	wells made of unbaked bricks
Mahant	the head of a monastery
Mandi	wholesale market
Panch	member of village council
Panchayat	village council
Panchayati raj	village administered by the village council, local self- government
Panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct for peace and peaceful co- existence
Rabi	spring harvest
Sadr-i-Riyasat	Head of a state (Jammu & Kashmir)
Samiti	Committee
Sammelan	conference
Sarpanch	head of the village council
Sarvodaya	movement for people's welfare

Shramdan

Suba

Thana

Usar

Zamindar

Zila

labour for a public cause

province

police station

salty barren land

landlord

district

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A prime minister, it is said, is the nation's prime persuader. Jawaharlal Nehru, as the first Prime Minister, was convinced that the task of building institutions and conventions, so vital in a democracy, demanded that he share with his colleagues his reasons for whatever decisions he took and courses of action he pursued. Change through consent and greater social justice were the theme songs of Panditji's prime ministership. He insisted that right ends should be matched by the right means. He wanted to leaven Indian society with the new ideas of political freedom and social equality. . . In the international field, he wanted resurgent India to champion the cause of all peoples who had suffered from colonial subjugation. He also wanted the message of non-violence and conciliation to go out to a world divided into rival blocs and threatened by the prospect of nuclear war. He sought the willing involvement of the Indian people in this great adventure. He devoted a great deal of time and thought to the letters he wrote to Chief Ministers once a fortnight expounding his ideas and aspirations.

These fortnightly letters have long been regarded as a basic text in nation-building and in open statecraft. But they had so far not been available to the general public. When the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund approached the Government with a proposal to publish them, the Government readily agreed.

These letters reveal a great mind and a large heart at work. But I am sure they will also be a major source of education for everyone who wishes to work for a strong, prosperous and wise India.

RAJIV GANDHI

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